Chapter Two

Women's Roles, Contribution and Situation

I. WOMEN'S ROLES AND CONTRIBUTION

2.1 The ways in which women are affected by the economic crisis and structural adjustment policies are conditioned by their varied roles in the economy and in society. Of the many roles of women, four are relevant here, viz those of **producers**, **home managers**, **mothers**, and **community organisers**.

2.2 This chapter describes the main characteristics and the complexities of women's activities in different parts of the world. Any analysis of the impact of structural adjustment on women must address this complexity based on an awareness of the multiple burden inherent in women's lives. It must take account of their varied responsibilities beyond as well as within the household in order to understand the wide-ranging social and economic implications.

Producers

2.3 As producers, women contribute to the national product and national welfare as well as generate income for the household. Income generation is particularly important for poor households whose marginal livelihoods can be threatened during adjustment. Women's contribution to production and income generation varies according to a country's culture and history, stage of development and government policy. Its size is typically underestimated because of inadequate statistics, particularly in areas in which women are substantially involved, such as small-scale agriculture, the informal sector and within the household.

2.4 In many countries much of women's productive activity forms part of the subsistence economy, where most of it is consumed (see Box 2.1). In some countries, attempts are made to measure this subsistence output—especially with respect to agriculture—but large segments of women's productive activity are omitted. In Nepalese villages the female contribution to household money incomes was about 22 per cent; but, taking account of production for subsistence, their full economic contribution amounted to 53 per cent of the total.[1] Also, food processing for household consumption and other household activities like health care, education and housework, all of which would have an exchange value if undertaken outside the home, are invariably omitted from national accounts. In the Philippines, estimates of "full income", including the value of work done inside the household, were twice as high as marketed income; women's share of the household's marketed income was 20 per cent, but they contributed almost 40 per cent of "full income".[2] Altogether it is estimated that unpaid household work would add one-third to estimates of world production.[3]

2.5 Women's work in the monetary economy provides money for their families as well as adding to national production. However, women's participation in the monetary economy is less than that of men, while in general they are concentrated in lower income activities and in any given activity are paid less than men. They also have substantially less ownership of or access to productive assets.

Economic activities

- While, on aggregate, women participate less in the monetary economy than do men, their activities have been rising over the past thirty years in many areas, so that they have formed an increasing proportion of the labour force. In Asia recorded participation rates* of females rose from 26 per cent in 1950 to 28 per cent in 1985 when they constituted 34 per cent of the total labour force, compared with 29 per cent in 1950. In Latin America also, there were rises in both female participation rates (from 13 per cent in 1950 to 15 per cent in 1985) and their share of the total labour force (18 per cent in 1950 to 24 per cent in 1985). By contrast in Africa the recorded participation rate of females fell from 28 per cent in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1985 and their share of the labour force remained around 32 per cent. Statistical problems, and especially the failure to incorporate all informal sector and household-based agricultural activities, mean these figures seriously underestimate women's real contribution to the economy. For example, putting an economic value on women's non-monetised activities (not including housework)

*Female labour force as a proportion of total female population, as estimated by the International Labour Office, Geneva.

Box 2.1. Women and Work in the South Pacific

"One of the stereotypes thrown up by the employers and some trade unionists during the [Fijian] Garment Industry Tribunal [in 1986] (and also implied in the Fiji Employment and Development Mission Report 1984) was the notion that women's work was really for 'pin money', and in areas marginal to the 'real work' of the bread winner ... the assumption that 'women do not really work' has been a major obstacle to studies of women and labour in pre-capitalist and capitalist societies in the Pacific. For example [one set of researchers] were told during a survey in Tailevu that ethnic Fijian women only did washing and cooking. In fact, their labour was central to subsistence activities such as fishing and horticulture. A survey of 19 villages in Tonga found, contrary to prevailing stereotypes, that women were heavily involved in agricultural production in addition to domestic duties and handicraft production. Another study of women in Madang, Papua New Guinea, highlights the sexual division of labour and the associated unequal access to power which was already ingrained in precapitalist society. Female labour was essential to food production but generally men controlled gardening, landholding, and the distribution and consumption of foodstuffs, including meat. "Although women were major contributors to subsistence production men were the managers and women were the managed".

"Several researchers have drawn attention to how the penetration of a cash economy and wage labour further added to the sexual division of labour in pre-capitalist Pacific societies. A study in 1984 found that under colonialism new employment opportunities led to a separation between production for consumption, dominated by women, and production for exchange, dominated by men. While it could be argued that the demands on women's labour have increased in villages (especially in more recent years with greater male migration), there also remains throughout the Pacific the residue of Christian and Victorian middle class values which attempted to define parameters for 'women's work'. This has meant that training and development projects have tended to concentrate on promoting 'appropriate' activities for women, such as cooking, sewing, club management, or pre-school education, while the bulk of funding has been directed at training men in agricultural projects. Women's labour may be fundamental to rural development but men continue to control the administration, training and access to funds in these programmes".

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raised the measured labour force participation rate of women from 32 per cent to 88 per cent in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India.[4]

— The sectoral distribution of the female labour force varies by region. Agriculture accounts for over 80 per cent of the recorded female labour force in Africa and around 70 per cent in Asia, but a much lower proportion in Latin America where nearly 70 per cent work in services. About 24 per cent of women in Asia and around 20 per cent in Africa work in the services sector.

— There are noteworthy regional differences between women's and men's roles in agriculture. In sub-Saharan Africa, where an estimated 60 per cent of all agricultural work is done by women, they spend more time on food crop cultivation (for subsistence and local sale) while men concentrate on cash crops for export (although drawing on female family labour). In Asia, the sexual division of labour is more by task than by crop, women concentrating mainly on transplanting, weeding and harvesting, and being more dependent than men on agricultural wages, thus increasing their risk of poverty.[5] In Latin America, women are heavily engaged in subsistence farming and less involved than men in large-scale cultivation. In addition, across all regions, the tasks of collecting fuel, fodder and water, of caring for small livestock, of foraging for wild fruits and vegetables (which critically supplement diets during seasonal shortages and droughts) are primarily women's responsibility.

— Over the last 15 years there has been rapid growth in female employment in export-oriented manufacturing (especially within export processing zones—EPZs) in many developing countries.[6] The main industries in EPZs are garments, electronic components and electrical consumer goods, and also shoes, chemicals, rubber, and food processing. Estimates suggest that EPZs employ nearly two million workers, most of whom are young women. There is concern however that in EPZs the pace of work is excessive, the conditions harsh, the working hours extremely long (often with compulsory overtime), and the wages low in comparison to productivity. Most of the foreign corporations involved in EPZs have entered into agreements with the developing country governments that there will be no trade unionism within the zones, and consequently union officials face harassment if they try to organise there.

— Within the services sector, women tend to be heavily represented in community activities—health, education and social welfare—in all regions of the developing world. In Latin America, they predominate in retail trade and as domestic servants. In Africa also, they are greatly involved in retail trading including the

marketing of food crops. Both in Africa and Asia, men and women are substantially involved in paid domestic service. Women are also strongly represented in the tourism sector which is of special importance to some countries—particularly small ones—as an earner of foreign exchange.

- Women are especially important in the informal sector, where they often form the largest part of the workforce. Women entrepreneurs are to be found almost exclusively in this sector. In urban Tanzania, for example, about 80 per cent of the female workforce is self-employed, and 53 per cent of all informal sector workers are women.[7] In Peru, 40 per cent of the labour force in the informal sector are women, compared with 18 per cent in the formal sector.[8] Women's concentration in the low paying informal sector is a result of a range of factors: limited opportunities in formal sector employment, relative lack of education and skills, and having to bear the brunt of domestic work and childcare responsibilities which necessitate their seeking more time-flexible sources of earning.
- The rate of women's involvement in wage work is generally higher among poorer households.
- Women occupy a much smaller proportion of administrative and managerial positions than do men (in developing countries 0.4 per cent of such women compared to 1 per cent for men). Cultural values are one factor keeping women out of these more influential and decision-making positions.

Earnings

- On average, women's income per hour is very significantly below that of men. Within the formal sector, they are paid significantly less in every country for which there are data (see Chapter 1, para. 1.10). Even where men and women work in complementary agricultural activities, women receive lower wages than men.
- Average earnings are substantially less in the informal sector, where women are predominant, than in the formal sector. For example, in Brazil informal sector earnings for men are 53 per cent of formal sector earnings and for women, 47 per cent. There is an even bigger difference in earnings between men and women in paid work in the informal sector than in formal sector jobs; women's earnings in the informal sector of Latin American countries are, on average, about half those of males and in urban Malaysia, about a third.
- Large numbers of women do not receive any monetary remuneration for the labour they put in on family farms or other enterprises.

- In general, the proportion of women's economic contribution to the household relative to men's is almost always related to social class.[9] For poor families, women's earnings, even at low rates of pay, are of critical importance for survival (also see para 2.7 below).

Assets

- In developing countries women constitute only a very small proportion of holders of productive assets, especially land. This is mainly due to tradition or the legal framework under which property is invariably registered in the name of the husband or adult male in the household.
- In countries such as Kenya and Tanzania, where women have traditionally had usufructuary rights to some of their husbands', fathers', or brothers' land, reforms have transferred land to an almost exclusively male-dominated tenure system, and relegated women to landless agricultural labourers dependent for their subsistence on men. While customary law in Kenya recognizes women's usufructuary rights and makes provision for the newly-wed to be allocated a plot of land, widows become dependent on inheriting sons, and are virtually landless if they have only daughters. Divorced and separated women also become landless.
- In Asia, too, women's access to land is circumscribed by gender biases in laws (e.g. on inheritance), official attitudes and social customs. Land redistributed under reform and resettlement schemes has typically been in men's names (for example, in Sri Lanka, under the Mahaweli programme).[10] To the extent that women get recognition, it is generally as female heads of households. Instances have even been noted of officials initially refusing to transfer land to women's groups even after these groups had obtained official sanction.* Finally, privatisation of communal land—usually to the well-off—has often resulted in rural women losing access to sources of fuel, fodder, supplementary food items and, in some areas, land for cultivation.
- Because of very limited physical assets and socio-cultural factors, women face greater difficulties in access to credit. For example, only 11 per cent of the borrowers at a sample of 38 branches of major banks in India were women, and they received only 8 per cent of total disbursements. Of 325 women borrowers, 45 received loans only due to the intervention of a social worker who guaranteed the loan, and 19 received loans through a special programme for low-income women run by an intermediary guarantee group.

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*A similar case was noted in Honduras where a group of female-headed households who formed an association and requested land on the same basis as men's groups, was refused.

- Women have had lesser access than men to education and training at all levels, and, with lower educational qualifications, have less opportunity of getting the higher paid jobs that require education and skills. The difference is particularly marked among low-income countries: for these countries as a whole in 1985, 88 per cent of girls were enrolled in primary schools, compared with almost universal education for boys (when India and China are excluded, enrolment of girls at primary schools was 56 per cent, compared with 75 per cent for boys); 26 per cent of girls in low-income countries were enrolled in secondary school compared with 41 per cent of boys. In secondary and tertiary education, girls' enrolment is less than boys' among middle- and upper-income countries too.

Female-headed households

- In many countries, the number of female-headed households has been growing in both rural and urban areas. In some parts of the developing world, the proportion is 40 per cent or more.[11] In rural Kenya, it is 40 per cent; in Ghana, almost one-half; in Zambia, one-third, in urban Morocco, one-quarter. It is estimated that women are the sole breadwinners in one-quarter to one-third of the world's households.[12] In rural Bangladesh, 25 per cent of landless rural households are female headed, compared to 15 per cent in the total rural population.[13]
- While the proportion of households headed by women varies sharply between countries, it is everywhere inversely related to income.[14] Surveys on poverty invariably find that women-headed households are disproportionately represented. For example, in Costa Rica in 1982 37 per cent of destitute households were headed by women, compared with only 14 per cent of non-poor households.[15] In rural Kenya, Tanzania and Botswana, women-headed households are among the poorest; and women who head households and operate as farmers are hampered by having less land, labour and cash than other households.[16]

Summary

- Women's contribution to national production is seriously understated because so much of it is unmeasured, and because women's pay (which is taken as the measure of their contribution to national product) is below that of men, even for the same job. Women's contribution to national welfare is even more seriously understated because their unpaid activities are particularly high in low-income households, where any addition to output has a large effect on welfare, and because of the focus of women's activities on meeting the basic needs of the household.

Home Managers

2.6 Women normally have the bulk of the responsibility for managing and budgeting for household consumption, especially for basic needs. Theirs is the basic responsibility for seeing that the household manages to meet its basic needs during good and bad times, whether this is done through home production and processing of food, searching for fuel and collecting of water, or through purchases of these basic needs in the market place.

2.7 Men, however, often determine the broad allocation of household income. A recent study of one hundred households in low-income areas of Lusaka found that only in a tiny minority was money management a joint responsibility of husband and wife.[17] In most cases wives were given fixed housekeeping allowances by their husbands, who were generally reluctant to tell them how much they earned. On the other hand, women who have some control over resources (for instance, through earning a cash income) tend to have greater bargaining and decision-making power within the household.[18]

2.8 Men generally give basic consumption needs a lower priority than women do. For example studies on rubber tappers in rural Malaysia found that husbands' expenditure on personal needs (such as tobacco) was 30–40 per cent more than their wives' expenditure on food for the household. Any income earned by women is channelled almost exclusively into meeting collective household needs, especially those of children.[19] Among poor households in Kenya and Jamaica, the nutritional value of food purchases in female-headed households—where women controlled all the income—is higher than in male-headed households.

Mothers

2.9 Women are primarily responsible for the welfare of children and often also care for parents, parents-in-law and other elderly relatives. As mothers they play a major role in human resource development. It is estimated that three-quarters of all healthcare takes place at the family or individual level,[20] and much education is also household-based. Women have the principal responsibility for most informal healthcare and out-of-school education as well as for feeding; they are also primarily responsible for ensuring that children have formal education and healthcare. In both areas the task is a difficult one, especially for poor households in poor countries, because of lack of income and deficient facilities. There is also a close link between the level of education of the mother and the health of the child (see Box 2.2).

Box 2.2. The Relationship Between Female Education and Mortality

A number of survey and and census analyses have detected a direct relationship between a child's chances of survival and the mother's level of education. Data from the 1960 census of Ghana, for example, reveal that the rate of child mortality is almost twice as high for mothers with no education as for mothers with an elementary education, and nearly four times higher for mothers with no education as for those with secondary schooling. The patterns are much the same for children in urban and rural areas.

A more comprehensive study was conducted in Nigeria as part of the 1973 Changing African Family Project Survey. One component of this study was a probability sample of 6,606 Yoruba women between the ages of 15 and 59 years in the city of Ibadan. The second component consisted of a probability sample of 1,499 Yoruba women over 17 years of age living in southwestern Nigeria. Analysis of these data allowed for an examination of rural-urban differences, which serve as a reasonable proxy for differences in access to modern health services.

The study considered child survival in relation to a variety of variables, including the quality of medical services at childbirth, the parents' practice of birth control, and the family's income as measured by the father's occupation. The analysis concluded that the single most important influence on child survival is the level of the mother's education. In Ibadan the child mortality index for women with some primary schooling was 68 per cent of that recorded for women with no schooling, and the index for women with more than primary schooling was 39 per cent of that for women with no schooling. In southwestern Nigeria the figures were almost the same, 68 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively.

Although the father's education was also found to be significant, it was less important than the mother's in explaining differences in child mortality. Family income, too, was found to be of little importance, after the effects of education were taken into account. Although child mortality was higher in polygamous than in monogamous homes, the effect of a mother's education to the secondary level was at least a 50 per cent reduction in mortality in both polygamous and monogamous homes.... Child survival was found to be higher among parents who practiced birth control, which might be explained by the greater care accorded children in smaller families.

Results in the Sudan from the same Changing African Family Project Survey confirmed the findings on the importance of mother's education to child survival.

(Extracted from "Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion"; A World Bank Policy Study.)

Education

- In developing countries as a whole, about one-fifth of the boys and one-third of the girls aged 6–11 years receive no primary education whatsoever. This is partly due to lack of school places, but the major reason lies in the circumstances of the poorest households, who even where there is free primary education, often do not send children to school. In Sri Lanka, with a very good record of literacy and primary education, about 250,000 children aged 8–14 did not attend school in 1979 and about 10 per cent of those aged 10–18 were illiterate. Many of them lived in urban slums and on rural estates, supplementing the family income or looking after siblings whilst parents worked.[21]
- The provision of education in different regions of the developing world roughly matches relative income levels; for example in 1985 secondary school enrolment was 34 per cent in low-income countries, 42 per cent in lower middle-income countries and 57 per cent in upper middle-income countries.[22]

Health

- Mortality rates among children under five years of age remain very high in many developing countries. In 1987, 33 countries—mainly in the low-income group—had child mortality rates of above 170 per thousand; a further 40 had rates of 95–170; and another 40, of 31–94.[23]
- Malnutrition is a significant phenomenon in children under five years of age, especially in the 33 countries with very high child mortality rates. During 1980–1986 30 per cent of children in these countries suffered from malnutrition, 6 per cent severely.
- Access to healthcare services is limited in most developing countries. For example during 1980–1987 only about 40 per cent of the population (30 per cent of the rural population) had access to healthcare services in the same 33 countries.
- Access to safe drinking water is even more limited. During 1980–1987 only a third of the population (15 per cent of the rural population) had access to safe drinking water in the 33 countries.
- The degree of immunisation of one-year old babies is also very low in these 33 countries—46 per cent for tuberculosis, 27 per cent for diphtheria, pertusis and tetanus, 28 per cent for polio and 33 per cent for measles.
- In many countries, especially of South Asia, there are significant intra-household gender differentials in access to healthcare and in some cases even to food.[24] This is reflected in higher levels of malnourishment and of illness among girls than boys.

Community Organisers

2.10 Women's roles extend beyond the household and the labour market to a network of community relationships. Women have shown a marked preference for working in groups to solve their economic difficulties, provide social services and infrastructure, and promote community solidarity.

2.11 In the economic domain, women's groups often bring together women from low-income households in urban slums or rural areas for the purpose of pooling their resources and initiating activities to generate incomes and productive employment and to meet the basic needs of their families. Examples of such activities are furnished by women's groups engaged in producing vegetables, crafts, dresses, toys, etc.; in mobilising savings and extending credit to their members; and in providing marketing and extension services.

2.12 Women's groups have also been active in meeting the needs of their members for communal and social services. For example, neighbourhood groups in several Latin American countries have sought to effect economies through joint purchase of mass consumption goods, communal cooking and transport. Furthermore, many women's organisations provide health, training, literacy and family planning services. Examples include the Self-Employed Women's Association and the Working Women's Forum in India; other organisations in which women are active, such as the Association of Women's Clubs in Zimbabwe and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, are similarly involved.

2.13 Women's groups also act as pressure points to promote economic and social reform in such diverse areas as equal pay for equal work, enforcement of minimum wages, land reform, improvement in women's legal status, and combating practices such as child-marriage, caste discrimination, wife-beating, etc. As members and officials of trade unions, women are fighting in many countries for better wages and working conditions despite their lower level of unionisation then men.

II. DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S WELFARE

2.14 Any assessment of the impact of structural adjustment on women must look not only at their contribution to national and family production but also at the effects of the changes on their own welfare. Vital aspects of women's welfare are their incomes, hours of work, nutrition, health and education and, of course, the welfare of their families.

2.15 Many aspects have already been discussed, in connection with women's various roles. For example, women's relatively low cash

earnings, lack of control over household income, and limited access to assets, mean that their economic welfare is typically below that of men. The generally lower levels of education among girls than boys—in Africa and Asia, particularly, there are wide differences between the sexes at all levels of education—not only limit women's productive potential, but also reduce female welfare in terms of their ability to control their own lives and enjoy the fulfilment that education brings.

2.16 Health is another vital aspect of female welfare. Female life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa remains at only 52 years and for developing countries as a whole 63 years, compared with 79 years in industrial countries.[25] Life expectancy for females is generally higher than that of men, largely for biological reasons. Despite this fact, in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan there are fewer females than males in the population, contrary to the position in the developed world and in most developing countries. This is largely due to cultural attitudes towards females, especially during infancy (see para. 2.9).

2.17 Maternal mortality in developing countries as a whole remains high (346 per 100,000 live births) compared to that in industrial countries (only 11 per 100,000). Maternal mortality is particularly high (973 per 100,000) in sub-Saharan Africa. Estimates by WHO suggest that about 65 per cent of pregnant and 50 per cent of non-pregnant women in developing countries are anaemic.

2.18 The hours of work necessary for women to fulfil their functions is one of the most important factors affecting their welfare. Adding time spent on work outside the household to that on household activities shows that women in developing countries often spend most of their waking hours working, even in better times. Studies across the world have shown that women consistently work longer hours than men.[26] In parts of East Africa they work 16 hours a day doing housework, caring for children, preparing food and growing 60–80 per cent of the crops (see Box 2.3). In Malaysia, female rubber tappers, who come from poor households, have work-days of 18–20 hours, including time spent on domestic duties. In rural India, during an average working day of up to 16 hours, women spend about a third of their time in agricultural and other 'economic' work (including cottage craft and animal husbandry), a little less than half in household work, cooking and food processing, and about one-tenth in searching for fuel (see Table 2.1). In developed countries, too, women spend more time than men working; for example, in Norway, married men have an average work-day of seven hours, with about six and a half hours spent on income-producing work and half an hour on housework. Married women, by contrast,

Box 2.3. The Unending Day: A Woman in Mozambique

"The most vivid image of women in Mozambique is that of a woman in her machamba, or family plot, legs straight, her body forming a V as hour after hour she is bent over double, hoeing, sowing, weeding, day in and day out, under clear skies and hot sun. Sometimes this work is done with a baby on her back and the only rest might be when the infant cries in hunger and the mother finds a place at the edge of the field to nurse her child. She can be in her field as early as 5.30 a.m., and she will work until midday when the sun, high in the sky and burning hot, is too harsh to work under. Men will help with seasonal tasks—clearing the land, for example. Ploughing the fields, particularly if the plough is drawn by cattle, by tradition is strictly the man's domain. The image of women producers is repeated millions of times throughout the vast terrain of sub-Saharan Africa, where women are responsible for some 80 per cent of family production.

"But when she returns home from the fields, the women's work is only partially done. The food has to be processed—hours of pounding with a large pestle into a mortar, both fashioned from tree trunks, removing the husks from rice, pounding maize into flour for the staple porridge, grinding peanuts to a fine meal. The sound of pounding fills the air at all times of the day, a rhythmic thumping that is carried across the African veld. So is the smell of wood smoke from each family's cooking fire. The lighting of the fire comes only after hours of searching for fuel, often travelling long distances as the supplies nearer home are depleted. Water for cooking, for washing dishes, for ablutions, must also be collected. In some dry areas of Mozambique where water sources are few and far between, a journey of two hours in each direction is not uncommon and the return journey is made with a twenty-litre container of water carried on the head, so heavy that it takes two to lift it there. Laundry is often done at a river's edge or other water source, again a journey of greater or lesser distance. The house and living area must be swept and cleaned. Food must be cooked. Leaves must be gathered from wild plants to be used as supplements in cooking. And throughout the day, as a backdrop to all the other work, is the never-ending responsibility for child care. All these tasks are performed with little if any access to technology that could shorten the time involved and reduce physical strain. And all the while, unless a women is infertile or past child-bearing age, she is virtually constantly pregnant or breast feeding."

(Extracted from "And Still They Danced", by Stephanie Urdang)

work on average eight and a half hours, with time spent on income-producing and housework varying directly with their number of children (see Chart 2.1).[27]

2.19 The time factor—the desperate attempt to fit multiple functions into a day whose total length is by its very nature limited—is the feature of women's lives that most vividly distinguishes them from men. It is a feature which is common to most women in most societies, but is particularly constraining for poor women in poor societies, where extra hours of work are the only weapon against poverty and immiseration. All of women's roles have this in common—they take time. It is the time constraint, and the trade-offs this implies, that must form the essential framework within which to analyse the impact of adjustment on women.

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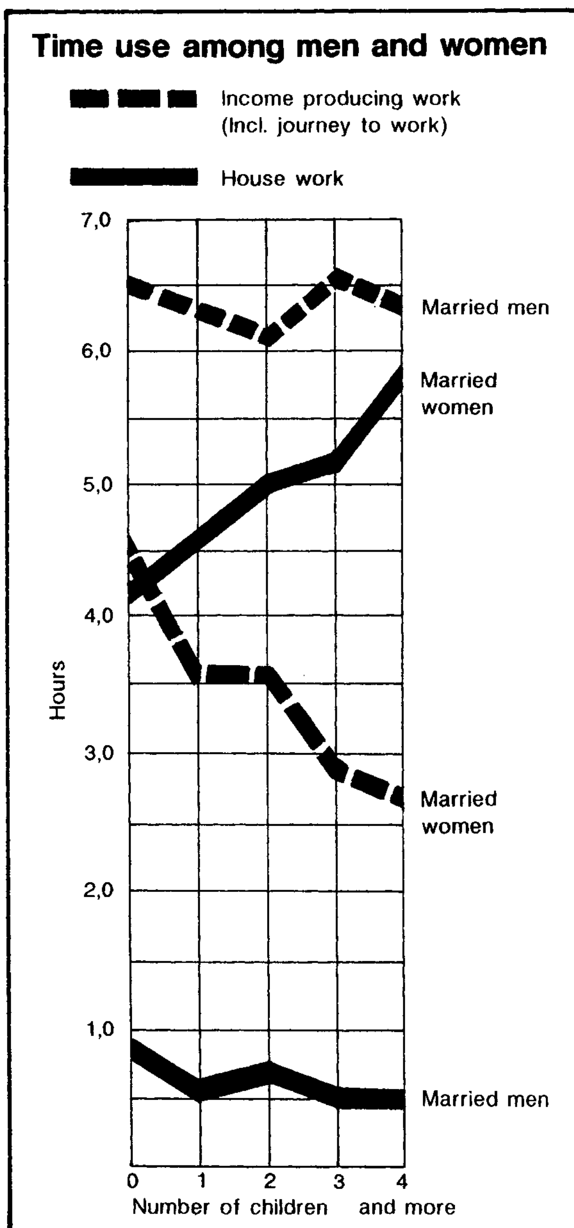
Table 2.1
Daily time utilization of rural women in five Indian states by season
(in hours)

Name of village & State	Season	Household work	Cooking & food processing	Personal work	Animal husbandry	Agricultural work	Non-agricultural work	Cottage craft	Fuel search	Collection of forest produce	Marketing	Total time
N. Suriyan	Rainy	1.96	2.46	0.25	1.62	2.62	0.81	1.06	0.12	-	-	10.90
(Himachal	Winter	3.25	3.85	0.50	3.55	0.25	1.05	1.05	0.25	-	0.15	13.90
Pradesh)	Summer	4.00	3.30	0.40	1.00	-	0.78	0.05	0.08	-	-	9.61
Sehar	Rainy	2.15	4.10	1.15	1.05	3.15	-	-	1.30	1.00	-	13.90
(Madhya	Winter	3.75	4.98	1.15	0.50	1.45	-	0.10	2.05	-	-	13.98
Pradesh)	Summer	1.75	5.43	1.30	0.45	0.30	-	3.07	2.00	1.00	-	15.30
Malari	Rainy	1.44	3.85	0.56	1.12	5.61	-	-	0.56	-	0.06	13.20
(Uttar	Winter	3.01	4.45	0.63	2.37	1.37	-	-	0.75	-	-	12.58
Pradesh)	Summer	3.65	4.41	0.76	2.51	1.85	0.17	-	0.77	-	-	14.12
Deokhop	Rainy	2.25	3.00	0.81	-	2.50	-	-	1.75	0.25	0.93	11.49
(Mahar-	Winter	2.60	2.85	0.75	0.50	0.95	0.90	-	3.85	-	-	12.40
ashtra)	Summer	1.41	1.66	1.00	-	-	6.16	-	2.83	-	0.16	13.22
Rajapara	Rainy	3.29	3.90	1.10	0.55	5.21	-	-	0.17	-	0.07	14.29
(Assam)	Winter	2.37	3.75	1.12	0.50	6.00	-	1.25	-	-	-	14.99
	Summer	2.91	4.41	1.52	2.05	2.33	-	0.33	-	-	0.16	13.71

Note: Sample: two women observed in each village in each season, 1983–84.

Source: S. Dasgupta and A. K. Maiti, The Rural Energy Crisis, Poverty and Women's Roles in Five Indian Villages, ILO, Geneva, 1986.

Chart 2.1. Norway



Source: Norwegian Level of Living Study; Parliamentary Report No. 75, 1978-81.