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**Determinants of Women's Participation in Industry and Service
Sectors**

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Abstract

This study analyses factors influencing women's participation in industrial and services. Women face various constraints that affects their intersectoral mobility in the labour market. These constraints include, discrimination in the labour market in terms of wage differentials, different obligations for men and women, and the burden of reproduction. Due to these constraints, women's participation in the labour market is concentrated in certain sectors thus affecting productivity in the whole economy.

During this era of structural adjustment programmes, the skewness situation of women in certain sectors of the labour market implies that they will face higher requirements for mobility than men. These programmes are also likely to affect women differently from men due to their roles in the society.

This study was done in Nairobi and Thika areas of Kenya. The focus of the study was on the following industries: Banking, food and textile industries. A sample of 150 women was randomly selected from the three industries.

The study found out that important determinants of women's participation in the two sectors is influenced by age, marital status, educational level, number of children and household income. Women do not actively participate in trade unions due to lack of awareness. Factors affecting demand for female labour includes pregnancy related issues, protective legislation and occupational segregation.

Policy recommendations include: wider range of educational and vocational training so that women can complete effectively with men in the labour market, changes in the legal framework aiming at educating women about their employment rights, gender sensitisation programme both for men and women, disaggregated data by gender, and promoting more women to leadership roles.

1. INTRODUCTION

Women perform the lowest paid activities and are concentrated in the low end jobs and occupations. Despite working in low return activities they are also responsible for providing family needs from unpaid household work such as child care, cooking and sewing.

Women spend numerous hours in domestic duties and other unpaid activities exceeding the time spent in paid work. Despite the underestimation of women's economic contributions, their employment in developing countries has increased both in absolute and relative terms.

There has been an increase in women's participation in the labour force. In the developing countries women constitute 37 per cent of the total labour force in 1950. By 1985, this had risen to 42 percent (Grown and Sebstad 1989). Guy Standing, Grown and Sebstad (1989) state that the increase in women's participation has been mainly due to the convergence of three macro-economic trends:

- a. Emphasis on export led industrialization.
- b. Heavy reliance on the use of low wage female labour
- c. Cost cutting strategies in the development process and the labour market deregulation.

The 1995 Human Development Report states that "Women's labour force participation has risen by only four percentage points in 20 years from 36 per cent in 1970 to 40 per cent in 1990. Furthermore, all regions record a higher rate of unemployment among women than men (1995 world Development:4).

It is worth noting that despite the increase in women's rate of participation, jobs are now more static than in the past: declines in wages and structural changes are affecting employment. Women, due to their lower levels of education, tend to be concentrated in the lower cadre of wage employment. The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have also adversely affected women mainly due to the different roles they play within the family. Given their roles as producers, reproducers and health providers, women are forced to device quick survival strategies to meet the high cost of living in conditions of escalating increases in food prices, and health costs.

In developing economies, women join the informal sector due to the ease of entry and exit. This sector provides also the working environment that enables them to attend to their domestic responsibilities. An example of this is that a woman can be looking after her child and at the same time be selling vegetables by the street side near her house. However, it is worth pointing out that in Kenya even within informal sector, women dominate petty trade, commerce, services and certain branches of manufacturing.

Workers in women-run enterprises have very low levels of training. In general, female-owned businesses are home based and less likely to have secure tenure arrangements. A survey of enterprises in Nairobi Kibera area conducted in 1991 concluded that female owned enterprises start smaller, grow slower and smaller, use less start-up capital and smaller formal credit than male enterprises. The survey also found that men-owned enterprises tend to be larger than female-owned enterprises, have higher growth rates and greater longevity. While women are concentrated in commercial activities, men dominate manufacturing, construction, transport and personal services (Parker and Aleke - Dondo, 1991).

Table 1: Distribution of Employees by Job Group in Civil Service

Job Group	Men	Women	Total	% of Female
A	41477	12060	53537	22.5
B	9255	2815	12050	23.4
C	18257	6004	24261	24.7
D	24885	10457	35342	29.6
E	15122	3318	18440	18.0
F	62470	14296	76766	18.6
G	18249	4595	22844	20.1
H	9931	2344	12275	19.1
J	5460	823	5283	15.6
K	5032	916	5948	15.4
L	2748	472	3220	14.7
M	1203	163	1366	11.9
N	603	47	650	7.2
P	280	15	295	5.1
Q	140	6	140	4.1
R	78	5	83	6.0
S	17	0	17	0
T	4	0	4	0
	215191	58336	273527	

Source: Directorate of Personnel Management, 1991

In the formal sector, women are concentrated in low skilled repetitive work. Table 1 shows that there is a high concentration of women in the lower cadres (job Group A-G; generally clerical and secretarial) Starting at job group H, the typical graduate entry point, the number of women begin to decline. This trend continues for the higher job groups where there are fewer and fewer women. There are only a handful of women holding positions in the top five categories of the civil service.

In industry, women are concentrated in narrow range of occupations such as electronics, footwear, textiles, hawking and petty sales and retail trade. In the agricultural sector, women predominate as seasonal, casual and temporary labourers earning lower wages compared to their male counterparts.

Table 2: Distribution of Employees by Sex, Level of Education and Income Group, (percentage) 1988

Income Group	Primary		Secondary		University		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-499	77.90	22.1	68.6	31.4	100.0	0.0	76.8	23.2
500-999	82.50	17.5	75.4	24.6	72.9	27.1	79.5	20.5
1000-1499	90.00	10.0	76.2	23.8	70.9	29.1	82.9	17.1
1500-1999	86.40	13.4	73.1	26.9	55.7	44.3	77.5	22.5
2000-2499	83.90	16.1	67.2	32.8	81.6	18.4	71.6	28.4
2500-2999	91.90	8.1	77.9	22.1	69.0	31.0	80.8	19.2
3000-3499	94.30	5.7	82.0	18.0	61.0	39.0	83.8	16.2
3500-3999	95.90	4.1	84.1	15.9	61.6	38.4	85.3	14.7
4000-4499	95.30	4.7	80.9	19.1	68.5	31.5	82.2	17.8
4500-4999	95.40	4.6	81.7	18.3	73.8	26.2	82.6	17.4
5000-5499	96.10	3.9	80.0	20.0	76.2	23.7	82.4	17.6
5500-5999	94.90	5.1	84.5	15.5	83.5	16.5	85.6	14.4
6000-6499	87.70	12.3	81.1	18.9	89.1	10.9	82.8	17.2
6500-6999	95.90	4.1	84.3	15.7	88.5	11.5	86.5	13.5
7000-7499	76.80	23.2	83.2	16.8	88.4	11.6	83.7	16.3
7500-7999	98.20	1.8	92.0	8.0	87.3	12.7	91.5	8.5
8000-11999	92.50	7.5	87.0	13.0	88.8	11.2	88.1	11.9
12000-15999	97.20	2.8	90.5	9.5	90.4	9.6	90.9	9.1
16000	93.80	6.2	94.3	5.7	89.0	11.0	92.6	7.4
Total	85.20	14.8	75.8	24.2	79.7	20.3	79.9	20.1

Source: The National Manpower Survey, 1989 (Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment)

There also exists an income gap between males and female both within same jobs and between different types of jobs. Women earn less than men.

One of the major factors that determines an individual's employment opportunities is one's level of education. The level of education may also determine the income of the individual. The effects of past disparities in educational opportunities in favour of men are manifested by the type of employment and income level of women. Even with equal educational attainments between males and females, the latter still fall mainly in the lower income groups. As Table 2 shows, women account for only about six per cent of those with primary education earning in excess of Ksh 16,000 while they constitute 22 percent of those with the same education and earning less than Ksh 500.

However, a point to note is that women with university education are better represented in medium and higher wage groups. This indicates that the better educated women earn salaries as high as their equally educated male counterparts, even though their numbers are still quite low. Table 2 also shows that there is a high concentration of women in the income group Ksh 2,000 -2,499. Since most secondary school graduates fall in this category, it can be inferred that many females in the wage employment are of secondary school level of education. Overall, males outnumber females at all levels of income group with the latter being concentrated at the lower income groups.

If women are to participate equally in the development process, there is a need to provide equal opportunities of women in their access to resources, training and employment. This has to be looked into in the context of women's role with regard to production and reproduction.

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Women's participation in modern sector wage employment in Sub-Saharan Africa increased from 12 per cent in 1970 to about 19 per cent in 1985. However, despite this growth of women in the modern sector employment, their overall participation in the sector still remains small (ILO/JASPA 1990:71).

The 1985/86 Kenyan Urban Labour Force Survey* (ULFS) indicated that females are over represented in agriculture, services, wholesale and retail trade. The 1986 ULFS Report stated that: "Except for finance, insurance and real estate there appear to be very little evidence of women penetrating other important sectors of the urban economy e.g. manufacturing." According to ILO/JASPA 1990, "In 1985, women's formal sector employment accounted for only 2.5 per cent of total labour force compared to 11 per cent for men".

A look at the distribution of female wage employment in selected countries (ILO/JASPA Table 2.4) gives the following pattern:

- a. most women are concentrated in community, social and personal services;
- b. low representation of women in construction, electricity, water transport and communication, mining and quarrying;
- c. women are concentrated at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy, e.g. agricultural labourers.

Despite a rising trend, the female representation in modern sector wage employment in Kenya has remained low. The percentage of women in total modern sector wage employment was 12.2 per cent in 1964 rising to 14.8 per cent in 1972, 18.0 per cent in 1981 and 21 per cent in 1987. There has not been a significant change in the 1990s in female representation in the modern sector wage employment in Kenya (Development Plans 1984-1988, 1989-93, 1994-1996).

Female wage employment by sector shows that there is a significant concentration of females in agriculture and forestry, finance, insurance, real estate and business services and community, social and personal services (Table 3).

Secretarial service category is the only one in which the majority of workers are women. Their representation in the broader occupational groups of professionals, and executives and managerial personnel is rising. However, due to rapid growth of population, increasing scarcity of land for cultivation, growing migration of women to urban areas and rising rates of participation of women in the education system, the unemployed job seekers in the modern sector wage employment has been higher among women than men.

According to the 1986 Urban Labour Force Survey, while the overall rate of unemployment has been constant since 1977, it has risen fourfold for women and decreased for men. The unemployment rate was 6.1 per cent in 1977/78 and increased to 16.2 per cent in 1986. This increase was attributed to different reference periods used in the two surveys.*

Table 3: Wage Employment by Industry and Sex 1985 - 1990. ('000s)

Industry	1985		1990		1994*	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture & Forestry	197.7	43.2	205.3	64.4	215.4	65.3
Mining & Quarrying	4.7	0.1	3.3	0.9	3.4	1.2
Manuf.	143.0	15.8	166.5	21.2	173.5	24.1
Electricity and water	16.3	1.4	19.3	3.1	19.0	3.0
Building and Construction	48.6	1.3	67.4	4.0	69.6	3.7
Trade, Restaurants & Hotels	75.6	14.1	95.5	18.5	104.3	22.3
Transport & Communication	48.8	6.9	63.8	10.7	66.7	11.2
Finance, Insurance Real Estate & Business Services	42.5	10.9	50.8	14.4	57.6	17.4
Public Administration	128.5	30.1	142.8	41.4	154.1	39.6
Education Services	139.4	59.5	162.5	74.1	163.7	94.4
Domestic Services	42.1	17.1	0.6	0.3	40.3	21.8
Other Services	56.3	30.5	122.7	55.9	89.2	43.6
Total	943.5	230.9	1100.5	308.9	1156.8	347.0

Source: Economic Survey's, Various Issues.

* provisional

Among the constraints to women's participation in wage employment are their domestic responsibilities. These account for their absenteeism, types of jobs and eligibility for certain types of jobs. The cultural roles of girls also have a major impact on their choice of educational field, their aspiration and ambitions.

There is therefore a need for measures to increase women's participation in the modern non-agricultural wage employment sector. If women are to

* While the 1977/78 Labour Force Survey used a single day reference period, the 1986 Urban Labour Force Survey used a one week reference period. In 1977-78, while the unemployed men outnumbered women by a factor of three to one, in 1986 the unemployed included a majority of women.

participate fully in development, then policy makers have to address factors that have affected their participation in the modern sector employment. Growth in the economy can only be achieved when all the resources in the economy are fully utilised. Success in the utilisation of human resources can be achieved only if both men and women participate fully in the labour force. If the labour force is to contribute to the industrialization process in Africa, then the female labour force cannot remain marginalized. The reasons and the determinants of women's poor performance in the urban labour market have, therefore, to be looked into critically with a view to recommending to rectify situation.

In Kenya, the industrial sector occupies a very important position. Policy documents have emphasised that rapid growth of the industrial sector is expected to expand the domestic market for goods and services leading to higher incomes and increased employment opportunities.

The increasing importance of women in industrial labour force in developing countries can be related to international factors in two ways. First, mobilization of female labour into industry has been fast where the rate of growth of total industrial output and employment has been high. Second, the sexual division of labour is very pronounced in the industrial sector. Women are concentrated in light industries and are employed in labour intensive industries, implying low labour costs. Women employees are heavily concentrated in the least paid jobs. Such positions offer very little opportunity for advancement. Although there is increase in employment in most modern industries, the trend does not appear to have made substantial difference to women's status.

In Kenya over the years employment has remained a major problem. Indications are that this will continue so long as the major factors affecting employment such as rapid population growth, limited growth in the modern sector and rural urban differentials persist.

As the bleak employment situation continues unabated, the status of the more vulnerable segments of the society are likely to be exacerbated. Women have generally been more vulnerable than men due to historical and cultural factors. Although their participation in the labour force has improved considerably since the 1960's, they are still under-represented. Due to the

above mentioned factors, it is important to investigate and understand factors affecting participation of women in employment generally with the hope of finding ways of improving the livelihoods of poor women through the support of activities that will enhance their earnings.

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- i. To analyse factors influencing women's participation in industrial and service sectors.
- ii. To access and compare the disparities, attitudes and constraints to employment opportunity for women and men in both industrial and service sectors.
- iii. To formulate policy recommendations in the light of the findings and the current economic trends.

4. HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

- i. Women hold the least paid and the most precarious jobs in both industry and service sectors.
- ii. Low educational attainments and lack of skills place women in lower hierarchical jobs.
- iii. Women's job status is worsened by their reproductive roles.
- iv. Lack of participation of women in trade unions make women highly vulnerable to exploitation in their places of work.

5. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Despite the increase in women's participation in the monetary economy over the past thirty years, they are still concentrated in lower income activities.

"In Asia, recorded participation rates of females in 1950 was 26 per cent, and they constituted 34 percent of the total labour force compared with 29 per cent. By 1985, their rate of participation rose from 26 per cent to 28 per cent."

In Latin America for the same periods, there were rises in both female participation rates (from 13 per cent in 1950 to 50 per cent in 1985) and their share of the total labour force (18 per cent in 1950 to 24 per cent in 1985).

In Africa, participation rate of females fell from 28 per cent in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1985 and their share of the labour force remained around 32 per cent (commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).

Available data from Kenya (1986 Urban Labour Force and 1988 Rural Labour force Survey's) indicate that overall participation rates in the labour force are higher in the rural areas. The rural participation rates are higher for women than for men standing at 91 percent and 87 per cent respectively. In the urban areas, women's participation rates was 56 per cent compared to 82 per cent recorded for men.

It has also been recorded that there has been rapid growth in female employment in export-oriented manufacturing especially within the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) in many developing countries. The main industries in the EPZ include garments, electronic components, electrical consumers goods, shoes, rubber and food processing amongst others.

Looking at the services sector, women are heavily represented in community activities such as health, education and social welfare in all regions of the developing world. Other services sector include retail trading, marketing of food crops, domestic service and tourism.

This study is undertaken at a time when the Kenyan economy is undergoing various structural changes. Attempts to understand the important role women play in the development process has to be given recognition. Currently, there has been attempts to create awareness. (1995 Beijing Conference on Women, Various UN conferences on Women and Development, various local and international Non-Governmental Organizations addressing the issue of women in Development both at the

grassroots and national levels. Political organizations have also been pressing for increased participation of women in decision making levels).

Furthermore, it is a well recorded fact that well over half of the poor are women and there exists gender gaps in ownership of land, access to credit, employment and educational opportunities (1995 Human Development Report).

Studies have indicated that the Structural Adjustment Programmes introduced by the IMF and the World Bank have had negative impacts on both men and women and worsened the conditions of women. This is mainly because women play a very significant role as producers, reproducers, home managers and health carers. In the face of continuous declines in household incomes, women struggle to find survival strategies to combat the increasing hunger and malnutrition. Policy has to address and understand factors affecting the participation of women in various sectors of economy.

6. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Women hold the least paid and most precarious jobs. This is mainly due to certain constraints that affect their intersectoral mobility relative to men. According to Collier (1989, 1993) two major problems are identified.

- i. Female labour is allocated between sectors in a different way from men's due to various constraints.
- ii. Women's labour is less mobile than men's again due to various constraints.

The constraints women face are:

- i. Discrimination outside the household. There exists differential wage rates between men and women in the labour market.
- ii. Role models are gender specific. Boys copy males or fathers and girls copy females and mothers.

- iii. There are different obligations for men and women. In rural Africa, Women are mainly involved in subsistence production, water fetching, firewood gathering, cooking and taking care of the children while men are involved in cash needs of the family and land allocation issues.
- iv. The burden of reproduction. The reproductive duties of women hinder them from joining and actively participating in the labour market.
- v. Informational barriers to women's mobility involve formal education and agricultural extension dissemination. The information barriers are also compounded by discrimination in the credit markets.

The four main constraints skew female labour allocation to different sectors from men and impair their mobility between sectors. Females are therefore concentrated in food production activities and under represented in the export agriculture, public and private formal employment.

The consequences of this skewness for women under SAPs are identified as follows:

- Women are concentrated in the non tradable sectors which are subject to down signing and budget cuts under SAPs.
- Due to the above mentioned constraints, they will face higher requirements than men in moving out of the non-tradable activities.

Low educational attainment and lack of skills place women in lower hierarchical jobs

There are differences in returns to work for men and women mainly due to two major factors: First, since women lack education and skill training they can not compete effectively in the labour market. According to the World Development 1995 Report, "Educational biases are severe in Asia and middle East and significant in Africa, but insignificant in Latin America and countries of the former Soviet block".

Secondly, compared to men women have limited access to job opportunities and earn lower incomes or rewards. Furthermore large female-male wage

differentials remain even after controlling for differences in educational experience. The data from parts of the world confirms that wage differentials exist for same job between women and men as stated below.

"In India, women's real wages are 51 per cent of men's, and only 34 percentage points of the gap can be explained by differences in worker characteristics. In Kenya, women's wages are 18 per cent lower than men's after adjusting for skill and experience. In Latin America, average female wages are 71 per cent of average male wages, and only 20 percentage points of the differentials can be explained by differences in human capital. In the former Soviet Union, women earned on average 30 per cent less than men. Less than one tenth of this differential was due to differences in endowments" (World Development, 1995).

Due to limited labour market opportunities for women, there is likely to be limited opportunities to educate girls. Furthermore, less educated women are less likely to educate their daughters and this may result in a vicious cycle that will not be easy to break.

One of the major obstacles to female education is their high drop out rate in both primary and secondary schools. The drop out can be due to either adolescent pregnancy, inability to pay school fees or failure in examinations (ILO/JASPA, 1990).

Women also tend to specialise in field that conform to their cultural image rather than academic ability. This narrows their fields of specialisation and diversity of choice in technical and scientific areas. Fewer girls enrol in polytechnic institutions compared to boys. Female students at the Kenyan polytechnics specialise in Business, Printing, Management and Library courses while men dominate Engineering, Mathematics, Applied Sciences and Computer Science.

Women's job status is worsened by their reproductive role

Women play two roles of mother and a worker. The more incompatible these roles are the more negative the employment-fertility relationship will be. It has been hypothesised that the larger the number of children a woman has, the lower will be her participation in the labour market. Relating women's

work to fertility can be looked at from the opportunity cost of children. This involves decision making in allocation of time for particular activity. Thus, as the opportunity cost of raising children increases fertility is likely to decline.

However, it is worth noting that the fertility-work relationship can also be influenced by the type, location and the amount of work women perform. Women working outside the home may find it difficult to combine the two roles of reproduction and keeping up to the demands of a job. However, studies in different parts of Africa indicate that women tend to combine bearing and raising large number of children with various demanding work. This has been attributed to ready availability of child care substitutes who are in most cases relatives of the mother. The domestic help is also normally cheap making it easier for the working mother to raise more children and yet not feel the pressure of work.

It has been ascertained that the higher the level of education of a woman, the higher the chances of her having fewer children. This is mainly due to number of years spent in school and age at first marriage.

Low participation of women in trade unions make women highly vulnerable to exploitation in their places of work

"Trade Unions are a cornerstone of any effective system of industrial relations that seeks to balance the need for enterprise to remain competitive with the aspirations of workers for higher wages and better working condition".

The main aim of trade unions is to increase efficiency and productivity. Trade unions can increase productivity "by balancing the power relationship between workers and managers, improving working conditions, increase wage disparities between union and nonunion workers and fighting against discrimination" (World Development, 1995).

Although trade unions are criticized for their monopolistic behaviour i.e. "Improving wages and working conditions for their members at the expense of capital holders, consumers and unorganised labour. They are also well placed to use their political power to negotiate the terms of structural adjustment through opposition to Reform-Trade Unions.

Since women participate in trade unions and benefit from their protection. They are thus highly vulnerable to exploitation in their places of work. Most women are ignorant of their rights in working places. Even in cases where they are aware, since they are not members of trade unions they do not know where to take their complaints. Women workers also accept very low wages which is a form of exploitation by employers. With regard to their rights to maternity leave (these seem to work against them) some employers prefer male workers since they consider maternity break as a lost productivity. There has not as yet been much work done on the gender gap in trade unions.

Although most countries have legislation establishing standard periods of maternity leave and other benefits to women these have ironically worked against them as the same laws end up discouraging their employment and depress their wages. Some firms employ young women on fixed term contracts to avoid paying maternity benefits.

6.1 Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on the Labour Market

The labour market plays a significant role in determining the success of adjustment programmes. During the transition, the welfare of the workers is likely to be affected and depends on:

- Redeployment of labour from collapsing sectors to more remunerative sectors.
- Response of real wages to economy and wide drops in demand for labour.

Due to macro economic decline and institutional reform, most adjustment programmes involve a fall in aggregate demand for labour resulting in a decline in real wages. This is mainly because inflation is high compared to nominal wage increases. Of significance is how fast labour can move to the growing sectors. The economy is, therefore, expected to create new jobs before the old ones become unviable. It is only then that the levels of unemployment can be controlled.

Case studies of different countries point to the fact that the initial conditions are important in influencing the scope and pace of reform. More

advantageous is when labour and capital are highly mobile. Of importance too is the existence of viable sectors with a strong potential for increasing supply.

"China had a far larger informal agricultural sector than more heavily industrialized Russia. China's large rural supply potential gave a powerful initial spurt to growth and employment creation in the non-state sector and allowed the government to tackle a gradualist approach to reform of inefficient state enterprises. Lacking such supply potential, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union had to reform their state sectors and accept destruction of state employment rather than postpone reforms as China did" (World Development, 1995: 101)

Most developing countries lack viable sectors with a strong potential of increasing supply. Policy should therefore be able to address constraints to growth and employment creation within any economy. The choice, sequencing, speed and level of commitment in the implementation of policy are all very important factors that will affect the welfare of workers. It has been argued that Structural Adjustment Programmes have not adequately addressed the immediate impact on workers. There are indications that labour does suffer during the initial period of adjustment. Unlike capital, labour is less internationally mobile thus, when the domestic economy declines, it is less able to leave.

Many households depend largely on their incomes from work. Apart from income from work, other factors affecting workers standard of living are "labour force participation rates, rates of personal saving, the variety and quality of products consumed and formal and informal income" (1995 World Development: 105).

As both real wages and employment decline, households attempt to adjust by switching from wage to non-wage sources of income (i.e. the informal sector) working extra hours to bring in supplementary income.

6.2 Structural Adjustment Programmes and The Employment of Women

Structural adjustment programmes affect women differently from men due to women's role in development. Adjustments often entail job losses in the formal sector, at least in the short run until growth is resumed. Retrenchment

policies will affect more women than men due to the fact that women are in the lower job groups, are less educated than men and their participation in the formal labour force is lower. Furthermore, during adjustment, there will be fewer formal sector jobs. As a result, employment for graduates and other skilled workers will no longer be guaranteed.

Liberalization policies which attempt to remove disincentives to exports caused by import protection are also likely to affect women in the following ways: First retrenched workers from the public sector and those displaced by liberalization of industry will join the informal and private sectors intensify the competition.

Many women enter this sector already disadvantaged due to lack of skills and formal credit facilities. Their earnings will be further depressed due to low earning opportunities in the informal sector as well as the impact of new entrants to the sector. Secondly, enterprises producing non-tradables, particularly in the service sector, will be affected.

Thirdly, women are less likely to benefit from the promotion of cash crops, exports or manufacturing, and lastly due to devaluation, decontrol of prices, a reduction or abolition of subsidies, budgetary cutbacks and introduction of charges for public services. They are likely to be affected more since they have fewer opportunities to supplement their incomes. When the wages of male heads of households fall, it is the women who help sustain household incomes adding to their domestic responsibilities. It is the women who struggle for survival strategies and coping techniques during the harsh times of structural adjustment programmes. Since most of these changes have occurred at short notice and in most cases without safety-nets, the vulnerable groups like women have been adversely affected.

7. METHODOLOGY

The study area was in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya and Thika, an industrial town near Nairobi. Nairobi was chosen because it offers a wide variety of women from different socio-economic backgrounds. Thika being mainly an industrial town also offered a variety of industries that employ women.

The three main industries that were chosen were banking, food and textile industries. Food industry was chosen mainly because it represents a light industry which is labour intensive. Garment/Textile industry employs a large number of women. Banks on the other hand offer a wide scope of employment for women particularly for secretarial and clerical work.

A total number of 150 women were interviewed using a simple random selection method. The industries were also selected randomly and wherever there was cooperation, a list of female employees was provided and a random selection was made from the list. Banking represented 49 per cent, food industry 26 per cent and textiles 25 per cent of the total sample (Table 4).

Table 4: Total Female Sample Size (Actual Numbers)

Food Industry	Textile Industry	Banking	Total
39	38	73	150
26%	25 %	49%	100%

Source: Survey Data, 1993

In addition, an in-depth discussion was held with 20 male employees, 15 employers from various industries and 3 trade union officials regarding factors affecting urban female employment in the stated industries.

8. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The study found that the important determinants of women's participation in the two sectors is influenced by age, marital status, educational level, number of children, and household income.

Age and Marital Status

Most of the female workers interviewed were in the age bracket of 19-45. This is the age bracket where reproductive duties are bound to be highest. The average age of the female workers was 28 years. Table 5 details the marital status of the respondents. 52 % of the respondents were single, 37 per cent were married and 5 per cent were separated, divorced or widowed.

Table 5: Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Per cent
Single	52
Married	37
Separated	3
Divorced	5
Widowed	3

Source: Survey Data, 1993

This study found out that the total household income was greater for the married women than for single household head. This was mainly because their husbands were working in various organizations (Table 6). They could, therefore, afford to hire domestic labour to look after the children. The women with jobless and diseased husbands on the other hand had to rely more on relatives to take care of their children while they were away at work.

Table 6: Situation/Employment of Husband

	Per cent
Jobless	5
Works in the Private Sector	20
Works in the Public Sector	20
Businessman	30
Retired	20
Deceased	5

Source: Survey Data, 1993.

Level of Education

Education is one of the most important factors influencing female participation in the labour force. Obviously, females cannot effectively compete with males in the job market unless they possess the required training and skills. Increased levels of female education will therefore, allow them to get in modern sector wage employment and will also influence the type of jobs they take and the salaries they earn.

Table 7 gives information on the type of educational certificate respondents had received. Three per cent of the respondents had two years of secondary education while 31 per cent had form four level certificate. Diploma and degree holders were 14 and 5 per cent respectively. Other skills included

training in food technology, tailoring, secretarial, data entry and administrative training.

Table 7: Highest Certificate Received

Certificate	Per cent
None	2
Primary Level Certificate	8
Form 2 Certificate	3
Form 4 Certificate	31
Form 6 Certificate	26
Diploma	14
Degree	5
Post Graduate	1
Others	8

Source: Survey Data, 1993

Looking at Table 8 on female educational level by type of industry, banking had the most educated females at all levels of education. The textile industry recorded a lower number of female employees beyond secondary level of education. In the food industry, there were fourteen women who had completed four years of secondary education.

The study found out that promotion depended mainly on on-the-job training and partly on formal training. The formal training included computer operation particularly in the banks, tailoring in the textile and food technology in the food industry.

Table 8: Female Educational Level by Industry (Actual Number)

Education	Food	Textile	Banking	Total	%
Primary	4	5	3	12	8
Secondary	14	8	25	47	31
Diploma	4	2	15	21	14
Other training	2	5	5	12	8
Degree Level	1	0	7	8	5
Post Graduate	0	0	3	3	2

Source: Survey Data

The bank workers emphasised the importance of computer training. Selection for training depended mainly on the relevant department and experience. It was interesting to note that short-term training opportunities have increased for women both in the private and public sectors. The short-

term training includes computer training, data analysis, office practice and language skills.

In the food processing industries promotion of the middle-level staff depended on attendance of short courses on Food Technology while for the unskilled workers, experience played an important role. In the garment industry, the main training mentioned was on-the-job training and short courses on garment cutting, design and embroidery.

Education per se is a necessary but not a sufficient factor for female participation in employment. The type of education and training is of great significance. Research documents on the concentration of females in arts related subjects abound.

Female drop out rates at lower levels of education affects their performance in the labour market. At the university level, females tend to concentrate on arts-related subjects. Thus, in the labour market, since they lack the necessary skills and expertise they can not effectively compete with males in certain fields. It is only through change of attitude in the educational system that gender segregation in the labour market can be controlled.

The modern job market has become so competitive that "O" or "A" level certificate is not enough. Unlike in the recent past, getting the university degree is no longer a guarantee for securing employment. Relevant training accompanied by experience, and additional skills training (e.g. computer, different languages) are very important factors for employers. This study found out that most of the women employed in the two sectors under review were either in the middle level or unskilled labour category. Thus education determines not only the type of job but also salary levels and career development.

Total Number of Children

It has been hypothesised that total number of children negatively affects the woman's participation in the paid wage employment. This implies that the woman will not perform her duties well because she has to take care of the children particularly when they are very young.

Table 9 gives a picture of the average number of children of respondents by level of education. The data reveals that the lower the educational level of the woman, the more likely she is to have a larger number of children.³ Thus women with primary level education had an average of six children. Compared to those with degree who have an average of only two.

The skilled workers had an average number of three children compared to five for the unskilled workers. The unskilled workers are generally likely to have large number of children and their husbands are also likely to be unskilled and have less income earning opportunities.

Table 9: Average Number of Children by Level of Education

Level of Education	Average No. of Children
Primary	6
Secondary	5
Diploma	3
Degree	2

Source: Survey Data, 1993.

Due to the low levels of education of the unskilled women, they are not likely to have alternative job opportunities. Policy, therefore, has to note that determinants of women participation in wage employment will very depending on whether the women is skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled.

Table 10: Preference to More Children

	Value	Frequency	Per cent
Yes	1	72	46.7
No	2	80	53.3
Total		100	100.0

Source: Survey Data, 1993.

The respondents were asked whether they wanted more children. Almost half the respondents said that they would like to have more children. This was mainly respondents with primary levels of education and those who had not completed higher levels of education. This confirms the strong relationship between education and fertility.

Table 11: Assess to Housemaid

	Value	Frequency	Per cent
Yes	1	109	73
No	2	41	27
Total		150	100

Source: Survey Data, 1993

The results indicated that 73 per cent of the respondents had housemaids who are able to carry out the domestic and child care duties while the women workers were out on paid jobs. The maids normally migrate from the rural areas. Most of the maids had to leave school for various reasons such as lack of money for school fees or the need for extra family income.

This study found that the salaries of maids ranges from Ksh. 300/- to Ksh. 1,500/- per month as seen on table 12.

In some cases where the house girl is a relative, the salary can also be given in terms of kind. The respondents stated that they got the maids mainly through asking relatives and friends. The salaries of maids was much higher in cases where the employment bureau was involved in getting the maid employment.

Table 12: Amount of Money Paid to the Maid Per Month

Amount in Kenya Shillings	Respondents (%)
300	15
400	8
500	9
600	8
700	8
800	12
900	10
1000	15
1500	15

Source: Survey Data, 1993.

Their length of stay with a particular employer depended mainly on the amount paid, the workload and the good relationship with the employer. There needs to be further research on the conditions of work for maids, their income levels and their relationship with employers.

In the urban areas, it is becoming increasingly difficult to get female relatives who can help with domestic work and childcare mainly due to the weakening of extended family systems. Working mothers have to employ "ayahs" (Swahili word for child carers) either through domestic services bureau or through their networks.

Salary

The salary levels of respondents varied from industry to industry. The banks recorded higher levels of salaries with a range of between KSh. 5,880 and KSh. 21,297 per month (1 US \$ = Approx. KSh. 70 as at 1993 in 1995 US \$ = Approx. KSh 55). Banks also recorded higher levels of the skilled and middle level workers. In the service sector, salaries ranged from KSh. 2,000 to KSh. 12,000. The lower income earners were the unskilled who were mainly working as messengers and those who were involved in packing in the food processing industries.

Trade Union

The study found out that women have not been active members of trade unions in the industries sampled. General lack of awareness to the objectives and purpose of trade unions seem to hinder the participation of women in trade unions (Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13: Membership in Trade Union

		Frequency	Per cent
Yes	1	30	20
No	2	120	80

Source: Survey Data, 1993

Table 14: Reasons For Not Joining Trade Union

Reasons	Per cent
Not Aware	60
Not Aware of Benefits	15
Not Interested	15
No Response	10

Source: Survey Data, 1993

It is only in trade unions that women can discuss the grievances directly affecting them and be in a position to reach an understanding with the employers. In few cases where women were registered in trade unions, they participated at very low levels or were simply passive members. Trade Unions would help women look into their salaries and issues related to their reproductive duties affecting their job participation.

Employers assume that since women do not actively participate in trade unions, they have no complaints. However, with the increase in level of education and general awareness more women are likely to join and actively participate in trade unions. More research is needed in this area to look into ways to enhance women membership and active participation in trade union organizations.

Hours of Work

The study found out that the average hours of work was eight per day. Hours of work is an important determinant for participation in the modern sector since it affects income levels, leisure and the general well-being. It has been argued that the participation of women in the modern sector has been low possibly due to the strict working hours. Given women's child care responsibilities and domestic chores, they prefer to work under conditions that are not too strict. For instance, in most countries in Africa, women have joined the informal sector in large numbers due to ease of entry and the flexibility of working hours. In the informal sector, they are in a position to combine some child responsibilities with work.

The 1986 Urban Labour Force Survey found out that in Urban areas, women spend 27 hours per week in household production compared to 10 hour for men. Women spend an average of 46 hours per week in paid employment compared to 50 hours for men.

Women in the urban areas have a longer total work week of 73 hours compared to 60 hours for men (Republic of Kenya 1988). The current labour force surveys found out that Kenyan women work long hours per day and more hours per week in unpaid domestic production than men in both the rural and urban areas.

8.1 Factors Affecting the Demand for Female Workers

The study found out that most employers prefer male to female workers. If an employer has a strong belief that a woman is likely to be less qualified and unstable more than the male employee, then he will discriminate against the woman.

Pregnancy

Most employers admitted that they do not employ female workers for fear of childbirth and pregnancy resulting in maternity leave and additional cost for the firm in terms of time lost. As mentioned above, the frequency of pregnancy can affect productivity. Employers fear the cost of maternity leave and replacements. They also felt that childbirth, is likely to be affect woman's work because of their child care responsibilities.

Maternity Leave

According to the Employment Act No, 2 of 1976, "A woman employee shall be entitled to two months maternity pay provided that a woman who has taken two months maternity leave shall forfeit her annual leave that year" (Butterfield 1977). This study found out from the employers that maternity leave is one of the main factors hindering women's affective participation in employment. Employers particularly in the private sector feel that it is more expensive to hire a woman than a man for the same position mainly because:

- i) Women employees are entitled to two months maternity leave with full pay.
- ii) Time is lost due to frequent maternity leave thus lowering female productivity and the rate of female advancement.

The employers interviewed felt that if maternity leave is taken so frequently then productivity is bound to be affected. Their main concern was the cost of bearing the maternity leave. Others felt that women are less likely to be more productive and their rate of absenteeism was likely to increase after childbirth.

Absenteeism

Closely related to pregnancy is therefore the issue of women being absent from their jobs. Due to their domestic responsibilities, women are likely to take leave more often than men. Married women in particular take leave from office to breast-feed, to take care of sick child or sick relatives. They explained that from past experience, women tend to ask for permission to be absent from office more often than men. This is mainly due to their child-related responsibilities. Furthermore, women who are married always seek transfers to join their husbands as the husbands move on the job.

The employers noted that single women do not take leave as often as married female workers. However, three employers noted that male workers do take leave more often than women. In their opinion women concentrate and follow employment rules better than men. This study did not investigate the issue.

Table 15: Main Reasons for Employers' Preference of Male Employees

Reasons	Per cent
Maternity Leave	40
Absenteeism	30
Occupational segregation	15
Cultural attitudes	15

Source: Survey Data, 1993

Protective Legislation

The study found out that women do not work at night in the industries. Women's employment during the night is prohibited particularly in underground work, lifting heavy loads dangerous to health. These are spelt out by the ILO standards and Conventions. These laws affect women and give men a better chance of working in a capital intensive industry.

Occupational Segregation

Women in the wage employment are confined to low status and low paying jobs with very little or no options for advancement. Butterfield (1977)

emphasises that employers in banks and financial institutions felt that women are not interested in 'thinking jobs' and prefer being secretaries and clerks. These positions can be well paying in terms of salaries but difficult to build a career in the long run. As we have seen from the study, family commitments can interfere with women's career development.

However, it is worth noting that most jobs taken by women are extensions of their domestic roles and are normally found at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. These were jobs such as secretarial typing, cooking, dressmaking, telephone operator, cleaners and messengers. Jobs that were mentioned as suiting men were more technical such as engineer, manager, accountant, doctor. Such cultural beliefs negatively affect women's participation in employment. Women themselves also believe that there are certain jobs that suit them. This affects their aspirations and career development.

Table 16: Opinions of Male Employees About Their Women Colleagues and Their Work.

Reasons	Per cent
Are the weaker sex	30
Should do light jobs	30
Should not work at night	25
Should stay at home and manage the family	15

Source: Survey Data, 1993

Discussions with male employees revealed that they have perceptions that female employees are the weaker sex and should be protected by not doing heavy work and night work. Socio-cultural factors those affect the participation of women in certain managerial jobs and their upward mobility.

However, attitudes are changing with improvements of the educational levels of women and greater awareness in the society. Women are currently gradually venturing into fields such as engineering, electronics, medicine and computer science which were traditionally considered male fields.

Table 17 gives details on female employees by job classification in the food industry. Out of the 39 women interviewed, 10 were involved in packing of food, 8 were clerks and 6 were typists. There was only one woman at the supervisory level.

Table 17: Number of Female Employees by Job Classification in the Food Industry

Messenger	4
Telephone Operator	2
Tea Girls	2
Clerks	8
Typist	6
Packing	10
Secretary	4
Supervisor	1
Administrator	2
Total	39

Source: Survey Data, 1993

In the textile industry, most women were in the semi skilled (13) and skilled tailors.

Table 18: Number of Female Employees by Job Classification in the Textile Industry

Messenger	2
Telephone Operator	1
Tea Girls	1
Typist	4
Secretary	3
Semi Skilled Tailors	13
Skilled Tailors	10
Sales Girls	3
Supervisor	1
Total	38

Source: Survey Data, 1993

The banking industry, as had been noted earlier, had more educated females than either the garment or the food industry. Yet, despite having women represented at higher levels, there was still a heavy concentration at the lower level (Table 19).

Table 19: Number of Female Employees by Job Classification in the Banking Industry

Telephone Operator	5
Messenger	10
Clerks	7
Tellers/Cashiers	7
Typist	6
Secretary	25
Computer Operators	6
Administrators	4
Assistant Managers	2
Managers	1
Total	73

Source: Survey Data, 1993

In summary, there are various factors from both the supply and demand side that have affected the full participation of women in both the industry and service sectors. Their participation and status in the labour force can only be improved through policy that addresses and aims to rectify factors contributing to their low participation.

8.2 Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This study has attempted to identify some of the factors hindering women's participation in industry and service sectors. The position of women in industries can only be changed when there are changes in the models of industrial development and organization of industrial production. This requires balanced development planning and policies aimed at maximizing utilization of national resources.

The study confirmed that the factors that affect women's participation in the industry and service sectors are low level of education, marital status, prohibitive laws, reproductive responsibilities, and socio cultural attitudes.

Since women have lower levels of education compared to men, they cannot effectively compete in the labour market. Furthermore, due to the cultural practices and beliefs, women tend to specialise in feminine fields.

Employers are biased against female employees and prefer males to females because of fear of maternity costs, absenteeism and transfers due to marriage.

As a result of the above-mentioned factors, female workers are likely to lose job opportunities. Many countries have standard periods of maternity leave and other special benefits for women. It is these benefits that lead to the high cost of employing women. There is, therefore, a situation where the same legislation aimed at protecting women ends up depressing their wages and discouraging their employment (World Development, 1995).

Discrimination Against Women

Women face discrimination in the labour market. Policies designed to protect women from job discrimination are often very difficult to implement. It is worth noting that the women themselves also have to change their attitudes with regard to occupational segregation. Equalizing education opportunities alone is not a sufficient fact, but change of attitudes for both males and females will play an important factor in improving the status of women's employment.

Setting up of minimum wages can be negative or positive depending on the effect it has on employment, the labour market structure, the level at which the minimum is set, and the government's ability to implement it (World Development, 1995). If the labour market is fully competitive, minimum wage will always reduce employment. On the other hand, if employers have some powers, then increasing minimum wage may raise employment. Furthermore, minimum wage may not help protect the most poverty-stricken workers in developing countries for the urban formal worker which minimum wage legislation attempts to protect earns more than the less favoured majority. Since this issue of minimum wage legislation was beyond the scope of this study, it would be an important area for research.

Moreover, during this challenging period of structural adjustment programmes, women's empowerment can only be realised through their improved employment status. Factors affecting women's employment have to be addressed so that they are able to participate fully in wage employment and be able to adjust to the economic complexities.

Policy should address the impact of SAPs on women since given their different roles in society they are more likely to be negatively affected than men. More research is required on gender disaggregated impact assessment and labour mobility of women during SAPs.