

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**Gender Division of Labour and its Effect on the Socio-Economic
Life of Women in Ethiopia: The Case of Yeka and Bole Sub-
Cities of Addis Ababa**

BY

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**GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR AND ITS EFFECT ON THE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASE
OF YEKA AND BOLE SUB-CITIES OF ADDIS ABABA**

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Operational Definitions

Gender Division of Labour: An overall societal pattern where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men allotted another. This division is not based on skill, but on the basis of sex.

Lived Experience: A life situation that an individual has experienced and has developed certain perceptions, interpretations and values because of her direct involvement

Paid Employment: An employment wherein a person works usually in return for financial gain. It could be self-employment or employment by others.

Patriarchy: A society controlled by male and in which the male enjoys economic, political, sexual and reproductive, and normative and ideological privileges over the female using their power.

Acronyms

A.A.U.	Addis Ababa University
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APA	American Psychological Association
A.U	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
CSW	Commercial Sex Workers
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDL	Gender Division of Labor
GO	Governmental Organization
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICCPR	International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
UDHR	United Nations Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing

Abstract

Studies conducted at different times in Ethiopia revealed that women are found at a disadvantaged position. Different factors have been raised for this status of women. Gender division of labour is one of them, which affects the life of women directly or indirectly. The objective of this study is to identify the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women, mainly on their education, employment, health and leisure. It was conducted among women engaged in different categories of work, particularly, government and private employees in the formal sector, housewives, petty traders, housemaids and commercial sex works. Moreover, key informants were also involved. In-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation were employed to collect data. The study was conducted in Addis Ababa focusing on two sub-cities, Yeka and Bole.

The findings of the study show that the existing gender division of labor affects the leisure, education, employment, and health of women covered in the study. Women, being engaged in the three spheres of work (productive, reproductive and community) live with little leisure or even without having it at all. In the study, household responsibilities are found to be one obstacle to women's educational success. This is because domestic responsibility is mainly on the women's shoulder and men do not share the household chores adequately with women. As a result, women have no time to pursue their education and other self-development activities. Household chores also affected women's free engagement in paid employment through child care and its repetitive and time consuming nature. In addition, women's engagement in the three spheres of work has affected their health due to work load and conflicting demands of their time. Moreover, worries about shortage of household budget affected women's health through depression and stress.

The study has also revealed that women are rarely represented in decision making positions. Stereotypes play major roles in this respect. Those participants who have reached at the higher decision making levels are facing some resistance and lack of recognition by co-workers and customers. In general, women, due to their lower work status in the formal sector and lack of government regulations in the informal sector, face frequent sexual harassment and other violation of legal and human rights. A number of these are the effects of gender division of labor which is mainly built upon patriarchal ideology.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In almost all societies, gender division of labor is in favor of men than women. Since we are living in a patriarchal world, most things in different societies are male centered and give better advantages to men. One of the factors that put women on a disadvantaged position, economically and socially, is gender division of labor. 'Gender' as commonly defined by many scholars is a socio-cultural construct of the roles and responsibilities of men and women based on their sex in a given society. Though, the social and cultural situations of most societies differ, the gender division of labor is almost the same, subordinating women to men in almost all societies. The domestic sphere, known for unpaid work, is given to women whereas the public paid employment to men. Domestic work that encompasses child rearing, cooking, cleaning, fetching water and firewood are very difficult tasks allocated to women. Due to these time consuming activities and other social and cultural factors, most women are unable to educate themselves and are illiterate. This eventually results in lack of secure and well-paid employment and economic dependency on men. A recent study shows that out of the total urban unemployed illiterate population in April, 2004, 124,170 (78.3%) were females and the same is true for unemployed literate females 417,196 (60.7 %) (CSA, 2004).

Being forced to stay at home for centuries, many women are unable to pursue their education and only the status of a housewife is preserved for them. Data from CSA (2004) revealed that in urban areas domestic employment and unpaid family work are some of the

major areas where the number of employed females is high, and in April 2004, 210,142 (17.1%) females were employed as domestic worker. The same study shows that in urban areas homemaking is one of the major factors that hindered women from being economically active.

In most parts of Ethiopia, women are not encouraged to pursue their education; rather they are forced to get married at their early ages. Such difficulties are more prevalent among rural women. Since they get married at an early age, they would not be able to bear the challenges of reproductive and other domestic works. Moreover, women face different socio-cultural and economic problems in rural areas. As a result, they prefer to migrate to urban areas. Addis Ababa is one of the major urban areas that provides accommodation for thousands of women migrants from different rural areas. Here, in Addis, also other than very low paying and insecure wage employment, domestic service is the usual area of employment open only for women.

Both low and insecure wage employment and domestic services are common areas where women's rights are mostly denied. Women, even after all these challenges, continue to look for other means of survival if the two have failed. The most regular alternative is engaging in petty trades as a means of making a living.

In Addis Ababa, hundreds of thousands of women are engaged in different challenging activities to cope up with the increasing cost of living. Petty trading activities, domestic services and commercial sex work are the major areas where low-income and less educated women are engaged in and facing problems of different types, of which, HIV/AIDS is one. Hence, the research aims to investigate the life of women in areas where they are represented largely and assess the effects of gender division of labour on their life.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In patriarchal societies like ours, the social, economic, traditional and cultural practices are all designed to favor the male. As a result leadership and higher decision making posts at different levels from household up to head of the state are preserved for and assumed by men. Any deviation from this norm is considered abnormal. Like in any other societies, stereotyped gender division of labor exists in Addis Ababa. A number of women are confined to the home, handling domestic activities as housewives and housemaids. Those women who are employed outside the home are also involved in domestic activities after office hours. They are expected to handle these activities, because the work is assigned to them through the so-called division of labor. In the public employment, lower positions and low payments are reserved for women. In the city, many women are engaged in the informal sectors. Stereotypes in relation to work are very common. Even in the public employment there are works that are traditionally categorized, as “women’s work”, which are often low paid, require low skills and insecure (MOLSA, 2004).

A survey conducted by CSA (2004) shows that in most industrial divisions male paid workers earn more than their female counterparts. Employees working in private households and hotels earn the least payment, the average amount of earnings per month are Birr 66 and Birr 143, respectively.

In Addis Ababa, statistics shows that number of working women is less than men. A survey by CSA (2004) shows that out of the total working population of 713,648 in Addis Ababa, female workers constitute 246,398 (34.5 %) only whereas men constitute the rest 64.5 %. Further more, out of the total unemployed population of 350,572 females constitute

207,457 (60%) whereas male make up 143,115 (40%), which means almost less than 20 %.

This shows us that unemployment is more of a problem for women than men.

Different studies indicate that a very large number of women are engaged in self-employment activities -almost all of which are in the informal sector. A study conducted on urban areas shows that out of the total 1,228,763 employed females 530,902 (43.2%) were self-employed (CSA, 2004). These activities are petty trades: the sell of firewood, charcoal, local drinks, potato, onions and other consumables and food items. The activities are very tiresome and time consuming. Since a large number of women are engaged in these activities in small markets and on the road sides the profits are very minimal and in some cases almost none. Moreover, some women undertake these activities in addition to their formal employment, which is commonly seen among low income families to supplement their income. The rest of women handle it simultaneously with the domestic work, which is the common denominator for all women.

Lack of employment opportunities for women in the formal sector and other social and cultural factors are pushing women to engage in the activities of the informal sector. After juggling in this sector for longer period and having seen no prospect of success, some women enter into selling sex as the last resort (Kumsa, 2004). In Addis Ababa the number of commercial sex workers is increasing. Especially street commercial sex workers became common in all parts of the city. Due to different factors women, especially, commercial sex workers are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. A recent report on VCT in Addis Ababa shows that in 2005 out of 102,226 VCT services given to women, 16,004 (15.7%) were found HIV positive whereas out of 81,365 men 9,759 (12%) were found HIV positive. The first quarter of the 2006 fiscal year also shows that the number of HIV positive women is higher than that of the men. (Unpublished Document, Addis Ababa Health Bureau, 2006). Hence,

the unpaid, low paid and unvalued domestic work, difficulties of petty trades in the informal sector, low earnings of public employed work together with the increasing cost of living put the women in the city in a difficult situation. As a result, a number of these women are forced to enter in to commercial sex work in one way or another. This makes them vulnerable to many health problems of which HIV/AIDS is the leading threat. Moreover, mistreatment, disrespect and other violations of human and legal rights are very common among such women.

So far, different researchers tried to uncover the situation of women in both urban and rural areas of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa is one of the urban areas where different research works on women have been carried out. Most of the works deal with women in specific occupations, such as, civil servants, housemaids, commercial sex workers and street vendors, where they are represented enormously. Differing from the above trend, this study looks into the lived experiences of women under the different categories of work (Petty trade, Housemaid, Commercial sex work, Private and government employment and Housewife) altogether and tries to uncover and draw some relationship among them. It is hoped that the revealed reality will give some insight to the readers of this work, as to how gender division of labour affects the socio-economic life of women in the study area. In this undertaking, the research is going to answer the following questions:

- What are the household, paid and community works considered as “feminine”?
- How is women’s and men’s work valued by the society?
- What are the effects of domestic work on women’s education, employment and health?
- How do women toil in the informal sector to make their living?

- What problems do women face in the formal and informal employment (in terms of job position, security and decision making)

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the research is to show the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic lives of women in the study area, particularly in relation to their education, employment, health and leisure. In achieving this objective, the following are some of the specific objectives of the research:

- To investigate the effects of the gender division of labour on women's employment opportunity;
- To assess women's work status in the formal sector;
- To explore the economic status of women and their contribution to their family income;
- Identify reasons why very large number of women are engaged in the informal sectors, like petty trades, domestic services and commercial sex work;
- Assess how women's education and health are affected while undertaking tasks assigned to them;
- To explore how women spend their spare time;
- To assess how women's legal rights are respected at work place by their employers and others

1.4 Significance of the Study

The issue of gender has become one of the main concerns of many governmental organizations (GOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) all over the world. In Ethiopia, NGOs are working mostly on the marginalized and disadvantaged groups of the society, especially on women and children. Most of these organizations are working to address problems in the area of health, education, harmful traditional practices, and income generating activities. Though it is important to undertake the above activities to improve the lives of women, the basis for all the above problems is not yet challenged. Unless otherwise the burden of domestic work is taken away from the shoulder of women at home and paid employment is equally accessible to both men and women, all the activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations will never be successful in bringing gender equality.

Gender division of labor being one source of women's subordination and poverty, which in effect influences the income, education, health and other aspects of their life, should be challenged by all. Men and women alike have to share domestic tasks equally. Then women can have time for education and employment as a result of which political and economic empowerment of women can be achieved. Thus, the study will contribute to those involved in the reduction of women's poverty. By showing the root causes of women's poverty, and giving clues as to how women have become the poorest of the poor and eventually vulnerable to different social and economic problems as a consequence of the existing gender division of labor. Policy makers, civic societies and other interest groups in the society can make use of it in an effort to improve women's life in urban areas.

1.5 Delimitations of the Study

This study is undertaken among specific target groups and in specific areas of Addis Ababa. It does not have accounts of men's experiences and does not represent women who live in rural areas as these are not the scope of the study. The study deals only with those women engaged in activities mentioned in Table-1 (Category of work and Number Interview of Interview Participants) on page 24 under the description of participants of the study. Moreover, it focuses only on selected aspects of the socio-economic life of women which are considered very crucial in their life. Among other, socio-economic aspects, education, employment, health and leisure are analyzed in this study based on the experiences' of the participants.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The limitations in the study are varied. There was financial constraint due to high cost of transportation and direct and indirect costs of reciprocity. Apart from money there were also other problems. The first is in relation to the responses from housemaids. Respondents in this group have disclosed experiences of their lives with some degree of reservation. Especially, those who have been employed for the first time and living with their employers were seen disturbed while asked about their bad experiences. This was so, because of the fear of losing their job. The second limitation is the inconvenience of observation in some settings such as bars and residences that would have filled the gap in the interviews.

Thirdly, the researcher, being male, was considered as an outsider to the participants. The educational and employment status have also given him an outsider position. Because of these two main reasons, the respondents have not been communicating and sharing their experiences during the interview as a friend except some. In addition to this, the researcher

could not reflect what women's lived experience really mean. All the above factors and others might have put limitations on the process of the research and its final findings.

However, being an Ethiopian, living in Addis Ababa and knowing two local languages have helped the researcher. Moreover, the researcher tried to minimize the limitations by playing the roles mentioned under 3.1.4 (entry, rapport and reciprocity) competently.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITRATURE

2.1 Theoretical Context

Division of Labor has existed for centuries since the primitive time. However, it differs from time to time and from society to society. Since the emergence of capitalism, the issue of division of labor has become very central and debatable among different scholars. And it will continue to be an issue among scholars from various disciplines, particularly, economics, sociology, agriculture, and gender studies. It remains central, specially, in recent societal developments, since it is a stepping-stone for economic and social well-being of human beings. Scholars who have raised, the issue of division of labor include Marx (cited in Donovan, 2004), Engels (cited in Donovan, 2004), and Boserup (cited in Dejene, 1998; Daniel, 2001).

In their discourse the above scholars discussed division of labour vis-a-vis the domestic sphere and the public as well. It has been also conversed in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Among the many, Marx (cited in Donovan, 2004) and Boserup (cited in Dejene, 1998; Daniel, 2001) are those who discussed the problem in the industrial and agricultural sectors respectively. In their discussion, they tried to show how division of labor favored one group member of a society over the other. However, Marx was centering more on class relations, though both explained how women have been disadvantaged as a result of division of labor. In this part, the theoretical aspects of division of labor that contribute to the low economic and social status of women are dealt with.

In this section, the researcher tries to raise theories that revolve around the pre-capitalist and capitalist systems of economy. Moreover, family, domestic labor, wage labor and alienation are issues that are going to be discussed. Domestic labor is one of the focal issues as regards the division of labor that attracts the attention of many feminist scholars. Thus the “domestic labor debate” is the one that we should consider lastly.

In feudal relations of production, where agriculture was predominant, wage labor and large scale commercial production did not exist. In the system activities had been undertaken on communal basis. Men, women, the young and the old did all participate in the production process more or less evenly. This doesn't mean that there was no gender division of labor in the family during feudalism. It is rather to show that the labor of men and women was available in social production. In connection with the feudal relations of production Hamilton (as cited in Barrett, 1988) expressed the system as follows, “unity of production and consumption” is assumed to be facilitated by feudal relations of production, where there is less sharp distinction between the labor of men and women. Hamilton further explains the system as “poor and rich families alike... ate most of what they grew and grew most of what they ate, made most of what they used and used most of what they made” (as cited in Barrett, 1988, p. 177). Thus the important focus is that in this mode of production, the agricultural activity undertaken by all together is for feeding one's family (subsistence). During that time the motive for profit was not in the picture of the feudal society, hence the division of labor has not been so sharp as to enable the ruling or dominant class benefit out of it. And division of labor during those days had not been as such big challenge of status among family members and the society.

As one can see from different literatures, division of labor has not been the same throughout the development of human societies. The famous theory that analyzed division

of labor in its worst form is the Marxist theory. In the theory, class relations are the bases of analysis and women's issue is also raised to some degree. How capitalism affects the family and the whole system through wage labor will be dealt with in depth later.

2.1.1 Marxist Theory

The Marxist theory deals broadly with the production relations in the capitalist system, where the bourgeoisie class makes as much profit as possible using wage labor. In the system, men are the main source of wage labor and women are also needed for their cheap labor. Unlike the pre-capitalist relations of production, capitalist relations of production involve two newly created major principles in its system. Barrett (1988) explains this as follows:

The first is the separation of home and workplace, brought about by the development of large-scale production under wage labour system. The second is the creation of a labour force divided along the lines in which the labour process itself is broken down by the capitalist drive for increased productivity of labour: it is divided along the lines of differentiation by level of skill (p. 164-65)

For Marxists both principles are pre-conditions for capital accumulation and disastrous for women. Therefore, from this point springs the argument that women's oppression is directly attributable to the organization of capitalist relations of production. The interesting aspect in Marxist theory is that, it relates the domestic labor with the bourgeoisie class. Marxists believe that domestic labor is women's labor by which the interests of the bourgeoisie are served (Barrett, 1988)

Here what is more vital is to discern the analysis of different theories and the solutions provided to avoid the impacts of division of labor on the life of women. In this regard, Marxists believe that the elimination of capitalism is a solution for women's oppression (Barrett, 1988).

2.1.2 Marxist-Feminist Theory

The other theory, which looks into women's oppression in a broader perspective than the Marxist one is the Marxist-Feminist Theory. Unlike the Marxist theory proponents, Marxist-Feminist scholars put much emphasis on the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. For them, even though patriarchy predates capitalism, both are mutually supportive in perpetuating women's oppression in a society (Barrett, 1988).

Despite some improvements all over the world, division of labor between women and men still affects the women in a more or less similar fashion as it did centuries ago. The degree may be different in developed and developing countries, however, differential treatments that men and women receive at work are almost similar. Occupational segregation, pay differentials and harassment of women at work are the few common problems. When we look at the similarity between the two groups of countries, with regard to wage differentials, it causes one to pose a question, since they have reached at different economic and social developments. In this regard, the Marxist argument that singles out capitalist relations of production as the source of women's oppression seems less likely, when it is seen in the light of Marxist-Feminist argument that consider patriarchal ideology and the interest of male working class as source of women's oppression on top of capitalist relations of production.

Marxist-Feminists argue that the existence of women's subordinate position, in general, until the modern era, is based on three interrelated factors. These are the capitalist system, patriarchal ideology and the interest of male working class. In the first case, the capitalists using their power maintain the system to their interest, where there is cheap women labor and unpaid domestic work that reduces the wage of male working class, but handled by women. Second, patriarchal ideology has been strongly supported by capitalists so as to maintain the social and economic relationships in the society and benefit the capitalist class. Because patriarchy relegates women to the domestic sphere, capitalists can benefit in two ways, one by women's reproduction of new labour force and the other through the maintenance of the existing one. And third, in the system of capitalist patriarchy, men benefit in two ways as compared to women. Firstly, men earn higher wage than women in the wage labor and secondly men have an advantage of maintenance at home by the unpaid women's domestic labor. As a result, not to lose their relative position in the society, men support the system of capitalist patriarchy. As a concluding remark Marxist-Feminists forward the idea of eradicating both capitalism and patriarchy simultaneously so as to emancipate women from their oppression or subordination (Barrett, 1988).

From the above we can see that Marxist and Marxist-Feminist theories are similar in one aspect of their analysis (i.e. the capitalist system). As mentioned towards the beginning of this section, because division of labor is an important topic to many scholars and different disciplines, the theories developed on this vital issue are so varied.

All over the world irrespective of the development status of countries (Developed, Developing and Least Developed), male-female pay differential has existed and sustained for a long period due to different reasons. One of the major reasons is occupational

segregation by sex that can be attributed to different factors. Flexible hours of work and possibility of temporary interruption could be two reasons for women. They need these conditions, because women need time for maternity and child care (Anker, 1998). Moreover, so long as women's family responsibilities are so wide in terms of food preparation, cleaning, taking care of children, sick family members and relatives, the need for flexible working time in paid employment is inevitable. Whatever the reason for preferring some occupation over the other by women and men is commonly caused by learned factors (gender-related). In order to understand the causes in greater depth, the segregation of occupations can be explained in the framework of two theories: Neoclassical/Human Capital and Feminist/Gender theories.

2.1.3 Neoclassical/Human Capital Theory

The neoclassical/human capital theory is basically established on the foundation of neoclassical economics assumption. According to the neoclassical economics assumption, the labor markets function efficiently because both employers and workers are rational in making decisions. And employers want to maximize profit through increasing productivity and decreasing cost. Therefore employers, because of competition and efficient labor market, pay workers their marginal product (Anker, 1998; Loutfi, 2001)

Neoclassical/human capital theory justifies occupational segregation by sex based on differences in human capital accumulation between women and men. Since women hold more family responsibilities and exclusively handle household chores, they have no time for education and work. As a result women's educational level and work experience have been hampered and remained by far less than men. Less educational level and work experience, in effect affects their productivity, pay and occupation. Another factor this

theory raises is that women are considered to be higher cost workers than men. The theorists forward some factors that cause the employer to incur costs due to female workers. These are, higher absenteeism and turnover, requiring facilities for toileting and their children at the work place and the fact that they get tired faster than men (due to family responsibilities) (Anker, 1998; Loutfi, 2001). Whatever the reasons are given for women segregation by sex to less paying occupations, poor working conditions and fewer chances for promotion, gender division of labor is the basis for this.

2.1.4 Feminist/Gender Theory

Another theory explaining occupational segregation by sex, which is more concerned with non-labor market variables, is the feminist/gender theory. It discusses women's concentration in low occupations based on the existing beliefs and norms of the society. For these theorists women accumulate less human capital because of the subordinate position they hold in the family and in the society as a result of patriarchy. Since women in different societies are responsible for domestic sphere in gender division of labor, they have no time for education and public employment and as a result they do not fulfill the requirements of labor Market. Through the division of labor, patriarchal ordering has affected women's human capital accumulation. The effects of the two have strongly restricted the educational level and fields of study of women. As a result women do not advance their educational status or pursue fields of study stereotypically feminine, which have no high demand in the labor market like sciences and technology. Another valuable point feminist/gender theory identifies is that most female occupations have very closer characteristics with the traditional works of women (Loutfi, 2001).

Apart from the theories discussed above, there are also some debatable issues on domestic labor that are worth mentioning in this inquiry. Among the many factors domestic work affects women's socio-economic life most. Discussion of issues such as alienation, who benefits from domestic labor and whether it could be socialized or not support the contention that domestic work, is a major factor. In countries like Ethiopia, women who are mainly engaged in the domestic activities are thus alienated from the public sphere, since they spend all their time working the endless chores of the household. Particularly, housemaids and housewives with relatively high family size begin toiling early in the morning and continuously work until the mid-night. In so doing they don't get time to talk about social, cultural and political affairs of their life. As a result they are cut off from the public sphere.

In relation to alienation, Marxists argue that the factory labour is alienated, because the labourer has no say on the production and its creative planning, and is detached from the process. And some feminist scholars like Zaretsky, Vogel, Davis, Sontag (as cited in Donovan, 2004) argue that the private world, the housewives' labor, is unalienated where the housewives have some rights of planning and have control over their time. On the contrary scholars like Eisenstein and some other socialist feminists (as cited in Donovan, 2004) argue that domestic sphere or housework is more alienating to women than the factory work to men. Costa (as cited in Donovan, 2004) provided a strong argument about women's alienation. She argues that since women remained in the domestic sphere where the activities are boring, trivial, isolating, and time consuming, it is more alienating than the public world of productive labor or the factory work which is collective. She puts this in the following way: "Participating with others in the production of a train, a car, or an airplane

is not the same thing as using in isolation the same broom in the same few square feet of kitchen for centuries” (p.92).

In pointing out the beneficiaries of domestic labor, it is very difficult to identify a single group. However, scholars identify the capitalist class and men as the primary beneficiaries of domestic labor. The arguments of these scholars are as follows.

Functionalist Marxists argue that the capitalist class is the central ultimate beneficiary of this labor, because domestic labor functions to keep down and reduce the value of labor power and maintain the class relations of capitalism. As a result, men benefit only by chance. In this regard Marxist feminists also argue that the labor of childcare should be understood in terms of the benefit of capitalist so as to fulfill the needs of his future labor power. Therefore, this part of the domestic work should be considered as the major reason for women’s oppression. On the other hand, some argued since autonomy is given to domestic relations and the family interaction is free in capitalist system of production, men are direct beneficiaries from this work. In addition to this, Radical feminists argue that men benefit from domestic work through the daily servicing of their personal gratification. These feminists relate the benefit with patriarchy (Barrett, 1988).

Regarding the “Domestic Labour Debate” the issue is whether socialization of it could be possible or not and if so how and under what conditions? Here are the two competing views: domestic labor is not amenable to socialization under capitalism and necessarily privatized due to the inherent nature of the mode of production. The other refers to the extent to which it needs to be privatized and might be collectivized (Barrett, 1988). As discussed so far, domestic labour is created in gender division of labour and assigned to one group of the society. Accordingly, since the later could change over time so do the former. Therefore, the argument for the impossibility of socializing domestic labour is

against the current reality. For example, privatized domestic labour for child care during the previous days is now seen socialized in many developed countries. Enormous day care centers are opened all over the world and a number of women are being able to join the public work.

From all the theories discussed above, one can easily understand that women's lower social and economic status have not been acquired because of lack of naturally given qualities, rather it is just due to the existence of unequal gender relationships of which gender division of labor is the one and the main factor. The other aspect of the theories is that unlike the Marxist and Neoclassical/Human capital theories, feminist theories have raised the issue of patriarchy.

For this study the feminist theories and explanations would suffice in order to understand the fundamentals of the gender division of labor in the world of work (both in the labor market and in the family). In the following section we will see how gender division of labor is understood among scholars and how the theoretical explanations have been utilized in different research works. Moreover, we will see the situation of women and men in the formal and informal sector employment based on earlier studies in the world in general, and in the country and in the city in particular.

2.2 Gender Division of Labour and Women's Status

In discussing the nature of division of labour, the following two ideas are important to help us understand the issue clearly. These are sexual division of labour and gender division of labor. The first implies the biological differentiation of tasks (by sex). Whereas gender division of labor implies the socio-cultural construction of roles of men and women

in a given society (Tihitna, 2001). From the above definition one can understand that gender roles are learned ones and could vary from culture to culture and even within cultures. These roles mainly depend on the culture, politics and socio-economic context of a given society. Moreover, the roles are affected by different factors like race, ethnicity, age and class. They can also change over time (Common wealth Secretariat, 2002). Hence, gender division of labor implies that men and women are capable of doing any kind of work irrespective of their sex. In other words, men can do domestic activities like cooking, baking, cleaning and caring for the children and women can be drivers, technicians, managers and so on.

Though women have the capacity to perform activities that are assigned only to men through gender division of labor, due to different social, cultural, religious, political and economic factors they are not still fully free to engage in men's job. Stereotypical thinking in the patriarchal world has retained the traditional division of tasks until this day. According to Rutashobya (1995), "It has been well documented elsewhere that the patriarchal gender biases are the root causes of the gender-based household and social division of labor in African societies." (p.37). In effect, tasks like domestic services are clearly specified as feminine and activities outside the domestic sphere as masculine by the patriarchal society. Domestic work, having reproductive activities at its center, is strictly assumed as women's state of dominance. Although, Child bearing and rearing are central activities in reproductive work, other reproductive activities like cleaning, cooking, caring and some community activities are also considered as exclusive responsibilities of women.

As seen in the Marxist theory of wage labor, the separation of home and workplace which is a result of large scale production under wage labor system became a reason for low status of women in the wage labor. In the labor market there are a number of

differentiation and inequalities between men and women. Inequalities in pay, access to jobs and occupational segregation in the wage labor are identified as the major interrelated axes of discrimination by gender (Baden and Milward, 1995). Once women were assigned to the domestic sphere and this is reinforced more by the capitalist relations of production, as the result of which their participation in public employment is uncommon.

2.2.1 Women in the Formal Sector

Nowadays, the number of women engaged in the formal sector is increasing all over the world. In addition to other factors such as women's education, this is due to the struggle of women themselves and the efforts of local and international organizations and donors. Though, women's participation is increasing, still it is not as easy as it is for men to enter in this sector. It is apparent that formal sector employment is by far better than that of the informal sector. The formal sector, which is legally registered and regulated, provides the workers with better pay, work benefits and social protection than the informal sector. Women couldn't benefit much from this sector due to a host of factors of which gender division of labour is the major. Because, "gender in all societies is an important criteria in assigning roles and rights and in shaping women's and men's access to and control over resources" (African Development Bank, 2002, p.47)

Except gender construction that is based on different culture, tradition, religion, politics and other outlooks and values of a given society, the effects of gender relations is the same almost all over the world, favouring men than women. Therefore, the formal sector economy which is one part of this system could not benefit the majority of women unlike men. Women suffer more in the wage labor so as to improve the life of their family. Studies show that women spend a larger amount of their income on household upkeep

rather than for their personal needs, whereas men spend relatively significant amount of their income on their personal sustenance. It is recently well known that the overall status of the household does not necessarily show the well-being of individual household members. In practice, there is no equal resource allocation within households. Different development programs aimed at poverty reduction brought limited impact on women's economic lives, because they failed to consider intra-household dynamics (Baden and Milward, 1995; African Development Bank, 2002)

In Ethiopia, a recent urban biannual employment survey shows that out of the total 3,293,994 urban non-active population 2,008,039 (61%) were females and of whom 28.9% was inactive due to home making (CSA, 2004). Since home making consumes longer time, women have no time to be employed in the public sphere. Even those women joining the formal employment face different problems. "Industry in general tends not to have favored a female work force, which to some extent supports one precept of the female marginalization thesis, that women are excluded from certain types of production" (Brydon and Chant, 1989, p.168).

In relation to the above factors that hinder women from joining the labour force, there are also two points that should be seen separately as challenges. The first is discrimination in entry to the labour market. Discrimination may take many forms. Some of the common ones relate to sex, race, ethnicity, age, disability and health. In reality, unlike sex other grounds of discrimination affect both women and men. Sex discrimination is the most common in almost all countries and mainly victimizing women. Since women constitute half of the world's population, discrimination based on sex has strong effect on the economic, social and political status of each nation and the world as a whole. However, women are discriminated just based on their gender roles at entry to the labour force. One

can prove this simply by looking to the “relative levels of participation in the labour force” (ILO, 2003, p. 43)

The second point has to do with discrimination after entry to the labour market. Here, after women enter into the labour market, they are also denied promotion, training and other similar opportunities even though they have equal or more qualification and work experience than men. The justifications for discrimination are so varied, based on the social, cultural, religious and ideological orientation of the employers. But, still a significant part of them are based on stereotyped gender division of labour than other justifiable reasons like merit (Disch, 1997).

In the world 1.39 billion people work but they are still unable to increase their income above the 2 US Dollars a day as a result of which they remain below the poverty line. And they can not better their lives and that of their families (ILO, 2005). It is believed that women outnumber men, because women constitute the majority of the poor. ILO focuses more on productivity and decent work. These are very crucial things for the working poor to come out of poverty. According to ILO (2005), “decent work- work that not only provides a sufficient level of income but also ensures social security, good working conditions and a voice at work” (p.23). Such a work is believed to pull people out of poverty. Productivity and decency are strongly interrelated. One facilitates conditions to the existence of the other. If decent work is available to the majority of workers, their productivity would eventually rise.

In the formal employment, in the industrial sector, women face two problems; namely confinement to low technology industrial sector and segregation into unskilled work where wage payments are very less than their male counterparts. The Common justifications are lesser physical strength of women in relation to men in general and lack of training,

education and skills and the assumption of greater chance of turnover and absenteeism (Brydon and Chant,1989). Moreover, they usually work under unfavourable conditions and have no right to make decisions regarding their work. In relation to this a survey conducted by MOLSA (2004) shows, those who reported that their exclusion from the decision-making process is related to their gender account for 4.2 percent and 2.6 percent of the female and male workers, respectively. The above conditions seem to show the fact that women are less likely to be assigned on decent work than men.

The formal service sector is also another area where women involve as employees. This sector includes activities like construction, transport, finance, commerce, government, and personal and social services. Despite few exceptions, in general there are patterns in the types of service jobs men and women undertake. Construction, transport and finance are dominated by men, whereas women are heavily engaged in commerce. In addition to commerce, the other important formal service employment for women is in government and public services (Brydon & Chant, 1989). Even in these service areas women have occupied the lower posts. The common positions are secretarial, cashier, messenger and cleaners. Holding administrative position is very difficult in these areas for women. The stereotypical influence of assuming secretarial or typist positions only for women and managerial positions for men is one major factor that deter women from having well paying and other decision making posts. The main cause for this is the so-called gender division of labor, which considers women as assistants for men. In these positions harassment, rape and forced dating are common for women.

Because the formal sector favours men more than women and the increasing domestic workload after marriage adds difficulties on women, some women could not stay long in this sector. A number of women prefer to move from the formal to the informal sector in

order to get flexible time for their familial responsibilities. In so doing women usually face the worst scenario than men and most families in least developed countries survive at the expense of women's time and energy in this sector. In the struggle to handle both paid and domestic works, women scarify their time for education, training and other similar development opportunities. After sacrificing these opportunities women engage in a more uncomfortable informal sector, where activities are not legally registered and regulated, associations are hardly available, working conditions are unfavourable, and where competition is very tough and returns are very low. The following part shows the status of women in this sector.

2.2.2 Women in the Informal Sector

Informal sector differs from the formal in that the latter functions in a legally regulated enterprises and employment relations, where as the former functions out of the legal environment. People who are engaged in the informal sector suffer a lot due to lack of legal protection. The sector comprises people who are either self-employed or wage employed. Studies reveal that self-employed people outnumber wage employed ones. Statistics of regional level shows that self-employment represents 70 percent of informal employment in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, 84 percent of women workers are employed informally in non-agricultural work as compared to 63 percent men in the same region. In the informal sector there are also different sub-groups such as petty trade, home based and commercial sex work. From the different sub-groups, home-based workers and street vendors are the two largest ones in the informal workforce (ILO, 2002).

A recent urban survey conducted in Ethiopia reveals that domestic services constitute the second major area of women's employment next to self-employment. It constitutes

17.1% of the urban women's employment whereas government and private organizations make up 14.8% and 11.1%, respectively (CSA, 2004). Smith (as cited in Brydon and Chant, 1989), expressed women's participation in paid work as follows:

Female participation in the formal wage economy-- tends to be unstable, short-lived and poorly-paid. It can in no sense be considered to constitute a step-up in the urban socio-economic system. After marriage, women often move in to the even more unstable condition of petty commodity production (p. 175).

In the majority of the cases, home-based workers are almost all women. Since they are traditionally responsible to household activities they are most welcome in this occupation. The majority of people join the informal sector mainly because they can not find paid work in the formal sector. Though their contribution to the national economy is significant, different economic activities in the informal sector are not incorporated in the national account. Especially, in least developed countries, like Ethiopia, it leaves the enormous economic activities carried out by women invisible. This by itself makes the contribution of women to the country's economic development unrecognized.

Occupational segregation, even in the informal sector, is in favour of men than women. Here more women undertake activities like selling of foodstuffs (vegetables, & fruits), cooked food and local drinks whereas men are engaged in selling second hand clothes and parts of industrial products on street, and also undertake repairing and maintenance of items. This is a common practice in many urban towns in Ethiopia and particularly in Addis Ababa. Baden and Milward (1995) notes a similar situation in their study in other area in the following way, "There is also strong occupational segregation in the informal sector; women tend to be confined to a narrow range of occupations, mainly in

personal services or petty trading, whereas men are more often in small-scale manufacturing” (p.30).

Most urban women in the third world are engaged in self-employed work. These self-employed activities are almost all in the informal sector where the work is more or less associated with the routine domestic activities of women, such as the preparation of food and local drink, child care, washing and cleaning, or sexual services. Women have more chance to join this economic sector and practically they are dominating the informal sector, because the activities which are near or in domestic location unlike the formal economic activities. The formal sector is difficult to join for women since they are tied to the home as mothers and housewives. In many cases women wish to enter the formal sector, but due to lack of education, skills, training and socialized child care facilities they are obliged to join the informal sector as an alternative means of income generation (Brydon and Chant, 1989).

Tlou, (cited in AIDS in Africa, 2000) raises how economic crises affect the lives of women in less developed African countries, especially in the over crowded informal sector in which a majority of young women are engaged. She expresses the situation of women during economic problems in the following way.

As economic conditions worsen, many of women, especially in urban areas, are compelled to barter sex for survival and to seek occasional sexual partners to help meet their cash needs. Some women also become engaged in commercial sex work, for which there is demand in urban setting, in order to avoid poverty for themselves and their families (p. 665)

From the above, it is possible to conclude that since women are engaged largely in the informal sector and most of them hold unskilled occupations like personal services and petty trading, they are more disadvantaged in this sector than that of the formal one (UN, 1991). Moreover, other than pay differentials, they are not entitled to different benefits, such as sick and holiday leaves, health and workmen's compensation insurance, compensations at the termination of contract, etc, which are commonly available packages of benefits in the formal sector (Tihitina, 2001; ILO, 2005).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is designed based on the principles of feminist research. And so it is woman centred. It is generally about and for women. Since feminist research can not claim to speak for all women (Brayton, 1997), the research is designed to incorporate the cases of few participants. However, it deals with their lives in depth. Moreover, to abide by the principles of feminist research, effort has been made to take into consideration the epistemological principles in feminist methodology. Hence, the major principles are discussed in the next part.

3.1 Methodology

Basically, this research is qualitative and it tries to explore and explain the experiences, needs, perceptions and ideas of women from their own stand point. Moreover, it is gender focused research and the researcher gave due attention to the marginalised group-in this case women. In the research, in-depth interview is the main data collection method, which allowed the researcher to get thorough understanding of the respondents' perspective. Observation and focus group discussion were the other data collection techniques,

Since feminist research is expected to contribute to social change through different ways (Reinharz, 1992), consciousness raising activities among participants have been made during data collection. Subject and object relationship between the researcher and the researched has been avoided and the researcher gave more value to the participants'

knowledge than anything else. Research ethics was also respected throughout the research process.

In general, since the research is about and for women, it is designed so as to improve the life situation of participants being instrumental (through providing information, raising consciousness and other similar activities). The following are the methodological details under different sub topics.

3.1.1 Area of the Study

This study is conducted in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. The city is a home for international and regional organizations, like AU, ECA and other UN offices. The city has about 120 years of age. It is situated at the centre of the country between 9 degrees latitude and 38 degrees longitude at an altitude of 2220-2800 meters above sea level. Addis Ababa is the largest city in Ethiopia and most ethnically diverse urban area. Enormous numbers of informal trades are common on the roadsides. Although there are so many business organizations and industries in the city, unemployment is high especially among women (CSA, 2004). The number of bars and night clubs in the city is increasing. The number of people living with HIV/AIDS is very high in relation to other urban areas (MOH, 2006). A recent report of Central Statistics Authority reveals that the city has a population size of 2.97 million, out of which men account for 48% and women 52% (CSA, 2005). According to the recent restructuring, Addis Ababa comprises 10 sub cities and 99 kebeles.

Among the ten sub-cities only two were selected, specifically Yeka and Bole, for this study. These sub-cities were selected because of two main reasons. First these areas are very close to the researcher in relation to distance, because he lives in one and works in the

other. This gives the researcher the advantage of making fast rapport, easy access to entry and proper reciprocity. In addition, these two areas are places where so many women are engaged as house maids, petty traders at small markets and on road sides, and relatively high number of commercial sex workers are found, especially, on the streets. In general, these two areas are selected taking account of the convenience of the researcher.

3.1.2 Participants of the Study

The target population for this study is primarily women between the age of 17 and 50 and living in Yeka and Bole Sub-cities. Since this study is based on the principles of feminist research it is devoted to give more voice to the 'voiceless' (Waller, 2005). And only women from different backgrounds were selected as the major source of data. This enables the research to reveal the realities by showing the different perspectives of women towards gender division of labour and the effect of gender division of labour on different women. Moreover, age, level of education, type of employment and marital status have been given consideration while selecting the participants.

Though it is difficult to have a larger sample to conduct a qualitative study, a purposive sampling is used to select participants in terms of the above requirement. In this study, purposive sampling is used, because it is a method appropriate to select participants that fulfil particular criteria or specific and predefined groups (Galloway, 1997).

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, more attention is given to categories of activity where women are represented largely. As a result housewives, housemaids, petty traders, commercial sex workers and employees from the formal sector (working in GOs and NGOs) were selected. The number of participants was determined considering the resources of the researcher such as time and money. Since the research employed in-depth

interview technique of data collection and it needs face to face contact and longer time of the participants, in the research process some changes have been made on the number of participants. Hence, so as to get sufficient data for the study 28 women were selected under five categories (See table –1).

Table 1: Category of Work and Number of Interview Participants

S.N	Category of Work	Number of Participants
1	Housewives6
2	Housemaids4
3	Petty traders6
4	Commercial sex workers4
5	Formal sector employees (4 -from GO and 4 -from NGO)8
Grand Total	28

In addition to the above, representatives of both governmental and non governmental organizations were taken as key informants, because such organizations working on women could provide additional information about women’s experiences based on their work exposures. As a result, representatives of one non-governmental organization and one governmental organizations working on women and one housemaid broker were taken as key informants besides the individuals.

The research is based on the voice of individual participants more than that of the organization, because women are considered as experts of their experience (Brayton, 1997). Therefore, hearing the experiences of participants directly from them provide us more tangible information than other sources. For this reason, more individual respondents were chosen.

Participants have been selected in two ways, directly and using other persons. Volunteers from each category were selected by the researcher through direct communication and using gatekeepers (through chairwomen of kebele women's associations). Moreover, friends, classmates, workmates and relatives are used to get some participants.

3.1.3 Data Collection Methods

The research has employed three methods. Namely in-depth interviewing, observation and focus group discussion. These three methods are used together in the study so as to make the data valid and reliable through triangulation. The justifications for each technique of data collection are presented as follows.

In-depth Interview

In this study, in-depth interview is employed as a major data collection technique. Since probing is possible during interview, it enables to generate more information and exhaustive data than other techniques. Ten basic and guiding questions were prepared for the participants. All participants were asked about their personal biography (Age, place of birth, marital status and number of children, etc). Moreover, they were asked about their life since childhood in relation to education, work, health, leisure and other related matters (See Appendix-I).

The interview for each participant took one and half an hour on average, ranging from 45 minutes to 2 hours. It was mostly one phase interview. However, there were few participants interviewed for the second time, to get more explanation, to clarify vague ideas

and to get other important points. The researcher has undertaken all the interviews by himself.

During the interview more time and emphasis was given to individual participants, because no one is knowledgeable more than the person herself about her own life. Whereas, in the case of organizations, a one time one and half an hour interview was conducted with the two representatives of organizations and one broker. During the interview, with the consent of the participants, all the discussions were recorded using tape recorder.

Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD is the other data collection technique. It is important to a qualitative study, because, first, it helps to get additional information and prove the reliability and validity of data collected through different techniques. Secondly, it is a situation whereby participants share their experiences and raise their consciousness. Moverover, FGD is important both to the researcher and the participants to learn from each other.

In this study two FGDs were conducted among different participants. During FGD, the researcher himself was the moderator who led the discussion based on the guiding questions. The first was conducted among five participants in one of women's association office situated in Kebele 08/09 in Bole Sub-city (See Appendix-II) and the second among seven participants in Abyot Primary Public School in Yeka Sub-city (See Appendix-III). Like the interview, these discussions were also recorded using tape recorder with the consent of discussants.

Observation

During observation the researcher looked at how women were toiling in the household and in the field as well. Informal observation in bars and streets have been made to get more understanding of women commercial sex workers' efforts to get their daily "business". Moreover, work places were also visited to some degree. In doing so the researcher got into some settings and made direct observation being customer to some participants.

Observation helped the researcher in three ways. First, it assisted in selecting participants. Secondly, it helped him to shape the interview questions. Finally, it gave some insight to understand the body languages and the ways of communication the participants use in their settings. And most importantly, it gave some insight into what they look like from their appearances, situations and things surrounding them, that could not be easily revealed by other methods.

3.1.4 The Researcher's Role

Besides the many other roles of the researcher, the following three were very crucial in determining the outputs of this research work, in which interview is the main data collection technique.

Entry

In this study entry was negotiated in two cases. First, to get participants from kebele women's association and second to get housemaids at night school. In both cases the researcher introduced himself properly to the chairpersons of both sub-cities under study and the school director at their respective offices. Moreover, a written letter from A.A.U.

was given to the gatekeepers to enable them identify the researcher and build their confidence.

Rapport

Since this research was conducted using in-depth interview as one of the major data collection methods, forming good rapport was very crucial. In the case of commercial sex workers and women working in petty trades the researcher had made direct contacts to form rapport. With petty traders, the researcher bought some commodities. Buying some goods from these women in advance was very important in forming and establishing rapport for the research work.

The other group that needs establishing rapport with is the commercial sex workers. Visiting different bars with friends and forming relationship with some commercial sex workers has been necessary. Especially, those commercial sex workers already known by friends have been found easier to befriend. Forming rapport with commercial sex workers in the bar had two purposes. The first is to get participants from the same bar or in other bars through them, and secondly they are the best persons through whom the street commercial sex workers could be communicated. Getting street commercial sex workers was difficult because they were doing their business only at night and tracing their address is also very hard. However, forming rapport with different groups helped a lot to get participants.

Reciprocity

The researcher, in handling the research, has to reciprocate when there has been a need to do so. Since this research was undertaken among low income group of women, their

participation in the research have definitely required their time and affect their income. Especially, in case of petty traders and commercial sex workers, the time that they devoted for the interview was very precious for them. And the time of the housemaids adds workloads since they lag behind their work while responding to an interview. It also affected the time of education of those learning in the evening class. Even petty traders and employees in the public sector adjusted their priorities and routines to help the researcher.

Therefore, the researcher has tried to reciprocate to individual participants according to their need in the form of giving advice and information, providing educational materials for their children and invitation without using these as means of exploitation.

3.1.5 Ethical Considerations

Considering the importance of ethics in research work the researcher tried to attend to all ethical issues as much as possible. Formal letter from Addis Ababa University has been acquired to enable the respondents know that the researcher is a student at the Addis Ababa University.

Informed consent

In this study the participants' informed consent were obtained before the start of the study. First the purpose of the study was properly explained and then the procedure of the study was elaborated by answering the how, when and where questions. Doing only this has not been considered in the study as informed consent. Rather, the informants understanding of the purpose and procedures of the study have been ascertained. After that the participants were asked whether they would like to participate or not in the study. Moreover, they were also asked to decide on their free will. Even their right to withdraw or

drop out after the interview has begun was explained. In general, consent from both the participants and the gatekeepers were a precondition to select participants.

In this study, there was a need for negotiating entry to get some respondents. All possible efforts have been made to successfully negotiate with the concerned bodies to get entry to the settings. Moreover, after getting access to the settings the same procedure to get the informed consent of the respondent has been followed as described above. In general, the researcher tried not to enter into unnecessary private issues and did not force the respondents to disclose the issues they did not want to. The right to withdraw from the study and other ethical issues, were also given due attention.

Confidentiality

During the interview, whatever information the interviewees considered confidential and do not want to be revealed to the public is held confidential. However, the researcher tried its best to use the information after negotiating with the participant if the information is very important without revealing the identity of the informant. Since most of the participants were low income women and some were commercial sex workers and housemaids, the issue of confidentiality may be more serious than in other research work. Therefore, the issue of confidentiality was given due emphasis by the researcher. To this effect among other cares to be taken to keep the confidentiality of the participants' experience, pseudonyms are used while presenting data throughout this paper.

Privacy

Privacy is one of the ethical issues in research work. In this research, the privacy of the participants was respected. To this effect, the researcher restrained himself from going

to the respondents without a prescheduled program and tried his best to reduce unnecessary calls. The other point to be considered here is that it was only in the place where the interview was conducted that issues of discussion or interview questions raised. Moreover, the discussion issues have never gone beyond the purpose of the research. Whenever the participants found inconvenient, like shortage of time to finish the interview and crowded places other alternative measures have been taken by agreement.

3.2 Data Processing and Analysis

Recording data started from the very beginning of the research. There were two types: written and audio. Since the research is a qualitative one the different forms of data have been found important during analysis.

Data collected using different means have been summarized into a manageable size every time after interviewing and observation. Every interview recorded and taken in the form of note was cross checked with each other. The recorded interview then transcribed and put into a logical order. For these activities, a separate data recording notebook was prepared showing its source, time and type.

Before analyzing the collected data, the researcher has tried his best while transcribing whether all the information given are taken in the way that the participants are intended to express. To this effect transcriptions were given to some participants, who can read and understand English, to check whether their experiences and opinions were correctly described or not. After this, the analysis was carried out. First, data from each category of respondents, housewives, housemaids, petty traders, commercial sex workers and formal sector employees, have been identified independently. In each category of

respondents similar and closely related issues have been seen first and summarized. Then similar issues under different categories of respondents were summarized under one group. After categorizing similar issues together, then the relationship between each issue was drawn out for discussion.

After that based on the research questions and objectives of the study different themes were developed and the analysis was made in a descriptive manner. Direct quotations of the words of participants were used so that the reader understands the perception and experience of the participants directly. Finally, summary and conclusion have been made based on the discussions.

CHAPTER FOUR: MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Background Characteristics of Participants

In this section, the demographic background of participants is presented. The background characteristics presented include: age, level of education, type of work, marital status and number of children.

4.1.1 Background Characteristics of Interview Participants

As stated in the methodology section, in-depth interview is the major method employed in this study. The interviews were conducted among twenty eight women in Yeka and Bole sub-cities. The age distribution of participants range from 17 to 50 years. There were 3 participants in the age group of 17 and 25 years, 16 in the age group of 26 and 40 years and the remaining 9 fall in the age group of 41 and 50 years.

In relation to marital status, 16 were married, 8 single, 2 widowed, 1 separated and 1 divorced. Seven participants do not have children, 13 participants have less than 3 children and the rest 8 participants have 3 or more children. When we see their level of education both literates and illiterates were selected. And the literates were from primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. The details are described in the following table.

Table 2: Background Characteristics of Interview Participants

Name*	Age	Level of Edu.	Marital Status	No. of Children	Type of Work
Abeba	45	Primary	Married	2	Petty Trader
Aberash	18	Primary	Single	-	Housemaid
Abiyot	44	Secondary	Divorced	1	Com. Sex Worker
Askale	45	Primary	Married	5	Housewife
Azalu	45	College	Married	3	Gov't Employee
Bafena	17	Primary	Single	-	Housemaid
Bayush	38	College	Married	2	NGO Employee
Beletu	25	Secondary	Married	1	Petty Trader
Birtukan	28	Secondary	Married	2	Housewife
Elsa	46	College	Married	3	Gov't Employee
Emebet	39	Primary	Married	2	NGO Employee
Fantu	30	Primary	Separated	1	Com. Sex Worker
Foziya	37	Primary	Married	5	Petty Trader
Genet	27	Secondary	Single	-	Com. Sex Worker
Gete	36	Secondary	Married	2	Gov't Employee
Haimanot	40	College	Married	2	Gov't Employee
Helina	41	Illiterate	Single	-	Housemaid
Kiya	34	Secondary	Married	2	Housewife
Kokeb	43	Illiterate	Married	3	Petty Trader
Lakech	32	Primary	Single	-	Petty Trader
Mekedese	40	Illiterate	Widowed	5	Com. Sex Worker
Mulu	35	Secondary	Married	2	Housewife
Sebele	34	Secondary	Married	4	Housewife
Senait	27	college	Single	-	NGO Employee
Shashe	50	Illiterate	Widowed	1	Petty Trader
Tiru	50	Secondary	Married	4	Housewife
Tsehay	27	Secondary	Single	1	Housemaid
Zenebu	30	College	Single	-	NGO Employee

* All the names mentioned are pseudonyms

4.1.2 Background Characteristics of Focus Group Discussants

FGD is the other source of data in this study. Two FGDs were conducted. All FGD participants in both discussions were women. In the first group the participants ages range from 26 to 50. Three of them were college graduates and two were at primary level. All were employed women. Two of them were self-employed in the informal sector, and the rest three were employed in the formal sector.

Table 3. Background Characteristics of FGD-1 Discussants

Name*	Age	Level of Edu.	Marital Status	No. of Children	Type of Work
Atsede	28	College	Single	-	NGO Employee
Hirute	40	Primary	Widowed	3	Petty Trader
Senait	26	College	Married	-	Gov't Employee
Wubitu	50	College	Married	4	Gov't Employee
Yenenesh	35	Primary	Married	2	Petty Trader

* All the names mentioned are pseudonyms

Participants of FGD-2 have ages ranging from 17-23 years. All of them have primary education. And they are all enrolled in evening school. All of the seven participants in this FGD are housemaids, single and have no children.

Table 4. Background Characteristics of FGD-2 Discussants

Name*	Age	Level of Edu.	Marital Status	No. of Children	Type of Work
Alemaz	17	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Getenesh	23	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Hana	20	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Hiwot	19	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Konjit	18	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Sara	19	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids
Tizita	18	Primary	Single	-	Housemaids

* All the names mentioned are pseudonyms

4.2 Women's Work Share and Value

4.2.1. *In the Household and within the Community*

Different studies revealed that women's work is unrecognized and undervalued all over the world, but with a varying degree. Because it is not recognized, domestic work is not taken into consideration in the national accounts of most countries. With this respect, the Beijing Platform for Action has insisted governments to take the unremunerated work into consideration consistent with core national accounts (Visvanatham et al., 1997). ILO in its different reports, journals and publications uncover these situations. Women handle not only unrecognized but also unpaid works at home and community level (ILO, 2003). They undertake the activities of almost all domestic works. What makes women's work more invisible is that the enormous works handled by them are valued less. It even seems the value of work relates, not with the nature of work or the performance of the worker, rather with the sex of the person engaged in a specific work. Due to this belief, whatsoever the type and volume of work women perform, it is belittled irrespective of the contribution it provides to the family in particular and to the community and the state in general (Mackinnon, 2001).

As it is commonly known in different parts of Ethiopia, household work is allocated to women in general. The same thing is true in Addis Ababa. Women, regardless of their social and work status, are responsible for the household chores. Employed women, in addition to their employed works, are also responsible for the domestic activities after they return home from office (Tihitna, 2001).

In the study, all women reveal unanimously that the responsibilities of domestic activities are primarily theirs. However, some expressed that their husbands assist them

when situations require it most. Very few responded that they are sharing work usually in the household. Some participants responded that even in the families where domestic works are shared, the burden still rests more on women. A participant described her work share in the house as follows:

I get up early at five. Then I prepare breakfast for my husband and my children. After that, I pack lunch and escort my children to school. I get back home and do the washing-ups, clean the house and cook lunch. After I have lunch with my husband, he leaves for his work and I do the washing-ups again, wash clothes, go shopping, cook brunch and dinner and pick my children from school. When we get home I change their clothes, give them brunch and run to my evening classes. After school I serve dinner to my family. If time allows I tutor my children. After my children go to bed I prepare things for the next morning and go to bed between 11 and 12 p.m. (Kiya, Age 34)

Another participant said:

Even though I am educated and independently handle my expense, I am not as free as you would think because all the household responsibilities rest on my shoulder. Therefore, most of my time after office hours is devoted for this purpose rather than my personal development. Before I leave for office, I get up early at six. I wash my children and help them put on their clothes. I see whether breakfast is ready and then I pack their lunch. After that I have to give orders to the housemaid what to do during the day. Fortunately, I am working in the same organization with my husband. And until I leave the house he waits for me in the car usually saying አንች ሬሳሽ እንኳን

ቶሎ አይወጣም (Even your dead body never leaves the house in time). Due to shortage of time even I check my clothes and bags in the car on the way to office. After office hours, I have to go shopping and see to it that my children are not starved and studying and doing their homework. Because most children are restless and difficult to deal with, I don't want the maid to be fade up with them. (Himanot, age 40)

Data from other participants reveal that their work in the house is very similar with the experience of the two informants. FGD discussants also reflect the same idea. A discussant in the FGD said:

The psychological make-up of men also plays a crucial role. Even though both the husband and wife get home at the same time, the husband would not like to have his dinner unless his wife goes to the kitchen and checks the prepared meal. This is what our husbands do. Even if there is a housemaid women do not stop working at home. Their habit would not allow them to do so. (Wubitu, Age50)

Sometimes it is very difficult to categorize women in one status (house wife or employed worker). Many of the participants described that they are doing two or more jobs. However, most of them are not formally employed, but they are engaged in both household and community works on the one hand and petty trade on the other. Most women feel more responsible for the well-being of their family that they try to engage in all spheres of work (productive, reproductive and community). A 50 years old informant revealed her current work in the following way:

I am a housewife, a chairperson of the women 'Idir' ¹ in my locality. I am also engaged in small business of selling prepared food items during my spare time with friends. On top of these, I am working in, kebele social court. Except the challenges of the volume of work, particularly the house chores, I am handling them side by side.
(Tiru, Age 50)

In relation to house work, Rowbotham (1973) expressed that the volume of women's work in a very expressive manner saying "A Woman's Work is Never Done". This saying also correlates with participants' opinion. According to the participants, the household work is endless and non stopping. One work pulls the other. Repetition of work is common. This is the nature of the work that women are performing throughout their lives. There is no man assisting in the house and no improved technology for many of them, as a consequence of which women juggle all day long in the house.

Moreover, whatever time it takes and whatever importance it has, the society does not give value to housework. Since this perspective has existed for centuries even women themselves have accepted it, though they know the challenges of their work and its importance to the family. A participant described the value given to housework in relation to men's work as follows:

The value of women's work is degraded not only by men, but also by women themselves. The works of women have not been seen as important, especially those performed in the house. Men perform big things outside, like investment, which can be seen easily, while women do very tiny and invisible things, but very wide and crucial parts for life. Had it not been due to the assembled tiny parts of the women's

¹ Idir is an indigenous association organized to facilitate burial and other related activities

work in the household, it would not have been possible for the works of men to be visible. Unfortunately people see not the tiny important parts, but the big computer, the cupboard or the building. (Bayush, Age 38)

The other participant put it:

Men disregard women's housework. But women know how hard it is. The influence of the society has made women to give much credit to the paid work of men. Even if a man's salary is 50 birr, it is thought to be a big deal. However, though it is not valued, women play greater role. In fact, our society says "No woman, no home". On the one hand, people disregard her role on the other hand they witness her significance. (Sebele, Age 34)

As seen from the reality in Addis Ababa and from the women's experience, the burden of household activities is shouldered by women. It is also more or less similar in the educated and uneducated families, and in the low and high income families. However, there are very few exceptions in both circumstances; educated men understand their wives' household burden better than uneducated ones. But they mostly do not assist the women due to the taboo in the society. The preceding view was also reflected by discussants during FGD.

Women are also very active in community works. They are always active participants in different community events. They mainly are at the forefront in, for example, wedding, mourning, caring for the sick and cleaning of the environment. A participant said:

Other than household activities women are also engaged in community works. If you see community works the load is on women. No one gives women paper work and

decision making position. These are men's work. Women are mostly pushed to laborious activities like cooking, baking and cleaning. I became a member in men's 'Idir' when I got a job. I am the only woman committee member because women have to participate in leadership. I am still trying to raise women's membership. My first job as a record officer helped me to realize that we could do like men. When money is lost in my 'Idir', I tell them that we have to participate in the inquiry committee. They choose me and another courageous woman but she did not agree. If I am recruited for a secretary or finance officer of the 'Idir', የኮሚቴ አባላቱ እኔ መሰራት እንደሚያቅተኝ እና እንደሚከብደኝ አድርገው ነው የሚከራክሩት። እኔ ግን ዝም አልልም እንደምችል እገልጻለሁ። የሚገርመው የተወሰኑት ማንበብና መጻፍ እንኳ አይችሉም ወንድ ስለሆኑ ብቻ ነው የተመረጡት።(The committee members argue that I can not handle it. But I challenge them I can do it. To your surprise, some of them can not read and write and they are elected because just they are men). They underestimate me even knowing that I am educated. (Birtukan, Age28)

Another participant said:

Once there was mourning in the neighborhood. I was doing my master's degree and reading for an exam I would take on the morrow. So it was not possible for me to go to the mourning. Therefore, I asked my husband to go and comfort the bereaved. He said he was tired and he could not make it. And I had to go for the sake of the family's and community's well-being risking my success in the exam ahead. (Azalu, Age 45)

Women relate each and every community activities with their family life. They think that they will be ostracized by the society when they miss any of the events. For this very reason, they sacrifice their advantages at hand.

4.2.2. In Paid Employment

The phrase 'Women constitute half the world's population' is very commonly used in many literatures dealing with gender issues. This term is not used simply to show the proportion of women to the total population. It is rather to emphasize their absence from decision making posts, lesser involvement in gainful employment and under representation in social and political positions (Boko, S.H., Lutz, M.B., and Kimuna, S.R., 2005). Different studies have also revealed this fact. The Federal Civil Service Commission statistics (2003) shows that the number of employed women in government offices under a permanent contract is by far less than that of men. Women constitute only less than one third of the total number in all years (Eshetu, 1997 E.C.). Another nation wide study conducted by MOLSA (2004) on 205 establishments administered by proclamation No.42/93 (No. 377/2004) also shows the same wide gap between employed men and women. Out of the total employees of 262,277, women constitute only 28.2% (73,949) whereas the rest 71.8% (188,328) are men. From this and other similar facts emanates the question why women's participation in paid/gainful employment, especially in the formal or legally recognized establishments, is very less.

As discussed under the theoretical part in the literature review, different scholars raised some reasons for women's lesser involvement in paid employment. Lack of education and training, patriarchy and the capitalist system are the major ones. No matter how less women's involvement and earning in paid employment, they work longer hours in

general. The well-known sentence of ILO confirms this; “ Women are half the world’s population, receive one-tenth of the world’s income, account for two-thirds of the world’s working hours, and own only one-hundredth of the world’s property” (Smyke, 1991, p.29).

The other factor that has to be seen as a challenge for women’s increasing work share in the labor force is the criticism forwarded by other people. It includes the need to get permission from their husbands, blessing from family members, relatives and friends (Eviota, 1992). The following argument of a participant engaged in a paid employment in the formal sector might explain this:

Most of the time I came back from office to home in the evening and sometimes at night. This is because of the nature of my work. I was advised not to work till the evening hours by my parents and neighbors that know the very nature of my work. And I was frequently blamed for that. My husband who clearly knows the nature of my work was also blamed so frequently for letting me work in the evenings. I know working in the evenings and weekends is not always good. And balancing the time for paid work and family is wise. But whatever income I get, it goes to fill family need gaps (mine, my husband’s and our children’s). (Bayush, Age38)

The same woman expressed the feelings of her friends as follows:

Sometimes I go to work on the weekends. For this my friends always offended for not spending the weekend at home with my husband. They want to know even what he is saying when he is alone at home. በጣም የሚገርመው ግን ባለቤቱ ለስራ መስክ ሲወጣ ምንም ያህል ጊዜ ወደ ቤት ሳይመለስ ቢቆይ ስለኔ በቸኝነት የሚጨነቅ የለም። (What is very surprising here is that, when my husband is out on a field work

and stays some days there, no one cares about my loneliness no matter how long it takes him to come home). Anyway the elderly should not be blamed for having such an understanding. Because they lived most of their life in a society with such tradition, but when I come across people of my age also reflecting this same way of thinking, it really amazes me. (Bayush, Age38)

From the woman's experience one can see that it is challenging to work outside even if the woman's effort is for the sustenance of the family. In this case the husband is not a problem to her work, but rather the surrounding people try to hinder her work through the old aged tradition.

In some cases, husbands also challenge women's paid employment. As discussed by the Marxist Feminists, patriarchal ideology has strong effect on women's paid work. Since patriarchy gives privilege and authority to men in both the household and public spheres, men determine even the lives of women. Like in most parts of the world, in Ethiopia men are heads of households and primarily decide on most of the activities and the share of works among the family members (Eshetu, 1997 E.C). The following idea of a participant supports this fact:

Men do not like to be surpassed by their wives. ግፉ ቢል ሴቶች ከነሱ እኩል እንዲሆኑ ቢፈልጉ ነው። (At most they want us to be equal). They worry a lot when they see us being active outside home. No matter how they realize women's paid work is important to the family, they argue strongly against it. (Kiya, Age 34)

-Another participant presented her experience saying:

When I come home late from my work place, my husband would get angry. Sometimes I had to stay back for meetings held in the evening and would arrive home as late as 8:30 in the evening. ወይ ቤትሽን ወይ ስራሽን ምረጫ ይለኝ ነበር። (He would tell me that I should choose between my job and my house). But when it comes to him, he could come home as late as mid night and said he had been working. I had no choice but accept it. So when I had to be in meetings held in the evening I keep looking at my watch now and then without paying much attention to what was being said. Even after women passed all the challenges outside and climbed the ladder up in their job and reach at the top they would face another challenge from their “family”. It seems to me that there is little change for the better. (Azalu, Age 45)

It is not uncommon to see urban households where educated women, who have completed grade twelve, are limited to household activities only. Another participant tells her neighbor’s experience as follows:

I know many husbands in my neighborhood who like to keep their wives at home. They do not like them to study further or work outside. Even though the women are interested to go out for employment they do not get permission from their husbands. Because they want them to undertake domestic chores and to take care of children. (Sebele, Age 34)

As seen from women’s experience and from the researcher’s observation as a resident in the study area, there are some challenges on women’s employment. It ranges from discouraging up to prohibiting women from public employment. However, it is worth

mentioning not to forget the availability of husbands, who accept and give due recognition and support to the jobs of their wives outside the home.

Ethiopia ratified a number of regional and international human right agreements. Besides ratifying the country has given due recognition to the agreements in its constitution (FDRE Constitution, 1995). To mention, UDHR, CEDAW, African Human Right Declaration and ICCPR are the major ones. In addition to the above, Ethiopia, being a member of ILO, has ratified many conventions adopted by the organization. For instance the country has ratified one of the four fundamental principles of ILO that is Non-discrimination in employment (Daniel, 2004). Apart from that the Ethiopian's constitution in its separate article on the rights of women clearly expresses their equality in employment. Nevertheless, the reality on the ground is not like the attractive words of equality on the paper. Though laws and conventions are very crucial to bring change in a society, they are not sufficient. Follow up of the implementation of laws on paper should be the concern of all the citizens; however the three organs of government (legislative, executive and judiciary) have primary responsibility. Otherwise the laws will remain ineffective (Zenebework, 2002).

Family, being the basic unit of a society, could play a significant role towards the effectiveness of laws and regulations. In relation to division of labour the role of family is described by one of the discussants during FGD as follows:

Family plays a significant role for the present domestic division of labor. Women have greater part in a family. Thus, they have to teach their children to work equally without making any difference among boys and girls. If they do not, children would grow up with the wrong idea. When these children get married, they would follow the

same pattern and this results in the absence of cooperation between husbands and wives. (Senait, Age 26)

It is easy to see from the above the importance of family in shaping good behaviors of children during their childhood. Family is the place and childhood is the time in which people (men and women) have to be shaped to be equals and respect each other in all aspects of their lives; work, education and the like.

The other paid employment wherein women hold a higher share is the informal sector. In this sector, the work share burden is more, especially, among self-employed women. These women are doing work irrespective of its nature and without choice, so long as it gives them some return. A 37- years-old woman interviewee, in support of this point, described the jobs she has been engaged in as follows:

To make ends meet, I have been doing all activities that I can do, some separately and some jointly as the case may be. I have been working as housemaid, daily laborer at construction sites, I have been selling 'Injera' ², roasted barely for 'Tella' ³, washing clothes in different households and now I am doing street vending and providing home-based care services to AIDS patients. (Foziya, Age 37)

Engaging in different informal employment activities is very common among uneducated women. Such engagement in turn increases the work burden of these women. As far as earnings in the informal sector are so small, participating in more than a single work is a means of survival to many poor women and their families.

² Injera is a staple food of Ethiopians mostly made from Teff and some times from other grains

³ Tella is a locally brewed beer-like drink made from grains

Though it is not possible to indicate the share of women in the informal sector in the study area, it is not as such difficult to judge using common sense that women are at the higher side. Data from African Women Book shows that 60 percent of the street vendors were women in Addis Ababa in the 1960s (Vidrovitch, 1997). The situation seems similar today and it is very common to see women street vendors on main road sides and in villages holding a variety of food items in the study area in particular and the city in general (Mulu, 2003). Today women's engagement in the informal sector like petty trade, domestic service and commercial sex work have become a means of keeping family alive. (Vidrovitch, 1997) puts this in the following way: "Today more than ever, city life is in women's hands" (p.69). The same is also true in the study area. A participant explained:

I started street vending when my husband was retired on medical grounds. He did not have enough money. And he worried much as to how we could survive with that amount of money. I started it to encourage him and to raise my children. In the first week I was sick of people's criticism.

When they said "What is she doing here? She is simply imitating others". I wrapped my shawl around my head and worked for six months. Its profit emboldened me to continue. ይኸው እስከህገ ሰርተው ሴቲን ቀጥ አድርጌ እያኖርኩ ነው (Since then I have been managing to sustain my family properly). On top of that, I am buying my husband cigar to satiate his addiction. (Abeba, Age 45)

Another participant, petty trader, also revealed a similar situation.

Except the absence of assistance from my husband, I am doing my best for the survival of the family. I do pay my children's school fee and help them live better life

than what I have. እሱ ልጆቹን ይወዳቸዋል በቃ። (He just loves them 'enough'). I am the one who buy clothes and education materials for them; he does not bother about their education. (Foziya, Age37)

Women's work in the informal sector is maintaining families from disintegration by being major source of income. In the FGD the same idea is also emphasized by the participants. A widow discussant expressed her effort in keeping her family in a similar manner to those days when her husband had been alive. And also she expressed the hard time she had in the informal sector. As discussed by Tlou (2000), in the literature review, in urban areas during economic problems it is not unusual to see women engaged in commercial sex work for the survival of their life and of their families. A participant told her life as follows:

After my husband (fathered five children) passed away, I got a job in a hotel as cook because he did not have pension. I worked from dawn to dusk. I had an intention that my mother would take care of my five children before she died. I also had an intention to leave them and flee some where unknown, but I could not and kept on doing my job. And I was tired of my employer's argument. Six months after my husband's death I had a car accident. I had to cover my medical costs because the driver had run away. My first son was only 6th grade. When I recovered I went to Megenagna to talk to housemaid brokers. I wanted a job as a cook but there was no one. In the meantime, I got a job in some hotel as a waitress and sex worker. I decided after convincing myself to take this job because I was told I could get 70 or 80 birr a night and for the sake of my children I took it. (Mekedese, Age 40)

The same woman continued:

One day my colleague proposed that it was better to be a street sex worker and I accepted it so that I could rest as I wish and avoid drinking alcohol. I was member of three 'Idirs' I felt ashamed to withdraw after my husband died due to shortage of money. This was another reason to engage myself in such work. I chose this deadly and difficult job before I see my children pick crumbs from rubbish bin. Let alone me, my youngest child knows it is risky. But thanks to God I am still alive educating my children. (Mekedese, Age 40)

Another participant states:

I work in a red-light district around Sholla Gebeya⁴. Women from different parts of the country and the city rent one of the very small (2X2m) room made of sheets of corrugated iron at 160-180 birr a month to do sex work. The payment is very cheap because of the current meager-living. It ranges up to 3 birr for one-round -sex and up to 15 birr for one-night stand. It is risky but you can not earn anything sitting. I am a grown-up woman and I do not want to be an albatross around my parents' necks. It is my last option to do a living. However, I am always trying to quit this work. (Fantu, Age 30)

As mentioned in the literature review by Tlou (2000), and from the lived experiences of commercial sex workers in the study area this work is very easy for women to join and the only open one for them in cases of difficulties. Lack of alternatives for means of income for ones' survival is the ultimate cause for women to engage in commercial sex work.

⁴ Gebeya is an Amharic equivalent for a market place

Employers in different economic sectors are not willing to give equal chances of employment to men and women. This is due to the inherent nature of capitalist principle of maximizing profit without the consideration of social aspects of life. The point raised by Anker (1998) and Loutfi (2001) in the literature part could be good reasons for lack of women preference by employers. Since women are burdened by the unequal gender division of labour in the household and community level, they cannot get access to join formal sector employment and mostly pushed to the informal and unorganized one where access to it is relatively very high.

One can see from the above fact that women's life experiences show they are the bread winners in many families. The women are generating income for their family in different situations though they all are working in the informal sector employment. The varied experiences of the women show that they are sources of income to the family in different situations. In the first case, the husband is ill and earns low pension income, in the second case the husband is unemployed and yet in another one is dead.

The discussants in FGD also reflected the idea that women's involvement in income generating activities to support the family income is common. Women apart from filling up family income gaps, they are also the only or major source of income in some families as shown in the preceding paragraph. The following quotation justifies the above reality. "It is women who must cope, and devise survival strategies, when household incomes fall and prices rise." (Cited in Smyke, 1991, p.28). This study has also attempted to witness the efforts of women in devising coping mechanism and survival strategies in times of economic crisis in most families.

4.3 The Paradox of Women's Work and Leisure

Nowadays, not only in developed countries, even in developing ones, the number of women engaged in productive work is increasing and more women are getting paid jobs. However, we should note that they are going out to paid work leaving behind a bulk of chores at their homes for some other time; either for the evening/night or for the weekends. This, by itself, has direct relation with leisure. While looking into women's employment, we should take care not to ignore other important matters that should be seen in connection with this issue. In our case, work and leisure, this could not be seen separately, in a sense that the duration of one affects that of the other. And as a result both are analyzed together in most economic theories.

In relation to the increasing number of women in the workforce, different studies raise their fear about the misinterpretation that could be given. One study puts:

Of course, it is misleading to talk of women's "entry" into the workforce. Besides formal employment, women have always worked in the home, looking after children, cleaning or cooking. ... To some extent, the increase in female paid employment has meant fewer hours of unpaid housework. (The economist, 2006, p.73)

It is possible to see from this argument that the entry of women into the workforce decreases the hours of unpaid domestic work and however, since they are responsible for the household chores their leisure time decreases too. This is so because women are engaged in different types of work, more commonly, productive, reproductive and community. The latter two are unpaid and time consuming ones. Therefore, since the domestic activities are women's responsibility in gender division of labor, engaging in paid

employment means eliminating the very few leisure time of women, if it exists at all, especially in economically poor countries like Ethiopia. Regarding this idea, one participant responded in the following way:

I am working in a government office. Not to be late and reach to office on time, I wake up as early as 5:00 am. I prepare breakfast for my husband and my children, and then I pack food for their lunch and arrange things for the evening. After that I go to work and then to school at 5:30 pm. Since I have no housemaid, due to their inaccessibility and requirement of high pay, all the household works are waiting for me. My husband is not mentally ready to do such work. Unless I fall sick, he doesn't help me. He assists me with some work only during my illness, because there is no other way of doing things at home. During the day time I am at work, in the evening at school and then in domestic activities at home. I stay working commonly up to 12:00 pm. Because I have no time, usually I bake 'Injera' at night. I do not think of leisure currently. (Gete, Age 36)

It is very difficult to think about women's leisure in a society where domestic activities are exclusively reserved to women. Especially, it is more difficult for women in low income family, where employing housemaids is difficult, and where women are employed outside. On top of this, if a woman goes to school in the evenings and her husband doesn't help in the house, then the worst scenario happens like the above women's case. A similar experience is also expressed by one participant engaged in petty trade in Bole sub-city:

I wake up after mid-night around 2:30 am and go to Piassa- Atikilt Tera⁵ with my son. After purchasing tomato, potato and green pepper, I give it to my son and send him to 'Gulit'⁶ early in the morning. Then I go to 'Merkato'⁷ to purchase cabbage. Upon my return, I will start to sell and continue selling until the evening. Because, all the domestic responsibility is upon me, I cook food in the evening after work. Providing all the care to the family I sleep usually after 10:00 pm. I usually have nightmares after mid-night. Unless I reach Piassa and 'Merkato' at the right time, I miss buying from whole-sellers at lesser price and good quality vegetables. Since I am too busy in handling both domestic and paid work, I have no enough time for rest. I get some nap at midday when the business is slow at the work place. My husband does not have work. Moreover, he neither assists me in my work outside nor at home. This is my life throughout the days and all the weeks. I have no rest. What is rest? What will I give to my children? My rest may be after my death. (Foziya, Age37)

In countries of less developed economies, the issues of women's work are very complicated. On the one hand, there is no strong economy to introduce new technologies by which the burden of women's work can be decreased in the household. On the other hand, the culture is changing at a snail's pace and the social-cultural practices are stronger and new practices are not simply accepted by the society. As a result gender division of labor is not changing fast. Though, domestic work is considered as women's work all over the world, unlike the women in developed economies, women in less developed economies

⁵ Atikilt Tera is a market place for vegetables and fruits in Addis Ababa around Piassa

⁶ Gulit is a small market place where different items such as vegetables, fruits, firewood and other consumables are sold

⁷ Merkato is the biggest open market place in Addis Ababa

are more burdened due to the above reasons. Let alone adding paid employment, the unpaid domestic work by its endless nature leave women working at home without leisure (Africa Women's Report, 1998). A housewife participant responded how she is just burdened by the household chores only as follows:

House work has no end, unless you stop it. You would be surprised if I tell you how many tasks I accomplished this morning. Before I come here I prepared breakfast for six family members, packed lunch for my four children and I did the washing-ups partly. I will finish it when I get home. The dark falls before I finish my domestic chores: cleaning house, washing clothes, cooking lunch and dinner. There are also different social activities. The sun rises again. There is no rest. Women have enormous burden. If you do not do it artfully it is very tiresome and routine. If we, specially, have babies, we have a hard night too. (Tiru, Age40)

Another participant stated:

I do not have spare time for leisure. I sometimes go to church and wedding invitation with my husband. I wonder when people have a nap after lunch. I have never thought of a nap. I prefer doing some tasks. Because, there are always some pending works waiting for me like spinning or other. ልተኛ ብል ጀርባዬን የሚያቃጥለኝ ጭስለኛል። (I think my back would be burning, if I get a nap). (Askale, Age 45)

A bit different experience from the above woman is presented by a participant in the following way about her husband:

I have never had a recreation time. እስኪ ጥያቄ ልጠይቅህ! ሴት ልጅ ተዝናንታ ታውቃለች? (Let me ask you a question? Does a woman recreate?). We are extremely busy. We

have lots of responsibilities: house work, social activities, holiday preparation, looking after children, etc. Our husbands do not take us out. They think we do not need to relax and believe our only place is the kitchen. My first husband in the country side used to leave me at home when there was an invitation. I could not enjoy occasions. After we separated I came to Addis Ababa. Then my ex-husband asked me to live together. But I told him I did not want since I remember that he used to go to wedding invitations alone wearing the clothes I washed and commanding me to take care of the cattle. (Abeba, Age 45)

Though earning money is very important for women for the improvement of economic, social and political power, through paid employment, it is also equally important to keep the balance between women's work and leisure. The more chance women get in public employment, without decreasing their domestic burden, means the lesser time that they have for rest (leisure). This also affects women's health through stress and depression, which in effect affect the wellbeing of the family directly and the community and the state indirectly.

The other point to note is the meaning given to the domestic or reproductive work, which is commonly women's work. Rowbotham (1973) expressed this as, "Because housework does not fit in to the prevailing notions of work it mysteriously becomes not work at all. It is not counted. The woman at home is described as a woman who does not work" (p.68). The notion of work is related with exchange value in the market. Therefore, people do not consider those activities, which do not involve wage in return, as work.

This notion of work has strongly affected the mentality of the society, men and women alike. The existing notion of work created some paradox between women's work

and leisure. In this study the researcher found that all women participants, irrespective of their work type and status are working at home and in the community though it is not paid, and many of them are undertaking this alongside with employed work without leisure or a limited amount of leisure.

4.4 Domestic Work: A Hindrance for Women's Development

4.4.1 Domestic Work and Women's Education

Education contributes a lot to the development of human beings. It is possible to say that education is a vital tool to build the socio-economic well-being of any society. In other words, it is vital for both male and female. Improving female education means improving so many conditions in a society as discussed by many scholars. It means improving productivity at home, at workplace and in the community at large because women are found in all spheres of human activities (Knowles et al., as cited in Asiedu, E. and Lien D., 2005 ; Catharine, 2001).

Another study entitled: "Education of Women as a Contributor to Economic Growth in Africa", has identified the following among several benefits of female education.

Better employment, reduced poverty, better health and nutrition for children, better health for the women, reduced fertility rates, improved community health, and improved national welfare and economic development (Tackie, Fields, and Siaway, 2005, p.21)

However, education is not equally accessible to male and female in most developing countries including Ethiopia. In countries like Ethiopia both in rural and urban areas there are several factors affecting women's education. Among them are domestic work burden,

abduction, marriage, religious beliefs and tradition, absence of willingness from family and husband (*Tackie, Fields, and Siaway, 2005*).

Since this part is devoted to deal with one of the obstacles of women's education, that is domestic work, the above points are raised to highlight the hindrances of women's education. And what benefits women's education generate to themselves in particular, to the household, the community and the nation in general.

Domestic work affects women's education at different levels of education. Women's education can be affected during their childhood when they are under the control of their family, as housewives and engaged in paid employment and responsible for their household activities. Moreover it can be affected at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. As discussed under feminist/gender theory in the literature review, women have no time for education. During childhood women, unlike men, either had been burdened with household chores while assisting their parents or had not been given a chance to education. Whereas, in the other cases they are encumbered by their different roles in the house and outside of it. A similar observation was made by a participant from Yeka sub-city around Shola Gebeya.

I used to work a lot when I was a child. My parents were poor. I went to school after I made the beds, cleaned the house, cooked, etc. After school I was expected to work. I never studied freely because I did not have time. In addition my school was far away from home. I sometimes arrived late. Sometimes I got to class at third period because I like education. To your surprise, my problem in my education was house work. ሰዓት ከማጣቴ የተነሳ የቤት ሥራዬን በቁርስ ሰዓቱ ነበር የምሰራው እናም የሚገርመው እንጅራ እየጋገርኩ ከድኝ እስኪበስል ሁሉ አጠናሰሁ። ቦታው እንዳይጠፋብኝ በመፀሐፌ መሐል የሣር ምልክት እጠቀም ነበር። (Due to scarcity of time I used to work my homework

while eating my breakfast and study while I bake 'Injera' placing a grass in between the pages of my book as a bookmark). I sometimes went to school tired and hungry and slept inside my classroom. (Sebele, Age 34)

It is possible to see from the above woman's education life that during childhood she did not have sufficient time to focus on her education. Because women are considered to be housewives, during their childhood they are encouraged to learn household chores to enable them feed their future family. As a result their education has not been given due attention like men's. Scholars also confirm this in their studies. "In Africa, the education of girls is not given the attention accorded to boys" (Tackie, Fields, and Siaway, 2005, p.122). The statement stated above is also supported by a 27 years old participant's experience.

I grew up with my grandmother. On weekends, I escorted her to church and after that I prepared her coffee. Then I did other domestic chores. I sometimes went to bed tired without doing my homework. When I asked my brother to help me with the house chores, they criticized me how dared I want him to work. But I challenged them. He studied and did my homework. I sometimes went to school without understanding how he came up with the answers. (Birtukan, Age 28)

The traditional norms of work are still influencing female education. Whenever the women are handling the domestic activities in the household, girls are willing to assist though boys are available there and free from any work they will not undertake domestic chores. And because of women's responsibility for caring for the family members and house chores, they sacrifice their education to the well-being of the household. The following experiences of women show the above conditions of women's education:

I did not go to school because I grew up in rural areas. After I came to Addis and began leading my married life I attended adult education and did not go beyond the sixth grade. I was very happy when I learnt to identify the number tags of city buses. This encouraged me to continue up to 6th grade. It took me many years. When I was in grade four, my husband was very ill at exam time and I quit my education for two years. Now I have a son and a daughter but only my daughter helps me with the household activities. My son wants even to order me around. He orders his sister to wash his clothes and socks. He does not do a single housework. My daughter quits her study and gives me her hand whenever she sees me busy. (Abeba, Age 45)

Another participant expressed her educational experience in the following way:

I attended adult education during the Dergue regime and reached grade five. In grade five, I went to school some days carrying and on the others leaving my child with my neighbors to take care of him. I went to school after I finished my household tasks. When I got back home, I had to cook dinner and do the washing ups. Then I immediately went to bed tired. I never studied. The same thing was true on the next day. When I was in my classroom, my mind used to rush away home. I worried much about my children's safety. Eventually, my husband told me to stop my education and take care of my children. In addition, I could not manage both my housework and education. I quit in grade five owing to the fact that I did not have any backup and encouragement. (Askale, Age 45)

Women are not prohibited from education officially by laws in the world and the same is true in Ethiopia. Their education is affected mostly through the traditional beliefs

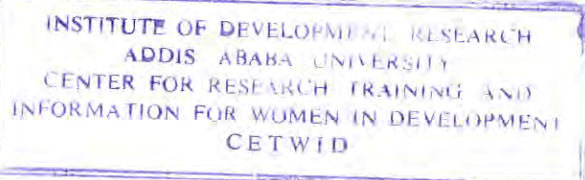
and the unchanged gender division of labor, especially the unfair division in the domestic sphere (Original Wolde Georgis, Emebet and Mellese, 2004). Moreover, higher education is not considered as such important for women like for men due to the traditional belief that women's right place is in the home as mothers and wives (Greenstreet, 1981; Rogers, 1980).

Therefore, among other factors, women are deprived of their participation in education due to domestic work burden and traditional beliefs that have strong influence on their lives than the laws and policies promulgated towards their development. Boys are given more privilege than girls for education. A participant said about her children:

My sons and daughters were not equal at home. I liked my sons to study after school. But my daughters were working and doing everything with me after they got home. If I asked my son to give me his hand he would tell his older sister to do it. I raised my children like this because I grew up like this too and I think my sons might be humiliated if they do housework. I made my daughters work every thing. (Askale, Age 45)

She continued to answer depressed and nodding her head:

Really I never thought it would have an influence on their education. But, now, I am beginning to realize how much I mistreated my daughters. For example, my first daughter quitted at grade 8th because of me. She failed five times in grade eight. I regretted much when I saw her little brothers and sisters surpassed her. (Askale, Age 45)



In this study during the interviews and focus group discussions, most women expressed their interest to pursue their education even after interrupting for many years. They know the fact that education is important to one's development. Particularly women who have children reason out that lack or absence of assistance in the household work especially from their husbands is a major cause of interrupting their education. The other reason common to all participants is lack of access and control over resources. Time and money are among the major resources mentioned. Those who have completed grade 12 could not continue their higher education due to limitation of money, whereas most women engaged in paid employment and handling the domestic chores together are in short of time since domestic work is primarily their responsibility.

Moreover the researcher has been able to see during observation very large number of young women at a night school. This could be one possible ground to show how women are unable to pursue their education during day time. The majority of these women, as said by the school director, are housemaids and women engaged in small businesses and paid employment. Domestic work, apart from inhibiting a number of women from education, has been also an obstacle for the success of many women in night schools due to its endless and tiresome nature.

4.4.2 Domestic Work and Women's Employment

Nowadays in Ethiopia, especially in Addis Ababa, a number of women are seen engaging in paid employment. Different factors can be mentioned for this to have materialized. A relatively increased level of consciousness of women to be dependent on their own income; the increase in female-headed households; and expansion of poverty are

some among the major factors (Tihitina, 2001). The last two factors could be seen as push factors. Because women are joining the paid employment, which in fact is not convenient together with the household work. In a number of instances women join this work as a means of last survival, most of which is in the informal sector. Paid employment is not the only type of work for women like men. There is also another work common for almost all women which is unremunerated and undervalued. It is domestic work, which is not preferred rather placed on women's shoulder and hindered and interrupted them from employed work in particular and public spheres in general.

Eviota (1992) mentioned child-bearing and child-rearing as factors that affect the continuous participation of women in the productive work. Since child-bearing and rearing are the central and most important activities around which all other reproductive works revolve, they deter women from engaging in productive work in most societies. This idea is supported by the findings of this research. A young woman participant said:

I have been working in a government office. My problems after I got married were the presence of children and many household chores. Children need much attention and care. And it is hard to leave them with housekeepers. Or otherwise they have to be grown ups or there have to be daycares so as to go out for paid employment without worry. (Birtukan, Age 28)

This young woman has two children and the researcher was able to see one of them, a baby who was about a year old while taken care of by a housemaid and his mother. When the housemaid went to the kitchen leaving him alone the baby starts to cry and the mother would take over. He would cry again and again in some intervals and the researcher asked his mother why it was so. And she replied, "It was his time to sleep". Then right after breastfeeding the baby went to sleep. There was so many interruptions during the

interview, however, it was a wonderful moment to witness the difficulties of caring for children.

As discussed in the theoretical part of the literature review, the Marxist theory that condemns capitalism for creating separation of home and workplace has paramount importance in this regard. The separation creates difficulties on women's responsibility for child rearing. In the pre-capitalist societies because there was no as such sharp division of labor between men and women and activities are communal, women's domestic work burden was not like in the capitalist societies. Women's relegation to domestic work and men's consideration as breadwinners in a wage-labor system affects women's free engagement in paid work. Due to frequent leave and absenteeism from work they are considered as uncommitted workers (Eviota, 1992). One participant expressed her challenge in support of the above as follows:

Both my husband and me are government employees. As we all know turnover is high for housemaids I cannot help asking permission again and again. Whenever they left, almost all the time I am the one who remains at home in order to take care of my children and the family as well. በተደጋጋሚ የፈቃድ ጥያቄ ላለቃዬ ከማቅረቤ የተነሳ እሱ ቢሮ ለሌላ ሥራ እንኳን በሄድኩ ቁጥር 'ፈቃድ ፈለግሽ?' ይለኛል። በዚህ የተነሳ ለሰራ ጉዳይ እንኳ አለቃዬ ጋ መግባት ያሳስበኝ ጀምረዋል። (Due to frequent leave, whenever I appeared at my boss's office he always says, 'Do you want a leave?' even though I was not there for that. And this in turn began to make me uncomfortable going to my boss's office even for some work related things). Had I had no children at home the case might have been different. (Elsa, Age 46)

The participants' reflections show how their jobs have been affected due to child care. They are not happy to leave small children with housemaids. Because, they know how difficult it is to care for children in addition to the domestic chores. Some participants responded that day care centers are very important for employed women in order to alleviate the burden of child care. FGD participants also reflected the need of child care centers for the better safety of children, confidence and freedom of mothers in productive work. Studies show that the presence of child care centers is helpful for women's engagement in paid employment (UNESCO, 2002). But it seems a bit difficult, especially, for low income families that they may not afford to send their small children to child care centers. However, if the government concern to this issue is positive and strong and supported by some measures, it would be more encouraging to women's employment.

Other than the responsibility of rearing children, women have also different work burden in the domestic sphere. Cooking, cleaning and taking care of the sick and the husband are the other monotonous activities that create inconvenience on women's employment (Kelly, 1999). A number of employed women are known as late comers at their work. This is just due to the responsibility of domestic activities. The following experience of participants in the interview demonstrated this fact.

Due to the nature of my office work, I bring office assignments home frequently. Sometimes I return them to office without even laying a hand on them because I have a lot to do at home after my office hours. I only try to work on them at midnight after everybody retires to bed if and only if I have some energy left. I get up early and try to work as much as possible before I leave for office. I usually go to office without having my breakfast and arrive late for I become hard pressed for time. (Haimanot, Age 40)

Another Participant Said:

I arrive at work late due to domestic tasks. My bosses become angry whenever this happens. I asked them to forgive me. My male bosses did not understand my problem. I bake 'Injera' at night not to be late for office. I could not do this in the evening since I always got tired. But my female boss was aware of my problems at home and she tried to explain it to others. (Birtukan Age 28)

From the above one can easily see how domestic work affects women's employment. And it is not difficult to imagine how each activities of domestic work has influence on women's time for employed work.

4.4.3 Domestic Work and Women's Health

Women's health is affected by different factors. Other than the biological inheritance, the health of an individual could be affected by his activities and living conditions (Smyke, 1991). For women whose status is lower in the society the higher the likelihood for their life style to be poor. Domestic work, which is part of most women's life, is the one that affects their health. Since domestic work involves different chores, time consuming and repetitive it is very cumbersome. In addition to this, women are expected to handle different domestic chores together with other competing responsibilities like employment and community works. In handling several roles simultaneously women fall in stress and their health will be endangered when conflicts arise between their varied responsibilities (Smyke, 1991). Whenever women have paid employment and it is in the informal sector the chance of conflict of their work with the domestic one is higher. In the informal sector,

generating sufficient income is too difficult due to stiff competition. For this reason women petty traders have to stay long hours in the market to get some income. As a result the time for domestic work is shorter. Therefore, women face conflict of work that makes them stressed. One participant said:

Since both household activities and petty trade are my responsibilities, there is overlapping. When I prepare breakfast for my family and pack lunch for my children I miss my customers. When I went to do the business my husband and children would be hungry. On market days (Saturday and Wednesday) I get up early and go to run my business leaving them alone. But on the other days I go to market late, after I finish my housework. Sometimes such conflicts of work bother me much and affect my health. (Abeba, Age 45)

Another participant said:

Since my husband does not assist me in my small business I am working with my small children. When I buy vegetable from 'Merkato' I face a big challenge. Fighting with thieves and following back daily laborers holding my vegetables is very tiresome. I sleep only about five hours a day and stay working long hours outside home without rest. I am handling the petty trade and domestic works at once. (Foziya, Age 37)

She continued and stood up suddenly and with act said bitterly:

I have no time to take care of my self. ቀሚሴን፣ እጅን፣ እግራን ተመልከት ቆሻሻ አይደለም? እነዚህ ነገሮች ሁሉ የሚያስጨንቁኝና ተስፋ የሚያስቆርጡኝ ናቸው። (Look at my dress, my

hand and my leg, are not they dirty? This all make me stressed and frustrated.
(Foziya, Age 37)

She is very disappointed with her work since she does not have rest. Her dress looks terribly soiled and so are her hands and legs. She wears a long dress and slippers. She sells charcoal along with vegetables. Her face looks tired and she is in a hurry to wind up the interview. She runs with time and thinking of her business and domestic work ahead.

Most participants talked about their health conditions in terms of the workload they handle. Domestic work due to its nature affects their mental and physical conditions. Especially housemaids are handling the back-breaking domestic activities without rest. Even after getting sick women handle domestic works because no one is ready to take care of the family. Unless another female is in the family, there are very few men who are willing and can handle the domestic work on behalf of the sick ones. In relation to this a participant said:

I do not immediately go to medical centers to get treatment whenever I get sick. Expecting that my condition would improve soon, I hang about carrying out my domestic tasks. Because no one would substitute me and take care of the family. Neither do I lie down. But when it is my husband, he does not worry about domestic chores. He goes straight to health centers to get medical treatment and stretches out whereupon he returns.(Haimanit, Age 40)

Since household chores are repetitive in their nature, women have to work them now and then. In their absence they think the family would be left without any care giver. Due to this they consider themselves indispensable to the domestic work (Rowbotham, 1973). This

psychological factor affects women's health by prolonging the time for getting medical treatment which leads to incurable stage.

The other issue of domestic work that affects women's health is its administration, specifically the financial aspect. As described by James (1998), "It has been found that factors such as money worries and poor housing appear to fuel depression, causing high rates among women with children"(p.55). This issue is also supported by the participants, and one of them puts it in the following way:

If you are terribly busy, your sexual desire gets low. And this harms my relationship with my husband. Giving birth and breastfeeding to many children also ruins one's health. Everything makes you feel distressed. My husband gives me the housekeeping once a month and this makes me worry much. I tell my husband how easy it is to be a bread winner than to be a housewife. የባሌ ጭንቀት አንዴ የወር በጀት እስኪሰጠኝ ነው። የኔ ግን ሁሉ በየቀኑ ሌላኛው የወር በጀት እስኪደርስ ነው። ሁሉ ስለገንዘብ መጨነቅ ደግሞ ያሳምማል። (He worries once a month until his payday but I worry everyday. Thus, this damages my health). (Kiya, Age 34)

Another participant said:

After marriage, things are changed and home management becomes my responsibility, which was my mother's before. I began to worry about every thing, whether our budget is enough or not, what to avoid or to drop. I cannot dress what I wanted and so on. (Bayush, Age 38)

The problem of mental stress and depression is also raised and expressed during focus group discussion as it arises due to high domestic work burden. In the FGD most women indicate the problems of household budget are causes of depression to a number of women. Other than this problem physical health problem also results from domestic workloads.

Women's pregnancy and childbirth is strongly affected by the above situation (Rogers, 1980). A participant expressed the difficulties of women's health due to handling domestic chores as stated below.

A woman needs a lot of things to keep her health, especially when she is pregnant. But the fact is that she works hard and carries heavy things. She works harmful chores because it is her responsibility. የርጉዝ ልብሱ ቢቀር፣ የሚመች ጫማ ቢቀር፣ የተሻለ ምግብ ቢቀር ቢያንስ የቤቱን ሥራ ወንዶች ሊጋሩን ይገባል።
(Forget the maternity clothes, comfortable shoes and food for pregnant women! Men have to help their wives at least in domestic tasks). Physicians say that many pregnant women become severely sick and die during delivery due to tough household activities. (Sebele, Age 34)

Other participants said that their health was affected more after they gave birth. They expressed that they became weaker physically in handling different tasks after birth. Some discussants reflected that lack of time and money are reasons not to visit medical specialists. From the experience of participants, it is possible to conclude that domestic work, in addition to other productive and community works, affects their health conditions in one way or another.

4.5 Effects of GDL on Women in the Formal Sector

4.5.1 Job Segregation and Decision Making

Women face different challenges in their employment in the past and they are currently facing similar problems. The first challenge of most employed women is the existence of job segregation. Because of this, in some jobs which are low paying, women are found highly concentrated (Kumsa, 2004; Original et al., 2004; Robertson, 1984). They are given more chances and encouragements to join these jobs which are primarily considered to be theirs. Apart from the gender roles learned by males and females in the society, there are also formal institutions that maintain the existing tradition. Division of labor between men and women in wage work is systematically reproduced by education and training system. Such system not only reflects, but also reinforces the division of labor between men and women at home and in wage labor (Rogers, 1980). In relation to this one participant said:

When I was admitted to college, I wanted to major in English language. And though this was my primary interest, the dean of the college recommended that I should join Home Economics department. My father was with me. He approved the dean's recommendation and I had joined the department eventually. (Azalu, Age 45)

In the same fashion of division of works in the household women are expected to learn in educational institutions disciplines related to their domestic works. Women are, in the majority of the cases supposed to pursue their education and training in the areas of nursing, home-economics, reception and hotel management, secretarial science and other similar ones. Where as men pursue in the area of engineering, medicine, law, economics

management and other high paying fields of study. As a result, most works of women are found at the lower status, with low pay and without potential for development and decision making opportunities (Eviota, 1992; ILO, 2003).

In jobs where women are segregated, they occupy low positions such as assistants, like nurses for doctors and secretaries for managers. Even the few educated women are given non-decision making posts, because the society considers women as assistants rather than decision makers, the same holds true in the household as well. It may be possible to get very few exceptions, but the majorities are down the ladder. MacKinnon (2001) puts this as follows: “women’s status at work remains well below men’s, whether measured by reward or regard” (p.146).

Women are also affected strongly in employment by stereotypes. In the society people judge women by their appearance. In work places customers do not consider women as decision makers and leaders (Tihitina, 2001). Since the stereotypes are based on domestic responsibilities of women, in their employed work, they are considered as office cleaner, messengers, receptionists, secretaries, etc (Loutfi, 2001). Even, when they are not actually in these positions, women at a higher level of status face some challenges of being considered as workers of stereotypically known lower status. A participant at a higher level of government office shares her experience as follows:

Men do not even question for a second that women should take up decision making positions in the public sphere. Once I was assigned as an advisor to a commissioner at my work place. One day a man came along and asked me if he could see the commissioner's advisor. On that day I wore a pair of jeans. I offered to help, but he kept on telling me that he wanted to see the advisor. When I told him that I was the

advisor, he apologized and told me that he had expected a man, not a woman for this position. (Azalu, Age 45)

Another participant working in a financial sector tells her workmate's experience as follows:

In the branch office, where I am working in, the post of accountant is next to the manager. Since she is an accountant, she is expected to act on his behalf in the absence of the manager. One day an elderly man came to office and wanted to get some assistance from the manager, and asked the woman accountant to let him get the manager. She told him the manager is out of office and she was there to help him. The man did not trust her words and asked her to take him to someone next to the manager. Because she told him she is the next person he left the office offended without getting help. (Senaite, Age 27)

Another participant also said:

Men undermine women's work not only in the domestic sphere but also in the public one. One day, a man, who was about in his mid fifty, came to my office. I told him things that he should fulfill before I look into his case. Then he said, 'Look these women -----' whereupon I told him I would not help him any more. Eventually, after he proved that I am the last decision maker to his case, he implored me with apology and I looked in his case. (Haimanot, Age 40)

The traditional division of work is not only segregating women to some specific jobs but also eroded the confidence of the opposite sex when they find them out of the so called

women's work. From the experiences of participants it seems that elder men are mostly against women's decision making status. Because, they grew up in times where women were hardly found in such positions. In formal employment, women face challenges from different groups. The first is like what we have discussed above, from customers or people outside their work place. The other is from their co-workers or employees from the same organization, and thirdly from their bosses/supervisors. In all the three cases men mainly appear to challenge their work. One participant said:

I remember a junior staff of mine who was under my supervision. He had to report to me every week about a certain project. I could not tell you the disrespect that he had for me. He would always bypass me and give the report to my boss. However, the boss usually sent the report back to me in order to sign and approve it. He never accepted my comments. Till the end of the project he did the same thing every time. His feeling was such that he would rather prefer to die than to report to a woman boss. (Elsa, Age 46)

The patriarchal thinking that has existed for centuries has its manifestation in the work place. Men do not like to be subordinates to women even if women are well educated and have long experience and expertise. A study conducted by MOLSA (2004) reveals that a number of male and female workers do not want to have women as their supervisor. Their reason was just because they did not have confidence in women's managerial decisions. This seems true to some degree, because most women have grown up in a society where there were not enough women role models at decision making or managerial positions (Original et al., 2004). Moreover, they have been told from their childhood times to be good mothers, wives, nurses, hostesses or secretaries rather than being managers and

leaders. Even after employment they do not get chances of training and other courses that up grade their decision making capacities (MOLSA, 2004).

4.5.2 Sexual Harassment at Work

The effects of GDL on women in the formal sector are not only limited to job segregation and decision making, but also stretched to other violations of the rights of women like sexual harassment. Different researchers raised the relationship between women's job position and their vulnerability to sexual harassment (Original et al., 2004; Kumsa, 2004). Women have weaker power in their relation to men at work, because in the formal sector men hold the great majority of managerial and supervisory positions.

Sexual harassment has different forms and can take place in different places like work, school, home etc (Kelly, 1999; MacKinnon, 2001). The forms are so many and varied. Comments about women's bodies, tales of sexual exploits, sexual demand whether by words or actions, brushing sexual parts of the body, showing pornography, sexist jokes, insisting that women wear revealing clothing, actual or attempted rape or sexual assault are among the many (MacKinnon, 2001).

Sexual harassment is one of the violations of human rights (MOLSA, 2004). However, it is not given due consideration in the laws of a number of countries including Ethiopia. The Ethiopian criminal laws, the old and the new, have not recognized sexual harassment as a crime of violence against women (Original et al., 2004).

Like any other places, women face sexual harassment at their work. The act is harming women physically, psychologically or morally. Since there is no legal remedy as regards this act at work places in the country coupled with the lower level-jobs women occupy, the chance of women facing sexual harassment would be high. In this study

participants disclose their experience of sexual harassment in its different forms. A married participant expressed her experience as follows:

Men, most of the time, sexually harass women at work place under the guise of their authority. They nag to invite, and accompany with their cars without our will. They grope women and tell risqué jokes and remarks. Even if this is commonly faced by young unmarried girls, it does not mean that they do not assail married women. Sometimes I show them my ring when they put me in trouble and they say, 'well, then what is the big deal?' (Haimanot, Age 40)

The experience of the above woman seems common for most employed women in the study area. Without considering genuine invitation and accompanying, it is difficult to guess how many women count such acts as sexual harassment. Research on sexual harassment reveals that on average 54 percent of female employees experience sexual harassment at their workplaces (MacKinnon, 2001). However, a study conducted by MOLSA (2004) revealed to the contrary: "It was learnt that about 4 percent of the female workers have encountered sexual harassment by their supervisors or male co-workers" (p.102). This result is actually small in relation to the 54 percent prevalence revealed by similar study in another area. In societies like Ethiopia, it is not common to reveal such type of harassment to the public. Moreover, it is unusual to tell such incidents to a person who has no close acquaintance. Therefore, women may not actually inform their exposure of sexual harassment during the study due to the influence of the existing culture and lack of understanding the act. And similar assumption was taken in the study mentioned above.

Like any other forms of violence against women, sexual harassment has also disturbing impacts on women's work performance. It erodes their confidence and makes

them develop some sort of hatred towards the working environment. Insecurity and fear of harassment even compel women to drop their jobs. A participant expressed her experience in this regard:

I was working in a private company as a secretary to the manger. Because of enormous volume of work, I usually stay at office until the evening after working hours. My boss, manager of the company, always used to ask me to assist him in buying some goods for his personal consumption. Moreover, he usually insisted that we should go together to recreation centers to finish urgent works in a peaceful environment. I suspect his intention because he sometimes leered at me. One day while I was doing my work in the evening he came to my seat and kissed me at the back on my neck. I was shocked and stood suddenly showing my disagreement. He tried to persuade me but my response was very hard that he could not continue any more. ክዚያ በኋላ ወደዛ ቢሮ አልተመለስኩም፤ ሥራዬንም በዚህ ምክንያት ለቀቅሁ።
(Since that time I did not return to that office and rather resigned. (Zenebu, Age 30)

Based on the experience of the participants, it could be possible to envisage the prevalence of sexual harassment at work. The cultural influence, poverty and/or fear of losing job and some other job related advantages like promotion and salary increment could be some factors that pressed sexual harassment acts to remain hidden and unrevealed.

4.6 Effects of GDL on Women in the Informal Sector

4.6.1 *Lack of Safety, Job Security and Benefits*

Women, in addition to their primary responsibility of the household work, are engaged in income generating activities to supplement their family income. The informal sector is mainly a means of economic survival for poor women (UN, 1991). Different factors could be mentioned for women to engage in the informal sector. As discussed in the literature review, since employment in the formal sector depends on education, training and other skills, most women may not fulfill these requirements. Therefore, women tend to be employed in the informal sector, where there is no need of requirements of education, much skill and training. Moreover, the requirement of little initial capital, absence of government regulation and possibility of flexible time of work allow them to join without much difficulty.

No matter how easy for women to join the informal sector, the challenges are not simple. In the sector there are no associations striving to improve the working environment. Due to the lack of organized associations and government support people engaged in this sector are mostly exposed to different problems of health, convenience and a place to do business safely.

During observation in the sub-cities, a number of women were seen undertaking their petty trade activities on roadsides. Even those in small markets were carrying out their business without shelter or with poor shelter, where exposure to wind, dust and sun stroke is very high. Moreover there were also sanitation problems around their work places. Human and domestic waste and poor sewerage systems were common around these areas.

A participants said:

Previously I was doing my petty trade work around Sholla Gebeya. Since my work site is adjacent to the main asphalt road and near NGO office building there was no problem of sanitation. But now after we were displaced and given some space away from our previous site I could not work there safely. In the morning I clear the site but during the night time people excrete there. Just due to my health, I temporarily quit my work and I am looking for another better place not harmful to my health (Beletu, Age 25)

To change work places to get better ones has effect on the business. Losing existing customers and to find new ones is the major problem. Though the livelihood of thousands of families is established on the works in this sector, working in the informal sector is not safe in many aspects. As a result a number of women face many problems like health, accident and etc.

The other challenge mentioned above is lack of shelter. As described by one of the key informants, a Kebele women's association chairperson, the shelters most women used are temporary ones. They are mostly plastics and old garments that could not protect them properly from dust and wind. Vendors who worked on the pedestrian walk-ways of main roads are highly vulnerable for car accidents. They chose this area because there are large numbers of passers by and they could be easily accessible to the people.

The informal sector employment is also known for lack of job security and benefits. In this sector because women are informally employed without securing contracts, they are highly susceptible to abuse. A number of women are forced to work in unfavorable terms and conditions. Even they could be fired without their fault or sufficient justification by their employers. A participant in this relation said:

After I started the street vending, I got part-time job. This helped me somehow till my business takes off. My job was picking coffee and escorting my employer's children to and from school. My salary was 100 birr a month. After some time, I was fired because I was told coffee business had dropped off. (Abeba, Age 45)

A discussant said:

When I was working in my first employer's house, as housemaid I was fired without convincing reason. When I asked the reason the housewife said, "You do not have good skill." But the fact was not that. Lately the people who helped me to get the work informed me that I was fired because I was beautiful and keep my personal neatness. እሷ ከስራዬ ያስወጣችኝ ገና ለገና ለትዳራ ጥሩ ላይሆን ይችላል በሚል በአገልግሎት ፍራቻ ነው። (She did this just because of the fear that I may affect her relationship with her husband. (Getenesh, Age 23)

The discussants during FGD reflected similar opinion in relation to job security. They said they were not sure of their employment period in their employer's house and that they could be fired any time. Especially, if they would not perform or deviate from orders given from female spouses the case would be more serious. Most of them express that they are working in a very tough situation where workload is very high, with minimum payment and hours of rest, not to lose their works till things improve.

With regard to the benefits, no one mentioned any type of benefit in the informal sector. Even the idea is stranger for some participants. Due to shortage of income and absence of medical benefits, women in the informal sector could not afford to pay small amount of money to get medical treatment at the right time. A discussant said:

I am doing petty trade in a small market. The return is very minimal and it does not go beyond our daily subsistence. Since I am the household head and single parent to my children it is difficult for me to pay for medical treatment. Some times ago I had got a problem in my ear. Since then my health is not in a good condition. Currently I could not pay even 10 birr to get my ear checked. (Hirut, Age 40)

Unlike the formal one, the informal sector, due to lack of organized system and government regulation could not benefit those employed in it. Therefore, medical insurance, leave with pay and provident fund are not available and a number of women in the sector are not benefiting out of it.

4.6.2 Violations of Legal and Human Rights

In the informal sector employed women have been exposed more to violations of human and legal rights. As mentioned in the previous section, lack of contract, formal work relations and regulation of government expose them more to these violations. Due to absence of regulatory bodies, those women whose rights are violated do not know even where to lodge a complaint. Whenever they face violations of legal and/or human rights, they could not strive to get remedies and rather absorb the pain. A discussant said:

In my first employer's house I had been working for six years serving 15 families. In addition to the domestic chores I used to wash the owner's car and clean the whole compound. I had done all these with 50 birr a month. At the 6th year I asked my employer to give me leave to ask my parents. She said no. When she knew I had firm stand, she counted a number of items as lost and to your surprise gave me only 60 birr for my transportation. (Hana, Age 20)

She continues:

Employers have different outlooks for housemaids. They only bother about the work; they do not care about our life. We are not allowed to see television, read newspaper and even to talk or discuss with our neighbors. When we have telephone calls they have to check the caller. When the caller found out to be male, whoever the person is they got crazy saying 'ቤታችንን አስደፈርሽ' (you let our house to be disrespected).

እኔ የበለጠ ለመማር የተነሳሳሁት የህይወት ታሪኬን ለመጻፍ ከማሰብ የተነሳ ነው።
(I was mainly encouraged to educate because of my intention to write my life history).

(Hana, Age 20)

As we can see from the experience of the above women, it is possible to judge to what extent her legal rights are violated. She was affected mainly in three aspects. To begin with, she has lost her wage for the work she performed. Secondly, she was denied to get leave. And thirdly, she was denied to get access to information. All of these are against the nation's civil and constitutional rights (FDRE Constitution, 1995; Civil Code, 1960).

In this study what the participants expressed are supported during FGD in relation to the works of housemaids. Key informants from the sub-cities women's associations and the broker engaged in linking housemaids and employers also acknowledged the participants experience in light of their work exposures. The broker stated his exposures as some waitresses are obliged to have sex with supervisors or owners of cafeterias and hotels before they are offered the work. Even they are told to dress in such a way as to expose their bodies. Housemaids, especially leaving with their employers, are more exposed to rape. A participant said:

When my grandmother passed away I got a job as a housemaid. I pursued my education in evening classes. In the meantime, I got pregnant from my employer's brother. My employer came to know this and let me live with them to bear and rear my child providing me only food. He stopped paying me salary when my pregnancy was 8 months old. Then I gave birth to a baby. I asked my child's father to help and educate me but he said no. Finally, I left my child there to continue my education and improve my life working somewhere else. Later I got employed in my third work place. My employer's wife was usually sick and she used to stay in her-parent's home in Addis. When she did, her husband raped me. (Tsehay, Age 27)

This woman is deprived of her human rights by her employers and the relative. She was raped and did not know her HIV status. Because she was aware and became more critical recently, she recognized HIV/AIDS as a serious health problem. Since women in the informal sector have less access to information, they are relatively more vulnerable to different problems like HIV/AIDS.

Insulting is a common problem to housemaids and commercial sex workers. Employers in both cases and clients in case of commercial sex workers insult the women frequently. Due to such illegal act the moral well-being of women in this work is devalued. A participant, commercial sex worker on street, said:

Sometimes we go to police stations due to conflict with our customers. One day I made a deal with one client that he would pay 100 birr for a one-night stand. He took me in his car and invited me whisky in some bar. መጠጥ ቤት ውስጥ ቲቤን መታ መታ እያደረገኝ 'ይቺ በመቶ ብር ለዛሬ አዳር የገዛኋት በግ ናት' አለኝ። (In the bar, he

tapped my bottom and said, 'This is my sheep. I bought her for 100 birr for this night'). His words hurt me severely. I thought that the people in the bar considered me as a sheep. Believe it or not, it triggered me to think to kill him and commit suicide. He is an old person. He was expected to act his age and be a model, but he is a stupid old man. (Genet, Age 27)

She continued about their safety:

We believe that the recent hotel bombings in our capital made favorable condition for us. Because hotel attendants ask our customers for their ID cards to register. It would help us to know their identity and sue if they hurt us and disappear. It also enables them to take care. Now, we feel safe. (Genet, Age 27)

From the above woman's experience, one can see how her dignity is affected by the words of her customer. Other participants engaged in this work also came across with such situations, not only from their customers but also from passersby and people surrounding them.

The country's constitution under its article 24 of rights to honor and reputation, sub article one reads as, "Everyone has the right to respect for his human dignity, reputation and honor" (FDRE Constitution, 1995, p.86). But this right is not respected for a number of working women in the informal sector. As regards the violation of rights a participant expressed her opinion saying:

Women are not encouraged to talk in different public gatherings, because it is believed that when they do they express their problems and advocate their rights. I do not consider myself equal to men because others do not. "ወፍ አንደኛውን ትራፊክ"

(A bird sings like those found in its area). When I speak to advocate our rights others (Men) suppress it. (Abeba, Age 45)

The varied women's experiences and opinions suggest that apart from low educational level and awareness of legal and human rights, patriarchy also results in the violation of women's rights. According to the above participant's opinion women's interests are not reflected as equal as men because men hold back women's voice using their ruling power in the society. Moreover, lack of sufficient and strong women's associations that could stand for and bargain towards their rights makes women 'voiceless'.

5. SUMMERY AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary

The study has focused on gender division of labor and its effect on the socio-economic life of women. It has discussed the effects of gender division of labor, particularly, on the education, health, employment and leisure time of women.

The work share women handle in the household and within the community is enormous. Women are primarily responsible for the household activities. All the household chores including caring for the child, the old and the sick is mainly women's responsibility. Even, most husbands need caring services from their wives.

The engagement of women in paid employment has not relieved them from household responsibilities. As a result, women unlike men are found working longer hours at home even after their paid work outside. Since a number of women do not afford the cost of housemaids, particularly economically poor women carry out the domestic works without the assistance of housemaids. Moreover, women lack the support of husbands in handling domestic activities and it is identified as a major problem. There are little improvements of men's engagement in some domestic activities, it is still seen as a taboo and does not help to decrease women's domestic burden. Women are also found active in community works. Apart from activities in the household, women during mourning, wedding, and other related events handle activities similar to their household works (e.g. cooking and cleaning) in the

community while men put up tents, make burial and collect 'Idir' money. They perform these activities without any consideration of payment.

In relation to paid work a number of women, apart from their household works, are also engaged in the paid employment both in the formal and informal sectors, and generate income to themselves and to their families. In the formal sector women carry out and cover a significant share of lower level jobs, whereas in the informal sector they are found largely as petty traders, housemaids and commercial sex workers. Though usually women are assumed to generate income to the family as a secondary source, some are found that they are the primary sources of income for the survival of their families. However, unlike men, both in the formal and informal sectors, women's work is given less value by their co-workers, customers and relatives.

The findings show that the active participation of women in the productive, reproductive and community works made them work without or with very little leisure time. These engagements especially, without assistance in the domestic work erodes the limited leisure time women have. Not to have sufficient leisure by itself affects women's health and their performance in education and work.

Domestic work has profound effects on the education of women. Due to existing gender division of labor, women have been engaged in the domestic chores starting from their childhood. This engagement has strongly affected their education both in achieving good results and reaching higher levels. The strong influence of tradition has also affected women by preventing men counterparts from assisting them in the house. Still these days boys and girls are not equally engaged in domestic activities. Therefore, domestic activities are affecting female education by taking their substantial time that should be devoted for study and schooling.

The findings also show that women's paid work is challenged by the existing gender division of labor. The domestic work burden is the one. Due to domestic work burden women's paid work is affected in both the formal and informal sectors. Child rearing affected women's continuous engagement in paid employment. The involvement in paid employment is also affected by other factors than the domestic work burden. Most women are found in some specific jobs that are very similar to the household activities of cleaning and caring. In fact, there are some improvements however, some occupations are still mostly occupied by women, as secretaries, receptionists, nurses, cleaners and messengers. Where as managerial and supervisory posts are mostly occupied by men. As a result job segregation and stereotypes are affecting women through low payment and promotion.

The other aspect of women's life that is strongly affected by gender division of labor is their health. Women being involved in the domestic works have faced different health problems. Because of this, in most cases, they face conflicts of work which endangered their health through stress and depression. Moreover, their primary roles in the household upkeeps, especially when they are unemployed and dependent only on their husbands' income, affect their health through money worries (shortage of money). Women also face physical health problems from the nature of work they handle both in the house and outside of it. Those engaged in the informal sector work out of home are facing problems of poor working areas dangerous for their health. And the domestic work has also been a challenge for pregnant women due to its cumbersome character. The repetitive and endless nature of domestic work and the taboo that prohibit men to engage in this work also affect women's health. Due to the above reasons women do not get medical treatment as fast as possible. Because they thought themselves indispensable to the family, they do not go to health institutions until their conditions get worse.

The role of women in the formal and informal sectors is also affected due to different violations of legal and human rights. Women encounter sexual harassment at their work. In the formal sector, co-workers and supervisors harass women frequently using their higher positions. In the informal sector, they face the same problem from their employers and customers. Especially housemaids living together with their employers come across the violence of rape. In this sector because of the absence of contract of work and lack of government attention works are not secured. As a result a number of women are losing their jobs unfairly.

5.2. Conclusion

The effect of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women is varied and wide. Gender division of labor affects the education, health, employment and leisure of women directly or indirectly. The effects are very interrelated to one another. The work burden of women affects their education and education in turn affects women's employment. Moreover, women's work affects their health and leisure. The interconnectedness of the socio-economic activities of women has aggravated the effects of gender division of labor on their lives.

The research findings show that women in the study areas are mainly responsible for household chores. Besides their domestic responsibilities, a large number of women are engaged in paid employment (both in the formal and informal sectors) and make significant contribution to their family income. In some families they are bread winners where husbands are found unemployed and sick. Since women are living in a society where culture is built up on the ideology of patriarchy, women's work is given less value both in

the domestic as well as public spheres. Due to this men mostly do not assist their wives in domestic chores and do not give due regard to women's work on the whole.

In general, this study has found that due to gender division of labor women have not been able to engage in employed work as freely as men. Owing to the division of work in the family they are also segregated to jobs more or less similar to their domestic responsibilities both in formal and informal sectors. As a result, they are paid less and segregated to lower status. Moreover, because of division of labor women could not defend their legal and human rights as appropriate due to lack of power at work. Since women are enormously represented in non-decision making posts, at lower levels, in the formal sector they could not easily protect improper acts of managers and supervisors in fear of losing job, promotion and other similar advantages. Where as in the informal sector due to absence of employment contract and government regulation they could not protect their rights from the acts of employers and customers.

Finally, the unfair gender division of labor should be seen from different perspectives. Government, community and family have their own contribution to its present existence. Family being the smallest unit and a crucial place where human beings begin to work, further research works need to be undertaken to see how it plays in the maintenance and reconstruction of unfair gender division of labor.



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Appendix I
Interview Guide
Questions Addressed to Interview Participants

This interview is prepared to gather data and information on the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women. Your participation in this interview will highly contribute to the success of this study. You are not under any obligations to take part in this interview. Every information you provide shall be highly confidential. Are you volunteer to participate in this study? Yes No

Thus, you are kindly requested to give your frank response.

Thank You!!

1. Please give a brief personal biography? (age, place of birth, marital status, religion...)

2. Would you name the types of productive, reproductive and community works which are considered feminine?

3. How would you portray how you have been educated since your school days to the present?

4. What is your job? How did you get it? Is it your preference?

5. How does the society value women's and men's work

6. Do your work, domestic or otherwise, impacts your health?

7. Do you have leisure time? If so, how do you use it?

8. What is your experience concerning violations of human and legal rights?

If you have any question, suggestion and advice you are most welcomed.

Thank You!!

Appendix II
Focus Group Discussion (FGD-1) Guide
Questions Addressed to Women Working in Government Office and Petty Trade

This discussion is prepared to gather data and information on the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women. Your participation in this discussion will highly contribute to the success of this study. You are not under any obligations to take part in this discussion. Every information you provide shall be highly confidential. Are you volunteer to participate in this study? Yes No

Thus, you are kindly requested to give your frank response.

Thank You!!

1. What are the works most women engaged in? (Both in the formal and informal sector)

2. What are the common problems faced by working women? (In relation to their work)

3. What are the difficulties of women engaged in both paid employment and domestic work?

4. Do you think that your work affects your education, health and leisure?

5. How do the society value women's and men's work?

6. Do you think that women have more work burden than men? If yes what should be done to reduce it?

If you have any question, suggestion and advice you are most welcomed.

Thank You!!

Appendix III
Focus Group Discussion (FGD-2) Guide
Questions Addressed to Housemaids

This discussion is prepared to gather data and information on the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women. Your participation in this discussion will highly contribute to the success of this study. You are not under any obligations to take part in this discussion. Every information you provide shall be highly confidential. Are you volunteer to participate in this study? Yes No

Thus, you are kindly requested to give your frank response.

Thank You!!

1. What are the works most women engaged in? (Both in the formal and informal sector)

2. Why did you join this work?

3. What are the major activities in your work?

4. What are the common problems encountered in this work?

5. Do you think that your work affects. your education, health and leisure? If yes how?

6. How do people value your work?

If you have any question, suggestion and advice you are most welcomed.

Thank You!!

Appendix IV
Interview Guide Questions Addressed to Staff Members of
Yeka and Bole Sub-cities Women's Affairs Office, Women's Association and Housemaid
Broker

This interview is prepared to gather data and information on the effects of gender division of labor on the socio-economic life of women. Your participation in this interview will highly contribute to the success of this study. You are not under any obligations to take part in this interview. Every information you provide shall be highly confidential. Are you volunteer to participate in this study? Yes No

Thus, you are kindly requested to give your frank response.

Thank You!!

1. What is your position in the organization?

2. What are the major services of the organization?

3. What are your organization's target groups? How do you select them?

4. What are the common problems encountered by women in relation to their work?

5. How the problems impact women's education, health and leisure?

6. How do you assist women? Do you think that you are successful?

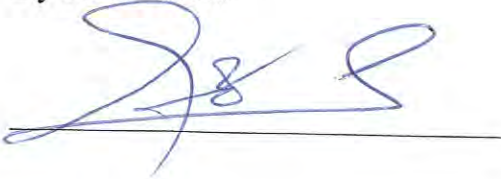
If you have any question, suggestion and advice you are most welcomed.

Thank You!!

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned student declare that this thesis has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the references used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Eyuel Ewnetu



This thesis has been submitted for publication with my approval as a university advisor.

Dr. Emebet Mulugeta
