

Population and Status of Women*

Women do not enjoy equal status with men in most respects, and play only a limited role in national socio-economic development

By S. Selvaratnam*

Women are not accorded equal status with men in practically all countries of the world. Compared with men, women have very limited opportunities in most spheres of economic and social activities (Sadik, 1986; Curtin, 1982). However, there is a close association between various aspects of women's status or position in society and demographic patterns of fertility, mortality and migration. This association is shown to be more pronounced with regard to fertility and the social processes associated with it (United Nations, 1975).

While a systematic study of the interrelations between population dynamics and the status of women is hampered by the absence of an unambiguous

* The author of this article is S. Selvaratnam, a former Adviser (Social Planning), Ministry of Planning and Employment, Sri Lanka, and Senior Expert, ESCAP Population Division. A more detailed paper on this topic will be delivered at the ESCAP Regional Seminar on Frameworks for Population and Development Planning, which will be held at Bangkok from 6 to 10 June 1988.

operational definition of “status of women”, there is some agreement regarding its theoretical definitions.* Yet there is no consensus regarding the social indicators to be used for establishing the ranking of the position of women *vis-a-vis* that of men. Consequently, it is difficult to assess accurately the status of women within a society, and more so across societies.

However, it is generally agreed that indices relating to educational attainment, health levels and labour force participation are particularly important for studying the association between population and the status of women. For example, a number of studies have shown that the level of education of the mother is a crucial element in the success of activities aimed at reducing fertility rates, improving health and reducing mortality, particularly infant and child mortality. In addition, it has also been shown that greater participation of women in non-traditional roles of economic activity, greater access to health care and subsequent decline in infant and child death rates influence the level of birth rates, and have played a part in their declines (Cleland, 1987).

It has, however, to be noted that some of the indicators used for assessing women’s status have important limitations. For instance, women’s participation in economic activity is often measured in terms of the proportion of women in the labour force. But a wide range of activities traditionally performed by women are by definition excluded from the ambit of gainful employment (Jose, 1987).

The debate continues as to whether such activities as home management, cooking, household cleaning, fetching water for domestic use, bearing and rearing of children, tending and feeding animals, or looking after home vegetable gardens, should be considered as having economic value or not. In many countries, labour force data tend to exclude large numbers of female unpaid workers on farms and other family-operated economic enterprises, home-based produc-

* Theoretically, women’s status has been defined, for example, “as the degree of women’s access to (and control over) *material* resources (including food, income, land, and other forms of wealth) and to *social* resources (including knowledge, power and prestige) within the family, in the community, and in society at large” (Dixon, 1978), or as “the ranking, in terms of prestige, power, or esteem, according to the position of women in comparison with, relative to, the ranking – also in terms of prestige, power, esteem – given to the position of men” (Buvinic, 1976). These definitions suggest that “women’s status” is a multidimensional phenomenon, or a composite of several different and perhaps interdependent variables. Several authors prefer to adopt the term “female autonomy” because it indicates “the ability (technical, social and psychological) to obtain information and to use it as the basis for making decisions about one’s private concerns and those of one’s intimates. Thus, equality of autonomy between the sexes . . . implies equal decision-making ability with regard to personal affairs” (Dyson and Moore, 1983). Further, this term is considered to be more amenable to empirical measurement than the concept of status (ESCAP, 1987d).

tive work for cash income, as well as several activities undertaken jointly with men, thus resulting in an understatement of the number of economically active women. However, since relatively many female workers are part-time workers, a complete enumeration of all activities engaged in by women irrespective of the extent of their involvement may exaggerate their contribution to the labour force.

Current situation

Education

During the past two decades or more, most countries in the Asian and Pacific region have made vigorous efforts to expand their educational facilities, raise enrolment ratios for both boys and girls as well as narrow sex-disparities in enrolment and reduce illiteracy levels. However, not all countries have succeeded in achieving substantial progress in these directions. Equal education has proved to be an elusive goal even in countries where equality is guaranteed by law. By and large, women remain under-represented within the educational system; they constitute less than half of the school population in several countries and their proportions decline rapidly at the highest levels of training. Concomitantly, women dominate the ranks of the illiterate in most countries.

The situation in East and South-east Asia, however, appears to be encouraging. Most countries and areas in these two sub-regions have succeeded in attaining gross female enrolment ratios in excess of 90 per cent at the primary level, and in considerably narrowing the gap between the two sexes (table 1). At the secondary level, enrolment rates tend to equalize, but in Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, the Philippines and Singapore, the rates for females exceed those of males. Among the developing countries and areas in these two sub-regions, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Mongolia, Philippines, Republic of Korea and Singapore record female secondary enrolment rates higher than 50 per cent. At the tertiary level, the female enrolment rate exceeds the male rate only in Mongolia and the Philippines (ESCAP, 1987a).

But in South Asia, with the exception of Sri Lanka and some States of India, female primary and secondary enrolment ratios are still very low in both absolute and relative terms. Primary enrolment rates of 50 per cent and below have been recorded for Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Pakistan. Disparities in male-female enrolments are also very large in most South Asian countries. Although the South Asian sub-region has achieved considerable progress in enrolment ratios over the years, parity in education still remains a distant goal in most of these countries owing to historical disadvantages. Government efforts to push up female enrolments and literacy appear to be compounded by centuries' old prejudices and social attitudes.

Table 1: Gross school enrolment ratios^{a/} at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in selected countries and areas

Country/area	Year	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Afghanistan	1985	11	24	5	11	–	–
Australia ^{b/}	1985	105	106	97	94	27.0	28.40
Bangladesh	1985	50	70	10	26	1.9	8.3
Bhutan	1985	18	32	1	6	0.01	0.10
Burma	1980	81	87	18	22	–	–
China ^{b/}	1985	116	132	32	45	1.0	2.20
Fiji ^{b/}	1985	128	129	55	53	3.0	3.50
Hong Kong ^{b/}	1984	104	106	12	66	9.30	16.30
India	1984	16	107	24	45	–	–
Indonesia ^{b/}	1984	116	121	34	45	4.2	8.9
Japan ^{b/}	1984	101	100	95	94	20.1	30.2
Lao People's Democratic Republic	1984	79	101	15	23	0.80 ^{c/}	1.60 ^{c/}
Malaysia	1985	99	100	53	53	5.3	8.70
Mongolia ^{b/}	1981	106	106	92	84	32.3	18.80
Nepal	1984	43	100	10	34	1.9	7.40
New Zealand ^{b/}	1983	106	107	86	84	28.7	34.20
Pakistan	1984	32	61	9	24	2.8	6.2
Philippine ^{b/}	1985	106	105	66	63	40.3	35.5
Republic of Korea ^{b/}	1986	94	94	93	98	20.3	44.5
Singapore ^{b/}	1983	110	115	69	68	10.2	13.3
Sri Lanka ^{b/}	1985	102	105	67	60	3.6	5.5
Thailand	1980	96	99	19	30	3.10	–

Source: UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1987*.

- Notes: ^{a/} Percentage of those in the appropriate age groups who are actually enrolled.
^{b/} Ratios in excess of 100 per cent recorded in respect of primary level enrolment reflect the participation of children of older ages.
^{c/} Refers to the year 1982.

In practically all countries, there appears to be a tendency for students to pursue fields of study conforming to socially defined female and masculine roles, although the degree of sex-typing varies considerably between countries. Particularly at the tertiary level, there is a continuing concentration of female students in liberal arts and education, while the preference of the male students are for law, business administration, and the pure and applied sciences, especially engineering.

Although many countries of the Asian and Pacific region have achieved considerable progress in reducing illiteracy levels, female illiteracy continues to be a major problem in South Asia, where, with the exception of Sri Lanka, more than 75 per cent of the female population in these countries are illiterate. The problem is more acute in the rural areas of those countries (table 2).

Table 2: Illiteracy rates of population aged 15 years and over, by sex and residence for selected countries and areas

Country/area	Year	Total population		Urban population		Rural population	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Asia							
Afghanistan	1979	69.7	95.0	47.7	79.2	73.7	97.8
Bangladesh	1981	60.3	82.0	42.0	65.9	64.5	84.7
Burma	1973						
China	1982	20.8	48.9	9.5	26.4	23.1	53.2
Hong Kong							
India	1981	45.2	74.3	23.6	48.1	52.7	82.4
Indonesia	1980	22.5	42.3	8.8	24.0	26.8	47.7
Islamic Republic of Iran	1976	51.8	75.6	32.7	56.5	72.3	93.4
Lao People's Democratic Republic ^{a/}	1985	8.0	24.2				
Malaysia	1980	20.0	36.0	12.0	26.0	24.0	41.0
Nepal	1981	68.3	90.8	40.3	67.0	70.4	92.4
Pakistan	1981	64.0	84.8	43.1	65.3	73.4	92.7
Philippines	1980	16.1	17.2	6.1	7.7	22.4	23.9
Republic of Korea	1970	5.6	19.0	2.0	9.3	8.5	26.6
Singapore	1980	8.4	26.0	—	—	—	—
Sri Lanka	1981	8.7	18.0	4.4	8.9	10.0	20.5
Thailand	1980	7.7	16.0				
Pacific							
Fiji	1976	16.0	26.0	—	—	—	—
Papua New Guinea ^{b/}	1971	60.7	75.6				
Samoa	1971	2.2	2.1	1.3	1.2	2.5	2.4
Tonga	1976	0.3	0.5				

Source: UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1987*.

Notes: ^{a/} Refers to the age group 15-45 years only; ^{b/} Refers to the proportion aged 10 years and over.

Table 3: Expectation of life at birth for selected countries and areas in the Asian and Pacific region, 1987

Country/area	Life expectancy (years)	
	Male	Female
Afghanistan	40.6	41.6
Australia	72.5	79.5
Bangladesh	50.5	49.8
Bhutan	48.1	46.8
Burma	51.9	55.0
China	67.8	70.7
Democratic Kampuchea	46.5	49.4
Fiji	68.0	72.4
Hong Kong	73.0	78.5
India	56.7	57.6
Indonesia	54.4	57.2
Islamic Republic of Iran	58.9	59.3
Japan	75.3	81.0
Lao People's Democratic Republic	50.3	53.3
Malaysia	68.0	72.7
Mongolia	61.4	65.5
Nepal	53.9	51.1
New Zealand	71.8	77.8
Pakistan	53.7	51.9
Papua New Guinea	53.0	54.6
Philippines	61.7	64.9
Republic of Korea	65.6	71.8
Singapore	70.0	76.3
Sri Lanka	68.3	71.5
Thailand	61.6	67.6
Viet Nam	58.5	62.9

Source: ESCAP, 1987 ESCAP Population Data Sheet.

Among the developing countries in East and South-east Asia, China has the highest female illiteracy rate; nearly 70 per cent of the 200 million illiterates and semi-illiterates in China are female.

Health conditions

Over the past three or four decades, most countries in the region have gradually expanded their health infrastructure facilities and services to cover an increasingly wider section of the population. Consequently, the health status of the population has improved significantly and there has been a steady and substantial decline in the mortality rates. In most countries women have apparently benefited more from improvement in health care, their health concerns being largely addressed through family planning programmes, maternal and child welfare and nutrition education.

In East Asia, China has built up an extensive network of health care facilities and personnel, particularly in the field of maternal and child health, thereby raising the proportion of child deliveries performed with trained assistance and lowering the maternal mortality rate (ESCAP, 1987a). In the Republic of Korea, the maternal death rate has been considerably lowered while the rate of child delivery assistance by trained mid-wives, clinics and hospitals increased dramatically between 1971 and 1982 (ESCAP, 1987a). Female life expectancy at birth is currently about 71 in China and 72 in the Republic of Korea (table 3). In all East Asian countries, females now have a higher life expectancy than males.

In South-east Asia, the Philippines designed its maternal and child health programme to minimize the health risks associated with pregnancy and child-birth through special care and supervision. Consequently more than 50 per cent of the births now occur with medical assistance, and there has been appreciable reductions in maternal and infant mortality rates. In Malaysia, despite considerable progress, rates of maternal mortality, still-birth and perinatal mortality remain high, particularly in districts in which rural poverty is comparatively higher, where acceptance of national family planning has been low and where the proportion of home deliveries continues to be higher (ESCAP, 1987b). In rural Indonesia, over 80 per cent of the deliveries still take place at home with the assistance of traditional birth attendants. Consequently maternal mortality in rural areas is estimated to be quite high: 80 per 10,000 in 1984 (Utomo and Iskandar, 1986). In all South-east Asian countries, however, female life expectancy is higher than male life expectancy.

In the South Asian region, the health and mortality situation with regard to women remains unsatisfactory. In most countries, with the exception of Sri Lanka, female mortality has long been consistently higher than male

mortality. In Bangladesh, female life expectancy is lower than that of men; the female infant mortality rate is estimated at 155 per 1,000, and malnutrition is substantially higher among female than male children (Ahmed, 1986). In India, the absence of, or limited access to, pre-natal care and trained birth attendants, particularly in the rural areas, is still the cause of high neonatal and maternal mortality (ESCAP, 1987b). In Pakistan, maternal mortality is around 7 per 1,000 live births; 30 per cent of babies are born underweight and 60 per cent of mothers lose a child within a year of its birth. Anaemia afflicts nearly a third of all women, the incidence being higher among those pregnant and lactating (ESCAP, 1987a). A shorter average life span of women has been observed for many decades in countries of the Indian sub-continent, i.e. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan and, until about the early 1960s, Sri Lanka (Ruzika and Kane, 1987). However, the expectation of life at birth for females exceeds that of males in Afghanistan, India, Islamic Republic of Iran and Sri Lanka. In most of these countries, one could expect a further lowering of maternal and child mortality rates with the gradual increase in contraceptive practice, birth spacing and postponement of first births.

Employment patterns

Since the mid-1960s, developing countries in the Asian and Pacific region have witnessed an unprecedented expansion in their labour force, resulting largely from the high rates of population growth which these countries experienced since the early 1950s. A noteworthy feature of this expansion has been the rapid growth in the volume of the female labour force. The gradual expansion of opportunities for female education also contributed to the increased influx of women into the labour market. Further, recent fertility decline in several countries also means that women spend less time in family-building roles and have more time to take on economically productive activities (ESCAP, 1987c). In most countries, increasing participation of women in the labour force has continued to date.

Yet, in most countries of the region, the reported female labour force participation rates are substantially lower than the male rates. In these countries, while the male participation rates are 70 per cent or more, the female rates, with the exception of China, are very low, i.e. less than 55 per cent. Further, whereas the rates of male labour force participation vary little from country to country, rates of female participation differ enormously between countries and between different data sources. It may also be noted that, with the exception of Sri Lanka and Nepal, countries in South Asia have very low female participation rates, the rates being extremely low for Bangladesh, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan.

Several factors have contributed to the relatively low female participation rates in countries of the region. Firstly, since women are still largely

responsible for domestic work and child-rearing, they are not as free as men to enter the labour market. The vast majority of the Asian women who work do so for economic reasons, and practically all of them, except for highly educated and career-oriented women, would prefer to stay at home and look after their children (Whyte and Whyte, 1982). In societies where it is difficult to combine child care with wage employment outside the home, women often withdraw from the labour force after marriage or the start of child-bearing (ESCAP, 1986). Further, since leisure has status, middle- and high-income educated women often choose not to work (ESCAP, 1987c). Secondly, as noted previously, in most countries labour force data tend to underestimate the number of economically active women especially in the category of unpaid helpers on farms and other family-operated economic enterprises. A major reason for underestimation of women in rural employment appears to be the reluctance of male household heads to acknowledge the economic activities of their wives and daughters outside the household (Youseff, 1977; Krishnamurthy, 1983). This is particularly so in those countries where the Muslim custom of *purdah* (seclusion) inhibits the employment of women (Husain, 1958). These cultural traits may affect not only the extent to which women actually engage in income-producing work but also the reporting of these activities in the census or labour force surveys (United Nations, 1973).

In the developed and in most developing countries, the majority of the female workers have been reported as employees, although these proportions vary from country to country. It is only in Afghanistan and Nepal that a typical woman worker is reported as employer and/or own account worker (more as own account worker), and in Indonesia as unpaid family worker. Further, unpaid family labour is a more commonly reported category for females than males in practically all countries.

Over the years, there appears to have been a transition in the pattern of female employment status with an increasing number being reported as employees instead of as unpaid family workers. To some extent, this trend may be regarded as genuine in view of the expansion in the number of women working outside their homes as opportunities for paid employment have been increasing in recent years with socio-economic development (Eisold, 1984). To some extent, this shift may be due to an increasing number of women engaging in home-based piece-rate work which they can combine along with their unpaid domestic tasks, as well as a large number of women casual employees who tend to be reported as paid employees (Singh and Kelles-Viitanen, 1987).

In terms of occupation, a majority of the female workers are engaged in agriculture and related occupations in most developing countries, and in production and service occupations in the developed and newly industrializing countries (table 4). However, in the Republic of Korea, a newly indus-

Table 4: Distribution of the employed population by occupation for selected countries (percentages)

Country/area	Professional, technical and related workers		Administrative and managerial workers		Clerical and related workers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Afghanistan (1979)	2.4	4.4	–	–	3.0	2.5
Australia (1986)	15.2	16.3	8.0	5.2	8.7	32.6
Bangladesh (1983/84)	2.4	3.2	0.7	0.2	2.5	1.6
China (1982)	5.6	4.4	2.5	0.4	1.7	0.7
Hong Kong (1986)	6.1	8.1	4.2	1.0	10.5	26.4
India (1981)	3.1	2.3	1.2	0.1	3.9	0.8
Indonesia (1985)	3.2	3.9	0.2	–	5.0	1.9
Japan (1986)	8.3	10.8	5.6	0.6	12.6	25.2
Nepal (1981)	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.0	1.0	0.1
New Zealand (1981)	11.8	17.9	4.8	0.8	7.7	32.7
Pakistan (1981)	3.4	16.6	1.4	0.8	3.2	2.7
Philippines (1985)	3.2	9.6	1.2	0.5	3.4	6.1
Republic of Korea (1986)	6.4	5.6	2.3	0.1	12.2	10.5
Singapore (1986)	10.8	11.4	7.5	3.4	7.6	29.3
Sri Lanka (1985)	3.8	8.7	0.7	0.1	5.9	4.6
Thailand (1984)	3.1	3.2	1.8	0.5	2.5	2.2

Table 4: (continued)

Sales workers		Services workers		Agricultural and allied workers		Production/ related workers, transport equipment operators		Unclassified	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
6.0	0.7	3.0	1.0	66.0	3.4	24.0	88.0	-	-
6.2	13.7	10.8	9.4	8.7	3.9	42.4	18.4	-	-
11.3	5.6	3.6	45.9	63.5	8.9	14.9	31.7	1.2	2.9
1.7	1.9	2.0	2.4	68.0	77.1	18.3	13.0	0.1	0.1
12.1	9.1	17.2	16.6	1.8	1.4	48.2	37.4	-	-
5.3	1.1	3.1	1.9	64.2	57.5	16.3	6.8	2.9	29.6
11.2	20.9	2.4	5.9	55.3	53.7	21.1	13.4	1.4	0.3
15.7	14.2	6.6	12.0	7.3	10.0	43.5	26.8	0.4	0.3
1.6	0.5	0.3	0.1	88.9	96.1	3.9	1.7	2.3	1.0
8.6	11.5	5.8	12.5	13.3	6.7	44.8	14.9	3.2	2.9
8.4	4.7	4.1	8.4	51.9	38.2	25.5	26.0	2.2	2.5
6.4	23.5	5.5	13.6	56.6	34.5	23.7	12.1	-	0.1
13.3	18.1	6.9	16.6	21.5	26.2	37.4	22.7	-	-
14.3	12.2	8.4	17.6	1.4	0.7	42.1	25.2	7.9	0.2
9.9	5.7	4.2	5.9	45.0	53.4	30.3	21.6	0.3	-
5.6	10.2	3.0	3.6	67.9	72.4	16.1	7.9	-	-

Sources: ILO, *Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1987* for all countries excepting Afghanistan. Figures for Afghanistan were obtained from ESCAP, *Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women in Asia and the Pacific*, table 8; for Nepal, from Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population Monograph of Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1987.

trializing country, agricultural occupations are still common, followed by production jobs. In most of the countries of the region, women workers in the modern sector tend to concentrate in four occupational groups: professional and technical, clerical, service and production (Khoo, 1987).

The proportions of total female labour force reported as engaged in professional and technical occupations exceed the corresponding proportions for males in all countries in the region, except China, India and Nepal. However, in absolute terms, women's share in these categories is smaller than that of men except in the Philippines where nearly 65 per cent of the workers in these occupations are women. In most countries, the majority of females reported as "professional and technical" are employed in low paying jobs such as nursing and teaching, which are of relatively low status, carry low salaries and perhaps involve quite limited training requirements.

Despite their increasing participation in the labour force, the pattern of women's employment has changed very little over the years. Even today most women workers have only a limited range of job opportunities and are engaged in occupations characterized by low skills, low productivity, low wages and hence low status. On the other hand, male workers are represented in



Despite their qualifications, these nurses from Sri Lanka earn low salaries and thus are considered low-status professionals.

a wider range of occupations including those that involve higher skills and generate higher incomes (Mahajan, 1987; Benerjee, 1983). This inherent segregation of jobs based on sex, thus has two important aspects: horizontal segregation whereby women's choice or opportunities are limited to very narrow range of mostly traditional or female occupations, and vertical segregation whereby within the same industry, occupation or profession, men tend to occupy the higher, and women the lower, ranks of the occupational hierarchy (Mitchell, 1987).

Gender segregation with regard to occupation is not new, nor is it a phenomenon peculiar only to the developing countries; indeed, the degree of this segregation is greater in some of the developed than in developing countries (Khoo, 1987). Whatever the cause, segregation has serious consequences for women as well as national socio-economic development efforts. It contributes to wage differentials between men and women, restricts women's occupational mobility in the labour market, and increases their rate of unemployment. It has also been observed that when an occupation or profession becomes preponderantly "female", its economic and social status diminishes (ILO, 1985).

Interrelationships between population and status of women

In any society, determinants and consequences of population trends affect, and in turn are affected by, the status of women, or the degree of equality between men and women. However, the interrelationships between population and status of women are complex, involving the interaction of a multiplicity of factors. Hence, it is not possible to isolate particular aspects of the population process in order to identify their influence on women's status. Nor can one be definite as to which aspect or dimension of women's status has a bearing on any of the components of population change.

Impact of population on status of women

Continued high rates of population growth pose a serious challenge to the achievement of national objectives and targets with regard to socio-economic development.

It would appear that rapidly growing populations in developing countries, by increasing the dependency burden and exerting pressures on limited material and social resources, have hindered the advancement of women. There are parallels between demographic characteristics such as high growth rates, high fertility, and high dependency on the one hand, and low levels of female educational attainment, high infant and maternal mortality, lower female life expectancy and low rates of female labour participation on the other.

It would appear that rapidly growing populations, by increasing the dependency burden and exerting pressures on limited material and social resources, have hindered the advancement of women in these countries. There are also highly visible examples of countries where population growth rates are low, fertility moderate or low, dependency burden high, and where women are approaching equal status with men with regard to education, literacy and employment, and where the life expectancy of women exceeds that of men. The Governments of such countries have invested adequately in maternal and child health care, social security, maternity benefits and other essential social services. However, even including the extremes, it is obvious that demographic conditions may play only a minor role in determining the absolute and relative positions of women in the family and in society at large, as compared with the role played by economic conditions, stages of development, political and social structures, cultural values and beliefs, and governmental priority for policy and action (United Nations, 1975).

Fertility and status of women

Fertility and the social process associated with it, marriage, affect the status of women in several ways. In societies where home-making is still considered to be the main function of women, there are strong social pressures for women to marry when they are young. This is particularly true in a large number of Muslim countries, and in some areas of India and Nepal.*

In these societies, an unmarried daughter past a certain age may be considered a disgrace to the family. Nevertheless, marriage is normally an obstacle to the continued education of women; the younger the average age at marriage, the sooner girls terminate their schooling. Thus, most women are denied the

* For example, a study in Bangladesh reported that girls marry between the ages of 8 and 16, and the presence of an unmarried woman over the age of 16 is often a sign of poverty (Ellickson, 1976). However, another study states that marriage of girls occurs between the age of 12 and 16 years, with restrictions on their movement from the age of 10. There is less urgency in marrying off a daughter who is attending school (Abdulla, 1976). In India, it was for a long time considered a sign of one's affluence, influence or status to get one's daughter married before she reached the age of puberty (Kapadia, 1966). However, in recent years there has been a tendency towards increasing age at marriage owing to changes that have occurred in socio-economic, cultural and behavioural attitudes in many parts of the country. A recent study reported that even in rural areas, the concept of childhood, dependency and immaturity have currently gained great importance. Parents and family members are apprehensive about their sons marrying girls who have not attained menarche, or those who have done so recently, on the grounds that they are too immature to play the role of wife, mother and daughter-in-law (Kadi, 1987). In Nepal, the tradition of child marriage is still prevalent in some rural areas. Some orthodox people believe that giving away a daughter before her first menstruation when she is a virgin provides religious merit (Majupuria, 1982).

opportunity for improving their status through continued education and training which would have qualified them for employment and income.

It has also been observed that in societies where girls marry early, the age difference between brides and grooms may average 10 to 12 years, and in some instances be as much as 20 years. This would imply that the woman's already subordinate position at the time of her marriage is further compounded by the additional advantage her husband has accrued with his age and experience. Further, the average age at first marriage for women is much higher, and the age difference between bride and groom narrower, among educated and employed women in most countries (United Nations, 1975). The substantial age difference between wife and husband is also considered to be one of the reasons for early widowhood of women in Nepal (Majupuria, 1982; p. 115).

The high fertility pattern obtaining in most developing countries means that women are burdened with the task of frequent child-bearing as well as the responsibility of caring for and rearing the many children they produce. Since alternative arrangements, such as day-care centres, for assisting women with their family responsibilities are not available in most countries, women are engaged full-time in their traditional roles, and are not free to upgrade their knowledge and skills or to participate in economic production. However, in the rural agrarian setting in many countries, it is often possible for the mother to combine child-rearing with work on the farm or other family-operated enterprises because of the availability of extended family, kin, and neighbourhood support networks for child care, and the location of farm work and market activity near the home (Mahajan, 1987). However, large family size may compel a woman to seek employment to augment family incomes to support the large number of children (Hamalatha and Suriyanarayana, 1983).

High fertility is a phenomenon usually associated with low income families who constitute a substantial proportion of national populations. Among these people, given their limited incomes and resources, there is a tendency to accord preferential treatment to male children in the matter of education, food and nutrition, health care etc. (Sen, 1988; Bardhan, 1988). This is to a large extent due to the traditional preference for male children. In many of these societies, the inferior position of girls is acknowledged from the moment of birth when, for example, the attendant midwives are given a better reward for the delivery of a baby boy than for a baby girl. In countries where education is not free, low income families often give priority to investing in the education of boys from whom they can expect a higher rate of return than from investments in the education of girls (ILO, 1985). For instance, in India, the education of girls is sacrificed in favour of boys; there is also some fear that education may alienate girls from their traditional role and submissive behaviour (ICSSR, 1975).

In those societies where social values and customs favour large family size, high fertility confers high status or prestige on the mothers. Among these communities, a woman's status is defined largely in terms of the number of her children, or by the number of her sons.

Mortality and status of women

In the absence of an adequate number of empirical studies, it is not possible to state precisely the nature and extent of the effects of changing mortality conditions on the status of women. However, the experience of several developing countries in the region that have completed, or are in the



Frequent pregnancies have prematurely aged this young mother of six children.

process of completing, their mortality transition clearly indicates that high mortality conditions have been associated with high infant and child mortality as well as higher female than male mortality at practically all ages, particularly in the reproductive age groups. In these countries, the decline in mortality has been accompanied by substantial declines in infant and child mortality as well as female mortality.

It is often argued that high infant and child mortality is a cause of high fertility in many societies; mothers have to produce more children in order to ensure the survival of a few of them. However, evidence with regard to the effects of infant and child mortality on fertility is mixed (Preston, 1978). Loss of their children and frequent pregnancies seriously damage the health and lives of mothers.

In several countries, higher female than male life expectancy results in an increase in the number of widows, particularly at the older ages. In others, early marriage of women coupled with wide age disparities between bride and groom has resulted in early widowhood (Khartum and Begum, 1975). In many parts of India, among certain communities, social customs forbid the re-marrying of widows although legislation permits such re-marriage. Further, a widow, economically dependent on members of her husband's family, could be ill-treated and abused; she has to work hard and put up with all kinds of indignity and humiliation from senior, and sometimes even junior, household members (Altekar, 1959).

However, many societies permit the re-marriage of widows. In Bangladesh, young widows and divorcees often re-marry, but older widows generally remain in their husband's home to ensure receiving a share of his property (Abdulla, 1976). In China, widows have the right to re-marry, even though some still feel this to be wrong, and young men are reluctant to marry a widow (Parish and Whyte, 1978). Although there is no objection to the re-marriage of widows in the Republic of Korea, in practice this is rare; there is still adherence to the Confucian ideal of the chaste widow. Further, women do not wish to lose the access to their children which re-marriage automatically involves (Singh, 1980).

Migration and status of women

In a large number of South Asian countries, rural-urban migration streams are often dominated by males who leave behind their wives and children in the village. It is likely that the remaining female population may "improve" its status by taking over many activities formerly performed by men and by acquiring a major decision-making role in the family and in the community. For example, it has been reported that the migration of Korean males from

villages to cities in search of industrial jobs has forced women to assume agricultural tasks for which they were not trained or prepared (Roh, 1987). In societies where the responsibilities of looking after family matters in the absence of the husband is entrusted to another senior male or elderly female, the status of the wife may be weakened or lowered as a result of the out-migration of the husband.

For some women who migrate to urban areas from the village, the move may free her from the conservative and constraining traditions of village life, and accord opportunities for higher education and paid employment. For example, in many South-east Asian countries, a very large number of rural females (single and married) have found employment in the urban "bazaar economy", and in domestic service in urban households (Hackenburg, 1979; Piampiti, 1979). In several countries, there is also an increasing number of unmarried females migrating to urban centres in response to new employment opportunities for women in the industrial sector created by activities of the transnational corporations and local industrial entrepreneurs (Wong, 1979; Ariffin, 1979; Huang, 1979). Although most of the female migrants from rural areas may be employed in low-paid, low-status jobs without any long-term benefits and job security, yet their earnings are invariably much higher than they would have been in the home village. Also, since their regular remittances help to support their parents and siblings, they enjoy better status and recognition within the family and in the village.

For many other women who move to the city, particularly those who accompany their husbands, the move may isolate them from their formerly supportive environment, and deprive them of child care and household assistance, as well as their earlier productive role in agriculture, handicrafts or marketing. In many South Asian countries, women who move to the city do not find themselves in a freer environment but end up practising seclusion to a greater degree than in the village (Shah, 1979). For many women in search of employment, the urban destination, with its usually high unemployment rates, may offer very limited opportunities to them compared with men, and may even have a negative impact on their social status (Singh, 1980).

Rural-rural migration is of special importance to women; for instance, in India 69 per cent of all migration is rural-rural and 77 per cent of rural migrants are females (Singh, 1980). Since demographers tend to label this comparatively greater volume of migration as marriage or dependency migration, the consequences of such migration for women and the family are also assumed to be linked to the fate of the provider (Premi, 1979; Singh, 1980). However, female labour migration may also constitute a substantial proportion of total female rural migration (Government of India, 1974). It has also been reported that, in several parts of China and India, marriage migration

often results in a loss of autonomy for women during the prime child-bearing years. This is because, upon marriage, she has not only to live away from her natal kin, but also invariably to subject herself to the authority of her mother-in-law or older sister-in-law in her new household (Mason, 1984).

Impact of women's status on population

Status of women and fertility

A large number of studies undertaken in various countries have focused on the analysis of the status of women, particularly their access to education and employment, in relation to fertility. Very often these studies have reported contradictory findings, especially when woman's labour force participation has been used as an index of status and examined in relation to fertility (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985). This is because the relationships are many and complex, and they seem to vary according to place and time (Farooq and Simmons, 1985). Hence great caution needs to be exercised in utilizing those findings for purposes of policy formulation.

According to numerous studies, the level of education of the wife is more strongly correlated with a couple's fertility than the educational level of the husband. Female education helps to "prevent" marriage and child-bearing or postpone it beyond the average age of family formation so long as the woman stays in school (Karim, 1986). Education also exposes women to family planning knowledge, attitudes and practices. Education is also considered to be associated with an increase in women's domestic power and their participation in extra-domestic employment before marriage (Mason, 1984).

Most studies indicate that fertility declines with an increase in the level of women's education (Goldstein, 1972; Rodriguez and Cleland, 1980; Jain, 1981). This inverse relationship tends to be strongest when factors such as husband's education, women's employment, type of education and place of residence are uncontrolled. Monotonic inverse patterns of fertility by educational level and substantial differentials have been reported for those developing countries with high per capita income, high literacy and high levels of urbanization. For instance, in the Republic of Korea, fertility rates have declined by 7.9 per cent after primary education; by 14.2 per cent after secondary; and 16.3 per cent after higher education (Lee and Cho, 1986). In India, this inverse relationship between education and fertility occurs only after matriculation (Rao, 1979).

It has often been argued that participation of women in the labour force helps to lower fertility through such factors as delayed marriage, increased

education, reduction of preferred family size and increased adoption of family planning practices (Conception, 1974). However, as noted previously, a review of available evidence does not seem fully to support these conclusions. While the inverse relationship between female labour force participation and fertility appears to be strong in most developed countries, this relationship tends to be either weak or absent in many developing countries. However, in the developing countries, the probability of an inverse relationship appears to be higher in the urban than in the rural areas, and in the "modern" than in the "traditional" sectors of society. Moreover, studies show that labour force participation *per se* may not be so important as the *type* of employment that is engaged in by the woman (Conception, 1974). Equally important is the compatibility or incompatibility of a woman's employment with her maternal role (Safilos-Rothschild, 1985).

In the rural setting of the developing countries, a woman's employment, whether paid or unpaid, has little impact on fertility for two reasons. Firstly, the value of large numbers of children still remains strong. Secondly, the nature of the employment engaged in (mostly of the agricultural, marketing or cottage industry type) is compatible with her role as mother as she could either keep the young children with her or entrust them to other family members while she is at work. By contrast, a woman's employment in an urban setting is more likely to be incompatible with her maternal role, because that employment is outside her home and normally no alternate arrangements are available for taking care of her young children while she is away at work. However, an urban woman worker is more likely to learn about birth control and have relatively easy access to family planning services (United Nations, 1975).

Pre-marital employment tends to increase a woman's age at first marriage. In cultures which require married women to contribute to her in-law's rather than her parental household, parents whose daughter is working may try to delay her marriage in order to enjoy the benefit of her earnings (Saloff and Wong, 1977). In societies where parents are required to provide adequate dowry when giving their daughter in marriage, the young woman may have to work long enough to accumulate the necessary amount (Lindenbaum, 1981). Pre-marital employment also may influence a woman's aspirations and attitudes towards marriage (Saloff and Wong, 1977). Drawing a regular and assured income may give her a taste for independence thereby fostering greater female autonomy and a later age at marriage (Mason, 1984).

Status of women and mortality

An important factor contributing to the success of activities aimed at improving health and reducing mortality, particularly infant and child mortality, appears to be the level of education of mothers. Several studies have

reported strong differentials by educational level of the mother in the utilization of health care, in the practice of family planning, in the physical and mental development of children and in community development (Salas, 1984).

There are three aspects of mortality that have been argued to reflect variation in the status of women or some aspect thereof. These are (a) level of infant and child mortality; (b) level of maternal mortality; and (c) sex-differentials in mortality, especially among children (Mason, 1984). Female education is said to influence infant and child mortality in several ways. The first is through birth spacing; better educated women are more likely to practise birth control methods than less educated women (Cochrane, 1983). Birth control practices may, in turn, lengthen birth intervals and this tends to reduce infant and child mortality.

The second is through greater gender equality or women's domestic autonomy. More education enables a woman to acquire a great deal of autonomy which helps to undermine traditional feeding practices and ensure a more equal distribution of food within the family. This would mean that mothers and children experience improved nutrition. Greater female autonomy also enables a mother to detect in time when a child falls ill, to decide that something must be done immediately, to go out and obtain appropriate and adequate treatment, to understand the medical advice and take responsibility for carrying it out. Further, an educated mother is able to understand the need for and practise hygienic forms of child care (Caldwell, 1981).

Nutritional status and birth parity levels appear to be important determinants of maternal mortality in most developing countries of the region (Chen, 1974). In these countries, a major determinant of women's nutritional status, apart from the family's socio-economic status and certain traditional beliefs, is the feeding priority given to adult men in the households (Katono-Apte, 1975). This gender system results in nutritional deficiency among young girls and old women; it also contributes to the poor nutritional status of pregnant women, thereby contributing to maternal mortality levels (Caldwell, 1981; Katono-Apte, 1975).

Policy implications

Although women constitute nearly half of the population in practically all countries of the region, they do not enjoy equal status with men in most respects, and play a very limited role in national socio-economic development. However, it is being increasingly recognized that the full and unfettered participation of women is essential for the success of any development scheme. In particular, women's active participation is absolutely necessary for the for-

mulation of population policies and implementation of programmes, because they have as much at stake as men, if not more, in whatever action is taken in this area.

The full participation of women in population programmes and other development activities is possible only if they enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy or equality with men. This, in turn, is possible, only if serious efforts are made to eliminate discrimination and remove obstacles to their advancement in the field of education, training, employment and career prospects. The examples of Sri Lanka and Kerala (India) clearly demonstrate that when such barriers and obstacles are eliminated, and women brought into the mainstream of national life, there is a distinctive improvement in the content and pace of development as well as in the quality of life of the entire community (Salas; 1984).

In Sri Lanka, women enjoy a much higher status than their counterparts in South Asia. During the last decade or so, the expectation of life at birth for females has been higher than that of males. Because of their educational attainment, large numbers of women are engaged in paid employment outside the home. Wage earnings are preferred and education is considered an important preparation for employment (Murdock, 1982). These developments have resulted in raising women's age at first marriage, widespread adoption of family planning, increased utilization of health services and facilities, and consequently a considerable reduction in fertility and mortality, particularly maternal, infant and child mortality.

The measures adopted in Sri Lanka can be suitably adapted and applied in other countries of the region as well. Various international strategies and action plans focusing on the integration of women and development have provided valuable guidelines for national action in this regard. It has been generally accepted that special attention should be given to measures which broaden the scope of education and vocational training for females, and increase their employment opportunities. Since numerous studies have clearly indicated that the level of female education is a determining factor in reducing fertility and mortality, national policies should aim at expanding educational facilities and opportunities for women, especially in the rural areas where illiteracy levels are high and enrolments very low. Further, reduction in family size may also be achieved by the adoption of policies specifically related to the provision of new roles and interests for women supplementary or alternative to those of marriage. The participation of women in paid employment not only helps to bring them into the economic mainstream, but also gives them prestige and security in the family and the community (Sadik, 1986). Policies should therefore be directed at fostering greater participation of women in non-traditional employment outside the home (Conception, 1974).

References

- Abdulla, Tahrunessa A. (1976). *Village Women As I Saw Them* (Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla).
- Ahmed, Ashraf Uddin, (1986). *Analyses of Mortality Trends and Patterns in Bangladesh*, ESCAP, Asian Population Studies Series No. 72, (Bangkok).
- Altekar, A. S. (1959). *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Pre-historic Times to the Present Day*, Second Edition, (Delhi, Mottias Banarsidass).
- Ariffin, Jamilah (1979). 'Survey approach to female migrant adjustment in Malaysia', paper prepared for Women in the Cities Working Group, (East-West Population Institute, Hawaii).
- Bardhan, Pranob K. (1988). "Sex disparity in child survival in rural India" in T. N. Srinivasan and Pranob K. Bardhan (eds.), *Rural Poverty in South Asia*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press).
- Buvinic, Mayra (1976). *Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography*, (Washington, D.C., American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Overseas Development Council), p. 2.
- Caldwell, John C. (1979). "Education as a factor in mortality decline: an examination of Nigerian data", *Population Studies*, vol. 3, No. 3.
- _____ (1981). "Routes to low mortality in poor countries", *Population and Development Review*, vol. 12, No. 2.
- _____ P.H. Reddy and P. Caldwell (1983). "Demographic change in rural South India", *Population Studies*, vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 343-361.
- Chen, Lincoln C. *et al.* (1974). "Maternal mortality in rural Bangladesh", *Studies in Family Planning*, vol. 5, pp. 334-341.
- Cleland, John G. (1987). "Socio-economic determinants of fertility: an assessment of recent findings and their implications", *Population Policies and Programmes Current Status and Future Directions*, ESCAP, Asian Population Studies Series No. 84, (Bangkok), pp. 43-58.
- Cochrane, Susan H. (1983). "Effects of education and urbanization on fertility" in R. A. Bulatao *et al.* (eds.), *Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries*, (Washington, D.C., National Academy Press), pp. 992-1026.
- Conception, Mercedes B. (1974). "Female labour force participation and fertility", *International Labour Review*, vol. 109, Nos. 5 -6.
- Curtin, Leslie B. (1982). *Status of Women: A Comparative Analyses of Twenty Developing Countries*, (Washington, D.C., Population Reference Bureau, Reports on World Fertility Survey).
- Dixon, Ruth B. (1978). *Rural Women at Work*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press), p. 6.
- Dyson, Tim and Mick Moore (1983). "On kinship structure, female autonomy, and demographic behavior in India", *Population and Development Review*, vol. 9. No. 1, pp. 35-60.
- Eisold, E. (1984). *Young Women Workers in Export Industry: The Case of the Semi-Conductor Industry in South-east Asia*, (ILO, Geneva).

- Ellickson, J. (1976). "Women of Rural Bangladesh Variation in Problems of Self-perception", paper presented at Women and Development Conference, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
- ESCAP (1986). *Women in the Economy: Employment, Status of Women in Asia and the Pacific Region*, Series No. 1, (Bangkok), p. 7.
- _____ (1987a). *Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women in Asia and the Pacific*, (Bangkok).
- _____ (1987b). *Mortality and Health Issues in Asia and the Pacific*, Report of a seminar held at Beijing in collaboration with the Institute of Population Research, People's University of China, 22-27 October 1986, Asian Population Studies Series No. 78.
- _____ (1987c). *Women's Economic Participation in Asia and the Pacific*, (Bangkok), p. 1.
- _____ (1987d). "Female autonomy and fertility: an overview of the situation in South Asia", *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 43-52.
- Farooq, Ghazi M. and George B. Simmons (eds.), (1985). *Fertility in Developing Countries: An Economic Perspective on Research and Policy Issues*, (ILO, Geneva).
- Goldstein, Sidney (1972). "The influence of labour force participation and education on fertility in Thailand" *Population Studies*, vol. 26, No. 3.
- Government of India (1974). *Towards Equality: Report of the Status of Women in India* (New Delhi, Department of Social Welfare).
- Hackenbergh, Beverly (1979). "Migration and mobility among women in the Philippines", paper prepared for Women in the Cities Working Group, (East-West Population Institute, Hawaii).
- Hamalatha, P. and M. Suryanarayana (1983). "Married working women: a study on their role interactions", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol. 44, No. 2.
- Husain, A.F.A. (1958). *Employment of Middle Class Muslim Women in Dacca*, (Dacca University, Socio-economic Research Board), p. 65.
- ICSSR (Indian Council of Social Science Research), (1975). *Status of Women in India*, (New Delhi, Allied Publishers).
- ILO (1985). *World Labour Report*, vol. 2, Geneva, p. 218.
- Jain, Anrudh (1981). "The effect of female education on fertility: a simple explanation", *Demography*, vol. 18, No. 4.
- Jose, A. V. (1987). "Employment diversification of women in Asian countries" in *Diversification of Women's Employment and Training*, ILO/Japan Tripartite Seminar Report on Diversification of Women's Training and Employment, Tokyo, 8-12 December 1986, (ILO, Bangkok).
- Kadi, A.S. (1987). "Age at Marriage in India", *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 41-56.
- Kapadia, K.M. (1966). *Marriage and Family in India and Bombay*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press).
- Karim, Mehtab S. (1986). "Differentials in age at first marriage" in Iqbal Alam (ed.), *Fertility in Pakistan: A Review of the Findings from the Pakistan Fertility Survey*, (Voorburg, Netherlands: International Statistical Institute).

- Katono-Apte, Judith (1975). "The relevance of nourishment to the reproductive cycle of the female in India", in Dano Raphael (ed.), *Being Female*, (The Hague, Monton).
- Khartun, S. and K. Begum (1975). "Life of urban middle class widows" in *Women for Women*.
- Khoo, Siew-Ear (1987). "Development and women's participation in the modern economy: Asia and the Pacific" in ESCAP, *Women's Economic Participation in Asia and the Pacific*, p. 20.
- Krishnamurthy, J. (1983). "The investigator, the respondent and the survey: the problem of getting good data on women", in Devaki Jain and Nirmala Benerjee (eds.), *Tyranny of the Household: Investigative Essays on Women's Work*, (New Delhi, Shakti Books).
- Lee, Hyo-chai and Hyoung Cho (1986). "Fertility and Women's Labour Force Participation in Korea," *Recent empirical findings in fertility in Korea, Nigeria, Tunisia, Venezuela and the Philippines*, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution).
- Lindenbaum, Shirley (1981). "Implications for women of changing marriage transactions in Bangladesh", *Studies in Family Planning*, vol. 12, pp. 394-401.
- Mahajan, Inez Wyngaarde (1987). "Family related responsibilities of women workers and diversification of training and employment" in *Diversification of Women's Employment and Training*, (ILO, Bangkok).
- Majupuria, Indra (1982). *Nepalese Women*, (Kathmandu, M. Devi Publisher).
- Mason, Karen Oppenheim (1984). "The Status of Women: A Review of its Relationships to Fertility and Mortality", paper prepared for the Population Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, (mimeo), p. 6.
- Mitchell, Ayse G. (1987). "Diversification of women's occupations: a regional overview" in *Diversification of Women's Employment and Training*, (ILO, Bangkok).
- Murdock, William W. (1982). *The Poverty of Nations: The Political Economy of Hunger and Population*, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 41.
- Parish, W. L., Jr. and M. K. Whyte (1978). *Village and Family in Contemporary China*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London).
- Piampiti, Suwanlee (1979). "Policies and programs for female migration in Thailand", paper prepared for Women in the Cities Working Group, (East-West Population Institute, Hawaii).
- Premi, Mahendra K. (1979). *Patterns of Internal Migration of Females in India*, (Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi).
- Preston, Samuel H. (1978). *The Effects of Infant and Child Mortality on Fertility*, (New York, Academic Press).
- Rao, Kamala (1979). "Status of women: factors affecting status of women in India", in *ILO Sub-Regional Seminar on Status and Role of Women in the Organized Sector*, (ILO, Bangkok).
- Rodriguez, German and John Cleland (1981). Socio-economic Determinants of Marital Fertility in Twenty Countries: A Multivariate Analysis, *World Fertility Survey Conference, 1980: Record of Proceedings*, vol. 2, (Voorburg, Netherlands, International Statistical Institute).

- Roh, Mihye (1987). "A case study on the diversification of women's training and employment in Korea" (Oct. 1986) reported in *Diversification of Women's Employment and Training*, (ILO, Bangkok), p. 51.
- Ruzicka, Lddo and Penny Kane, "Trends and patterns of mortality in the ESCAP region: comparative analysis", in *Mortality and Health Issues*, ESCAP, Asian Population Studies Series No. 78, (Bangkok), p. 37.
- Sadik, Nafis (1986). "Integration of women in population and development programmes", ESCAP, *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, vol. 1, No. 3.
- Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina (1985). *The Status of Women and Fertility in the Third World in the 1970-80 Decade*, Working paper No. 118, (Center for Policy Studies, Population Council, New York), p. 3.
- Salas, Rafael M. (1984). *Reflections on Population*, (New York, Pergamon Press), p. 82.
- Saloff, Janet W. and Aline K. Wong (1977). "Chinese women at work: work commitment and fertility in the Asian setting", in S. Kupinsky (ed.), *The Fertility of Working Women*, (New York, Praeger), pp. 81-145.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1988). "Family and food: sex bias in poverty" in T. N. Srinivasan and Pranob K. Bardhan (eds.), *Rural Poverty in South Asia*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press).
- Singh, Andrea Menefee (1978). "Rural-urban migration of women among the urban poor in India", *Social Action*, vol. 28, No. 4.
- _____ (1980). "The impact of migration on women and the family: research, policy and programme issues in developing countries", *Social Action*, vol. 30, No. 2.
- _____ and Anita Kelles-Viitanen (eds.), (1987). *Invisible Hands; Women in Home-based Production*, Women and the Household in Asia Series, vol. 1, (New Delhi, Sage Publications).
- Shah, N.M. (1979). "The female migrant in Pakistan", paper prepared for Women in Cities Working Group, (East-West Population institute, Hawaii).
- United Nations (1973). *The Determinants and Consequence of Population Trends: New Summary of Findings on Interaction of Demographic, Economic and Social Factors*, vol. 1, (New York), (ST/SOA/SER.A/SO), p. 303.
- _____ (1975). "Women rights and fertility" in United Nations, *The Population Debate: Dimensions and Perspectives*, Papers of the World Population Conference, Bucharest, 1974, vol. II (New York), p. 370.
- Utomo, Budo and Meiwita B. Iskandar (1986). *Mortality Transition in Indonesia 1950-1980*, ESCAP, Asian Population Studies Series No. 74, (Bangkok).
- Whyte, Robert Orr and Pauline Whyte (1982). *The Women of Rural Asia*, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press), p. 12.
- Wong, Aline (1979). "Problems and adaptive strategies of female rural-urban migrants: a selective review", paper prepared for Women in the Cities Working Group, (East-West Population Institute, Hawaii).
- Youseff, Nadia (1977). "Women and agricultural production in Muslim societies", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 12.
- _____ (1979). "Women in development: urban and labour" in Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen (eds.), *Women and World Development*, (Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C.).