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This study examines the role of the Ivorian woman in the modern sector of the economy of Ivory Coast. Ivorian women from most ethnic groups come from a long tradition of independent economic activity, but their number in the salaried labor force is small. Three factors impede success of the Ivorian woman in modern business and government. First is the problem of transition from traditional African village culture to the life of a modern industrial society. Second is the difficulty of reconciling biological and social demands of the family education of girls and of boys. This study analyzes the barriers which restrain the entry of women into the labor force and explores the factors associated with the success of the few women who have achieved in the higher levels of business and government.

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The Economic Role of the Ivorian Woman

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ABSTRACT

The Economic Role of the Ivorian Woman

Although Ivorian women from most ethnic groups come from a long tradition of independent economic activity, the number of women found in the salaried labor force is still very small. Based on statistics of employment and education and on the author's own interviews with Ivorian women working in the modern sector, this study is an examination in detail of the role of the Ivorian woman in the modern sector. Its aim is to analyse those barriers which restrain the entry of women into the labor force, and to explore the factors associated with success for the women in the higher echelons of business and government today.

* * *

Bien que les femmes ivoiriennes de la plupart des groupes ethniques appartiennent à une vieille tradition d'activité économique indépendante, on en trouve encore très peu occupant des emplois salariés. Cette étude basée sur des statistiques sur l'emploi et l'éducation et sur les interviews par l'auteur de femmes ivoiriennes travaillant dans le secteur moderne, examine en détail le rôle de la femme ivoirienne dans ce même secteur. Celle a pour but d'analyser les barrières qui freinent l'entrée des femmes dans le monde du travail salarié, et d'explorer les facteurs ayant été associés avec succès pour les femmes aux échelons supérieurs des affaires et du gouvernement à l'heure actuelle.

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Introduction

Ivorian women from most ethnic groups come from a long tradition of independent economic activity. Yet the number of women found in the salaried labor force is very small. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine in detail the role of the Ivorian woman in the modern sector of the economy; to analyse those barriers which restrain the entry of women into the labor force; and to explore the factors associated with success for the few women in the higher echelons of business and government.

Women make up approximately 50 percent of the population and hence an important potential labor supply at all levels. The national goal of Ivorization of at least the upper and middle levels of the labor force means that there is in some sense an excess demand for Ivorian labor of either sex. The number of foreign women working in the higher echelons of the private sector means that there is scope for increasing the number of Ivorian women in what are already generally considered to be "women's jobs". In so far as this does not require a fundamental change in notions of appropriate sexual roles it provides an easy path for the expansion of the role of the Ivorian woman. Finally, greater numbers of women are now being educated and the next decade will probably witness a considerable increase in the number of qualified women offering their services on the labor market.

It is important therefore to look at where in the modern sector Ivorian women are found, in what sorts of positions, and in what numbers. It is also important to take note of their position relative to that of Ivorian men and to that of foreign women. It is important because these women are the pioneers in the modernization of the Ivory Coast and where

they have succeeded, other women will offer their services and be accepted in an expanding economy that is increasingly in the hands of Ivorians themselves.

I: Education and the Ivorian Woman

Positions of responsibility in government and in business are not for the uneducated, whether male or female. Of all the factors which have inhibited the attainment of these positions by Ivorian women, lack of education is the most important. In order to understand why the Ivorian woman for the most part has not received the necessary schooling to enable her to qualify for important positions it is necessary to examine both the traditional attitudes toward the education of girls and the basic structure of the Ivorian educational system.

City life with its accompanying quasi-European life-style is a relatively new phenomenon in the Ivory Coast. Abidjan, the capital city, was little more than a village in 1945 and at the time of independence was only a modest city of 300,000 people. Thus any women over 30 received most of their education and professional preparation at a time when life was dominated by the values and customs of the traditional village. Even today in a time of rapid urban growth and modernization people in the cities maintain close ties with their native villages and the values of traditional Africa mingle with those of an imported European culture.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine the attitudes of the African village toward the education of girls in order to understand the forces which both constrained and encouraged the development of the professional woman in the Ivory Coast today.

In traditional African society the purpose of a woman's life was the continuation of the species. Motherhood was her most important function

in life and the birth of children brought with it status and a place in society. Training for motherhood began early in life as the small girl assumed the care of younger siblings. This apprenticeship in motherhood, like an apprenticeship in other fields, had two aspects. One was educative as the girl learned from her mother or her aunts how to take care of a child. The other was service-oriented as she performed a necessary task within the family. The service aspect was time-consuming as African families tend to be large. As one sibling outgrew the need for constant care another would take its place. The school for motherhood was considered so central to a girl's proper education that other schools paled in importance beside it. Since child-care made so many demands on a girl's time it frequently left little opportunity to learn the less critical skills of reading and writing. In a conflict between the two forms of education the parents chose the type of education which they thought would bring their child the greatest benefit in adult life.

Women in African villages have many tasks to perform. Their role extends beyond the cleaning of the house and the preparing of food. Although the men do the heavy work of clearing land, it is the women who grow the food for the family and who take to market any surplus which may exist beyond the family's needs. The young girl, both for the purpose of her own education and as a service to the family must help her mother in these occupations. Her ability as a farmer and her skill in bargaining in the market place were critical to the success of her adult life. Thus the time available for her to pursue a formal education was minimal.

There were other factors in village life which mitigated against education for girls. One of these was poverty. Even when schools were free, books and uniforms were not. If the resources of the family were

not sufficient to send all of the children to school it was the boys who were chosen. Education was not viewed as consumption item, something to broaden the horizons and thus enrich the inner life of the person who received it. On the contrary it was regarded as an investment in the future earning power of the child. It was the necessary prerequisite for a high-paying, prestige-giving position in the Europeanized world of the cities. To make this kind of investment in a girl who would be tied to the home by pregnancy and child-care would be a waste of the family's resources.

The relationship of the educational system, frequently in the hands of missionaries, to traditional village life was also important in the decision of whether or not to send girls to school. Formal education was viewed, quite rightly, as a foreign invasion of the traditional village. A new way of life, new values, frequently a new religion, were taught in the schools. To send a child there was to submit him to unknown influences. The African villagers, like many other people in the world, showed more conservatism in the upbringing of their daughters than in that of their sons.

The villagers sometimes attributed to the schools the qualities which they feared the most. The schools were thought of by some as places of moral perversion where the children would learn not to respect their parents and their families; where the girls would learn vulgar ways of speech; and where their daughters would associate with boys who would make them pregnant at an early age.

Even elementary schools were frequently far from the child's home and attending high school almost certainly entailed boarding in the city.

Thus a major part of the child's life would be spent in an alien world far from the traditional influences of the family. In most cultures it is the women who transmit traditional values and customs from one generation to another. The African villagers were wise. They knew that if their daughters were not brought up in the traditional ways that those ways would be lost forever.

In spite of the many obstacles some girls did go to school. However many of them dropped out after two or three years. The pressures on them both at home and at school were intense. At home they still had to perform their traditional tasks which left little time for them to study and prepare their lessons. At school they were frequently laughed at and derided by the boys whenever they spoke in class. Perhaps most important to the high drop-out rate for girls was the fact that most African children, of both sexes, started school quite late, perhaps at the age of eight or nine. This meant that the girls had very few years of education before the onset of puberty and the accompanying problem of pregnancy or of avoiding pregnancy. In either case the solution was to leave school. Early marriages or even preparation for marriage often necessitated abandoning school after the first few years.

A few girls proceeded undaunted through the educational system and pursued subsequent careers in government and business. Their success, however, does not necessarily represent a triumph of European over African values. Within the African villages, at the same time that there were many forces mitigating against formal education for girls, there was a tradition of a certain kind of liberty and economic independence for women. A western education can, therefore be viewed as merely a European path to a traditional African goal. For the African socio-economic system not only

allowed, but frequently required, women to be economically independent,

The source of this freedom and independence was the place of the wife in the African family system. While a girl's first marriage was usually arranged by her parents, in many ethnic groups her virginity was considered hers to lose, when, where, and with whom she pleased. Thus it was not necessary to keep a girl at home under the close surveillance of her family during those years which would be important for her apprenticeship in agriculture and commerce. There can be little doubt that the Ivorian girl's freedom of movement in those years before marriage contributed to her sense of independence in adult life.

After marriage her ties with her own family remained strong and close. After a quarrel with her husband a woman could always go to her parent's house and stay there until her husband came with sufficient gifts to persuade her to return home. Throughout her life she felt an obligation to help her parents if they needed it. Since in most cases there were already many demands on her husband's income it usually had to be with her own earnings that she helped her parents.

Much of the African woman's need for independence came from her position within her husband's family. At some time between the beginning of the payment of the bride-price and the birth of the second or third child the wife would leave her parent's house and go to live with her husband. However her position in his family would remain one of an outsider. The practice of polygamy greatly reduced any one wife's share of her husband's income and the extended-family system, with its reciprocal obligations, placed even further demands on the income of the husband. Divorce was frequent and many women had several husbands in the course of a life-time. Therefore if a woman wanted to assure a reasonable livelihood for herself

and her children, as well as provide support for her parents in their old age, she had to rely largely on her own efforts.

As African society created the need for economic independence among women it also provided the means, subsistence agriculture and small scale commerce, by which that independence could be achieved.

Thus when an African family chose to educate its daughters in a formal school and when a few families encouraged their daughters to go on to study law or medicine, they were not really making a break with the past in terms of a desired role for women. African women have always worked and contributed their share to the support of their families. It was only the nature of the occupations that changed with the increasing Europeanization of Ivorian life.

The fact remains that formal education for Ivorian girls began much later than for boys and has proceeded at a slower pace. However, part of the reason for this may be that the traditional economic occupations for African women are more in accord with a woman's biological and social role than are the occupations of the modern industrialized world, which require a formal education. A woman may tie her baby to her back and take him out to the igrname fields with her or set him down on a mat beside her vegetable stall in the market place. But modern offices, shops and factories do not offer the same possibilities for combining the roles of mother and wage-earner.

In the years since independence as the cities grew in size and as industrialization and modernization occurred at a rapid pace, an increasing number of parents made the decision to prepare their daughters as well as their sons for careers in the modern world. The number of schools,

the number of students, and the number of girls in each class all increased.

One very important aspect of the educational system in the Ivory Coast has been its funnel-like nature, where drop-out rates after each year are very high for boys and, in most cases, higher still for girls. Of the boys who began their education in 1961-62 only 3 percent had reached the classe terminale by 1973-74 and of the girls who started at the same time only one percent were in terminale in 1973-74.

It will be illustrative therefore to follow the progress of the students who began CP1 in 1961-62 in order to examine how the obstacles to education for girls were reflected in drop-out rates and changing sex-ratios in the various classes (see Table I).

At the beginning of the school year 1961-62, 90,325 students were enrolled in CP1, but only thirty-one percent of them were girls. After the first year thirty percent of the boys and twenty-five percent of the girls dropped out, reducing the number of students in CP2 to 64,603. This is the only time during the course of their education that the drop-out rate was substantially higher for boys than for girls. The higher rate for boys is probably due to the fact that once the somewhat unusual decision was made to send a girl to school, the initial commitment on the part of both the girl and her parents was relatively strong.

Because of the late age for starting school in the Ivory Coast, the problems of puberty, pregnancy, and marriage were reflected in a considerably higher drop-out rate for girls than for boys in CE1 and CE2. Twenty percent of the girls left school after CE1 as opposed to eleven percent of the boys and ten percent of the girls left after CE2 in contrast with only two percent of the boys.

Between CM1 and CM2 the number of boys actually increased by seventeen percent. This was probably due to the fact that many jobs required six years of education so the class was enlarged by repeaters, some doing the year for the third or fourth time in order to get the necessary prerequisite for their desired occupation. In the same year however the girls, who were doubtless less career-oriented, dropped-out at the rate of five percent.

Once the plateau of six years of education had been reached seventy-two percent of the students left the formal education system. It is interesting to note that while the girls were starting from a lower base, 11,617 girls as compared with 37,089 boys, the same percentage of each sex regarded their schooling as completed at that time. Thus it was a greatly reduced class, 10,400 boys and 3,202 girls that entered sixième in 1967.

Many of the girls who embarked on their secondary education, however, must have found it impossible to continue. Twenty-five percent of them left after sixième whereas only two percent of the boys left school at that time. After cinquième and quatrième the drop-out rate continues to be higher for girls than for boys. Seventeen percent of the girls left school after cinquième and sixteen percent left after quatrième as opposed to eleven and ten percent respectively for the boys.

Again, after the attainment of another educational plateau, the completion of the premier cycle, approximately, the same percentage of boys and girls made the decision to embark on the deuxième cycle. Sixty-one percent of the boys and sixty percent of the girls left school after troisième. Within the deuxième cycle the drop-out rate was nearly the

same for boys and girls with sixteen percent of the boys and seventeen percent of the girls leaving after deuxième and eight percent of the boys and seven percent of the girls leaving after première. Thus the few girls who reached the level of the deuxième cycle must have been a highly motivated, intellectual elite, who kept pace with their male counterparts.

Thus, during the thirteen years of primary and secondary school the percentage of girls in the class which began CP1 in 1961 fell from a high of 33 percent in CP2, to 25 percent in sixième, to seventeen percent in all three years of the deuxième cycle.

It must be noted, however, that while foreign girls made up an insignificant percentage of the girls in primary school and only one-seventh of the girls at the level of the premier cycle, they accounted for approximately one-third of the girls enrolled at the level of the deuxième cycle. Therefore the figures given exaggerate the number of Ivorian girls who actually reached terminale. On the other hand some Ivorian girls at this level were the recipients of government scholarships to study in France and therefore are not included in the statistics mentioned above. Yet they will return to form an important part of the educated elite of the Ivory Coast. Many other Ivorian girls who left their formal academic education after completion of the premier cycle went on to other forms of professional training from which they will enter the skilled labor market.

In the years since independence, the school system has broadened its base considerably although the funnel-like nature of the system has persisted. Enrollment has increased by 23 percent in CP1; by 53 percent in CM2; by 685 percent in troisième and by 902 percent in terminale (see Table 2).

At the same time that total enrollment has grown, the ratio of girls to boys in each of the classes from CPI to troisième has increased. The most dramatic changes occurred in sixième, cinquième, and quatrième where girls as a percentage of total enrollment increased from fourteen to 27 percent in sixième, from thirteen to 23 percent in cinquième and from fourteen to 27 percent in quatrième.

With the foundation and expansion of the University of Abidjan in the years since independence an increasing number of Ivorian women are being educated there. In 1966-67 there were only 31 Ivorian women students. Fourteen of them were in the Ecole des Lettres; two were in the Ecole de Droit; and fifteen were in the Ecole des Sciences. However in the intervening years both the number of Ivorian women and their percentage of the total enrollment has undergone a steady increase (see Table 3). By the academic year 1974-75, 499 Ivorian girls were attending the University. One hundred and twenty of them were studying law; 40 were in economics; 50 were in medicine; 46 were in science; 220 were in humanities; and 23 were in the Institute of Technology. Ivorian women thus accounted for thirteen percent of the total Ivorian enrollment (see Table 4).

French universities and schools of higher education, however, continue to be an important training ground for Ivorians. However, it has not been possible to obtain statistics on the number of girls who are recipients of government scholarships.

It is clear that in the past very few Ivorian women have received a sufficient education to prepare them for positions of responsibility in government and business. The traditions of African family and village life; the distance and the cost of schools; and the funnel-like nature of the educational system have all been forces mitigating against the education of girls.

In the year since independence, however, considerable changes have been made. Village attitudes toward the education of girls are changing. As more and more people move to the cities they seek a modern instead of a traditional education for their daughters as well as for their sons. The growth of urban areas also means that an increasing number of people live within a reasonable distance of a school. Rising income levels in the Ivory Coast mean that more people are able to afford books and uniforms for children of both sexes. Thus the future will undoubtedly bring a significant increase in the number of qualified women offering their services on the labor market.

II. A. The Ivorian Woman in the Civil Service (Fonction Publique)

In the Ivory Coast, as in many other countries, the civil service plays an important part in changing the role of women. Many women, as well as men, aspire to the prestigious and secure positions which it offers. Unlike private business, where age-old prejudices against hiring women for responsible positions may persist, the civil service is bound more by modern laws than ancient custom. Because Ivorization is not yet complete in the higher echelons of the private sector, the civil service plays an especially important role in the opportunities which it offers to Ivorians of both sexes.

In the civil service the laws of the land against discrimination are largely followed. Qualified women are hired and receive the same salaries as men in similar positions. While some women have reported having had difficulty gaining acceptance by their male colleagues, this phenomenon seems to be more the exception than the rule.

In an examination of the sex-structure of the Civil Service (see Table 5) one finds very few women at the highest level, that requiring a

university education. However it is interesting to note that approximately nine percent of the employees at this level are women and that during the years from 1966 to 1975 the number of girls as a percent of total Ivorian enrollment in the University has ranged from five to thirteen percent. Thus it would seem that women are employed in responsible positions in the civil service at approximately the same rate that they are educated at the university. A woman is Secrétaire Général de l'Université. There are women doctors, lawyers, University professors and engineers. Women are also found at the level of Chef de Cabinet and Directors of Departments in some of the Ministries. Their numbers are few but important precedents have been set.

Over a thousand women are found in the second category of the civil service, that for which a Bac or its equivalent in specialized training is required. In this category women account for fourteen percent of the labor force. Unlike the women in category A who occupy positions which might generally be considered to be in the masculine domain, the women in category B occupy what are generally considered to be women's jobs: Principal Secretary (Secrétaire de Direction), Social Worker (Assistant Social), Mid-wife, Laboratory Technician, Physical Education Instructor, and Nurse.

It is interesting to note, however, the extent to which world stereotypes, regarding sex-roles are violated in the Ivory Coast. Thirty-one percent of the Secrétaires de Direction and 75 percent of the Infirmiers are, in fact, men. At the lower levels of Secretaries and Typists one also finds that a substantial percentage of them are men.

The largest number of women, 2000, are found in category C of the civil service. It should be noted however, that this is the largest

category for both sexes. Women are found in basically the same occupations in this category as they are in category B but at lower skill levels such as Assistant Physical Education Instructor, Social Work Aide, Secretary, Typist, and Nurse in the Corps Transitoire des Infirmiers Brevetés.

There are 1,555 women in category D of the civil service. The vast majority of them are typists (see Tables 5 and 6). In observing the sex-structure of the civil service it is interesting to notice that although women make up only a small percentage of the total employees, nine percent in category A, fourteen percent in category B, twelve percent in category C, fifteen percent in category D, and zero percent in category E, they are distributed throughout the various levels of the civil service in approximately the same percentage as are men (see Table 8). Six percent of the men working for the civil service and four percent of the women are found in category A. Nineteen percent of the men and 25 percent of the women are in category B. Forty-three percent of the men and 42 percent of the women are in category C. Twenty-eight percent of the men and 33 percent of the women are in category D. Five percent of the men and none of the women are in category E. This highly comparable distribution of men and women throughout the civil service would indicate that while women are a minority among the employees, they are not a minority which is discriminated against. If they were, the percentage of men would be much greater than that of women at the higher professional levels and the percentage of women would be much greater at the lower professional levels. Thus one can make a strong case for the assertion that when women have appropriate qualifications for a position their professional opportunities are comparable to those of men.

II. B. The Ivorian Woman in the Private Sector

In the Ivory Coast, as throughout West Africa, it has been the woman who have traditionally filled the market places, selling the fruits and vegetables that they have grown, and in general dominating the small-scale retail trade. However, this role has not been translated into an equivalent position for women in the modern sector.

Ivorian women make up only two percent of the salaried labor force in the Ivory Coast and only one percent of the labor force at the higher levels, those of Direction or Cadre and Technicien.

In considering these figures, however, it is important to bear in mind that Ivorians as a whole make up only 42 percent of the total labor force with the higher ranks being supplemented primarily by Europeans and the lower rank being supplemented primarily by Africans from the neighboring, poorer countries. Thus it is only in the middle-ranks of the employment categories and as apprentices that Ivorians make up more than 50 percent of the labor force.

According to official statistics,¹ within the primary sector there are only 53 Ivorian women out of a salaried labor force of 30,022. In the secondary sector there are 862 Ivorian women out of 48,202 salaried workers. It is in the tertiary sector that the percentage of Ivorian women is the highest with 1,191 Ivorian women out of a total labor force of 43,101.

In the private sector as a whole, the greatest number of women, like the greatest number of men, is found at the middle levels of employment (see Table 9). Only 65 women are officially listed as directors of enterprises.

¹/ The writer's personal knowledge of Ivorian women working in the private sector indicates that the non-response rate to the questionnaire administered by the Office National de Formation Professionnelle must have been high.

Of these 26 are found in the agricultural sector where they own and manage small commercial plots raising crops for industrial use or for exportation. In the secondary sector there are only six women at the director level, three of whom are in the manufacture of textiles and clothing. The tertiary sector, however, has 33 women as directors of enterprises, the majority of whom are in commerce.

At the level of cadre and technicien the total number of women falls to fourteen, twelve of whom are in the tertiary sector. It should be noted, however, that the total number of Ivorian men working at the level of cadre and technicien is also very small and that Ivorians of both sexes make up only fifteen percent of the total population of this category which has traditionally been the domain of foreigners. At the level of maitrise the number of Ivorian women increases to 139, the majority of whom are in administrative positions in the tertiary sector. Similarly at the level of employée, category 5 or above, most of the 574 women employed are found in the tertiary sector. However, at this level an even greater number are found in commerce than in administration.

The largest number of Ivorian women, as well as the largest number of Ivorian men, are found at the level of employée categories 3 and 4. At this level, where 799 women are employed, the number of women in the primary sector continues to be insignificant but the number found in the secondary sector is almost as large as that found in the tertiary. Although women at this level are employed throughout the secondary sector, the greatest number are found in the Industries de Conservation et de Préparation Alimentaire and the Industries de Textile et de l'Habillement. In the tertiary sector the greatest number are found in commerce. At the level of manoeuvre 501 women are employed and the majority of these are found in

the secondary sector, primarily in the Industries de Textile et de l'Habillement (see Table 9).

The percentage of Ivorian women relative to the total number of Ivorian employees in the private sector is highest at the level of maitrise (seven percent of the Ivorian employees in private business and industry as a whole and in the tertiary sector alone nine percent). The fact that women account for seventeen percent of Ivorian employees at this level in the agricultural sector should be ignored because the total number of employees at this level is insignificant.

In looking at the percentage of Ivorian women relative to that of Ivorian men at each professional level it is clear how small a role they play in the modern private sector. Even at their level of greatest importance, maitrise, they play a minor role. At the level of direction (management) they account for only two percent of all Ivorian employees. At the levels of cadre and technicien, and employée of all levels women account for four percent of all Ivorians. At the level of manoeuvre et apprentis they account for only three percent.

It is interesting to explore the factors which account for the extraordinarily small role that Ivorian women are playing in the rapidly growing modern private sector of the Ivory Coast economy.

A woman with little education, or none at all, is likely to choose the traditional path of small-scale commerce for a career rather than attempt to surmount the obstacles of language, literacy and uncertainty which are associated with the modern sector. There are clearly many advantages to the traditional path. It is the occupation with which she has probably been familiar since childhood when she accompanied her mother to the market.

It requires no special training and little capital. It is actually more suited to a woman's family and biological role than is a job in the modern sector. She can take her children with her. She can stay home when illness, child-birth, or other family matters make demands on her time. Also, she is self-employed and this must certainly appeal to the independent spirit of African women.

For the highly educated woman the deterrents are different. She is probably married to an at least equally highly educated man who can support her as a lady-of-leisure if she chooses. If she prefers to have a career she will probably find more opportunities, prestige, and security in the public sector where people are paid according to the position they hold and where there is no discount for femininity.

As in the case of the public sector, there is not a great deal of difference in the distribution of Ivorian men by professional rank and that of Ivorian women in the private sector. However, the distribution is slightly more skewed in the case of the private sector.

Five percent of the men and three percent of the women are found at the level of direction, indicating perhaps a somewhat greater sense of entrepreneurship and access to capital among men than among women (see Table 10). Both one percent of the men and one percent of the women are found at the level of cadre and technicien. This is probably the area where education counts the most and sex-discrimination the least. Both of these two highest levels of the private sector have traditionally been the domain of expatriates. Seven percent of the women working in the private sector are found at the level of maitrise and only four percent of the men work at this level. Twenty-seven percent of the women work as employée category 5 or above and 38 percent as employée category one to

four. Twenty-three and 34 percent, respectively, of the men are found in these categories. The fact that the percentage of women found at these levels is higher than that of men is explained by the fact that most middle-level office jobs including secretaries of various qualifications and typists are included in these categories. Thirty-two percent of the men and only 24 percent of the women are found at the lowest level, that of manoeuvre.

Therefore one can conclude that even in the private sector, where women play so small a role, they are not a greatly disadvantaged minority in comparison with Ivorian men.

An analysis of the role of the Ivorian woman in the modern private sector is not complete without reference to her position vis-a-vis foreign women in the Ivory Coast. At the higher professional levels the Ivorian woman accounts for only a small percentage of the female work force. Twenty percent of the women at the level of direction, five percent at the level of cadre and technicien and fifteen percent at the level of maitrise are Ivorian. The great majority of women at these levels are European. However, insofar as fixed notions may exist about a "woman's role" it is possible that these foreign women may ease the way for their Ivorian successors. At the level of employée, category 5 or above Ivorian women constitute nearly half of the female labor force and are still supplemented primarily by European women. However, at the level employée, categories 1 - 4, and manoeuvre Ivorian women make up the overwhelming majority of the female labor force and are supplemented primarily by other Africans (see Table 11).

It is therefore in comparison with European women instead of in comparison with Ivorian men that Ivorian women appear as a disadvantaged minority.

II. C. The Ivorian Woman in the Public and Parapublic Sector.

The secteur public et semi-public includes: les organismes publics à caractère industriel et commercial, les organismes publics multinationaux, les instituts de recherche, les sociétés d'Etat et les sociétés à participation publique. The role of the Ivorian woman in this sector, although still small, varies considerably from her role in the civil service and in the salaried private sector.

Women in this sector account for only one percent of the Ivorians found at the level of management. However, eight percent of the Ivorian cadres et techniciens, seven percent of the Ivorians at the level of maitrise and eleven percent at the level of employée, category 5 or above, are women. Thus the percentage of Ivorian women at the level of cadre et technicien is double that for the private sector and at the level of employée, category 5 or above, it is almost triple that found in the private sector (see Table 12).

This increase in the number of Ivorian women working at the higher professional levels has an interesting effect on the distribution of Ivorian men and Ivorian women by professional categories (see Table 15). At the management (direction) men maintain a faint advantage with one percent of Ivorian men working at this level and zero percent of Ivorian women. However, only three percent of the men working in this sector are found at the level of cadre et technicien while seven percent of the women are found at the level of maitrise while fourteen percent of the women work at this level. As in the other sectors there is a heavy concentration of women in the middle professional categories. Forty-five percent of the women and only twelve percent of the men work at the level of employée category 5 or above and twenty-three percent of the women and only twelve percent of the men

work at the level of employée, categories 1-4. Greater percentages of the men than of the women work in the lower employment categories. Thus nineteen percent of the men and only three percent of the women work as ouvrier qualifié. Twenty-nine percent of the men and five percent of the women work as ouvrier spécialisé and nineteen percent of the men and only three percent of the women work as manoeuvre (see Table 13).

Thus a higher percentage of the women than of the men in this sector have high-ranking positions. Women therefore emerge as an advantaged minority. Their position vis-à-vis Ivorian men is considerably better here than in either the public or the private sector.

Ivorian women also make up a considerably larger percentage of the female labor force at the higher echelons in this sector than they do in the private sector. In the latter non-African women play by far the largest role, whereas in the Secteur Public et Semi-Public Ivorian women make-up almost half of the female labor force at the three highest levels (see Table 14).

III: The Ivorian Woman in the Upper Echelons of Business and Government:
Characteristics of The Successful Ivorian Woman

In spite of the many obstacles to overcome, there are a few Ivorian women in high positions in the modern sector of the Ivory Coast. In considering the careers of these women it is interesting to explore the factors in their background and in the conduct of their lives which made their success possible.

Therefore in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample of twenty-two women in the upper echelons of business and government. This constitutes a one percent sample of the women officially listed as employed in categories A and B of the Civil Service, and at the level of direction, cadre et technicien and matrise, in both the private sector and the secteur public et semi-public. However, because of the small number of interviews involved, the results must be considered indicative and not definitive.

The successful Ivorian woman comes from a wide variety of geographical regions and ethnic groups. Only two of the twenty-two women interviewed were born in the capital and only six were born in the general region of Abidjan, including the city itself, Grand Bassam and Bingerville. The rest came from a wide variety of up-country towns and villages, with the exception of two women who were Ivorian by marriage only and were born in Guinea and in Cameroon. However, this geographical diversity of origin is undoubtedly related to the fact that all of the women interviewed were at least twenty-five years old and at the time of their birth Abidjan was not the large city which it is today. Future generations of successful Ivorian women, and men as well, will probably be drawn heavily from the Abidjan area.

Ivorian women working in positions of responsibility in business and government come from a wide variety of ethnic groups. Of the twenty native-born Ivorian women interviewed four were Agni, three were Abouré and each of the others came from a different ethnic group. The interesting fact that emerged from a consideration of the ethnic origin of the questioned was that fourteen of them came from matrilineal groups, while only five came from patrilineal groups and one came from a mixed background. However upon consideration of the role that women play in the transmission and use of property in traditional matrilineal societies it is not surprising that these groups should be more inclined to give their daughters the initial educational opportunities that make later careers possible.

The role of missionaries and the importance of mission schools in the educational system of the Ivory Coast that produced today's Ivorian elite is reflected in the fact that fourteen of the women interviewed stated their religion as Catholic. Four were Moslems and there were two non-respondants.

All of today's successful Ivorian women come from families that were out-of-the-ordinary in that they chose to send their daughters to school at a time when that was a relatively unusual course of action. Fourteen of the women interviewed had fathers who had had ten years or more of education and who were doctors, government officials, teachers or pharmacists. The rest had fathers with little education who were farmers, planters or small shop-keepers. However, they must have had sufficient income to buy the necessary school uniforms and books not only for their sons but for their daughters as well. They must also have had a keener perception than many of their contemporaries of the advantages which education could bring.

Initial access to primary education, however was only the first step on the road to a successful career in modern Abidjan. It clearly took a combination of the character of the women themselves during their childhood, with the influences of parents, relatives, and sometimes Catholic sisters, to enable them to persist in their studies as more and more of their contemporaries, especially girls, succumbed to the exigencies of the funnel-like education system and dropped out.

While fourteen out of twenty-two women claimed that their fathers encouraged them to prepare for a career and only ten said that they received encouragement from their mothers, the latter must have had an important influence as a role-model, either positive or negative. Seven of the twenty-two women had mothers who had had ten-years or more of education and who had careers as trained midwives or as teachers. In comparison with the population of the Ivory Coast in general this was a very high percentage of educated mothers and their examples must certainly have influenced their daughters' lives. The rest of the women came from families where the mother had little education or, in most cases, no education at all. Some engaged in small-scale commerce but their primary role was that of wife and mother. Many of these women, however, wanted their daughters to have a better life than they had had and thus encouraged them in the preparation for a successful career.

In the case of the encouragement of both parents several women mentioned that parents knew that they would be better off in their old age if their daughters had successful careers, because sons-in-law were frequently reluctant to help their wife's parents.

Some of the fathers and many of the mothers who had little education themselves withheld specific encouragement from their daughters, not out of

disapproval of the path they had chosen, but because they knew little of careers in the modern sector and thus were not in a position to give advice.

Several women from matrilineal ethnic groups also mentioned the responsibilities of being the eldest sister as a strong motivating force in their pursuit of the necessary educational background for a career. They would have life-long responsibilities toward their younger siblings and thus took seriously the task of preparing themselves for their role.

One factor which all of the women interviewed had in common was initial access to education. Seven claimed French rather than an African language as their mother-tongue and this must have given them an advantage in the early years of primary school. Only seven began their education in Abidjan and one in Dakar and the others were products of up-country primary schools. One of the women interviewed, who subsequently went on to a highly successful career in the private sector, left school with a primary education only. All the others, however, went on to secondary school. Two of the women interviewed began their secondary education in up-country schools but one finished it in Abidjan and the other finished it in France. The others received all of their secondary education in Abidjan, Dakar, or Europe with nine having studied in France and one in Belgium. At the level of études supérieures, seventeen received at least some part of their education in Europe and the rest in Abidjan. Since one woman interviewed studied in France at the secondary level and returned to Abidjan for her études supérieures, it means that of the twenty-one women with a post-primary education eighteen received at least some part of their education in Europe. The cost of this education must have been very high but of the eighteen women who studied in Europe, thirteen said they received

scholarships for part or all of their education there. Only two said that they did not receive any assistance at all, while three did not respond to the question.

Out of the twenty-one women who received a higher education nine studied entirely in France, one Belgium, one in both France and the United States. Seven received part of their higher education in Abidjan and part in France, and three received all of their higher education in Abidjan.

Eleven out of twenty-one women with a higher education studied subjects which have traditionally been "women's fields" such as nursing, midwifery, social work, home economics, education and secrétarire de direction. Ten entered primarily male territory and studied law, administration, finance, and pharmacy. However, it should be noted that the majority of women who received their higher education in what were traditionally women's fields did not subsequently confine themselves to what have traditionally been women's jobs. Instead, they have risen to the level of director of major educational institutions and to high-level positions in the government and in private industry. When asked why they had chosen the fields they did ten of the seventeen women who responded to the question gave answers which indicated that they had had reasonably specific career goals from an early age. Some were influenced by the occupations of one or both of their parents or other close relatives. Others made choices based on their own personal preferences.

Even among the women who gave rather vague responses about the reasons for their educational and career preferences there was a very strong desire to prepare themselves for a career of some sort. Only two women claimed that they would prefer to be simply housewives and mothers. The overwhelming majority replied to the question of why they had chosen to have a career rather than to stay at home with amused incredulity. Most of them

said that they had never even thought of staying at home. Housework was dull and that they wanted to lead an independent and interesting life, and to make money. A few spoke in terms of the needs of the country as a whole saying that wasted professional preparation was a luxury that the Ivory Coast could not afford. Others spoke of financial responsibilities to their families. One lady said that the Ivory Coast was a young country and the social classes were just forming. If you slept now, you condemned generations of your descendants to be laborers.

When asked whether they would advise their daughters, if they had any or could envisage having any, to have a career rather than to stay at home, all but one answered that they would advise their daughters to have a career. The one exception was one of the women who claimed that she herself would prefer to stay at home. She said that she would not advise her daughters either way but would let them choose.

Few women are found at the level of direction or cadre and technicien in the private sector, and four had spent part of their careers in each sector. Two of these said that they obtained their first position through friends. Two worked their way up from initial positions as secretaries. One did not respond to the question. Virtually all of the women who began their careers in the public sector were actively sought for the positions they held, as the Ivory Coast does not waste the talents of its trained people either male or female.

All of the women in the public sector said that they received the same salary that a man of similar qualifications in a similar position would receive. For four of the five women in the private sector the question was not relevant as they were the recipients of profits rather than salaries. The fifth woman said that she received the same salary as would a man.

On the more delicate issue of whether or not they had received the same promotions as a man of comparable skills and ability would receive the answers were not quite unanimous. Twelve women said that they had indeed received the same opportunities and promotions that would have been offered to a man. Three claimed that they had not. There were seven non-respondents to the question. Of the three who claimed that they had not received the same treatment as a man, two were in the public sector and one was in the private sector. Of course it must be noted that the reliability of their answers depended on their own perception of their abilities and of their job performance.

Nine of the women interviewed said that they had encountered special difficulties in the course of their careers because they were women. Twelve said that they had not. There was one non-respondent to the question. The women who claimed to have had difficulties were primarily those who occupied positions in ministries or in businesses where it was highly unusual to have a woman in a position of authority. In most cases their problems lay primarily in obtaining acceptance of their authority by the men working under them. Only a few claimed to have suffered discrimination from their superiors or their colleagues. However, a few said that women had to work especially hard to prove their competence. Only four of the women interviewed had been preceded in their positions by another Ivorian woman.

For the most part the career woman in the Ivory Coast has a different attitude toward her professional life than the European or American woman does. The latter must frequently combat a tradition where the proper role of a wife is to depend on her husband for support while she occupies herself with the tasks of the household and the children. If she devotes a large

percentage of her time to the pursuit of a career she may be thought to be negligent in her obligations to her family. Thus many of today's professional women in Europe and America have rebelled against these restraints by thoroughly rejecting a traditional woman's role, refusing to have children, and if they choose to marry at all, insisting that their husbands share equally in the household tasks.

For Ivorian women the situation is quite different. They come from a centuries-old tradition of economically independent women who have, through their work in agriculture and marketing, contributed significantly to family income. Within this tradition the income-earning activities of women are an integral part of their family responsibilities and are not in conflict with them.

The sophisticated and educated woman of Abidjan is at most one or two generations removed from the traditional life of Africa. While a career in modern Abidjan is less suited to the demands of family life than are traditional economic activities, most modern Ivorian women continue to view their careers as complements to, rather than substitutes for, their roles as wife and mother.

Of the 22 women interviewed all but two were, or had been, married. Two were divorced and one was a widow. All but one of the married women had children and the one exception had only been married for three years.

Sixteen of the twenty married women were married while they were still students but didn't let marriage and even motherhood interfere with their professional preparation. Three women had already embarked on their careers at the time of their marriage. One woman said she wasn't doing anything at the time of her marriage and embarked on her career afterwards. Only one of the married women said that her husband disapproved of her career.

The average number of children for the women interviewed was 2.6. This is probably low for the Ivory Coast in general, and even for Abidjan alone, but it is impossible to make a precise comparison with published demographic figures because the women involved are in different age groups and many have probably not yet completed their families.

Of the nineteen women who had children ten claimed that there were, in fact, difficulties in pursuing their careers and in being mothers at the same time. The problems were those of working women anywhere in the world and consisted of finding enough time to spend with their families; the difficulties of leaving their children when they were sick; and of having to entrust a good part of their children's up-bringing to someone else. However, in the Ivory Coast these problems are probably less pressing than in countries where relatives and servants are scarcer. Six of the women, however, said that conflicts between motherhood and their careers had never arisen and there were three non-respondents on the issue.

In summary, it can be said that the successful Ivorian woman comes from a highly varied background. There are however some factors which many of them have in common. The majority are from matrilineal ethnic groups and most of them are Catholic. Almost all of them had parents who were educated themselves or who sought, through education, to improve the lives of their children.

Most of the women interviewed received some part of their education in France and the majority were employed in the public sector. Most of them felt that they had received basically the same opportunities in terms of promotion and salary that a man of similar qualifications would receive. Almost all of them viewed their careers as complements to, rather than substitutes for, the traditional role of wife and mother.

IV. The Role of the Ivorian Woman as Seen by the Ivorian Woman

When asked if they thought that Ivorian women were satisfied with the place offered them in Ivorian society, nine women replied yes, three replied no, and ten felt that they could not respond to the question.

Most of those who said that Ivorian women were satisfied with their place in society cited the laws of the Ivory Coast giving equality of opportunity to women and said that any woman with appropriate education and qualifications could obtain the positions, promotions and salary that she deserved. One woman said that in those cases where the law was not on the side of equality for women that there was activity with the Association des Femmes Ivoiriennes to change it. Since official opinion was sympathetic, there was little doubt that these changes would take place within the near future. Another woman said "Les femmes ont leur mot à dire dans tous les aspects de la vie. Il y a toujours eu des femmes dans l'Assemblée Nationale et aux postes de Conseiller Technique. Il y a une complémentarité des sexes dans la vie Africaine et la femme sait qu'elle est indispensable".

The most interesting answer was given by a woman who said, "Oui, elles sont contentes, mais elles ont tort". According to the Civil Code, women have the same rights as men but it is not that way in practice. There are even places where if a woman loses her husband, she loses her children and everything she has except the clothes she is wearing. Ivorian women think that if their husbands give them orders or have mistresses "c'est normal" and as long as they have their children they are happy "Mais ce n'est pas normal. Il faut ouvrir l'esprit des jeunes filles pour qu'elles ne se contentent pas de si peu".

Of the three women who claimed that Ivorian women were not satisfied with their place in society one claimed that "l'esprit des hommes Ivoiriens n'est pas encore assez ouvert". Another said that women were unhappy because they didn't receive the same salary as men. The third distinguished between the attitudes of three classes of women. The uneducated women, she said, were not satisfied with their place in life but felt powerless to change it. They placed all of their hopes in their children rather than in themselves. The semi-educated women, those with a Certificat d'Etude Primaire, had had their hopes and ambitions raised but were discouraged by the limitations imposed on them by their level of education. The highly educated women on the other hand, she thought, were too satisfied and took themselves too seriously.

V. Conclusion: The Future of the Ivorian Woman

There are three major impediments to the success of Ivorian women in modern business and government. The first of these is one which she shares with Ivorian men. It is the problem of transition from traditional African village culture to the life of a modern industrial society. During this transition period many of the positions requiring technical expertise have been filled by foreigners, but as education in the Ivory Coast is broadened in scope and progress is made in the Ivorization of business and commerce more Ivorians of both sexes will pursue successful careers in the modern sector.

The second problem facing Ivorian women is a problem shared with other women throughout the world. This is the difficulty of reconciling the biological and social demands of the family with the exacting requirements of a career in modern business or government. While the extended family system and the availability of household help may give the Ivorian women an advantage over women in some other countries, the desire on the part of most Ivorian women for many children must surely impede the successful pursuit of a career. It is possible, however, that increased urbanization will bring about a decrease in desired family size.

The third problem for the Ivorian woman is one which she shares with women of some other countries but by no means of all. This is the difference in attitudes toward the education of girls and of boys. For without initial access to education she has no hope of achieving success in the modern world. Nevertheless, it is clear from the educational statistics that attitudes on this point are changing.

Other factors will also influence the future role of women in the Ivory Coast. One of these is the performance of women who are working

in the modern sector at the present time. Because women in responsible positions are few in number their careers will be the subject of considerable scrutiny. Insofar as they are successful they will have a significant effect on general notions about the capabilities of women. Since most of these women have already demonstrated talent, intelligence and perseverance in achieving the positions they hold, it would seem highly likely that their influence would be a positive one.

A factor which may actually have a negative influence on the future employment of women in the modern sector is the existence of extremely permissive labor laws. These laws give three-and-a-half month's maternity leave for each child plus a month's annual vacation. Thus a woman who had frequent pregnancies could be absent from her job one third of the time for many years. This must greatly decrease her usefulness to her employer. It would seem that after a long maternity leave a month's holiday could be forfeited and that maternity leaves could be shortened for second, third and fourth children. If women's efficiency were thus raised, surely the demand for female employees would also increase.

The fact that the small number of women who work in the modern sector are distributed throughout the various employment levels in approximately the same ratio as Ivorian men indicates that they are not greatly discriminated against when they have appropriate qualifications. However, the educational statistics reveal that women have been greatly discriminated against in obtaining these qualifications. This has, of course, been the result of traditional values rather than deliberate policy. As the Ivory Coast is in the process of rapid modernization, the traditional values which have mitigated against the education of girls are changing. Therefore, the future for Ivorian women in the modern sector seems bright.

TABLE 1

PROGRESS THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF CLASS STARTING CP 1
(cours preparatoire - 1st year of primary studies) IN 1961-62

<u>CLASS</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
CP 1	61-62	61,917	28,408	90,325
CP 2	62-63	43,219	21,384	64,603
CE 1	63-64	36,681	16,886	53,567
CE 2	64-65	32,503	13,570	46,073
CM 1	65-66	31,833	12,198	44,022
CM 2	66-67	37,089	11,617	48,706
6 ^e me	67-68	10,400	3,202	13,602
5 ^e me	68-69	10,142	2,389	12,531
4 ^e me	69-70	8,988	1,981	10,969
3 ^e me	70-71	8,100	1,667	9,767
2 ^e me	71-72	3,125	671	3,886
1 ^e me	72-73	2,627	554	3,181
Terminale	73-74	2,400	510	2,910

Source: Republique Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'Education Nationale.

TABLE II
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT - IN TOTAL AND BY SEX
1963-64 and 1972-73

	<u>1963-64</u>			<u>1972-73</u>			<u>GIRLS as % of TOTAL ENROLLMENT</u>		
	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	
CP 1	58,587	36,084	94,671	68,820	47,405	116,225	CP 1	38	41
CP 2	41,802	22,618	64,420	62,668	41,052	103,720	CP 2	35	40
CE 1	36,691	16,886	53,567	59,173	37,527	96,700	CE 1	32	39
CE 2	31,830	12,425	44,255	50,63	30,341	80,979	CE 2	28	37
CM 1	28,458	9,232	37,690	50,717	27,222	77,939	CM 1	24	35
CM 2	28,498	7,450	35,948	64,070	27,056	91,126	CM 2	21	30
6 ^{ème} 3	6,453	1,035	7,488	17,331	6,288	23,619	6 ^{ème}	14	27
5 ^{ème}	4,416	647	5,063	16,342	4,758	21,100	5 ^{ème}	13	23
4 ^{ème}	3,362	454	3,816	13,422	3,765	17,187	4 ^{ème}	12	22
3 ^{ème}	1,377	359	1,736	10,708	2,913	13,621	3 ^{ème}	21	21
2 ^{ème}	543	148	691	3,593	883	4,476	2 ^{ème}	21	20
1 ^{ère}	446	127	573	2,627	556	3,183	1 ^{ère}	22	17
Terminale	208	54	262	2,185	440	2,625	Terminale	21	17

Source: Republique de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Service des Statistiques, Situation de l'Enseignement au 1er Janvier 1973, p. 31, 136, 137.

TABLE 3

IVORIAN GIRLS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ABIDJAN 1966-1975

<u>Number of Ivorian Girls</u>		<u>Iv. Girls as % of Total Ivorian Enrollment</u>
1966-67	31	05
1967-67	58	09
1968-69	62	06
1969-70	87	07
1970-71	93	07
1971-72	164	08
1972-73	279	10
1973-74	405	12
1974-75	499	13

TABLE 4

IVORIAN GIRLS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ABIDJAN BY FACULTY, 1974-75

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Ivorian Enrollment</u>
Law	120	13
Economics	40	7
Medicine	50	13
Sciences	46	7
Humanities	220	19
Institute of Technology	23	11
TOTAL	499	13

Source: Université d'Abidjan

TABLE 5

MEN AND WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE BY RANK

Categories	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	% Women
A 1	21	1	22 :			
2	223	15	238 :	1,834	171	9
3	225	11	236 :			
4	565	43	608 :			
5	158	1	159 :			
6	642	100	742 :			
B 8	6,052	1,022	7,084 :			
9	36	1	37 :	6,273	1,024	14
10	175	1	176 :			
C 11	7,522	908	8,430 :			
12	2,260	244	2,504 :	14,011	2,000	12
13	4,229	848	5,077 :			
D 14	1,160	233	1,393 :	9,012	1,555	15
15	7,852	1,322	9,174 :			
E 16	1,339	0	1,339 :	1,339	0	0

GRAND TOTAL

CIVIL SERVICES: 35.800

WOMEN: 4.750

Or - 13.23 %

Source: Ministère de la Fonction Publique.

TABLE 6

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

Positions of which 50% or more of which are held by women		Number	%W	%M	
A	Grade 4	Archivist, Library Documentalist	1	50	50
	Grade 5	Physical Education Teacher	1	100	0
		Physical Education and Sports Teacher	1	100	0
B	Grade 8	Principal Secretary	65	71	29
		Social Worker	100	70	30
		Midwife	291	100	0
		Laboratory Technician	16	64	36
C	Grade 11	Assistant Physical Education and Sports Instructor	106	60	40
		Social Work Aide	189	89	11
	Grade 12	Secretary	173	66	34
	Grade 13	Temporary Secretary	5	56	44
D	Grade 14	Temporary Youth and Sports Instructor	55	64	36
	Grade 15	Typist	1,173	80	20

Source: Ministère de la Fonction Publique.

TABLE 7

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

Positions of which 20-50% of the Occupants are women		Number	%-W	%-M
A	Grade 2 Statistician, Economist	1	25	75
	Grade 4 Professor	28	23	77
	Grade 6 Secondary and Technical School Teacher	7	27	73
	<u>Attaché du Travail et des Affaires Sociales</u>			
	Secondary and Technical School Teacher	84	49	51
B	Grade 8 Physical Education and Sports Instructor	63	21	79
	Nurse (<u>Diplomé d'Etat</u>)	200	25	75
	Archivist, Librarian, Documentalist	3	23	77
C	Grade 13 Primary School Teacher (<u>Corps Transitoire</u>)	181	21	79
	Nurse - (<u>Corps Transitoire des Infirmiers Brevetés</u>)	630	30	70
	Library Aide		28	72

Source: Ministère de la Fonction Publique.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE
(FONCTION PUBLIQUE) by PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY

Category	% of Ivorian Men in the Civil Service in Each Category	% of Ivorian Women in the Civil Service in Each Category
A	06	04
B	19	22
C	43	42
D	28	33
E	04	00

Computed from data supplied by the Ministère de la Fonction Publique.

TABLE 9

IVORIAN MEN AND WOMEN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

<u>ALL SECTORS COMBINED</u>	(1) Ivorian Men	(2) Ivorian Women	(3) Ivorians	(4) % Ivorian
D (Direction)	2,620	65	2,685	2
CT (Cadre et Technicien)	386	14	400	4
M (Maitrise)	1,946	139	2,085	7
E 5a (Employés cat 5 and above)	12,915	574	13,489	4
E 1-4 (Employés 1-4)	18,492	799	19,291	4
M (Manoeuvre)	18,204	501	18,705	3
A (Apprentis)	397	14	411	3
TOTAL	54,960	2,106	57,077	4
<u>SECTOR 1</u>				
D	1,881	26	1,907	1
CT	7	0	7	0
M	10	2	12	17
E 5a	338	2	340	1
E 1-4	893	4	897	0
M	2,130	19	2,149	1
A	1	0	1	0
TOTAL	5,260	53	5,313	1
<u>SECTOR 2</u>				
D	119	6	125	5
CT	92	2	94	2
M	713	15	728	2
E 5	5,431	84	5,515	2
E 1-4	11,037	423	11,460	4
M	9,860	327	10,197	3
A	314	5	319	2
TOTAL	27,566	862	28,428	3
<u>SECTOR 3</u>				
D	620	33	653	5
CT	287	12	299	4
M	1,223	122	1,345	9
E 5	7,146	488	7,634	6
E 104	6,562	372	6,934	5
M	6,214	155	6,369	2
A	82	9	91	10
TOTAL	-2,134	1,191	23,225	5

* Computed from columns 2 and 3

Source: Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle. Office de la Formation Professionnelle, Le Secteur Privé en Côte d'Ivoire.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF IVORIAN MEN AND IVORIAN WOMEN IN
THE PRIVATE SECTOR BY PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY

Professional Category	(1) Men	(2) Women
D	5	3
C	1	1
M	4	7
E 5 and above	23	27
E 1-4	34	38
M	33	24
a	1	1

Source: Column (1) computed from Table 11

Column (2) Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique, op. cit.,
Tableau EI, figures rounded.

TABLE 11

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Professional Category	(1) Ivorian	(2) Other African	(3) Non African	(4) Undeclared	(5) Total Women	(6)* % Ivorian Women
D	65	21	247	1	325	20
C	14	2	264	1	281	5
M	139	45	765	2	951	15
E	574	65	715	0	1,354	42
E	799	59	15	1	874	91
M	501	57	2	2	562	89'
a	14	0	0	0	14	100
T	2,106	240	2,008	7	4,361	49%

* Computed from columns (1) and (5)

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF IVORIAN MEN AND WOMEN
BY PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY
(Public and Para Public Sector)

	(1) Men	(2) Women	(3) Total Ivorians	(4) % Women
Direction	142	2	144	1
Cadre et Technicien	724	60	784	8
Maitrise	1,661	125	1,786	7
Employés Qualifiés	3,090	394	3,484	1
Employés Non-Qualifiés	3,040	203	3,243	7
Ouvriers				
Qualifiés	4,848	23	4,871	0
Ouvriers				
Spécialisés	7,535	47	7,582	1
Manoeuvres	4,829	22	4,851	0
Apprentis	41	1	42	2
TOTAL	25,910	877	26,787	3

Source: Achio, Françoise, Le Secteur Public et Semi-Public: Physionomie de l'Emploi, 1973, Première Partie, Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle, Office National de la Formation Professionnelle, Tableau 13.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
IVORIAN MEN AND WOMEN BY PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY
IN THE PUBLIC AND PARA-PUBLIC SECTOR
(Figures Rounded to Nearest Percentage Point)

	Ivorian Men	Ivorian Women
Direction	1	0
Cadre	3	7
Maitrise	6	14
Employés Qualifiés	12	45
Employés Qualifiés	12	23
Ouvriers Qualifiés	19	3
Ouvriers Spécialisés	29	5
Manoeuvres	19	3
Apprentis	0	0

Computed from Table 15

TABLE 14

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC AND PARA-PUBLIC SECTOR

	(1) Ivorian	(2) Other African	(3) Non African	(4) Total	(5)* %Ivorian
Direction	2	0	3	5	40
Cadre	60	19	77	156	38
Maitrise	125	31	130	286	44
Employés Qualifiés	394	64	120	578	68
Employés non Qualifiés	203	9	0	212	96
Ouvriers Qualifiés	23	9	5	37	62
Ouvriers Spécialisés	47	5	0	52	90
Manoeuvres	22	111	0	133	17
Apprentis	1	0	0	1	100
Total	877	248	335	1,460	

* Computed from columns (1) and (4)

Source: Achio, op.cit. Table 13

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