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**WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND FERTILITY:
DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION OR ECONOMIC NEEDS OF MOTHERS?**

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WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND FERTILITY: Demographic Transition
or Economic Needs of Mothers?

I. Introduction

The interrelationship between women's involvement in economic activities and their fertility behavior has been debated in the demographic literature for several years. Is the fertility of working women lower than the fertility of non-working women?^{1/} From an academic stance, the polemic of whether or not there is a consistent pattern among all sub-groups of women who work outside the home in remaining celibate, in delaying marriage, or in having fewer children within marriage than women who do not work, can remain a subject of controversy, pending further theoretical specification and methodological refinement.

In the field of development, however, particularly where policy formulation and project implementation are involved, the issue assumes a different dimension. At stake here is the influence such "academic" findings may have upon plans of action designed to involve poor women in productive economies by means of skills and vocational training programs and employment/income generation activities allowing them to meet their own and their family's basic needs.

From the standpoint of population policy, current interest in the subject of female labor force participation in developing countries stems from the proposition derived from the industrial nations' historical

^{1/} For a comprehensive review of empirical evidence from developing countries refer to: Nwanganga Shields, "Female Labor Force Participation and Fertility: Review of Empirical Evidence from L.D.C." Population and Human Resources Division, World Bank, 1977.

experience that gainful employment outside the home is one of the most effective structural means by which non-familial roles begin to compete significantly with familial ones, thereby influencing fertility and family-size motivation (Blake, 1965). Women's work outside the home may thus be regarded as crucial to the reduction of population growth. The inverse relationship between the two variables, whether fertility is measured by actual, desired, ideal, or expected number of children is found in numerous studies and is stated to be one of the strongest correlations between a social variable and fertility behavior (Blake, 1965).^{2/} This, of course, reflects the experience of the industrial world. In developing societies, the association between female activity and fertility is neither perfect nor consistent among specific subgroups of women. It appears to be linked to the specification of other structural factors affecting a society's fertility and which are associated with women's working or non-working status.

The major thrust of this paper is towards the identification of women in particular strata within the developing world who are or who could be made receptive to family-size limitation. However, as a preamble to the discussion of the employment-fertility relationship, we suggest that the issue of women's employment must be considered more concretely than simply in terms of national population decline goals. We cannot "prove" categorically that working women in developing societies have a

^{2/} Studies in the United States (Kiser, Grabill and Campbell, 1968; Westoff and Potvin, 1967; Blake, 1965; D. Freedman, et al, 1963; Freedman, Whelpton and Campbell, 1959; Ridley, 1959; Pratt and Whelpton, 1956), in Western Europe and North America (Collver, 1968; Collver and Langlois, 1962; Freedman, Baumert and Bolte, 1959).

lower fertility than non-working ones. Pending evidence of such a relationship, there is a compelling case for the promotion of female employment and income generation capacity, with or without demographic justification.

From a development-oriented perspective, there are two reasons for this approach. Women's employment has been shown to influence and change attitudes and behavior related to women's condition and self-perception. More pertinently, women's changing economic roles and responsibilities, particularly among the rural and urban poor, make women's work necessary for economic survival. The opportunity to earn money is the only mechanism through which an increasing number of mothers -- still in the reproductive age -- can support themselves and their children under an increasingly heavy burden of economic responsibilities.

II. Non-Demographic Reasons for Promoting Employment and Income-Generation Programs for Women.

1. General Impact on Women's Status

Economic and productive roles can bestow upon women an economic identity, providing them with a secure power base they can control. As a consequence, they may cease to view childbearing as their major source of status and prestige (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977). This is particularly relevant to countries in which modernization processes have undercut women's traditional economic role, causing not only economic deprivation but also social insecurity and strain. No longer able to rely on their productive role, women have replaced it by reaffirming their domestic/reproductive power as source of social and psychological security (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977; Youssef, 1978a).

Incentives, such as education and labor force participation in the modern sector, are expected to raise women's marriage age. Work and earnings in young women's lives can persuade parents not to marry off daughters who contribute to household earnings and improve the young woman's bargaining position over the timing of marriage and choice of mate.

Women's life opportunities, including employment and education prior to marriage, are crucial in determining fertility behavior within marriage. They influence their future aspirations, experiences, and range of options. The socialization of young girls to traditional roles in conjunction with limited education and employment is almost guaranteed to foster a motivational structure geared towards early marriage and high fertility (Youssef and Buvinić, 1977).

Female employment alone or within the context of higher education is thought to have a direct bearing on age at marriage for several reasons.

- . Employment provides women with alternative means of status attainment than does being a wife and mother (Colliver, 1968).
- . Employment outside the home may serve to broaden a woman's horizons by introducing her to other people, ideas, and other influences that may help to alter traditional behavior patterns, such as early marriage (Ryder, 1967).
- . When the young girl augments family income, her employment may reduce parents' need or desire to marry her off early (Mamdani, 1977).

The effect of female labor-force participation on delaying marriage is substantiated by data from Sri Lanka (Duza and Baldwin, 1975), and Malaysia (Von Elm and Hirshman, forthcoming) among others. At the same time, an increase in the marriage age and changes in the percentage of married women account for a major portion of recent declines in birth rates in Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, Sri Lanka, the People's Republic of China, and Tunisia (Germain, 1975; Lapham, 1975).

Women's employment outside the home and resultant economic independence more effectively enhances their influence in family/marital decision-making than does employment within the home. At the same time, changes in the dynamics of marital relationships, enlarging women's influence in conjugal decisions, information, and planning correlates with smaller family size, birth planning, use of contraception, and actual lower fertility.^{3/}

2. The Economic Needs of Mothers

For women in poverty, work is not a matter of choice but of survival. Under such conditions, the work role cannot be seen as an alternative to childbearing. Effective intervention is necessary to maximize women's access to training, financial credit, and other means through which they can obtain jobs that are both productive and provide some income stability.

^{3/} This is empirically substantiated in Hong Kong (Mitchell, 1972), The Philippines (Goldberg, 1974), Brazil (Rosen and Simmons, 1971) and India (Mukherjee, 1975), among others. Oppong argues against the universal applicability of the two-person decision making process as crucial to fertility theory. Segregation of male/female roles in some societies restricts the communication between spouses essential to joint decision-making. In this sense, modernization and change are seen as bringing about a shift from a model in which role segregation predominates towards a system in which jointness gains ground (Oppong, 1978).

The economic reality in which the bulk of Third World women function has only surfaced recently. Stereotypes of the stable family -- with a male head of household and economic provider, with the non-Western family providing female-kin with psychological, legal, and economic protection -- are now being demystified. Traditional support systems are collapsing; family obligations are fragmenting in the process of economic modernization. Yet, the image of women/mothers as secondary or sole economic providers, as de facto household heads, and as single parents do not yet typically come to mind in program planning.

Current data collection practices unfortunately do not make visible to policymakers the "real" economic need of women. When economic need is indexed by female labor force participation rates or female unemployment rates, the picture is deceptive because of definitional and measurement problems intrinsic to census reporting (Youssef and Buvinić, 1979). The total number of economically active women (including many married women at risk of pregnancy), is much larger than aggregate data would have us believe. Among married women in Malaysia, 76% in rural areas and 90% living in households headed by plantation workers are engaged in wage labor. So are 85% of Sri Lankan women with husbands working in plantation production (WFS-1978b; Standing and Sheehan, 1978b). In Nigeria, economic activities inside and outside the home are recorded for 47% of all married women aged 20-24, for 70% aged 30-39, and for 50% aged 50-59 (Standing and Sheehan, 1978a). Four out of ten women aged 14-45 years (40,997) in Trinidad and Tobago work; six out of ten of these working women have children; another 15,000 (9,500 of them mothers) are searching

for jobs (United Nations, 1978). In some rural areas, hiring practices favor women because of wage differentials by sex, leading to high male unemployment and increasing the numbers of women who are breadwinners (Wolfe, 1979; Germain, n.d.).

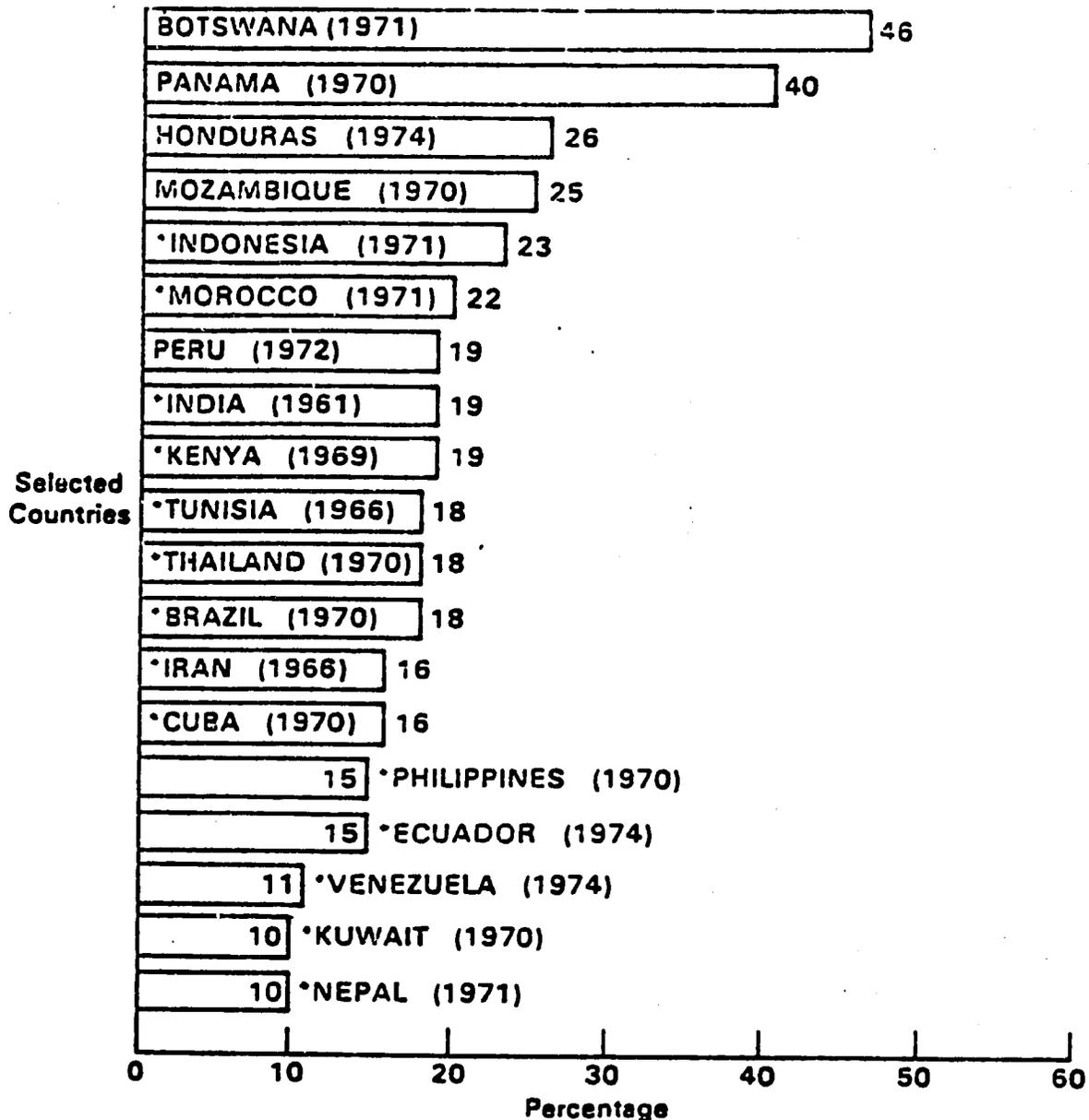
3. Women as Heads of Household

An outcome of rapid but unbalanced economic growth and modernization has been the rise of households headed by women. These are said to range between 25 and 30% of all households (Newland, 1977; Tinker, 1976).⁴ An index to identify women in 74 developing countries who are "potential" heads of household, when computed as a ratio of the total number of "potential" household heads, yields an estimated variation ranging from 10% to 46% (see figure 1).⁵ For 13 Latin American countries, the proportion is much higher in urban than in rural areas; in labor-exporting countries, the percentage is much greater in rural areas. An estimate of the rural sex ratios in Africa, Central and South America is presented in graphic form in figures 2, 3, and 4. These show the extent of male-dominated rural outmigration in the case of Africa and of autonomous female-dominated migration in Central and South American countries. Each type of migration pattern causes the emergence of female family headship.

⁴ Women who head households account for 35% of family headship in many parts of the Caribbean; their proportion is estimated to be 18% in India; 23% in Indonesia; 15% in Iran; 40% in parts of Kenya, 45% in the urban slum areas of Brazil and Venezuela. Between 1960 and 1970 the proportion of such households has doubled in Brazil and increased by 33% in Morocco (Buvinić and Youssef, forthcoming).

5. Not all national censuses provide data on mother/child ratios by current marital status. For the few that do, the child/mother ratio for divorced/widowed/single combined ranges from 3:4 (Peru), 5:1 (Botswana) to 6:6 (Honduras). Widowed and divorced women aged 35 in Guatemala have on the average five children--still too young to be able to help support the family.

Figure 1. Percentage of "Potential" Heads of Household who are Women in Selected Countries



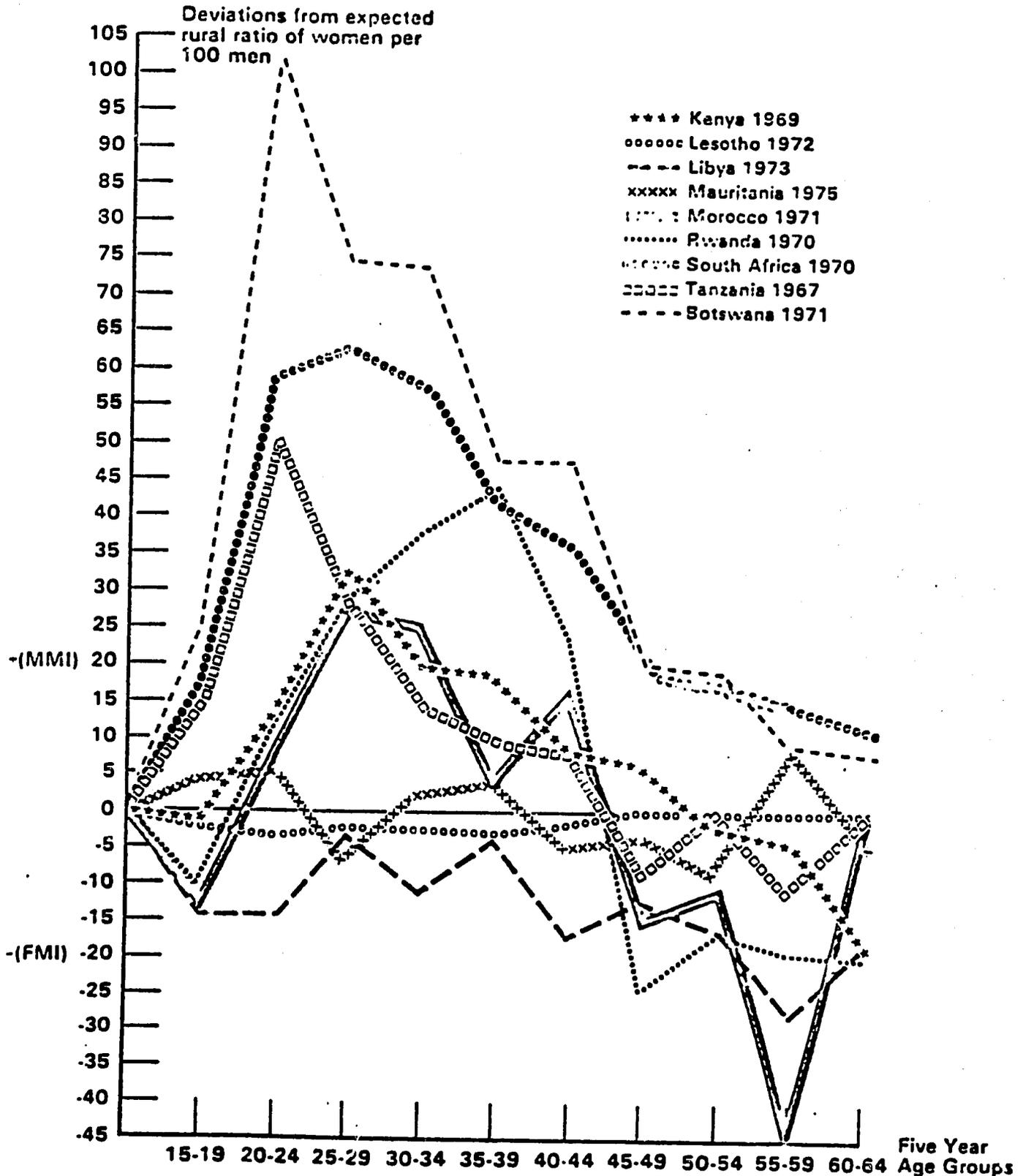
*Single mothers are not included as data were not available.

NOTES: The magnitude of households that might be headed by women was defined by the percentage of "potential" women heads to "potential" total household heads. "Potential" women heads of household include all women who are widowed, divorced, separated or single mothers. "Potential" total household heads include "potential" women heads of household plus men over the age of 20 who are not single.

Data were obtained from national censuses or U.N. Demographic Yearbooks. Dates for the different data analyzed are given in parentheses in the figure.

SOURCE: Buvinic, Mayra, and Nadia H. Youssef. "Women-headed Households in Third World Countries: An Overview." Paper presented at the International Center for Research on Women Workshop "Women in Poverty: What Do We Know?" Belmont Conference Center, ElkrIDGE, Md., April 30—May 2, 1978 (Table 2).

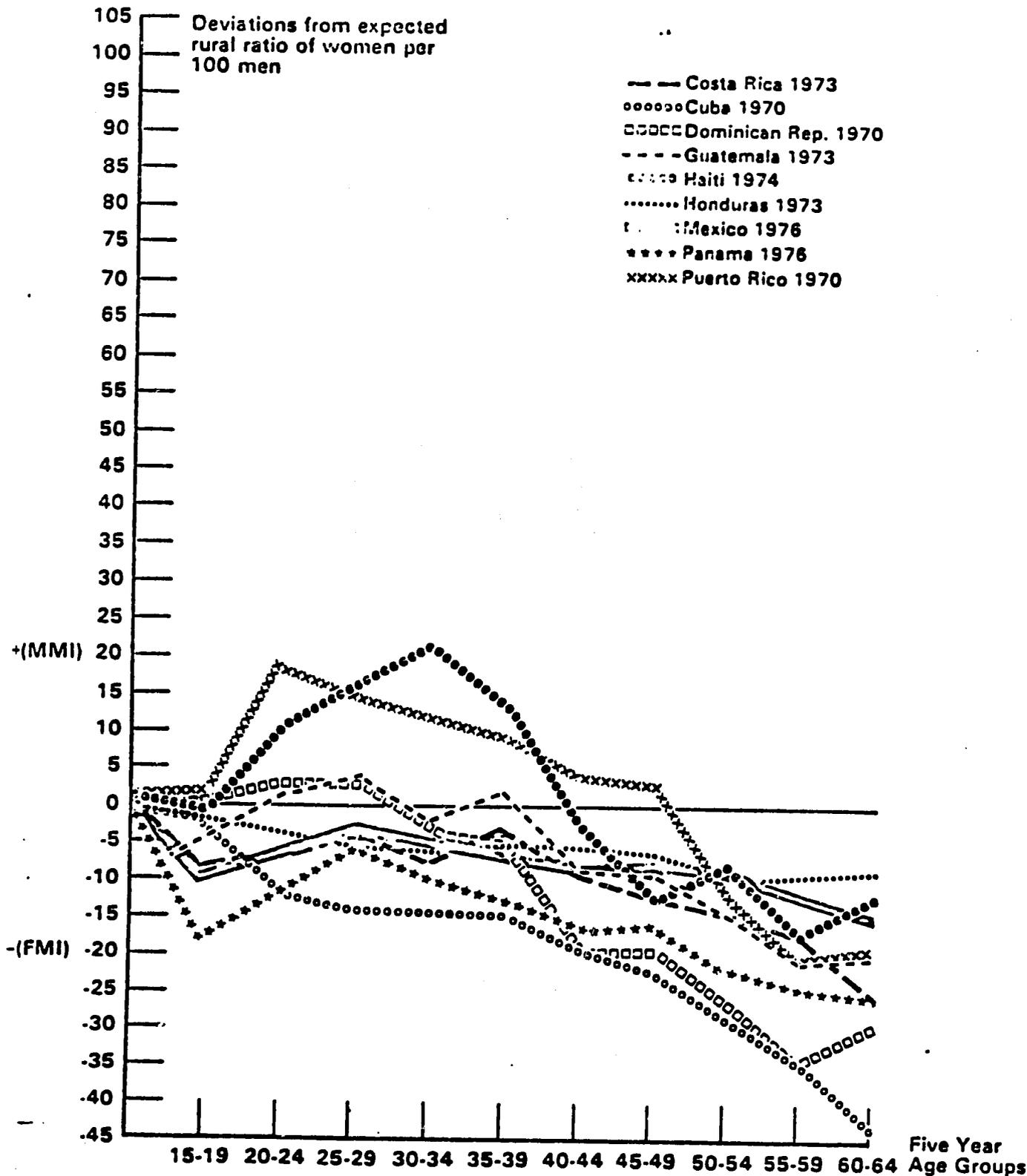
Figure 2. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Africa by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI), negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

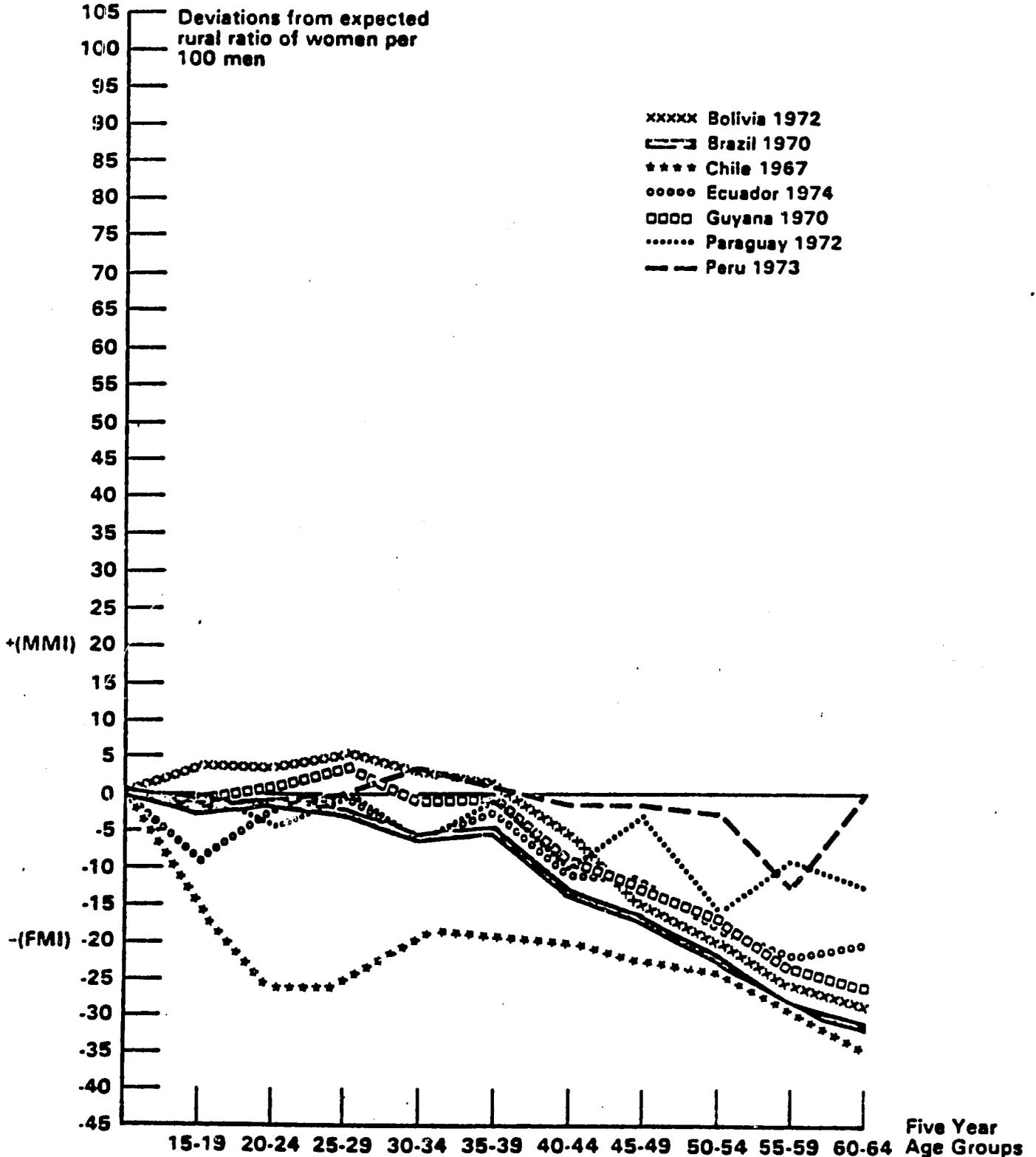
Figure 3. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook*, 1976. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI); negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

Figure 4. Deviations of the "Observed" Rural Female to Male Ratio from the "Expected" Female to Male Ratio for Latin America: South America by Country and by Five Year Age Groups.



Source: Rural Population data for the "observed" sex ratios were obtained from the *UN Demographic Yearbook, 1976*. Date noted for each country refers to year data were collected. Data for the "expected" sex ratios were derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated life table values.

Note: Positive deviations from the "expected" sex ratio indicate male dominated rural out-migration (MMI); negative deviations reveal female dominated rural out-migration (FMI).

It is important to emphasize that women heads of household are not all older women with adult sons to support them. Many of them are within their reproductive years -- hence at risk of pregnancy -- and almost all have children to support.

The syndrome of the single mother appears to be bypassed in program planning.⁶ Even family planning programs are directed towards married women.⁷ Documentation for Central-South America and the Caribbean countries is ample enough to identify the majority of single mothers as lower-income, young, of migrant stock, economically self-supporting with little chance of employment in other than domestic service (Buvinic and Youssef, forthcoming). There is no institutionalized support system for this group of women. The availability of sexual-unions outside the legal structure offers lower income women a narrow range of expectancy punctuated by a series of loosely binding relationships in all or most of which they will bear children.⁸ Such consensual unions are unstable, particularly in urban areas. With the advance of years, the women's chances of counting upon successive serial mating decreases. The continued presence of children from previous unions makes it imperative for women, even when contracting new relationships, to assume or retain economic responsibilities.

⁶ The average number of children per single mother is 2.2 in Chile; 3.0 in Colombia; 3.2 in Honduras; 3.3 in Guatemala; 3.4 in Peru; 3.3 in the Caribbean. The percentage among the total adult population of single women who are mothers is 27% in Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru when computed on the basis of those single women whose parity is known. When all single women who have children are counted--but for whom the exact number of children is not known--the percentage of mothers in the single adult female population is more than double (Buv'nic and Youssef, forthcoming).

⁷ Robert Berg, personal communication, April, 1979.

⁸ In Jamaica, nearly all women aged 24 and over classified as "no longer living with common law partner" are mothers; two-thirds of them are in the labor force (Denton, 1975).

The single mother syndrome in the Central, South American, and Caribbean countries is induced by poverty. Successive births outside highly unstable formalized unions are part of women's strategy for coping with poverty (Brody, et al, 1976). These women assume that childbearing proves mutual affection, thereby stabilizing the union. Men desire children from such informal unions as a way of reinforcing women's dependency and faithfulness (Denton, 1975).

When abandoned by the father of the first child and unable to survive economically on her own, the woman becomes involved with another man by whom she bears more children, and so on. The pattern is associated with male seasonal and marginal employment (the male gives support until loss of his job forces him to migrate). The multiplicity of sexual unions and consequent fertility is also perpetuated by the woman's inability to survive economically on her own once a union is terminated.

The phenomenon of the single mother emerges from the statistics of some African countries, but we know little of that designation's meaning within African society.⁹ Neither the social context in which reproduction outside marriage takes place nor its consequences for the unwed mother have been clearly established. Some immediate questions which need to be explored are: Does the appearance of single mothers in the census stem from institutional traditional practices or does it result from some arbitrary categorization decided upon by census officials? Are customary or contract marriages in which either the dowry or "dot" have not been paid deprived of legal recognition, although the woman and child may actually be living in de facto stable unions (Weekes-Vagliani, 1976a; Poole, 1972)?

⁹ According to the census figures for all adult single women, 20% are mothers in Mozambique, 46% in Botswana. The average number of children per single mother is 2.7.

4. Female Family Headship and Poverty

The evidence linking female family headship with poverty is compelling. In Santiago, Chile, a recent field inquiry in marginal slums showed that 10% of male family heads and 29% of female heads fell into the lowest income bracket (CEPAL, 1973). In Guayaquil, Ecuador, a similar survey indicated that 17% of male and 37.5% of female family heads fell in the lowest income brackets. A representative sample survey of metropolitan Belo Horizonte revealed 26% of male-headed households and 41% of female-headed households to be at poverty levels. Moreover, when households headed by prime age, divorced, and separated women were singled out, the proportion at poverty level reached 60% (Merrick, 1977). For 15 Commonwealth Caribbean countries, 59% of female-headed households and only 21% of male-headed households reported no income or "not stated" income; on the other side of the spectrum, 54% of male-headed households earned a thousand dollars or more a month while only 13% of the female-headed households earned these amounts (Buvinić, Youssef and Von Elm, 1978). In parts of Java, Indonesia, among economically active urban women who are widowed or divorced, 65% do not earn enough to support even one person (Redmana, 1977). In rural areas among all economically active widowed/divorced women, 32% earn enough to support only a single person's needs; one-half could not support themselves (Redmana, 1977).

Women in poverty are ill-prepared when as wives, divorcees, widows, or single mothers they are compelled to add financial support to their child care responsibilities. The sparsity of their own employment resources is compounded by limited opportunities in the unskilled urban labor market and by the erosion of traditional support systems with no concomitant growth in public welfare.¹⁰

Women are being systematically squeezed out of the work force in both rural and urban areas. As their traditional economic activities are being displaced through modernization of food production and processing, crafts manufacturing, and markets, women need alternative ways of continuing their traditional contributions to family welfare (Tinker, 1976). As industries modernize, they adopt capital intensive technology, displacing labor, more often women than men on the grounds that women lack skills and are illiterate.

The introduction of farm technology in Indonesia has put 1.2 million women out of work. In India, total employment in

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Activity rates and unemployment are both high for the non-married category of women. In Nigeria, separated, divorced, and widowed women aged 20-38 report activity rates ranging between 61 and 85% (Standing and Sheehan, 1978). In a rural Java sample, 63% of all widows and 74% of all divorcees were economically active. Of all the divorced population actively seeking employment in Morocco, 65% were women; among all those who were widowed and looking for jobs, 78% were women (Buvinić and Youssef, 1978). Employment rates for women "no longer in consensual unions" range between 40 and 77% in San Jose and between 50 and 75% in Mexico City (Uthoff and Gonzales, 1978).

this sector fell from 11.5% to 9% between 1951 and 1971 as a result of the application of capital intensive technology. In Peru, the proportion of economically active women dropped from 22% to 15% between 1961 and 1971 (Newland, 1977). In the Commonwealth Caribbean, female employment fell three times faster than employment for males in 1960-70--by 11% in the least developed areas and by 23% in the most developed region (Chernick, 1978). Guatemala, in 1950 had 193 non-agricultural male workers for every 100 female workers in the same sector. By 1973, the men outnumbered the women by 229 to 100, and two-thirds of the women worked as domestics (Newland, 1977). In Colombia, women's participation decreased in the industrial sector from 36.4% to 12.5% and increased in the service sector from 24% to 44% (Leon de Leal, 1977).

The over representation of women in the informal sector in many Third World nations has been well documented.¹¹ Some of these

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The size of the informal sectors in Bombay, Jakarta, Belo Horizonte, Lima, and eight other Peruvian cities encompasses between 53 and 69% of the working population. Female workers and workers who have not completed primary education are disproportionately represented in this sector. Merrick reveals that 54.1% of the women workers in Belo Horizonte are in the informal sector as compared to 20% of the men. Even if the women working as domestics are excluded from the definition of informal sector, the sex differential continues to be strong; 40% of the remaining informal sector labor force and 60% of the self-employed are women--against only 18% for the formal sector. In India, between 41% and 49% of the female labor force participates in the informal sector while only 15% to 17% of the male labor force contributes to this sector (Mazumdar, 1976; ICSSR, 1975). In El Salvador and in Bahia, Brazil, the proportion working in domestic service and petty production is 21% among males and 56.4% among women. In Mexico City, women were reported to make up 72% of all unskilled service workers (including domestics) and street vendors. In Peru, women make up 46% of the urban traditional sector; they account for only 18% of the modern sector. In Cordoba, Argentina, women constitute 63% of the "informal" sector (Jelin, 1977).

"informal" activities are reflected in the low-level service categories recorded in the labor force statistics. Within the informal sector, women are in the most marginal and least paying kinds of jobs, and their earnings are generally lower than those of men holding similar jobs.¹² Among entrants to the informal labor sector, women are noted for remaining there throughout their working lives, while men seem to be better able to move into the formal sector.

In general, women appear to have more difficulty than men in earning a living. The problem is only in part due to their lower levels of training and education. Social restrictions on women's access to and mobility within the urban formal labor force seem to be equally important. In addition, women become more "dispensable" than men after the introduction of capital intensive technology.

¹²

In Lima, Peru, women comprise 46% of the workers in the informal sector; their average income is around 40% that of men. In Malaysia, women's earning distribution has definitely shifted to the lower end because of the relative preponderance of self-employed females in the bottom income groups. In Belo Horizonte, Brazil, male and female heads of households do not differ markedly in age or education, but more than 50% of the females work in the informal sector compared to 12% of the males. Although working in the informal sector curtails male earnings, the negative effect for females is twice as great. A study of the urban informal labor markets in India points out that although men and women work the same amount of time, men earn RS 200 monthly as compared to RS 105 for women. Among the self-employed, men earn RS 392, women only RS 250 (Papola, 1978). The Indian study shows how women's location in the different sectors of the informal labor market relates inversely to the corresponding hierarchy and status of jobs.

III. Employment-Fertility Relationship: The Debate

Earlier we mentioned the reasons for current policy interest in the subject of women's gainful employment outside the home as a structural means of reducing fertility in general and family size motivation in particular.

Broadly speaking, the studies on sources and processes of fertility decline fall into three categories, those which

- aim at proving or disproving the demographic transition theory
- focus on measuring the impact of family planning programs
- aim to identify and quantify the significance of socio-economic development in relation to fertility decline.¹³

Studies focusing on the female employment/fertility relationship fall into the first two categories. Many of them contain unresolved problems in interpretation in the reported findings, stemming largely from methodological problems of measurement and conceptualization.

Economists and sociologists have postulated an inverse relationship between female employment and fertility. Children are perceived in terms of their economic and non-economic value or utility for

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A fourth category of research aims to quantify the relative significance of and interaction between socioeconomic development and family planning program inputs in explaining family planning performance or fertility decline (Faruqee, 1979).

either parents or household, depending upon whether the economic or socioeconomic context of reproduction behavior is stressed. Most conventional economic research treats children like consumption goods, valuable as participants in the household's productive and servicing activities and as potential sources of security to parents in their old age. For mainstream economists, fertility decisions are rational choices made between husband-wife within the household and are based on the maximization of (household) utility principle. The assumption is implicit that husband and wife entertain a commonality of interest in desiring and planning children.¹⁴

Sociological models emphasize the social and cultural context of reproductive behavior, the social and psychological roles of children, the social opportunity costs to parents of childrearing, and the particular psycho-social needs--beyond the economic function--that children fulfill.

There is a view gaining credence among social scientists that reproduction can be viewed as an allocative process--couples choose the mix of family size and other activities to maximize their own or

¹⁴ Criticisms have been voiced against the "household approach," particularly because it contends that rational maximization of utility principles are necessary components of fertility-related decisions (Liebenstein, 1977) and that an identity of interest exists within the household or the conjugal unit regarding fertility decisions (Birdsall, 1975; Oppong, 1978; Liebenstein, 1977). It is argued that husband and wife may entertain differential aspirations/interests in the number of offspring and that they have differential resources and power to enable them to achieve their own aspirations (Oppong, 1978).

their children's perceived welfare.

A favorite position among economists is that women's employment affects reproductive behavior in that childbearing increases the opportunity cost of the woman's time in non-market activities, inducing her to reallocate her time in favor of work. If childcare takes the wife more time than do non-market activities, the opportunity cost of children increases more than that of other demands on her time, and she will choose to have a smaller family (Ridker, 1976).

Drawing upon a more psychologically-oriented approach, economists have also argued that working women decide whether or not to have children according to a calculated "cost-reward" ratio, incorporating both economic and psychological dimensions and perceived by women as more or less favorable to childbearing (Birdsall, 1975).

The sociologists' model perceives employment of women outside the home as entailing satisfactions alternative to children (companionship, recreation, stimulation, creative activity) or as providing the monetary means to such satisfactions (Blake, 1965). Employment is seen as introducing into women's lives the subjective awareness of opportunity costs in having children. Foregoing employment will thus be experienced as a cost--one of the costs of having children (Blake, 1965).

The premise for this particular model bears some relevance to conditions characterizing a tiny minority of upper and middle class women whose education gives them access to stimulating, creative, and ego-fulfilling jobs that offer satisfaction and rewarding alternatives to childbearing. The explanatory variables lose much of their appeal in interpreting the employment/fertility relationship among low-income women.

Recently, a number of sociologists have begun to focus on the interrelationship between socioeconomic strata, women's work, and fertility behavior (Wolfe, 1979; Young, 1977; Hull, 1977).¹⁵ Their central concern is that, since most working women are poor, interpretation of the relationship between employment and fertility must include the class factor. For most women, involvement in work activities is not a choice, a search for alternative satisfactions, or an indicator of women's higher status: the sexual division of labor in poor households pushes females into the work force. Because married women bearing children face both time and income constraints, curtailment of working class fertility does not come from a "desire" for smaller families. It is economically imposed by their place in the social structure (Hull, 1977)--a conscious household survival strategy, which seeks to adapt means to end (Bennett, 1976 cited by Wolfe, 1979).

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The introduction of class differences into the mainstream of fertility theory calls for new specifications in the relationship between women's work and fertility behavior. These are:

- Fertility behavior is affected by and reacts to the particular demands for and conditions surrounding female labor; these vary according to the specific system of economic production (Wolfe, 1979; Young, 1977).

- Women experience conflicts associated with the worker/mother role differentially, according to their socioeconomic strata.

- The conventional concept of opportunity costs may not be fully applicable to poor women at subsistence level. Working class women's low wages reflect low opportunity costs. When wages are barely above subsistence level, the opportunity costs may be very high (Wolfe, 1979).

IV. Methodological Considerations and Interpretive Problems in the Employment and Fertility Relationship

A core set of methodological problems in the employment-fertility relationship center around the issue of causality and the measurement of women's work.

Research to date has failed to provide a clear and consistent explanation of the relationship between the two variables and has not confirmed causality. Neither has a serious attempt been made to demonstrate whether different sets of explanatory variables need to be evoked to interpret the dynamics of the situation in rural and urban settings. Do fertility levels affect women's involvement in economic activities or vice versa? Do women work only until they have children or because they cannot have children, or does working cause them to delay or forego childbearing? Where a negative relation between employment and fertility emerges, four types of causal relationships are possible:

- The observed relationship is spurious and caused by common antecedents of both variables.
- Women's family size affects their labor force participation.
- Women's labor force participation affects family size.
- Both family size and labor force participation affect each other (Waller, 1977).

¹⁶ A negative association between the two variables can also occur because employment affects child spacing rather than total fertility. Whether working women ever produce as many children as those who do not work is unclear (Namboodiri, 1964).

There are obvious interpretive problems associated with aggregate data because most of these studies deal with areal rates rather than with data for individual women or couples (Collver and Langlois, 1962; Bindary et al., 1973); Heer and Turner, 1965; Kasarda, 1971), thus allowing a serious possibility of spurious influences (Mason, 1977). Focus on aggregate level data alone cannot establish a direct causal link between female economic activity and fertility. Areal rates do not prove that women who work are also the ones who have low fertility or that incentives for women's employment influence their fertility only when worker and mother roles conflict (Mason, 1977).¹⁷

The main problem of causality is further complicated because most studies use cumulative fertility and match it with current employment status, a procedure that ignores changes in employment status during actual childbearing years. It cannot be assumed that current employment necessarily represents a woman's job when her children were born. The varying nature of the relationship between woman's work and childbearing at different stages of the life cycle are lost unless findings are controlled for age, family life cycle stage, and employment history. Only then can one begin to understand

¹⁷ Mason argues that the influence of macro variables in the "role conflict" model of fertility are rarely taken into account. It is not just a woman's personal situation that determines potential conflicts between working and mothering but factors outside her control, such as the nature of the local labor market. The size of the female labor force does not strictly represent the supply of workers available for employment in any one sector but rather results from a particular interaction between supply and demand (refer to Mason, 1977).

the situational context in which work and mothering roles can or cannot be combined. The effect of a woman's age on the relationship between her fertility expectations and plans for labor force participation is crucial for the formulation of a successful strategy to reduce fertility size through the promotion of employment and income generation programs.¹⁸ Safilios-Rothschild (1977) writes:

While women's work when the children are small may be inversely related to the number of children born to the woman, their working only after the children are adolescent may be positively related to the woman's fertility. Even after controlling for woman's work and stage of family cycle, the potential impact of woman's work upon her fertility must be separately assessed when the woman worked while children were small but stopped working later on.

At another level, there are serious problems of interpretation in the employment-fertility relationship centering around the measurement of woman's work and of role incompatibility.¹⁹

¹⁸ Analysis of Chilean data showed that if a housewife in the modern sector has small children, her probability of employment is 30% lower than a woman's without small children (Peek, 1975). In the Laguna province (the Philippines), mothers in large households spend more time in market production than mothers in small households, probably because of the presence of older children (Quizon and Evenson, forthcoming).

¹⁹ Monica Fong proposes a new methodological approach to the female employment relationship which takes into account: units of analysis; the life cycle aspects of work and fertility; the use of current and cumulative measures; the nature of fertility measures, and the nature of the work measures (Fong, 1976).

Foremost, it must be emphasized that for aggregate level data reported findings on employment's influence on fertility do not represent the childbearing patterns of the total spectrum of working women. Because these analyses draw upon labor force statistics which exclude a large group of women employed in informal activities (in agriculture, unpaid family work, and urban occupations, for example) the reported results are biased in favor of the fertility behavior of the "formally employed" female population.

Census and survey data on women's economic activities are more sensitive to variations in definition and enumeration procedures and are more apt to report errors and biases than are data concerning males (Youssef and Buvinić, 1979; Boulding, forthcoming; Mueller, forthcoming). For example, distinction is seldom made between gainful employment, unpaid work, productive but seasonal or periodic activities that are paid in cash, kind or services, and productive activities unpaid and unrecognized as work, or productive or illegal gainful activities.²⁰ Most data classify women as working or non-working according to conventional male-oriented and wage-oriented models and often exclude both men and women in the rural and non-modern urban sectors in developing countries (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977).

Biases in reporting also stem from women's self-concept and cultural definitions regarding the kind of work appropriate for women to pursue. Some rural and urban women may not "define" themselves

²⁰ Women in slums in some developing nations earn considerable income from prostitution, distilling alcohol, or black market trading. Such women do not define themselves, or are not defined by census or surveys as working women (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977).

as working because they are unaware of "their economic role" or want to maintain a certain image in the eyes of husband, kin or community. Cultural definitions may not only affect the extent of women's involvement in certain jobs or sectors but also census respondent's readiness to recognize and report their employment in certain lines of work (Concepción, 1974).

There are also problems related to the manner in which role incompatibility is measured and the fertility variables to which the measures relate (Mason, 1977)²¹.

Avoiding the issue of causality, many fertility studies scrutinize simple associations between employment and number of children for differences based on variations in "role incompatibility." Fertility is low when incompatibility between working and mothering roles is high and either zero or positive when role incompatibility is low (Gendell et al., 1970; Weller, 1968; Hass, 1972). Yet even when role incompatibility is high, the existence of a negative association between the two variables does not in and of itself constitute proof of a causal relationship (Mason, 1977).

Most census and survey data on fertility contain little information about role incompatibility. Past analyses have devised measures to index "role incompatibility" based on place of residence (role incompatibility between worker and mother roles is assumed to be higher

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Some studies use actual measures of fertility (number of children born); others use number of additional births expected or wanted, ideal family size, or family planning, knowledge, attitudes and practices.

in urban than in rural areas) or on types of occupation--(incompatibility is lower in traditional/informal types of work than in work in the modern-urban sectors). The urban-rural/traditional-modern dichotomy has been criticized on the premise that it may misrepresent true variations in role incompatibility conditions. Social scientists often make certain assumptions about types of occupations that are "compatible" and "incompatible" with mother roles, without attempting empirical verification and/or seeking the women's own "definition of the situation." In many developing countries, urban women's involvement in trade or family business may be no less compatible with maternal responsibilities than is the work available to rural women. When studies use the urban-rural dichotomy and fail to find an inverse employment-fertility relationship in either urban or rural areas, the status of the hypotheses that employment depresses fertility only when incompatibility is high remains unclear (Mason, 1977). Furthermore, in some West African societies, mothers who bear children do not bear the cost of rearing them (Ware, 1977; Oppong, 1978). In Thailand, gainful work for women and worker-mother role is the norm (Cook, 1975).²² The World Fertility Survey results from Malaysia fail to confirm the hypothesis that work and fertility co-vary inversely only when women perceive conflicts between these two spheres. The rural status and involvement

²²

It has been suggested that in the Thai setting non-working women may be justifying their role through higher fertility; higher fertility represents a value option to women who have rejected the more usual worker-mother role of most rural Thai women (Terry, 1974 cited in Cook, 1975).

in agricultural work of most Malaysian women and their presumed compatibility with child rearing, lead one to expect a zero or positive additive relationship between work and fertility, but it has been shown to be consistently negative (Mason & Palan, 1978). An unrelated study focusing on time allocation patterns among Malaysian women reports that women engaged in agricultural occupations did not take their children (aged 10 or younger) with them to work, while women in sales or production-type occupations did. This particular finding, though subject to further confirmation, strongly suggests that agriculture-related occupations may not be as compatible with childrearing as heretofore assumed (Da Vanzo and Lee, forthcoming).

• The Argument

I do not wish to suggest that all reported findings should be discarded because of their inaccuracies. Rather, I should like to call attention to the need to

- be aware of the methodological flaws
- examine the contradictory findings and variability in the relationship between employment and fertility with view to identifying specific conditions under which the interaction between the two variables takes on different values and directions (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977). The working and non-working group of women are not two separate homogenous groups. The central question to be addressed here is: why and under what conditions might women's work affect fertility behavior? Because social structures and social groups are far less cohesive than is presumed, most groups have visible lines of cleavage, strain, and

vulnerability. Thus, social changes can occur without a complete socioeconomic overhaul. The task of development-related research is to identify within the population particular sectors, layers, or niches who are already receptive or eager to experiment to limit family size.

It would appear that the failure to provide strong evidence for a negative association between fertility and employment, such as is evident in the historical experience of industrial nations, has resulted in a certain intellectual fatalism among some people who conclude that nothing can be done in the Third World (Minkler, 1970). In the process, too little attention is paid to factors that do seem to motivate family size reduction and to ways of generating such motivation in developing countries. The fact that female employment in and of itself has not consistently lowered fertility and brought about rapid population decline should not be taken to mean that employment under specific conditions, for specific subgroups of women--although these may not be consistent across the board--cannot help reach that objective.

A good starting point in the search for specific conditions under which woman's work might lower fertility is the "role incompatibility" hypothesis. This is based on the principle that role conflicts emerge in the simultaneous pursuit of both economic and mothering roles. In nature, these conflicts are both normative and economic, in the allocation of the individual woman's energies and resources.

The findings derived from disaggregating macro-level employment data to distinguish between occupational categories, residence, work status, place and condition of employment, and work-related attitudes show that low fertility is linked to urban residence and to the upper hierarchy of the occupational structure (such as the professions, white collar jobs, high and middle-level administrative managerial positions). The working woman who approves of non-maternal activities for women is highly motivated to limit fertility (Hass, 1972). Women who are "committed" to their work and "satisfied" with their jobs have fewer children than do women who work only because of economic need (Pinelli, 1971; Safilios-Rothschild, 1972). Women who hold jobs giving them a non-familial identity are the most likely to practice birth control (Safilios-Rothschild, 1977).

Fertility levels are found to be high among rural women workers (particularly in household-unit-type economies where the family is the exclusive unit of production); among agricultural workers, (although this probably due to the high percentage of "unpaid" family workers included in the group); among urban women in some informal/marginal labor market sectors and among those who disapprove of non-maternal roles regardless of their own conformity to such standards. Women who work because of economic need rather than commitment and those who are not satisfied with their work, have been found in some instances to have the same fertility as non-working women (Pinelli, 1971).

Several explanations are advanced for female employment's zero or positive association with fertility, particularly when cumulative fertility and current employment are indexed. The first explanation

leads back to the income effect hypothesis mentioned earlier, which assumes a direct correlation between the desire to have children and rising income affordability.²³ Economists, however, neglect to consider whether there might be different fertility outcomes depending on which spouse earns and controls the money; a woman earning half the household income will likely have more bargaining power than a woman who earns none, even when total household earnings are the same (Birdsall, 1976). We do not know, then, how the woman might "use" this bargaining power (if any) in fertility-related decisions. A second hypothesis puts the opportunity costs of children low in some circumstances. This is because large extended families offer substitutes for the mother's time in childrearing²⁴ and because jobs set aside for women in most developing countries are often compatible with child care, freeing women to join the work force.

²³ This is suggested by an analysis on the aggregate level of the Egyptian data (Bindary et al, 1973). It is directly implicit in Zarate's findings for Mexico which show that as economic development increases more people marry and at an earlier age. Whether or not high fertility followed changes in marital patterns is not mentioned.

²⁴ The assumption that extended family structures facilitate female labor force participation and high fertility among low income households needs to be questioned. Additional children create pressures for additional income. One must not assume that relatives will invariably be child care substitutes rather than labor force substitutes. The linkage between extended family and fertility tends to be influenced by the particular quantity and quality of interaction characterizing household members, the arrangement of and authority over living units, and the production and distribution of economic resources (Ryder, 1976). These are not uniform throughout all extended family systems.

Thirdly, increased cumulative fertility may force women to work to expand family income or food supply to meet rising household consumption demands. Thus, women work because they have to, and their work will not affect fertility decisions in the expected manner (Lee Hyo Chai and Cho Myoung, 1976; Peek, 1975).

From the standpoint of policy, such findings are discouraging. They point directly to an elite population, and to elite-type employment as the effective vehicles to motivate family-size restrictions. Yet even if more professional/white collar jobs are created for women (and even if women entering such jobs follow the assumed norm of restricting their family size) their proportion in the population of any developing country is numerically too insignificant to entail the overall birth rate.

We expect the upper socioeconomic groups to be the vanguard of demographic transition.²⁵ On the other hand, there is little reason to be concerned with increasing work and income generation capacity among women--as a vehicle towards eventual fertility reduction--unless such intervention is directed towards the mainstream of the female population in developing nations. For this reason, it seems necessary to probe further into the linkage between poverty and high fertility, asking whether or not appropriate intervention among particular strata of the rural and urban poor could generate opportunities or reinforce an existing inclination to restrict family size.

²⁵

Timur argues that it is only in the third phase of the demographic transition that low-income families accept fertility control and decide they can afford to have only a few children. Prior to this phase, influences producing reduction in fertility operate first and most effectively on the highest socioeconomic groups (Timur, 1978).

The following discussion raises central considerations to this question.

VI. Class Factors Influencing Fertility

The general trend has been to link low income, poverty, or subsistence groups with high fertility. Three modes of explanation have emerged:

- cultural, traditionalism, fatalism and irrationality of the poor
- institutional, the failure of institutional structures to change sufficiently to induce motivations to reduce fertility among the poor
- structural, the risks and uncertainties felt by the poor about the utility of children (Schnaiberg and Reed, 1974).

The latter perspective holds that poverty-strata parents are aware of the socioeconomic benefits from children and of anticipated returns from children. Whereas large families have known risks for them, the prospect of a small family raises significant elements of uncertainty since the poor do not feel they can rely on non-familial sources in times of need (Schnaiberg and Reed, 1974; Weekes-Vagliani, 1976). In other words, however small and uncertain the satisfaction or benefits of children, they are more predictable than the response expected from others.

Fertility tends to be positively associated with types of jobs typically filled by low income, poor, and uneducated women in contrast to those occupations linked with low fertility accessible only to women in the upper socioeconomic brackets. This suggests that attention

should focus on the combined interaction between social strata and type of employment and its influence on fertility behavior. Does poverty, rather than the category of job (quality of compatibility or incompatibility) account for variations in fertility rates?

This points to the need to examine the relationship between labor force participation and economic variables such as poverty, child employment, costs of children, and income levels. Dichotomies of urban-rural and modern-traditional sectors of employment are not a sufficient distinction; women workers in each group are socially and economically stratified, not homogenous.

Earlier, we mentioned that the concern with the class-fertility relationship and its linkage to woman's work is recent (Hull, 1977; Wolfe, 1979; Young, 1977)²⁶. The importance this orientation assumes in this context of policy formulation is crucial. From the economic standpoint, mothers in poverty critically need special programs to provide them with opportunities to work and earn money. This position is difficult to refute. From the perspective of population-policy planning, however, it can be legitimately asked if there are demographic justifications for such an investment in woman's programs, insofar as eventual decline in fertility is concerned.

Let us turn to some of the economic realities surrounding specific groups of women in poverty to discover their connections with fertility

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The tendency in explaining lower fertility among the poor has been to single out health related reasons induced by poverty conditions but which are independent of woman's status, economic and work roles, i.e., secondary sterility, sub-fecundity, miscarriages, still births, post-partum abstinence. Another favorite explanation is the more frequent incidence of marital disruption among the poor which depresses fertility (Hull, 1977). This view has recently been challenged (Chapon, 1976).

behavior. The female wage-labor class and the urban woman migrant are relevant points of departure. Both groups are largely composed of women from the landless class or from the marginal urban poor living in households where several wage packets are crucial. All women--single, married, divorced, widowed, and separated-- work because most able-bodied persons must seek employment. The available work entails heavy physical labor, long hours, and lengthy travel between work and home. The chances are that, among wage laborers, women are more sought than men because the wage differential by sex often encourages employers to choose females over males. This sometimes means that the woman assumes heavy economic responsibilities for the family's economic survival, not only through wage labor but also in off-farm activities.²⁷

The economic marginality of woman migrants in developing societies has been only recently explored. There is now compelling evidence that urban women migrants are a particularly disadvantaged group with more pronounced economic needs than male migrants and city-born women in poverty (Youssef, Buvinić & Kudat 1979). They have the least access to support networks, fewest resources of their own, and low aspirations for wages. The interaction of these factors explains why migrant women accept low status jobs and marginal wages that male migrants and

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Among the landless in Indonesia, wives contribute up to 28 percent of household earnings in off-farm activities, as compared to the men who only contribute 11%. As property in land rises, the wife's contribution to the household income in off-farm and other activities gradually declines. (Stoler, 1977).

city-born women feel less compelled to take (Standing, 1978; Jelin, 1977; Castro, et al., 1978; Sudarkasa, 1977; Pernia, 1977; Singh, n.d.; Fraenkel, et al., 1975).

Most poor women are less economically dependent on and less subordinate to their menfolk than women from better-off households (Deere, forthcoming; Young, 1977; Boserup, 1970). This places definite expectations for economic performance on poor women--an expectation not necessarily linked to higher status. This fact alone means that restrictions on family size become important, not as a result of a desire for smaller families but because their low earnings and their need for additional income preclude such households from the relative luxury of a phase of high consumer-worker ratio (Wolfe, 1979). Children's future earnings do not outweigh the current lack of means and resources (Schultz, 1972).

It is not true that the poor consistently have the highest fertility. Behaviorally, there is growing evidence that women from poor households do restrict family size compared to other socio-economic groups. The evidence is not consistent throughout because poverty groups in and by themselves are not homogenous.²⁸

A linkage between poverty and low fertility is reported for

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For example, the Turkish data show strong fertility differentials by social class in metropolitan centers only. The differentials become less pronounced in other urban areas and disappear among socio-economic groups in rural areas (Timur, 1978).

rural Indonesia* (Hull and Hull, 1976); rural Brazil and Punjab** (Stys, 1957; Gendell, 1967; Jain, 1970 cited in Wolfe, 1979): rural Sri Lanka*** (Wolfe, 1979); rural Egypt (Schultz, 1972); the urban Philippines**** (Concepcion, 1974) Bangladesh***** (WFS, 1978a, First Report, 1975-76).²⁹

The negative influence of work on fertility is more salient among the poor than among better-off women. This is borne out by data from Peru where lower class working women showed a 20% lower fertility level than non-working class women, as compared to a 10% differential between the working and non-working middle class of women, and no differential in fertility among the upper class working and non-working women (Wolfe, 1979).³⁰

The fertility behavior of migrant women is more difficult to assess because of dissimilarities in definitions. Three distinctive trends--though neither consistent nor systematically tested--indicate that there is a considerable propensity among migrant women to have fewer children. For example, migrant women have fewer children than non-migrant women in their place of origin (Hiday, 1978). In Thailand, as a whole, and Manila, in particular, migrant women have a lower fertility than native city-dwellers (Goldstein, 1973; Hendershot, 1971).

²⁹

When class is indexed by *land ownership; **income; ***wage labor status in plantation production; ****illiteracy of husband; *****landlessness. In landless households, women had 3.7 everborn children as compared to 4.4 among wives of sharecroppers and own-land cultivators.

³⁰

Likewise, high levels of income and large landownership were positively associated with fertility in Turkey (Timur, 1978); Indonesia (Hull, 1979).

When controlling for age, it is evident in several Latin American cities and in Thailand that younger women migrants (under age 40) when compared to native city women of the same age, have a lower fertility than their urban counterparts. The reverse is true for women 40 and over (Berquo, et al., 1968; Mascisco, Bouvier and Renzo, 1969; Elizaga, 1966). In Isfahan, no fertility differentials were observed between migrant and native city women (Gulick and Gulick, 1978b).

Women's access to economic opportunities and income through participation in the cash economy and alternative sources influences their motivations to restrict family size. This is suggested by in-depth interviews of a small group of rural women in Kenya, Mexico, and the Philippines (Reining, et al., 1977). The small number of respondents prevents generalizations of the findings, but the subject deserves further systematic exploration. The Reining et al. study identifies three different strategies with respect to fertility:

- a conscious continuation of large families among the more prosperous commercial Kenyan women, because of the high status thereby derived

- acquiescence to large family size among the desperately poor who had lost all hope and confidence in their ability to improve their lives and those of their children

- the beginning of family size limitation among cash laborers in Kenya and among women with some independent earnings in Sierra Alta (Mexico) and the Philippines. This last group of women were not

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Arguments for the need to study the psychological dimensions of poverty together with the strictly economic aspects of poverty are presented in: Eva Mueller, "The Woman's Issue in Measuring Household Economic Status and Behavior in Developing Countries," (forthcoming).

prosperous, but they had access to some steady earnings or economic opportunities that gave them hope and confidence in their ability to direct their own lives and help improve the lives of their children. It is towards the expansion of this group of women that program strategies must be directed.

Family Planning and the Poor

Reports in the family planning literature of low acceptor rates in rural areas serve to reinforce the belief that the poor in general and the rural in particular are not a good investment for programs to accelerate fertility reduction. There are, of course, certain problems involved in determining whether or not, and if so, how adequately, demand for contraceptive services measures women's desire to control childbearing. Some of the following points merit consideration:

- the question of whether the low acceptor rate in rural areas is due to lack of accessibility to family planning programs or to lack of knowledge of family planning programs.

- the indication that rural poor women are much more receptive to family planning services than is traditionally believed and that improvement in orientation, management and location of clinics would encourage more women to seek contraceptive advice (Youssef, 1978b; Gulick and Gulick, 1978b; Scrimshaw, 1976; Bracken, 1977; Nakamura and Fonseca, 1979).

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In Sao Paulo, 61% of rural women in low income households, as compared to 36% in high income households, expressed interest in community-based distribution of contraceptives.

- the strong deterrent to contraceptive usage posed by the husband's objections (Belcher, et al., 1978; Neumann, et al., 1976; Sirageldin, et al., 1976; Mukherjee, 1975; Hollerbach, 1978) and the cases where a high percentage of both rural and urban women use contraceptives any way (Dixon, 1978; Morcos, 1974). The traditional male association between virility and fertility is being questioned. Male fertility desires do not always seem to exceed women's desires. Woman's misperception of male fertility desires (if thought to be larger than they actually are) may promote passive decision-making and fertility regulation on their part (Hollerbach, 1978).

- the possibility that lower income women voluntarily resort to "less efficient" (traditional) methods of contraception, thus depressing the acceptor rate in family planning surveys. This other contraceptive behavior may well provide the link to low fertility.

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II. Policy Implications

1. Legal and Other Status Changes

Two objectives prompted this study:

- to call attention to the need to identify sub-layers within the Third World countries' population displaying the potential or propensity to restrict family size. For this group of women, development

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Married women wage earners in the Sri Lanka plantation systems scoring relatively high on all variables related to high fertility (poverty, early marriage, high exposure to intercourse/conception), as compared to other rural/urban socioeconomic groups, reported the relatively lowest fertility levels, together with indications of lowest contraceptive utilization, when compared to women in other groups (Wolfe, 1979).

and population policy directed to providing training, employment, and income earning opportunities should prove to be both economically and demographically justifiable. The chance to find productive work that confers this group of women with some economic identity should further motivate them to avoid additional pregnancies.³⁴

• to recommend that programs stressing employment and income generation capacity should be made available to all mothers in poverty--regardless of demographic expediency--because productive employment dilutes some of the severe hardships that face mothers with growing economic burdens.

Because the symbiotic relationship between women's employment and other status variables, efforts must be made to provide women with a structural support system to motivate them to reach out for options other than motherhood. Making work opportunities available to them without simultaneously affecting other complementary changes through legal, social, and economic measures will not mark much progress towards societal fertility reduction.³⁵

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The provision of women with an "economic identity" is crucial. Evidence suggests little or no influence of women's participation in types of employment conditions in which work duties could be combined with home duties upon fertility levels. Work outside the home is the key variable affecting family-building activities. Perpetuation of women in marginal economic activities may help perpetuate high fertility levels.

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Among policy measures identified by experts from the Third World that might have the effect of reducing fertility indirectly and/or are considered necessary for the success of fertility reducing schemes are the following: Higher age at marriage; equalization of inheritance laws for females; elimination of polygamy; acceptable and easy to achieve divorce for both partners; provision of equal educational, political, and economic rights and opportunities for women; laws restricting child labor; compulsory elementary education; family life and sex education. Such measures may be instituted on their own merit as socially desirable with secondary effect of reducing fertility (National Academy of Sciences, 1974).

In this connection a cautionary note should be introduced regarding the enactment of protective labor legislation for working mothers. Because this has produced pro-natalist effects in developing societies, the exact trade-offs involved must be assessed. Does the support generated by such provisions outweigh the fertility-incentive?

There are other more pertinent legislative issues for promoting the overall position of women. These include: legislative provisions for women's access to all levels of wage-paying employment, self-employment, cooperative employment, and to credit facilities, technical advice, and market outlets. The support component of overall protective policies should provide adequate social security for destitute and elderly women and for women heads of household. Legal guarantees should be established to ensure that wage laws, tax structures, family inheritance laws and property laws do not leave women at a disadvantage.

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It is up to host countries to make such changes. However, development agencies can reinforce structural support systems for

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Tunisia exemplifies how determined and systematic efforts to coordinate population-influencing policies can result in a noticeable drop in the birth rates. This country has limited family allowance to four children, has made social security available to all, has raised age at marriage, has prohibited polygamy, has legalized abortion, and has increased women's educational and occupational opportunities (National Academy of Sciences, 1974). Attempts to improve the position of women by changing laws governing marriage, divorce, and inheritance have also been made in Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia.

women by placing in their general portfolios projects that directly or indirectly encourage alternative life options for women.

2. Type and Scope of Policy

Within the framework of programs that directly and indirectly promote employment and income generation capacity, an important target group are the young women, unmarried as well as married. The first group can be encouraged to delay marriage; the second can be motivated by educational and employment opportunities to postpone first birth or to space and limit childbearing. At the same time, women under 40 with dependent children must be given skills and opportunities to find productive employment.

I would single out as special sub-layers within the female population the following target groups:

- landless, rural wage-labor class, and plantation workers
- urban migrants
- post-partum women
- women heads of household, especially single mothers.

Some directions policy measures for women might usefully take are outlined below.

3. Program Intervention

We have argued in this paper for programs enhancing directly women's employment and income generation capacity and for others providing an overall support system to improve the general condition, particularly of low-income women. Along these lines, we identify four types of possible program interventions.

Health Services

The extension of maternal and child health care services, in either categorical or integrated fashion, is targeted to meet specific health needs of a particular segment of the female population at restricted phases of their life cycle. Many of women's health needs are unrelated to pregnancy and lactation. Some of the principal causes of female mortality include nutritional deficiencies, particularly vitamin malnutrition and iron deficiency anemias and diabetes mellitus (Buvinic and Leslie, 1979).

Health service delivery should extend beyond the maternal/child health components. One obvious way is through integrated health services, using training centers and employment settings as vehicles to give women access to such facilities. In general, however, it is important in planning for health service delivery to consider the variability of women's health needs and the conditions that structure her available time and access to such services and preferred mode of delivery. (For example, whether or not she works, her type of work, and her place of residence).

Support Services

Cooperatives. Action programs related to enhancing women's productivity and income-earning potential must recognize the significance of women's informal networks and support activities at the community level as a means of mobilizing and distributing scarce resources--labor, capital, or information. Here, the direct policy goal would be to promote cooperative-support projects as a mechanism through which the capacity of women in the community can be increased and their fullest

resources can be mobilized to handle the multiplicity of their tasks.

Child Care. Without proper emphasis on adequate child care facilities, the employment of women in developing nations cannot be approached simply in terms of the manner in which it will promote fertility decline. Most women in the Third World are low income women; children often will be affected by the mother's absence. Furthermore, with the increasing scarcity of adult role substitutes, older children are often removed from school to care for younger siblings (UNESCO, 1978). The reconciliation between women's employment and mothering responsibilities has been attempted in some countries by the establishment of day care centers in factories and other places. Not all efforts at external child care have met with receptivity and success. An alternative to be explored is the mobilization of efforts within low income neighborhoods or communities to form their own child-care facilities. Appropriate funding and other related support could be provided by agencies to promote such cooperative support projects, which would, among other functions, provide income for women staff members.

Training

A variety of training programs can be identified. The contents of programs should expose women to new kinds of marketable skills in agricultural-related production and marketing and in the modern industry sectors. Programs underway in Central and South America, the Caribbean, Tunisia, the Philippines, and Indonesia, include such components as introduction to new agricultural techniques, fruit and food preservation and storage and poultry raising; electric installation, repair of household appliances and production of household cleaning items.

Women can also be trained in areas complementary to the income-generation activities they are pursuing so as to enhance their earning power. Specifically, women need to learn marketing skills, storage and processing techniques, some administrative and accounting basics and ways of enhancing subsistence and home production to make these skills marketable.

The "training of trainers" is an essential part of program activity. Some efforts in this direction are underway in Thailand, Tanzania, and Lebanon to train a select group of women in such areas as field work, agricultural techniques, home economics, and primary health care so that they can, in turn, become agents in the delivery of services to women, helping them upgrade their income-earning capacity and improve their home production tasks and family-life and health conditions.

A critical problem for women stems from the high rate of female drop out from the formal educational system. Programs are needed to upgrade educational and vocational opportunities by continuing education programs that will allow them to be reintegrated into the formal educational structure, or by providing training in low-level sub-professional service areas, such as primary health, nursery school teaching, and case work, which opens new job possibilities for young women. (Morocco, Jamaica, Tanzania, Lebanon, and Ecuador, among others, have benefitted from such efforts. One program in Jamaica, for example, is specifically directed towards providing vocational training to single mothers).

Job Creation

Projects must be promoted that will produce income for women either directly, by creating or supporting income-earning opportunities, or indirectly, by providing training in marketable skills. In rural areas, program and policy development must be explicitly directed towards transforming women's home production tasks to the marketplace, supporting cooperative efforts, and providing basic managerial assistance to protect women producers and wage laborers from exploitation. In urban areas, more intensive efforts must be directed through training centers and vocational programs toward expanding the range of job opportunities and income-earning opportunities for women. Suggestions for improving women's employment and income generation capacity include the following:

- Increase the productivity of income-generating activities available to women. In addition, provide ways of guaranteeing that women will derive the profits from their labor.
- Introduce economic alternatives for women by supporting women's entry into the formal sector of the economy and by developing areas of productivity within the traditional market sector.
- Find ways to use existing skills (those used in home production, for example) in the marketplace and public sphere in order to protect against female marginalization.
- Labor-intensive production should be promoted in the "intermediate" labor market sector, and more capital should be allocated to women or to specific industries (for example, industrial sewing, tailoring, textiles, food processing) in which women can function, so as to multiply job opportunities.

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Annex: Income Generating Projects for Women in the Third World

This annex describes women's income-generating projects in developing countries to illustrate some of the different types of projects underway and roughly assess the degree to which project designs provide women beneficiaries with the kind of skills training which promotes lower fertility and/or the desire for smaller families. Initially, we sampled only income-generating projects with a family planning component or vice-versa. Because we located only few projects of this type, we added several income-generating women's projects that did not include a family planning component per se. The projects chosen do not provide a representative sample of all projects which have been or are being conducted in Third World countries. Rather, they were selected to show variations in project designs and methods.

The underlying hypothesis guiding the great majority of project designs that include both family planning and income-generation is that raising the socioeconomic status of women (via skills training and other strategies) will make women more receptive to the small family ideal and result in positive changes in their family planning attitudes and contraceptive practices. Projects tend to be similar in how they integrate the family planning and income-generating components. Local participants are usually provided with knowledge of and motivation towards family planning while they are being trained in some type of income-generating skill. However, their stated objectives tend to differ. Some project objectives are expressly geared towards increasing family planning use by providing women with skills to raise their socioeconomic status. The objective of other projects is to enhance women's status and economic well-being by teaching them income-

generating skills; they include family planning as a secondary service. Below we summarize some of the features of these projects.

Grantors

Of the 16 case studies described, eight are funded primarily by the International Planned Parenthood Federation under the direction of the Women's Development Programme. Five projects are funded by the Agency for International Development, two by the Pathfinder Fund, and one by the World Bank and collaborating organizations. Similar studies are being conducted or considered by organizations such as the UNFPA and the Pan American Health Organization. They are not included here since we were not able to obtain descriptions of the projects.

Host Countries

Seven projects are located in Latin America and the Caribbean. Projects are based in El Salvador (2), Costa Rica, Ecuador (2), and Jamaica. One AID project is being conducted simultaneously in a country in each sub-region of Latin America and in the Caribbean (countries are not specified in project summary). Four projects in Asia are described. They are located in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand. The remaining projects are in Tanzania, Upper Volta, Morocco, Tunisia and Lebanon.

Participants

One-half of the projects are geared towards rural women. While three of these projects reach remote regions of the host country, five projects are based in village communities. Two other projects are based in both villages and urban areas and three are in low income urban areas (in South America). Three of the project summaries do not specify the project location.

Project Outputs

Four distinct types of training programs are offered to women. One type of program is involved primarily in the "training of trainers." In these programs women are selected specifically to be trained in family planning education and services and/or in income-generating activities so that they in turn can motivate other local women. A second program type offers complementary skills training in areas which will enhance women's economic productivity. For example, women may be taught skills in administration or in accounting so that they can run small businesses independently and successfully. Women might also be taught language skills (specifically English) in order that they may more successfully compete in the formal labor market. On a less ambitious scale women may be taught food preservation and storage or the shipment of goods. Or, women may be provided with information on how to obtain credit or make use of available resources, or receive counseling on how to gain a more positive outlook towards themselves and their work.

A third type of training program serves to upgrade women's educational and vocational training and counseling for entry into the labor force or to re-enter school to complete their education. A fourth program type seeks raising the socioeconomic status of women by providing them with training in income generating activities. It is this fourth type of training program that we will examine more closely with regard to its possible impact on fertility.

Skills Training: The type of training skills offered to women varies greatly between and within projects. To differentiate between those activities that would not result in lower fertility norms from those that would, we have disaggregated skills training to three categories: a) traditional non-agricultural skills training; b) agricultural-related skills training; and

c) non-traditional skills training. We define "traditional non-agricultural skills" as those skills that are not likely to have an impact on fertility-- either because the activities are conducted within the confines of the home (and are therefore compatible with child-care) or because they promote "marginal" economic activities for women, generally in the informal sector of the economy (and thus do not provide women with status alternatives to motherhood). Included in this category are activities such as preserving fruits (which may also be defined as agro-based), weaving, crocheting, sewing, handicrafts, and child care and home management. Training courses in these areas are occasionally provided at the request of the participants themselves. Other times they are based on results of market surveys. Except for child care and home management, this type of training generally results in women producing goods which they can sell in the marketplace.

"Non-traditional skills" are defined as those skills which prepare women for employment in the modern sector of the economy, that is, employment that is away from the home and therefore less compatible with child care and which provides women with an "economic identity." We include distinctly modern activities that have been male dominated, such as basic management skills and office procedures, carpentry, electric installations and repair of household appliances, and the production of household cleaning items. We also include in this category activities which generally are thought to be within the female purview but are in the formal sector, such as telephone operators, receptionists, industrial seamstresses, hotel maids, and trained auxiliary nurses.

1. It is interesting that projects with the expressed objective of increasing women's economic well-being appear to include participants in making decisions concerning the project to a greater extent than do those projects having the primary objective of lowering fertility.

2. Marketing is an important component in both agricultural and non-agricultural skills training. Some projects extend their training to teach participants how to market their goods or produce. Others include setting up or utilizing existing cooperatives as a vehicle by which women can market their products.

Most non-traditional skills training programs described here train women to provide services. Women typically must find employment within the formal sector in order to make use of these non-traditional skills. Several projects base their training programs on surveys that assess the market potential of skills (notably the Sri Lanka project); others help participants find suitable employment upon completion of their training.

The agricultural related activities included in the projects generally seem compatible with child care and therefore do not appear to encourage lower fertility. Most of the agro-based projects described in this annex train women to either grow vegetables or raise poultry. Other agricultural related skills taught to women include canning and preserving of local fruits, preparing and packaging spices, etc. In only one instance (Indonesia) were specific modern agricultural activities mentioned. The Indonesia project design included training participants in modern agricultural practices including the use of fertilizers and animal vaccines.

Complementary Skills Training: "Complementary skills" is defined as training that enhances women's job productivity-- in other words, skills that complement women's economic activities. Included are training in accounting, administrative and managerial skills; improving shipment of goods; food preservation and storage; and literacy and language skills training. Some projects provide participants with information on how to obtain credit or how to make the most of available resources. Finally, several projects provide self-development training so that participants might gain a more positive outlook towards themselves and their work. Five of the 16 projects incorporate these activities into their training programs.

Upgrading educational/vocational opportunities: Two projects are aimed at specifically helping young women who were unable to complete their schooling. The major objective of these projects is to assist girls in entering the labor force or to help them re-enter school by providing the necessary pre-vocational education and counseling.

Training of Trainers: In several of the projects some participants are selected and trained to be trainers. While this technique is often used in promoting family planning, in all cases trainees were taught skills to promote women's economic roles--either exclusively or in conjunction with family planning. In one project women were trained as child care workers so that the local mothers could work.

Other Outputs: Family planning motivation, education and services; health and hygiene education; adult literacy training (unless provided with the objective of promoting women's employment activities); child care facilities for participants; women's cooperatives or credit associations; etc., are included in this section. Also described here are those unique or interesting components which serve to enhance the project design.

Evaluation

Many project summaries do not include any description of project evaluation, assuming that evaluation is included in the project design; other projects are just recently underway and thus have not been evaluated yet. We found and thus present information for only four projects, either project evaluation procedures or findings.

Profiles for the 16 projects analyzed above are presented in alphabetical order by region.

Project Title: PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR YOUNG GIRLS
Country: Morocco
Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)
Executing Agency: Rabat Club of Business and Professional Women
Starting Date: December, 1977
Duration: One year
Participants: Young girls who are unemployed and have not been able to complete secondary education
Project Outputs: Ungrading Educational/Vocational Opportunities
A pilot center is proposed to provide training to girls who have not been able to complete their secondary schooling. At the end of the training period the participants will be assisted in finding employment or in starting businesses or cooperatives.
Other Outputs
Included in the training program is family planning education and instruction. Services are provided to married participants.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: TRAINING OF DAY CARE CENTRE TEACHERS/SUPERVISERS
Country: Tanzania
Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)
Executing Agency: Family Planning Association of Tanzania
Starting Date: End of 1977
Duration: One year, initially
Participants: Thirty six women
Project Outputs: Training of Trainers

Women will be trained as day care center teachers and supervisors in order that mothers may participate in local economic activities. Training will include the guiding and handling of small children. Trainees will also be informed about family planning services in order that they may enlighten parents. Day care centers will be located in Ujamma villages and in some urban centers.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: BEHIRET ZITTOUNA WOMEN'S COMMUNITY CENTRE
Country: Tunisia
Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)
Executing Agency: National Union of Tunisian Women
Starting Date: June 1978
Duration: Three years
Participants: Women in a remote area of the Jendouba region
Project Outputs: Skills Training
a) Traditional non-agricultural skills: Women will be trained in sewing and in the processing and weaving of wool.
b) Agricultural related skills: Women will receive training in poultry farming, vegetable growing and food production and storage.

Other Outputs

Training is given in health and nutrition. Family planning information and services are also provided. Women are given access to ovens and mills to assist them in their breadmaking. They and their children also have access to showers.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: NON-FORMAL EDUCATION/WOMEN IN THE SAHEL
Country: Upper Volta
Grantor: Agency for International Development (AID)
Executing Agency: Education Ministry Project for Equal Access to Education of Women and Girls
Starting Date: 1978
Duration: Five years
Participants: At least one thousand five hundred village women in Northeast Upper Volta; male villagers may also partake in activities
Project Outputs: Training of Trainers

Female Sahel based extension agents are to be trained in organizing and motivating local village women. A minimum of 15 female extension workers will be selected, trained and placed in five town centers. They will then each train two women per village as paraprofessionals. In a total of 50 villages this three-person team will organize local women to specify and implement activities of their choice.

Other Outputs

Besides providing training in income-generating activities, extension agents will use non-formal training to organize and motivate village women to invest in, administer and utilize labor savings activities, health and hygiene education programs and literacy training. Moreover, a revolving loan fund is to be established to provide loans to participants.

Note: Since women are more likely to participate in the project if males are included, activities are extended to include male villagers.

Source: Office of Women in Development, AID. 1978. "Report on Women in Development." Submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate and to the Speaker U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development.

Project Title: WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS (a part of the Information, Education and Motivation Program, Bangladesh Population and Family Health Project)

Country: Bangladesh

Grantor: World Bank; other participating organizations

Executing Agency: Government of Bangladesh, Ministry of Health and Population Control

Starting Date: 1975

Duration: Five years

Participants: Women in selected villages in about forty two Thanas (Provinces)

Project Outputs: Skills Training

a) Traditional non-agricultural skills: In three years 750 mother's clubs with a membership of over 26,000 women were established. Gainful economic activities have been initiated in these clubs to promote interaction among women and the acceptance of family planning practices. Activities provided include sewing and knitting; handicrafts such as cane, bamboo, jute and earthen works; and child care and home management. The clubs provide the necessary material to produce goods and make arrangements for marketing. Most goods are either sold in urban markets or used for home consumption.

The Women's Rehabilitation Welfare Foundation, under the Women Affairs Organization, organizes women's vocational programs in cottage industries. Training programs range from six months to one year during which time participants receive a small stipend.

b) Agricultural-related skills: Members of the mother's clubs are also taught skills in kitchen gardening, poultry raising, fish netting, and the preparation and packaging of spices. The women's cooperatives also provide training primarily in agro-based activities. Goods and produce are sold in the local markets.

WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS (Continued)

Project Outputs:

Other Outputs

By 1978 over 500 Women Cooperative Societies had been established with a total membership of 18,000 women. Members have deposited about U.S. \$30,000 in the cooperatives in a revolving fund that provides members with loans.

Literacy training, health education and family planning motivation and referral services are made available to project participants.

Evaluation:

A Planning Commission Study, in comparing women participants with non-participants concluded that project women 1) knew more about contraception and used it more; actively persuaded other village women to use contraceptives; and 2) made more profits from poultry raising and vegetable growing.

About 25 per cent and 38 per cent of women participating in mother's clubs and women's cooperatives, respectively, have accepted family planning. According to a United Nations study, there has been a fertility decline of 48 per cent among mother's club members.

In evaluating women's income-generating activities in Bangladesh, the Planning Commission and UNICEF evaluators expressed the need to: 1) base decisions of goods to be produced on market surveys; 2) organize the marketing of goods; 3) give priority to agricultural projects for local markets; 4) maintain quality control; and 5) organize vocational training and literacy, health, nutrition and population education programs using simple training materials for local needs.

Source: World Bank Population Projects Department. 1979. "Bangladesh: Staff Appraisal of a Second Population and Family Health Project." Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Rahman, Jowshan Ara. 1975. "Annual Report: Population Planning through Mother's Clubs." Department of Social Welfare, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Project Title: SOUTH SULAWESI COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM

Country: Indonesia

Grantor: The Pathfinder Fund

Executing Agency: The Indonesia Planned Parenthood Association

Starting Date: August, 1979

Duration: Sixteen months; if the objectives are achieved, the grantor will consider extension of another year

Participants: Eighty women of the Maros Regency of South Sulawesi Province

Project Outputs: Skills Training

Agricultural related skills: According to the suitability of the area, local agricultural and veterinary institutes will teach participants to raise a variety of vegetables or poultry. Modern agricultural practices such as the use of fertilizers and vaccines are included in the training.

Women will sell their produce through a local cooperative and will participate in making decisions regarding the cooperative.

Of the income received from agricultural activities, one third will be deposited into a cooperative bank account; one third will go towards covering operating expenses; and one third will go to the individual.

Training of Trainers

Eighty married women between 18 and 30 years old with leadership qualities will be selected to be trained in income-generating activities and in family planning, health and child care. Trainees will then each train at least three other women in agricultural skills and will work within the structure of the local village-based family planning program to motivate and educate women and resupply contraceptives. (total=240 women)

Training methodology includes lectures, discussions, demonstrations, and field practice.

SOUTH SULAWESI COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY
PLANNING PROGRAM (Continued)

Project Outputs:

Other Outputs

Participants are also provided with information on family planning, health and nutrition.

Evaluation:

Impact evaluation: The project includes a baseline KAP survey prior to the implementation of the project and a follow-up survey upon project completion.

Using in-depth surveys, specific information will be elicited from the 80 trainees to determine: 1) their economic situation resulting from project participation; 2) their participation in family decision-making; 3) attitudes of men toward their wives' participation; and 4) their attitudes and practices of family planning.

Project Title: SRI LANKA EMPLOYMENT PROJECT
Country: Sri Lanka
Grantor: Agency for International Development (AID)
Executing Agency: Sri Lanka Federation of University Women (SLFUW); Overseas Education Fund (OEF) (provides technical assistance)
Starting Date: January, 1978
Duration: Thirty months
Participants: At least three hundred fifty low income rural and urban young women university graduates

Project Outputs: Skills Training

Non-traditional skills: Women will be trained in identified marketable skills. Types of training provided will be based on preliminary research findings. Subject areas anticipated include basic management skills, office procedures, general economics, etc.

Field trips are scheduled to allow participants to observe the different types of jobs available and actual employment situations. Employment counseling services are also provided.

Complementary Skills Training

To enhance their employability, participants are given short courses involving self awareness, building confidence for prospective employment, and career counseling.

Courses in English Communication are provided to participants to increase their ability to work in English--a skill which was found by the SLFUW to promote women's employability in the business sector.

Other Outputs

Prior to actual skills training, a survey of female liberal arts graduates was conducted to identify major factors impeding employment of female university graduates. Potential employers were also surveyed to determine: 1) types of job skills needed; 2) potential job opportunities; 3) institutional regulations affecting female employment; and 4) requirements and qualifications expected of potential women employees. An on-site study of the usage of written and spoken English in various organizations and government departments was also conducted.

SRI LANKA EMPLOYMENT PROJECT (Continued)

Project Outputs:

Other Outputs (Continued)

Several workshops are to be held for representatives of potential employers to increase their support and cooperation towards the project and project participants. Meetings will be held with representatives of government, public and private sectors and university officials on problems of female employment and possible changes in education curriculum.

A project report and slide and cassette tape presentation of project activities will serve as a guide for future project planning, adaption and replication schemes--both in Sri Lanka and elsewhere.

Source: Overseas Education Fund. 1978. "Proposal for Marketable Skill Training to Increase Employability of Low Income Rural and Urban Young Women of Sri Lanka." Mimeo.

Project Title: WOMEN'S BETTER LIVING PROJECT
Country: Thailand
Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)
Executing Agency: Planned Parenthood Association of Thailand
Starting Date: April, 1978
Duration: Three years
Participants: Young women from local Thai villages
Project Outputs: Training of Trainers

Participants will be trained in family life education, health, nutrition, and in family planning education and motivation. They will also be trained in the formation of cooperative economic projects. Upon completion of their training, the participants will educate other women in their home villages in what they have learned. They will also provide leadership in assisting women in community development activities. Finally, the young women will assist in delivering family planning supplies within their own communities.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: PROGRAM FOR ADOLESCENT MOTHERS
Country: Jamaica
Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)
Executing Agency: Jamaica Women's Bureau
Starting Date: Early 1978
Duration: Two years
Participants: Adolescents who are either mothers or who are pregnant
Project Outputs: Upgrading Educational/Vocational Opportunities

Young mothers are provided with vocational training and counseling services to enhance their chances of remunerative employment. Also, prevocational training, counseling and continuing education is given to young pregnant women to assist them in re-entering school after child birth and to provide them with a new self image.

Other Outputs

Family planning and family life education are included in the training.

Research will be conducted on the phenomena of adolescent pregnancy based on project data.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978.
"Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme:
Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: COSTA RICA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Country: Costa Rica

Grantor: Agency for International Development (AID)

Executing Agency: Federación de Organizaciones Voluntarias (FOV);
Overseas Education Fund (OEF) (provides technical assistance)

Starting Date: June, 1977

Duration: Two and one half years initially; the project will then continue independently under the direction of the FOV with local funds and grants.

Participants: About one thousand women in low income areas of San Jose

Project Outputs: Skills Training
Non-traditional skills: Women are trained in low skill occupations such as industrial seamstresses, office workers (i.e., telephone operators and receptionists), and hotel maids.
Complementary Skills Training
Human Development Training is provided to participants in conjunction with vocational training to prepare them for entry into gainful employment by building their self confidence and motivation. This training further prepares these women to be more positive in their attitudes towards themselves, and teaches them how to plan for their own lives and how to make use of available resources.

Evaluation: Impact evaluation: A pretest is given to each participant prior to training and a post test to a sample of participants six months after training is completed to test changes in participants' attitudes and behavior regarding themselves and their work, and their relationships at work and at home. Findings have shown that human development training in self development within the context of skills training or employment helps to positively change women's attitudes towards themselves and their work. The program has been successful in stimulating good relations between labor and management and to improve women laborers' attitudes towards work. Drop-out rates and absenteeism were reduced among participates.

Project Title: PROGRESS OF WOMEN'S SITUATION IN A MARGINAL AREA
OF THE CITY OF GUAYAQUIL

Country: Ecuador

Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)

Executing Agency: Family Planning Association

Starting Date: Early 1977

Duration: Three years

Participants: Women in a barrio of Guayaquil

Project Outputs: Skills Training

a) Traditional non-agricultural skills: Lessons in handicrafts and sewing are offered to participants. The concept of cooperatives will be introduced to assist participants in selling their products.

b) Non-traditional skills: Participants have stated a desire to become auxiliary nurses or primary health care workers. Women who did well in the program's first aid courses will be encouraged to take the school of nursing entrance exam. Tuition money will be loaned to them through a credit scheme.

Other Outputs

A course in literacy is provided leading to a Ministry diploma. The participants also take courses in family planning, family life education, nutrition, cooking, home economics and home budgeting. They also receive information on available social services and advice on legal problems.

Women who perform well in home economics courses, etc., will be asked to assist course directors on a rotating basis for a small salary.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.

Project Title: UNME LOCAL WOMEN'S PROJECTS
Country: Ecuador
Grantor: The Pathfinder Fund
Executing Agency: Union Nacional de Mujeres del Ecuador (UNME)
Starting Date: November, 1979
Duration: One year
Participants: About three hundred women from the rural Coastal and Sierra regions

Project Outputs: Skills Training

a) Traditional non-agricultural skills: Women from local groups will be taught specific skills including making fruit preserves, crocheted flower arrangements, and weaving.

b) Non-traditional skills: Additional skills that will be taught to participants are electric installations and repair of household appliances, production of household cleaning items and carpentry.

The project includes a market component whereby women will be able to sell the goods they have produced or the services they are able to provide.

Other Outputs

Women will be visited by a midwife several times over the course of the project and will be given instruction and motivation on contraceptive use and maternal and child health care (MCH). Family Planning (FP) referrals will be made upon request.

Evaluation: Process evaluation: Periodic evaluation by the staff members will be made at all levels of the project. A mid term seminar will be conducted in which project participants are able to evaluate the project's progress.

Project Title: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, EL SALVADOR
Country: El Salvador
Grantor: Agency for International Development (AID)
Executing Agency: Overseas Education Fund (OEF); Committee to Promote Clubs of Rural Housewives
Starting Date: October, 1979
Duration: Three years
Participants: Two hundred fifty rural women in the Department of Sonsonate
Project Outputs: Skills Training

a) Agricultural related skills: Participants will be taught food production skills such as poultry raising and the canning, drying and/or preserving of local fruits. Actual types of training are contingent upon the findings of a survey previously conducted to determine local market needs.

b) Non-traditional skills: Programs to enhance the income-generating capabilities of rural women under consideration are: a) how to blow glass jars needed for preserving fruits, and b) how to make soap and other products.

Complementary Skills

Women will be taught small business management, marketing and the pricing and cost accounting systems needed to run all aspects of the production center independently.

Other Outputs

Child care facilities, literacy training and programs in health and nutrition will be made available to participants.

A model rural women's income-generating project will be developed and tested for replication in other communities in El Salvador.

Source: Personal communication with Louise Montgomery, Director, the Office of Field Programs, Overseas Education Fund, September, 1979.

Project Title: INTEGRATED INFORMATION AND EDUCATION FOR THE MARKET WOMEN OF SAN SALVADOR

Country: El Salvador

Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)

Executing Agency: Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña: Administración Municipal del Mercado de San Salvador

Starting Date: Late 1977

Duration: Two and one-half years

Participants: Women vendors in a municipal market in San Salvador

Project Outputs: Complementary Skills Training

Complementary skills and services are provided to enhance women's economic productivity in the market place. Included are information on the preservation of products not sold within one day, information on available social services and legal rights, and assistance in setting up credit facilities.

Other Outputs

Classes in sex education and related issues are provided to adolescent children of the women participants.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978: "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London. IPPF.

Project Title: EDUCATIONAL MEDIA FOR INTEGRATION OF WOMEN

Country: One country in each of the following sub-regions:
Central America, South America and the Caribbean

Grantor: Agency for International Development (AID) and
host countries

Executing Agency: Not stated

Starting Date: 1978

Duration: Three years

**Participants and
Beneficiaries:** About three million rural poor women in three countries
in Latin America and the Caribbean initially; number
of beneficiaries will increase as project is replicated
in other countries in the region.

Project Outputs: Complementary Skills Training

The project is developing mixed media methods (i.e., radio and television) as a way to disseminate information to rural women to improve their understanding of agricultural and marketing procedures, and stimulate interest in the formation of action-oriented groups. The programs offered will be based on agricultural-technical information on food production practices; market information including ways to improve shipment; storage and selling of goods; credit options and the possibility of organizing credit groups.

Other Outputs

To enlarge the conceptualization of women's role in the family and society, the program provides socio-economic information about the roles of family members and implications of these roles.

Referrals will be made to women regarding services available through the public and private sectors.

Source: Office of Women in Development, AID. 1978. "Report on Women in Development." Submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate and to the Speaker U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development.

Project Title: TRAINING COURSE IN HOME ECONOMICS/EXTENSION FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Country: Lebanon

Grantor: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)

Executing Agency: Lebanese Child Welfare Association (LCWA)

Starting Date: May, 1978

Duration: One and three-quarters years

Participants: Workers in LCWA child care centers and in women's extension programs

Project Outputs: Training of Trainers

Training in home economics, family life education, etc., is provided to workers to upgrade their performance. Initially, a group of 25 fieldworkers, trained over a period of six weeks, will develop programs in LCWA centers to promote women's income-generating activities. Activities will be based on the stated needs of participating local women.

Source: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). 1978. "Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme: Programme Inventory and Project Summaries." London: IPPF.