PATTERNS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION

IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN KHARTOUM

Thesis submitted for a Ph.D. Degree in Sociology

by

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هذه دراسة عن اختبار المشاركة القيادة في الفترة الحالية بالتحديد.

بدايةً، أغلب العمل الأول يشير إلى المشكلة وأهميتها، والبحث الذي أجريناه أظهر أن ضعف العلاقة التاريخية لموقع القيادة، رفع لحق لكل تلك اللاعبات حسب المواقع المختلفة، حيث يمكننا أن نلاحظ تطورات ذات صلة بالموضوع في بعض الأحيان، وعندما تستعرض هذه matérielات أمك أن تكون من الآفاق الثلاث التي يحددها، فستكون تحليلاً شاملاً للموضوع ويوجهنا إلى التوافقات الملمع بظاهرة التي تحدث دراستها في أخير الانتهاء والآداب التي تتعلق بها في الدراسة.

وينشأ النهج الثاني من الطرق التاريخية للفترة الاقتصادية والإجتماعية منذ الاستعمار حتى الفترة الحالية، مروراً بأوضاع المرأة في الفقرات التاريخية المختلفة، ومن هذا الاعدام ينطلق موضوع المشاركة المرأة في العمل.

وينشأ النهج الثالث يعبر عن المواقف التي تساهم في تشكيل اختبارات المشاركة القيادة في الفترة الحالية، ويلاحظ تطور المجتمع بكل تفصيل، ستختلف هذه المواقف وتطورها تاريخياً شبهها في المشاركة القيادة في العمل، والواقع الذي تواجهه هي وفوق المعايير، وقواليد العمل، وعلى اعتبار المرأة والأفكار الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي ابتدعواها التي تحدد اوضاع وعلاقات المرأة داخل الدراسة، والمجموعات الحياتية، كذا ينطلق نهج تنظيمات المرأة وتاثيرها على معدل المرأة في هذه المواقف المختلفة كان واعياً أن هذه المواقف ترتبط وتشكل في الأفكار الأعمال لتحقيق معاينة المشاركة القيادة في العمل.

وفي النهاية، نحن نرى أن هذا العمل محاولة لنشر البحث المبدع، وتمت تانية في وقوع العمل إلى ثلاث مجموع، مجموعات الأول، الفاعلة، تعمل في الأعمال الاقتصادية والمكتبية، ثم مجموعة العملاء في المدى، والثاني مجموع العملاء في العمل الحرج، وفيما يتعلق بجميع التخصصات، إذا كنت تنتظر مجموعاً تمسك الأفكار إلى الأعمال المختلفة التي يمكن بها ثم المواقف المختلفة التي ساهمت في مشاركته في العمل، وبالنسبة للمجموعات الثلاث كانت العملية.
الشيئين إلى عقلية المرأة مهما كان في تجربة التعليم وعمل المرأة، ونستطيع دفع العمل الذي يمكن أن تقوم به. ويتأثر الوضع الذي ينفسي في المرأة الحالية على عمل المرأة لأجل تحسين حالة المرأة الاجتماعية، فهو يحد من التقدم الاجتماعي، وفي الدراسات، من قبل الشيوخ في مجالات المرأة، فإن هذه العملية تتأثر في مواقف المرأة في المجتمع، وتعود إلى ترسيخ الأفكار الديموغرافية، وتزداد من خلال المعارف التي يقدمها للمرأة، وتعزز من توجهات المرأة إلى المجتمع الذي يتأثر من خلال تجربة المرأة في العالم، وتعزز من توجهات المرأة إلى المجتمع الذي يتأثر من خلال تجربة المرأة في العالم.
لتحقيق وتفعيلها لوهلاقتها يومًا على الدخول.

وتنوه الخاتمة ستختصر لنفسنا إلى عملوا بالدراسة مع الآثار التي بعض الدراسات للكندا في مجتمعات أخرى لاستنباط بعض الخطوات التي قد تساعد في تحقيق وضع المرأة العاملة. كما تقدم الخاتمة شروط لعدة مواقع بحثية مهمة تساعد في توجيه همّتنا لوضوحية ومسائل المرأة العاملة.
Abstract

The thesis analyses the patterns of participation of women in the labour force in Khartoum. It focuses on the socio-economic factors related to the employment of women and it also considers the implications of employment on women's positions in society.

A discussion of some theoretical approaches analysing the conditions of women and their work as found in the literature has been attempted. The historical materialist approach is considered as an appropriate one for the analysis of the problem of the thesis. The participation of women in the labour force is seen as necessarily structured by the development of the economic and social aspects of the society.

Based on the historical stand an analysis of the development of the economic and social conditions in Sudan in different historical periods has been provided. A specific emphasis has been given to the development of women's conditions during the different historical periods considered. The discussion has clearly revealed that the conditions of
women and the patterns of their employment have been changing significantly in relation to the socio-economic changes in the society. The changes in the labour market conditions, educational conditions, labour legislations and social aspects of the society have been associated with increased rate of participation of women in the labour force in Karachi. But they remained concentrated in specific areas and in low pay grades.

In relation to the socio-economic conditions discussed, the current patterns of women's participation in the labour force have been analysed. Three categories of women have been identified in the labour market. These are, women in white collar jobs, women workers, and self-employed women. The participation of women in the different categories is influenced by their families' economic condition and attitudes, as well it is reinforced by the market conditions. Their continuity, satisfaction and promotion is influenced by their family conditions, chances in the labour market and their social experience.

The category of women in white collar jobs is predominated by middle class women. There are some upper class
women in specific professional activities. Women in this category are concentrated in teaching, nursing, secretarial and clerical activities.

The women workers are exclusively from the proletariat class. They work mainly in the service sector as cleaners, cooks or in specific activities in factories, like packing, sewing and weaving.

The self-employed women are mainly proletariat class. with very few middle class women joining in such activities. They are involved in a range of activities mostly associated with women, i.e. sale of foods, sewing, domestic service and prostitution.

The discussion of the implications of employment on women has revealed that women economic independence may contribute to some changes in roles and attitudes of some women. The effect of employment is evident in the participation of young single women in budget decision of the family. Also the description of some women of their relationships and contacts with male workmates implies changing perceptions and attitudes which can be associated with work
experience. But work has no clear implications on fertility of women or division of labour at home.

The study concludes that the pattern of women's participation has been structured by the capitalist system which hinder[s] favourable social consequences that women can gain from work. An improvement in women's participation and the improvement of their conditions is necessarily associated with the transformation of the whole socio-economic forma-

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This work would have not been completed without the encouragement and help of my husband, Abiel Ghaifar. Thanks to Mr. Shil Abar for his efforts in typing the thesis.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction.

This chapter is an introduction to the problem that represents the main body of this thesis and the theoretical framework used in analyzing this problem. It attempts to outline several conceptual and theoretical approaches that are relevant to the problem studied and indicates the position adopted in relation to these approaches. The chapter is divided into five sections:

Section A deals with the statement of the problem; section B deals with the empirical setting; section C deals with the methodology; section D deals with the women question in the Western World; section E deals with the women question in the Third World. Section F offers a theoretical framework and section G gives an outline of the organization of the thesis.

A. The statement of the problem:

The rising activities of the women's movement in the Third World during the last two decades have created a wide concern for studying women's issues. The resulting knowledge about women and the failure of the first Development Decade as manifested by the world food crisis, population explosion and widespread poverty have raised awareness of researchers,
and programmes have been put forward aiming for an integration of women in development.

A number of studies concerning the changing conditions of women in relation to the changing economic conditions in various parts of the world have appeared. Some of these studies have considered the role of women in the process of social production and how they have been affected by economic conditions of the Third World countries. (Boserup, E. 1975 and publications reviewed in Al-Gazzar, A. 1977 and Rihani, M. M., 1976). Despite the positive contribution of these studies in discussing women's work or contribution to social production, critics have shown their failure to provide a framework that considers the whole social reality related to women's work (Elliot 1976, Nash J. and Safa, H. 1976 Jacobson 1981). For an example, Boserup's study fails to recognize or adequately discuss family or household organization, the sexual division of labour, women's work in the household and the effect of reconstituting women as breadwinners.

In the case of Sudan, women's studies have started
recently.\(^1\) There are few studies about women and their participation in the national economy. Some examples can be cited such as Snyder’s account of women’s activities in the traditional and modern sector.\(^2\) A. Mahmoud also contains an account of women’s economic role in rural areas both in the modern and traditional agricultural sectors.\(^3\) Kider’s unpublished M.A. thesis 1981 presents specific variables related to women’s productivity in agriculture in the modern and traditional sectors. From these studies it becomes clear that area which is under researched is the participation of women in the labour force in urban areas. In addition the studies of Sudanese women lack wider perspective of women’s social reality. Any issue related to women must be considered with reference to the economic, social and political realities within the perspective of the entire social formation.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the pattern of women’s participation in labour force in an urban setting.

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concentrating only on the non-agricultural activities and addressing the problem in a wider perspective. Thus it is an exploratory study since no such study has been attempted in the Sudan before. The major focus is on the changing socio-economic conditions and concomitant changes in the women's employment pattern. The following themes are pursued: (1) the process by which women have been drawn into employment, (2) the way women have been ghettoized and doubly exploited. This entails consideration of relationship of women's employment to their role at home and in public with particular reference to employed women's fertility, their role in decision making and their participation in public activities.

Considering the changing conditions in Sudan a significant question is how to develop a theoretical framework that would explain the reality of conditions of women and their participation in the labour force. That is, how is it possible to understand the aspects of women's employment in relation to the changing conditions of the society. This entails a consideration of women in relation to the changing economic condition, the role of the state (education, training, legislation), the family and the dominant ideology.
Historical materialism as will be discussed further is considered as the most adequate framework that would analyse the economic, political and ideological aspects in their totality in a historical perspective. This would help us to understand the participation of women in the labour force in its different aspects. Such a framework would allow us to explain the changing position of women in the occupational structures as related to economic, social and political aspects in the social formation.

Another merit of such an approach is in its methodological potential. Searching in depth into the history of women may help to recognize their exploitation, oppression and their subordinate situation.

B. The Empirical Setting:

The locale of the study is greater Khartoum in the Sudan which is composed of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North.

Khartoum is situated at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles.
The history of Khartoum dates back to the 1820's. It was originally a village inhabited by people practicingagriculture and fishing. Although in pre-colonial times there were some towns which gained political and commercial significance, Khartoum started as a town during the Turco-Egyptian rule. It was chosen as a capital instead of Gondar, the capital of the conquered Funj Kingdom. Some government and other buildings were constructed and the town was divided into three parts; a quarter including the administrative departments, another one containing mosques and houses inhabited mostly by government employees and merchants and a third quarter for the poor people. Few schools were also established.

The population of Khartoum in 1840 was 30,000 and it increased to 60,000 in 1846. However in 1870 it fell to 20,000.

1) See Stevenson 1969 for some information on Khartoum in ancient times.

2) By pre-colonial here it meant the period before 1821 i.e. before the Turco-Egyptian rule.

Thus, Khartoum developed from a small village to a populous town in the Sudan, being the centre of the administration and a trade centre. Its population consisted of Europeans, engaged in trading and other professional activity. There were Turks involved mainly in the administration. There were also Arab traders, Egyptian artisans and Danagla merchants from the northern part of the country. The growth of Khartoum and other towns in Sudan during this period led to a rural/urban disparity related to the town control over a large rural area both secondary and nominal not only in administration and taxation, but also in commerce and education. Thus the Turko-Egyptian rule in addition to entrenching a group of exploiters in urban areas, has led to fragmentation of existing agricultural and pastoral communities and created a group of privileged urban people (traders and administrators who exploited the rural areas through heavy taxation and slave raids).

With the end of the Turko-Egyptian rule and the coming of Mahdist state, the capital was shifted from Khartoum to Omdurman. The population of Omdurman then reached 400,000

in 1895 as the Khalifa after the Mahdi's death encouraged his supporters from western Sudan to migrate to Khartoum to give his support against his rivals from central and northern Sudan groups. Omdurman then became an important administrative and trading centre.

In 1899 with the defeat of the Khalifa and the coming of Anglo-Egyptian rule, the capital was transferred to Khartoum. This was because of its strategic position on the Nile and its relative proximity to the Gezira area in the central Sudan. Moreover Khartoum in such a position helped to serve as an economic centre for the colonial administration plans of economic expansion.

Since then Khartoum flourished as an administrative and commercial town. By 1904 many service departments such as hotels, a military hospital, construction departments and a post office were built and roads were constructed.

Gradually other areas started to grow. Khartoum North was developing because of the railways and Nile transport expansion and its connection to Khartoum by the Blue Nile.

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bridge. Also as a result of the construction of the White Nile Bridge, Omdurman started to flourish as many preferred to live in it due to its traditional place in the minds of many and the fact that land was cheaper than in Khartoum. In addition the establishment of the railway line between Khartoum and the Red Sea Coast in 1905 gave further strength to its growth. Electricity was introduced in 1907 and resulted in the growth of commercial activities and other skills such as carpentry.

During the colonial administration, three residential areas were established. These were different according to the size of plots and the type of building materials used and one of income used the major criterion in their distribution. Thus the Sudanese mostly lived in Omdurman and Khartoum North, while the foreigners mostly inhabited the planned Khartoum area.

As a result of the economic growth, people from other areas migrated to Greater Khartoum. This has led to the growth of suburban areas which were inhabited by migrants and people driven from their homes areas. The suburbs which were crowded and unorganized were displaced and people were
moved to new areas well planned and built.

The period 1914-1935 witnessed some expansion consisting mainly of filling in the gaps of the existing built up area. The capital growth was slow because of retarded economy of the Sudan during that period. The export of cotton which is the major contributor to the national economy affected greatly Madani, the urban centre of the Gezira and the cotton production area of the country.

During the Second World War several import substitution industries were established and thus a small industrial area started to grow in Khartoum and Khartoum North. This has caused drift of immigrants from other areas during the second World War period looking for living in the capital. Thus the population of the town greatly increased and so is the demand for land and more residential areas came to being.

Khartoum expanded between the two World Wars and its importance as a commercial and trading centre continued as well as becoming the seat for political activities in the country.
During the post second World War period much of the economic gain from the Gezira started to flow to the capital in the form of salaries to the highly centralized bureaucracy. This has contributed to further growth of Khartoum town.

In 1956 the population of Khartoum reached 93,703, Omdura 113,559 and Khartoum North 39,007(1).

Further growth of Khartoum had been accompanied by similar population expansion as a result of industrial growth. The continued growth of export and import trade and commercial activities had been associated with expansion in services needed for such activity like establishment of banks, trading agencies, and corporations. This in turn led to the growth of the labour force in Khartoum and instanced the establishment of new presidential quarters.

Presently the concentration of industries in greater Khartoum and the intensification of trade has further attracted people who came from the countryside to live and invest in Khartoum.

In the last fifteen years a large number of people who migrated to the Arab countries have invested their savings in Khartoum mainly in real estate and the service sector. This led to a great expansion of residential areas which are characterized by class division.

The population of Greater Khartoum has increased from 734,294 in 1973 to 1,802,999 in 1983 showing a growth rate of 6 per cent in the period 1963-1972 and 8 per cent for the last ten years. The growth of Khartoum as an urban centre has come as part of the process of socio-economic change. Its growth has been due to political, economic and social reasons.

C. Methodology:

The methods used in collection of the data are closely related to the problem to be studied and to the framework within which the problem is to be discussed. To provide some high quality data different methods have been used in the field work.

1) Beeh, J. 1983.

2) The general Census 1973 and the Provisional Results of 1983 Census.
To develop an adequate theoretical framework for analysing the problem library work was conducted. Literature analysing conditions of women in different contexts was consulted and considered in the frame of the theoretical approach adopted in the thesis.

As the problem is to be analysed within a historical socio-economic context, literature about Sudan has been considered to provide an explanation of the development of the conditions of women in relation to the different aspects of the social formation.

In the absence of adequate national statistics about women participation in the labour force, a questionnaire was designed for provision of statistical data. A sample of 650 women was then chosen. After the process of writing up the questionnaire, training the interviewers and selecting the sample, the interviewers were directed specific ministries, companies and institutions to carry out the interviews. The questionnaires were then checked. After coding, further processing of the data was carried out in the Khartoum Computer Centre. (1)

(1) One limitation is that the computer used can produce correlation between two variables only.
As the emphasis is not on quantitative data alone but on qualitative in-depth analysis, case studies were conducted with 80 women in different occupations. The information on self-employed women depended mainly on intensive interviews with 20 women complemented by participant observation. Some housewives were also interviewed to throw light on specific issues like their attitude to work outside and inside the house and their perception of the women's positions in society and their future outlook. Also some issues concerning women's problems in the house and occupations were discussed with some men working as administrators or with husbands, fathers and brothers of working women. This was done to throw some light on the attitude of men to women's occupation.

In addition life histories were collected from women of different ages, occupations, marital status to reflect on the pattern of their career progress and their movement within the employment structures. More significantly life histories are intended to make some intergenerational comparisons as to the perception and consciousness of women's problems, their changing position and future outlook.
Group Discussion was carried to add to my knowledge and information on general issues related to discrimination, job evaluations, changing position of women and their public participation. The merit of group discussion was that ideas were expressed more explicitly than in interviews.

Problems Encountered during the Survey:

The lack of literature in libraries in Sudan on issues related to women's studies had been a limiting factor. Also, the scarcity information about women participation and contribution to the process of production in different historical epochs has made the analysis of development of women's conditions rather difficult.

Some difficulty was encountered in getting permission to conduct interviews. In most cases where men are heads of departments or sections, a number of questions about the research and its utility were raised and several stereotyped comments about women were passed. However, during the fieldwork it was soon recognised that knowing personally anybody in an office is the best channel of contact which ensured acceptability of the data collector. However in
certain departments, (e.g. example in the telecommunication section) permission for conducting interviews was denied. Also in the factories, where employers are paid according to unity produced the informants refused to be interviewed except at the end of their work which was not possible as they would miss the factory but if they stayed to be interviewed.

Some problems were met in conducting interviews in the homes in the evenings and during the holidays. Although an appointment was made in most cases sometimes guests or relative of the informants, interfere with the interview. In many such cases use was made of the information which flows from such interviews which actually thrown into a group discussion.

There are another problem related to the conflict between perception of women issues and the sex differentiated lives and socialization of many informants. Thus many questions related to the division of labour, public participation and perception of awareness of women were met with puzzlement and disapproval from many. Other problems were related to the fact that the researcher and the assistants are females and have to get permission from male officials for conducting interviews.
D. The Question of Women in the West.

The purpose here is to discuss some of the problems involved in analysing the problem of participation of women in the labour force. This is done by developing a critique of a number of approaches discussing the question.

A review of some approaches analysing the position of women in the West (Europe and USA) is considered relevant. This is because the capitalist relations of production prominent in the Sudan, as a Third World country, and these countries resulted some similarities in the position of women. Women in Europe and USA were tremendously affected by the Industrial Revolution. The capitalist relations of production developed did not affect men and women in the same way. They led to the separation of the family from social production and thus to the marginalisation of women. While in the Sudan and many Third World countries the incorporation of the economy into the world market and the penetration of the capitalist system have had similarly differ-

1) Although the problem is mainly about women's employment, reference is made to women's question because I think that dealing with any issue about women must necessarily deal with her conditions in general.

2) For details about this see for example Scott and Tilley 1960, Hamilton, N., 1973 and others.
tial effects on men and women. But here women are not only exploited by the domestic capitalist system but also their conditions were further affected by the world economy.

Moreover in the West women's liberation movements were radicalized in the sixties as a result of their association with the left, the Black and Students Movement. (4) Women found themselves excluded from the central area of the left wing and civil rights movement and more restricted to a feminine mystique. Hence they became aware that there is a need for separate organizations and activity of women. In the Sudan and many Third World countries the women's liberation movements merged with the left organizations and with the national liberation movements against colonialism. They found themselves constrained by their illiteracy and conditions from contributing effectively to the struggle for independence and slowly they became aware that the benefit of development has been increasingly concentrated in the hands of men. (2)

1) See Mitchell, J. p. 197.
Much work has been located with an epistemology whose inadequacy has been discussed and some of it will be cited here. Firstly the approaches considering the normative aspects of women and approaches minimizing or neglecting their role in social production are considered as inadequate for analyzing the problem presented in this thesis. For example the conceptual framework developed by Talcott Parsons (1) in relation to the position of women in the family and occupational structure has been fundamental in subsequent sociological work. In Essays in Sociological Theory, Parsons examined the relationship between kinship systems and the wider society. He located his analysis within a discussion of problems involved in determining class status which he defined in relation to six aspects: membership in a kinship unit, personal qualities, achievements, possessions, authority and power. To Parsons ascription of status is by membership of a kinship unit and the achievement of a status is through a position in occupational structure. Parsons, though less definite about what determines social status, kinship or occupational system, he considered that dominant pattern of occupational system in industrial society requires at least a high degree of social mobility and equality.

1) Talcot Parsons, T., 1954, pp 76 - 79.
Parsons recognized the contradictory relationships between kinship and occupational systems. But to him the contradiction is resolved within the industrial society as the internal structure of the family is adapted to the requirements of the occupational structure. The segregation of sex roles within the family, reduces the possibility of strain as the members of the family would not be competing equally within the occupational structure.

He related sex role differentiation to a structural differentiation between instrumental and expressive roles, the former is related to good attainment and adaptation and involves relations of the family and the wider society while the later involves integration and is defined in terms of internal structure and functions of the family. Parsons associated women with expressive roles as they are involved in bearing and early nursing of children and they are adapted to perform such roles. While men having no such internal responsibilities adapt to instrumental roles.

Such role segregation resolves tension between kinship
system and occupational roles as men are concerned with instrumental roles and women are removed from competition within occupational system as they are basically confined to the family. However, Parsons acknowledged that women may get involved in occupational system but still there is no tension as they take activities qualitatively different from men and related to their role in the family.

Parsons attempted to define social status in terms of differentiation between kinship and occupation roles is criticised for its concentration on evaluative and normative factors. Such a framework does not consider adequately the relationship of female labour at home and outside the home. This makes it inadequate for the analysis of the problem of the thesis which is concerned with the two latter issues.

Furthermore, the conceptual framework discussing dual roles of women has recognised the women's role in the labour market and the tension between the female role as a wife and worker, and the implications of these two roles on the

7) For detailed criticism see McHugh, V. 1978 pp. 465 - 710.
relationship within the family. As this approach has not considered these roles in their socio-economic context it is not considered as a helpful approach in analysing the problem in hand. The dual labour market approach relates the nature and causes of occupational differences to a differentiation in the structure of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors. The former characterized by high economy, good benefits and working conditions and job security while the latter have relatively low earnings, poor working conditions and low degree of job security. They are associated women with the secondary sector as they are easily dispensable they can be differentiated from workers in primary sector and socially, they have less inclination for training and experience. Also they are unlikely to develop solidarity relation with fellow workers and they do not rate economic rewards highly. Such approach is criticized as being mainly built on the stereotypical conceptualization and thus considered inadequate in explaining situation of women in the labour market in general and Black women in particular. This is because the labour process and the organization of work have been changing with developing historical circumstances and the social inequality in the market is related to the social division
of labour and the family in the household.

Further a review of some Marxist approaches to the question of women is considered particularly helpful in deepening our understanding of the nature and extent of women's participation in the economic activities. The Marxists have focused on the wider socio-economic context in order to understand the economic role of women within the home and in the larger economy and to see the implications on the oppression of women. Thus some of the concepts significant to an understanding of women's conditions discussed elaborately by Marxists are considered and articulated in a historical perspective to analyse the problem of women's participation in Bangladesh labour force.

The Marxist approach to the question of women:

The Marxist approach to the question of women has taken several forms. The oppression of women in all of these forms is related to the process of production. The first relevant approach is that of Marx, Engels and Lenin who have argued that capitalism has promoted the sexual division of labour and enhanced the institution of private property.
Marx has discussed several issues related to women. In the Rheinisch-Zeitung in 1842 he presented some ideas on marriage and the social situation of women. He rejected the Hegelian view that marriage is a social fact and thus cannot be indissoluble because conditions may change, perish or are replaced by others. To Marx the determining factor of women's social existence are derived from a system of production based upon the oppression of men by men. Thus the liberation of both women and men would be in a socialist system.

In relation to the participation of women in the labour force and the family, Marx recognized the difficulties which women might have by working outside home. He was aware of the hard life that women are going to experience by working outside the home while rearing children and caring for other family needs.

3) — ibid
Moreover Marx's analysis of the labour power considers the family. In his discussion of the value of labour power, he assumed that the workers exist in families which consume wages and reproduce labourers who work for wages.

"The value of labour power was determined not only by the labour time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also, by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, the throwing every member of that family on to the labour market, spreads the values of the man's labour power over his whole family."(1)

Here Marx is pointing to the relationships of reproduction within the family and social production. He also referred to the change of the family form under the capitalist system. Thus he wrote:

"However terrible and disgusting the solution under the capitalist system of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere to women, to young persons and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Renaissance-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek or the Eastern forms, which, however, taken together form a series in historic development."(2)

1) Marx, 1887, p. 373.
2) Ibid, p. 460.
Mark identified clearly that production and reproduction are significant in analysing the conditions of women.

Engels in the 'Origin of the Family, Private property and the State also considered the importance of production and reproduction. These involve the production of the means of existence; of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production as well as production of human beings themselves. Hence the stage of development of labour on the one hand and the family are the two kinds of production determining the social organization of a society in a particular historical epoch.(1) Thus to Engels both the social production and the family are of equal significance. He later developed a perception of a materially different relation between the sexes, for members of different social classes.

To Engels the change in women's condition occurred in the context of developing exploitative relations whereby communal ownership was undermined. The communal kin

group disintegrated and the individual family separated out as an isolated economic unit responsible for the maintenance of its members and for the rearing of the new generation. The degradation of the female sex was based on the transformation of their socially necessary labour into a private service through the separation of the family from the public production. Within this context women's domestic and other work had been reduced to servitude.

Private property was associated with the separation of the family from the clan and the institution of monogamous marriage. Monogamy provides the means through which private property could be individually inherited. The inequalities of property, meant differing relations to production on the part of the different social groups. Engels's main formulation was the intimate connection between the emergence of the family as an economic unit dominated by the male and this development of classes.

"The distinction of rich and poor appears beside that of freemen and slaves—with the new division of labour, a new change of society into classes. The transition to full private property is gradually accomplished, paralleled with the transition of the pairing marriage into monogamy. The single family is becoming the economic unit of society."(1)

Engels argued that in early Greece, the division of labour and development of commodity production enabled new wealth in the form of slaves and homes to be accumulated by single individuals and this led to a conflict between the family and the genus. According to the new division of labour within the family, the man obtains food and instruments of labour, the conflict between the family and genus developed into a conflict between the opposing principles of father right and mother right.

"As wealth increased it made the man's position in the family more important than the woman's and on the other hand created an impulse to exploit this strengthened position in order to overthrow, in favor of his children, the traditional order of inheritance."

With the overthrow of the female right the man took command in the home and woman was degraded and reduced to servitude.

The development of the monogamous family resulting in the separation of the labourer from the security of the genus meant that the worker was responsible for his maintenance and that of his wife and children. This to an extent insured docility of worker to exploitation because fighting against the employer endangered the life of his dependent family. This

1) Ibid., p. 149.
has not been clearly considered by Engels who focused on the upper class family as an instrument of concentration of individual wealth. He discussed conjugal relations produced by monogamy with the bourgeois family. He recognized the involvement of proletarian wife in public industry being pressured by difficult economic conditions. However he did not elaborate on the latter.

Engels, from his argument as to the bases of the subjugation of women, concluded that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry and this in turn demands that the characteristic of the monogamous family as an economic unit of society be abolished.¹ Such a change would come with the abolition of private ownership and private housekeeping.² Engels is putting this solution within a wider socio-economic context. A change in the system of production and ownership is likely to be accompanied by changes in the social structure as Engels had established. Hence Engels has stressed that a change is likely to occur but he had

1) Ibid., pp. 137 - 38.
2) Ibid., p. 139.
not stated or qualified this as an automatic change as it is usually understood. Thus women in socialist countries though are prominent in the labour market, they are not completely liberated. But definitely the progress in women’s lives in China and other socialistic countries can be easily noticed compared to women in capitalist countries. Thus the problem is not with Engels solution as it is with the policies adopted in liberation of women.

Before considering some of the criticisms of Marx and Engels approach it may be significant to consider their relevance for the problem at hand namely the changing pattern of women’s employment. This approach is relevant in several ways: (1) it is historical (2) it is realistic thus interrelationship of different elements have to be considered in relation to our problem, (3) according to it employment is a major factor in bringing improvement in women’s conditions and part of our problem, is to see the impact of employment on women’s roles in the family and public lives.

1) Engels mentioned that the involvement of the wife in the labour market removes the basis of any kind of male supremacy in the patriarchal household except perhaps for something of the brutality toward women that has spread since the introduction of monogamy. This may be taken to show that change in social status does not automatically follow the changes in the economic position. Ibid p. 244.
Mark and Engels’ analysis to women’s conditions has raised numerous criticisms. The latter have either been based on the same approach with emphasis on particular issue like the domestic labour debate or have been a complete negation of the approach like the analysis of the feminists. These approaches are not considered here because they have not addressed women’s employment directly. In addition they have discussed issues considered and explained by the Marxist approach.

The domestic labour debate(1) had considered one specific element related to women’s oppression establishing unaccept-

1) The study of domestic labour had come as a result of women movement in Britain raising the question of wages for housework. Balla Costa H. and James, S. 1972, raised the demand on the basis that domestic work produces not merely use values but it essential to the production of surplus values. In similar line of arguing Boccas 1974, considers domestic labour’s economic function is the reproduction of labour power; its ideological function is the reproduction of relations of production through socialisation of children. The exchange of labour power for wages relates the house wife to capital. Domestic labour is thus abstract labour that creates value but at a private level not performed for capital and thus it is outside of the exercise of the law of value. Another course of debate considers house work as a separate mode of production, coexisting with but distinct from, the capitalist mode of production. (For details see Billa Costa, H. and James, S. 1972, Boccas 1974, and Harrison, J. 1973).
able connections to it and arriving at untenable conclusions.\(^1\)

In fact it had dealt with an element considered by the Marxist approaches as reproduction related to production in two ways: reproduction of labour force and reproduction of relations of production ideologically. Accordingly reproduction varies in different socio-economic contexts. Engels proposed socialisation of domestic labour as an important significant condition if positions of women are to be improved. Similarly Lenin considered the problem of housework in several texts.\(^2\)

Similarly the Feminists considered only one element of the total reality of women's conditions. That is the concept of patriarchy.\(^3\) Their conclusions have been

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1) For details of criticism to such approach see Himmelweit, S., and Kohun, S., 1977 Smith, P. 1978.


3) To the Feminists patriarchy is the central concept to be addressed and it has been understood in a variety of different meanings but generally it is considered as the concept through which the oppression of women is universally operating sometimes independent of capitalism or as the dominant system of power relations (see Millic, K. 1994, Firestone, S. 1970).
criticised as a historical, asocial and not providing an understanding of the full reality of women’s oppression.\(^1\) In addition the central element in the feminists’ approaches, patriarchy, have been considered within marxists analysis as an ideology shaping specific aspect of male/female relations in the society and related dialectically to the other processes within the social formation.

Another criticism to the marxists’ approaches had been attempted by the Feminists Materialists who aimed to locate the position of women in terms of the relation of production and reproduction at various moments in history.\(^2\) But


they have not been able to provide us with a well integrated analytical framework. This is because they based their arguments on wrong assumptions of reconciliation of what considered two separate entities: family and state. While in Marxist perspective these are integrated aspects of the process of material production.

Consequently the different approaches which criticised the Marxist approach have failed in considering a framework for analysing the conditions of women. This is because the Marxist's attempt, as exemplified by Marx and Engels have laid the basis on which an adequate theoretical framework for women in the Third World can be developed. This framework can further be used to analyse the conditions of women and their employment in Sudan as a Third World country.

5. The Question of Women in the Third World:

The main problem that women's studies in the 'Third World face is male bias' or androcentrism. The androcentrism is manifested in the facts that universities and

research institutions are largely male domains. Thus the choice of areas of research, research policies, theoretical concepts and methodology are fields in a male dominated social science which consider women's roles as necessarily natural and not worthy of serious intellectual inquiry.

Consequently, a great deal of information on women exists but it frequently comes from questions asked to men about their wives, daughters and sisters, rather than from the women themselves. In most cases men's information is taken as presenting the reality and thus in many cases women and their roles are vastly underestimated. What they do is considered as household work although it includes work in agricultural operations and animal husbandry. Their role in social control is considered as gossip and when institutions such as kinship and marriage are considered, they are centred on men and how men use women to consolidate power and alliance.


2) See for example the writings of Prane Fritchard, E. E. on the Women of Southern Sudan 1960, Cunliffe on the Baghara 1963, Nelson, G., on Middle Eastern women 1974 and Awad, R., on Turkish women, 1974. For further criticism of these studies see Obod, G., 1981 and Development Dialogue 1982 (Special Issue on Women.)
However, in the last two decades, as a result of pressure put by women's liberation movement, there has been wider concern for studies of women's issues in the Third World. This has been accelerated by the declaration of the United Nations of Women's Development Decade 1975 - 1985. Thus many studies were carried by Western women in academic institutions and local researchers from the Third World to challenge the male-dominated social science. The objective being to investigate whether the position of women has been subordinated to that of men everywhere. At all times questions are raised as a result of a recognition of a universal subordination of women and many studies about women and development were conducted.

These attempts have enriched the data on women and have challenged the idea of the biological determination of sexual division of labour. Moreover very useful data has been provided about division of labour, socialization of children and variants and similarities in women's conditions.(1) There has been as well a proliferation of

1) See for example Paulme, P. 1960 Women of Tropical Africa and the different publications reviewed in Al Qazzaz, A., 1977 Women in the Middle East and North Africa.
studies related to the theme 'Women and development'. This growing amount of literature on women's issues especially that which has appeared in the last ten years has been instrumental in developing our understanding of the nature and extent of women's participation in economic activities. It has also raised awareness as to the empirical and conceptual problems that are related to this subject. Critics have shown that the definitions and measurements of women's work have been problematic and thus the available statistics about participation of women in the economy is inadequate. The obscurity and low value attached to women's work have been pointed out and discussed in many studies. According to Beneria (1984) this is related to two issues, an ideological one which defines women's work as secondary and subordinate to men i.e. as women's work is unpaid it is less significant; and the narrow definition of 'what is economic' which lead to women's work being underestimated in the labour force and also their contribution to the national economy. This issue has been considered by the writings about women and development. These writings have also contributed to the explanation of the roles of women in agricultural and modern sector (e.g. Bosch, E. 1970)
They also deal with the way in which women have been affected by economic conditions in general.

Critics have shown that these attempts have not considered reality of women's situation adequately. A review of some of the major writings on these issues and the criticism to them is relevant here since important insights raised by these writings are utilised in our analysis of women's participation in labour force in Sudan.

The results of some studies about women and development maintained that women especially in the Third World have been ignored in development planning, their economic contribution has been devalued and their statuses and roles have been assessed in terms of stereotypes of domestic roles. This is because women's issues have for a long time been of little concern to researchers and planners. Moreover, development has been measured by such means as the gross national product, per capita income, the number of passengers per motor vehicles etc. and these are not related to human conditions or the quality of life of the people. This

criticism is specifically applicable to the modernization theory which assumes that progress is measured in terms of rising growth national product (G.N.P), an aggregate measure of marketable goods and services. Accordingly, this theory under-values the full participation of women in society and ignores the question of distribution. In other studies work done in the household, in the subsistence agriculture and the informal sector (which is mostly undertaken by women) is devalued. As a result they have not been considered in planning and thus have been negatively affected by development. They have suffered from displacement in agricultural activities and in the market they were not able to compete with factory made goods. Even when women have been considered in development goals the solutions suggested such as widening the definition of G.N.P, or proposing income generating projects for women have not been adequate to improve the lot of women. This is because there are many economic and social aspects both internal and

external which have to be considered. It is significant to consider that women are not a homogeneous group, but are members of different social classes and that women contributed to the internal and external markets as producers of labour power and assistants to export crop production. Moreover it is significant to consider that these roles of women are changing according to the changing historical and economic forces.

Considering these limitations some observers have emphasized the importance of the relationship of the developed and developing nation. They argued that industrially developed nations have economic control through markets and technology over the developing nations. This has led to the dependency of the internal market in the developing nations on the action of the world market. This dependency system has its effect on women. Women in many dependent countries are not integrated in the mechanized agricultural areas and they are not absorbed in the industrial sector. Therefore in many countries in the Third World the participation of women in the labour force has declined with development. Although the service sector in these countries provide more job opportunities for women, they usually take
low paid jobs since they lack the necessary qualifications.\(^1\)

Although the dependency approach is significant in eliminating the distinction between socially productive and domestic work, it has still missed a few points. For example it ignores the relationship between income and power within and outside the home, a question of crucial importance for the position of women. Moreover, it is less concerned with social and ideological factors, for example patriarchal ideology, which are very significant to the position of women in the economic system.

The problem of both theories of modernization and dependency, is that they do not give sufficient attention to the role of local groups and processes in modeling the pattern of regional and national development. The local and national forces have an important role in the process of socio-economic change and this seems to be not given adequate consideration from both theories. This may be attri-

butied to the vagueness of the term and perhaps more to its
global nature that does not deal with micro-situations.
Another point which should be considered in discussing
women's role is that of the dualist assumption of the divi-
sion of each country in the Third World into two sectors,
the so-called traditional (rural and subsistence) and
modern (urban and capitalist) sectors. This assumption has
led some researchers on women and development to argue that
women are relegated to the traditional sector and men domi-
nate the modern sector. Hence the problem of women is
simplified as the transition from the traditional to the
modern way of life and production. There are several pro-
blems with such an analysis. Firstly the association of
modern and urban does not fit because like most societies
in transition the so-called modern sector is burdened in
ambiguities. (1) Secondly the sharp dichotomy emphasized by
the dualist theory between the town and the country in the
Third World does not actually exist. While a dichotomy
implies a continuity of the quality to be measured, more
often rural/urban dichotomies are discontinuous (2) and
hence its analytical value is of no significance.

2) Fahl, E. E. 1968
Another point which shows the inadequacy of the analysis of the dualist theories is the fact that the traditional sector and its subsistence production are maintained because they are beneficial to the developing modern sector providing cheap labour, raw material and markets for industrial goods.

Recognizing the inadequacy of modernization and dependency theories and the idea of dual economy in explaining social reality of women, many researchers wrote asserting the need for a new theoretical framework to explain women's conditions in the Third World. This has significantly led to a proliferation of studies questioning existing studies of women especially in relation to development and attempting an analysis for women's conditions in a new perspective. One of these perspectives used is the historical. For example Acoli Pala (1976) asserts that the position of women in contemporary Africa is to be considered at every level of analysis as an outcome of structural and conceptual mechanisms by which African societies have continued to respond to and resist the global process of economic exploitation and cultural domination.

has been a recognition that women's position within the Third World must be considered in terms of particular context i.e. that of the national development.

The historical and socio-economic consideration is evident in the works of Al-Sadawi (1980). To her the social reality about women (and thus their employment) can best be analyzed by considering the historical development of the women's position in the socio-economic context of the society under consideration. The Al-Sadawi the oppression of women, the exploitation and special pressures to which they are exposed, are not characteristic of Arab or Middle Eastern Societies or countries of the Third World alone. They constitute an integral part of the political, economic and cultural system, preponderant in most of the world. The situation and problems of women in contemporary human society are born of development in history that made one class rule over another and men dominate women. They are the product of class and sex. It is within this context that she attempted to analyse the position of women in the Arab world.

1) Al-Sadawi, N. 1980 p. 11.
On similar lines of analysis Bavin (1976) attempted to study the position of women in China. To her there are a number of social factors which have to be considered to assess the position of women. Such factors include the way in which boys and girls are valued by their family and society, the control which women are able to exercise over their own lives and those of others and conversely the extent to which their lives are controlled by others. This, she found, necessitates a consideration of the decision making ability of women in the various roles they play in the society. These are decisions within the households on such matters as the organization of work, the allocation of income, the acquisition or sale of property, expenditure on education and the arrangement of marriages. Also important is to consider the regional, class and ethnic variations.

Related to these cultural patterns there is an economic system characterized by a sharp division of labour which has to be considered. Thus Bavin has successfully related how women's economic, domestic and reproductive roles are affected by changes in the economic and political systems.

The work of Saffordi (1973) represents both a theoretical and an empirical attempt to the condition of women
in a Third World country. Her aim is to discuss the position of women under capitalism. She recognizes that to understand the feminine mystique under capitalism in general we must be able to apprehend not only the movement of phenomenal reality and the more basic structures underlying it but also the dialectical interrelationship between these two levels of social being. To Saffioti such an approach presupposes a theory which makes it possible to understand the significance of empirical facts and the partial totalization taken on within the organic whole and to grasp the dialect of the movement behind them. Saffioti considers Marxism -- the relevant theory which helps not only in verifying some of the classical formulations particularly those of Marx but it allows the critical use of theoretical formulations derived from other conceptions of history by restating their arguments in dialectical terms. Thus, Saffioti aimed at using the Marxist dialectic as a basis for reformulating interpretations arrived at by other methodological approaches as well as those worked out within the tradition of scientific socialism.

2) Ibid pp. 5-7.
Saffioti considered that social status is acquired as a result of a process of ascription based on natural characteristics. In any status group the estates are ranked hierarchically but not in any dynamic sense that would lead to a struggle between them. The general process through which individuals, by ascription or achievement, come to occupy social and/or economic statuses or the process whereby they occupy social statuses within a stratifying society is referred to by Saffioti as social stratification. While social classes are human groupings with antagonistic position in relation to production of goods and services. The chief difference between classes lies in the fact that one produces the surplus value appropriated by the others. Thus the interclass relations are characterized by cooperation while the relations between classes is one of conflict and competition within a socio-historical context. These relations between classes are dynamic.

In this context the sexes are dealt with as social categories that have arisen on a prior basis of fundamental equality namely sex in the biological sense. "As such they are all pervasive cutting across class lines, having con-
sliding interests in the productive system." Thus Saffiotti is encouraging a dialectical relationship between sex and class as elements of an organic whole integrated and reinforcing each other.

According to this stand, Saffiotti considers that the employment of male and female labour power assumes different patterns in different socio-economic formations. Every mode of production has specific laws which govern the development of the material and non-material forces of production, including labour power. The way the socio-economic system works is essentially affected by sexual features. Thus sex is a stratificationary factor within the historical socio-economic formation and also in relation to labour power. On this line Saffiotti argued that capitalism has been able to absorb growing number of women into dominant systems of production however, that can take place up to a certain point.

1) Ibid p. 7.
2) Ibid, p. 179.
Emere and others (1982) stated that the women's economic participation in the Third World countries needs a theoretical framework that includes non-capitalist production and considers the relationship among modes of production within a given society. In order to identify the process that links the sexual division of labour in production with that in reproduction, relationship between household and wider economy is established. The particular socio-economic structure of an underdeveloped nation must be studied in the context of historical development of international capitalism, that is, the incorporation of peripheral nations into world economy. The latter determines both socio-economic structures and class grouping in the Third World countries. These in turn affect regional development within nations and help to account for historical and geographical diversity in the organization of production. Different modes of incorporation have in turn affected the relations of production, their economic and social institutions. Thus we find diverse forms of land tenure as well as varying processes of production linking household to the national economy.

1) In Anker, R. 1982, p. 98.
Saffiotti’s and Beere’s approaches are of particular importance because (1) they are approaches for studying women in Third World situations with a focus on the women’s employment (2) they are historical and holistic considering relationships of different elements structuring women’s condition in the society. In analysing the pattern of participation I agree with Saffiotti that an historical materialist analytical framework is an adequate one. This holistic approach enables us to consider different modes of production, processes of reproduction and production and their development within a national and international context as emphasised by Beere and others.

V. Theoretical Framework

Considering the assumptions implicit in the previous theoretical approaches and the bias inherent in some of the interpretation, it is evident that the positions of women can best be analysed within a theoretical framework that considers different aspects of social reality. There is a need for an analysis that makes it possible to understand the movement of the phenomenal reality, the basic structures that reinforce it and more significantly the dialectical interrelationships between these two levels of phenomenal
Thus the analysis would not only consider the different elements of the social reality but how they are inter-related as a whole. In this connection a historical analysis is necessary because it helps us to look at different empirical facts together and discuss the connection between them and access the change they undergo. Such an analysis can best be undertaken by an historical materialist approach. This necessitates the consideration of the different elements of social reality rather than choosing between the different elements subjectively.

The Marxist dialectic do not only help us to consider the classical formulations but it allows us to crucially employ theoretical formulations deriving from other concepts of history and also refuting formulations if need be when their arguments are restated in dialectical terms.

Since the analysis is carried out within a historical materialist context, we need to clearly explain some key concepts such as the forces of production, relations of

1) Saffioti, 1979 p. 6.
2) Ibid p. 7.
production, mode of production, ideological and political practices, showing their interrelatedness in one theoretical framework within the social formation.

All societies must engage in the process of material production to reproduce themselves, maintain their population and replenish their physical stocks. Material production is therefore, the common aspect of all societies. The essence of material production consists of the actions men take upon nature in their effort to humanise it. Thus it is the process of interaction between society and nature through which natural objects of little or no use in their original form are transformed into a condition where they can satisfy human needs. Production here is production for use values that is to say for satisfaction of basic human needs (food, shelter, clothing etc.).

Production is not a purely material activity. It has a social dimension. The latter arises from the fact that to satisfy their basic needs, human beings, interact, coop-

orate and become socially interdependent. Thus they do not only involve themselves in a relationship with nature, i.e. material production, but they also enter into relationship with each other. These relationships are the social relationship of production. These relations are appreciated from the way in which they affect the direct producer who is immediately responsible for the appropriation of the product from nature. They are directly expressed as to his rights with regard to his own labour, to the means of production with which he works and to what he produces and extent to which these rights have changed through time. (1) But social relations of production are only one side of the material production. To produce these necessities human beings use skills, techniques, knowledge and instruments in their labour process. These are the forces of production. The combination and articulation of relations of production and forces of production form what is known as 'mode of production.' Those are combined in different ways to distinguish different modes of production. Thus a particular mode of production exists as a specific double

(1) key, 6. 1977, p 21.
combination of relations of production and labour process, structured by the dominance of the relations of production.

However the social relations of production are not purely economic relations they contain other non-economic factors. The non-economic factors (ideological and political) reinforce the reproduction of the social relations of production and they are in turn affected by the economic relations. These relations of production may be presented in the shape of kinship relations or relations of political or religious subordination and the reproduction of the relations of production will then proceed through the reproduction of these kinship relations, of political or ideological subordination. Thus to reproduce themselves the relations of production depend on non-economic factors. The sum of historically set circumstances with which social relations of productions are reproduced is called 'social formation.'

In historical materialism, the concept of class is very significant. Relations of production are class rela-

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tions. Classes are social groups which occupy different places in the economic structure of a determinate mode of production. The place of a class is related to its relation to the means of production. Classes are antagonistic to each other because mutually one appropriates the work of the other having control over the producers, their product and their labour power and their means of subsistence. Therefore, relations between classes are characterised by exploitation. Classes have to be studied considering the specific social formation they exist in.

Having in mind this explanation of historical materialism, the occupational conditions of women are to be considered as intrinsically related to the mode of production and the non-economic factors; both of which are interconnected and are historically determined within a social formation. The historical analysis allows us to present the changing aspects of the social formation and thus the changing aspects of the positions of women. The situation of women is affected by the transformation in the mode of production and political practices which significantly reinforce the ideological practices.
In this connection ideology is taken as a practice that is relatively autonomous and has a material base. In relation to the situation of women, the patriarchal ideology exists within the kinship unit to define the relations of men and women. Accordingly men have control over women's sexuality, childbearing capacities and their labour. Thus the patriarchal ideology is reproduced within the kinship unit.

However the kinship unit is concerned with reproduction of labour power, on a generational and day-to-day basis. The two tasks of reproduction are (1) the biological reproduction which involves regulation of sexuality and socialization of children (2) day-to-day reproduction which involves numerous tasks of domestic labour such as shopping, cooking meals, washing, cleaning and caring. These two forms of reproduction involve biological, economic and ideological components which are different in the different social formations. The kinship unit and the patriarchal ideology governing male/female relationships reinforce the mode of production which is not necessarily capitalist and they in turn take their particular form from it.
Within this framework an analysis of women's participation in the labour force in the Sudan includes an analysis of different processes in the society i.e. the traditional mode of production, the penetration of capitalist system and its undermining of the pre-capitalist mode of production and the incorporation of the latter into the world economy. The analysis considers the material and non-material aspects of production (political and ideological). Thus reference is made to changes in political practices and the family life style accompanying changes in the economic systems and how the latter are reinforcing the former within the Sudanese social formation. In relation to this the following themes follow: how the pattern of women's participation in the labour force is structured by the dialectical relationships of the different socio-economic and political factors. How the labour market is structured and how is it constraining or enhancing women's participation in the labour force, with reference also to the policies followed, and the education and training provided. Then a consideration is given linking issues of class, domestic labour, marital status and fertility to women's employment. The interrelationship of these different factors and their relationship to women's role in production would identify the
process that link the sexual division of labour to production and reproduction in society. The interrelationship is seen as dialectical relationship not only in the effect of the different factors on women's pattern of participation but how the latter in turn affect these factors.

The superiority of such a framework to the different approaches reviewed shall become apparent during the presentation of the material. The framework allows for explicit presentation and discussion of the relationship between the elements considered by Marxists as basic to women's analysis. It similarly considers the patriarchal relationships emphasized by the Feminists. Unlike the Marxist/materialist approach, has attempted a synthesis of the economic and non-economic practices by considering their relationships dialectically. More significantly the framework considered here would help us to investigate both the women's work at home and in the labour market in relation to the economic, political and ideological processes of the social formation. The reality which has been previously approached by the modernization and dependency theories would be analyzed as a social formation that is transitional. The specificity of this transition lies in it
being brought about largely by the capitalist penetrations.

6. The Organization of the Tharia:

Following the introduction is chapter two which presents the historical development of the social formations in the Sudan reflecting on the development of the conditions of women in different historical periods.

Chapter three discusses historically the different factors related to the participation of women in the labour force stressing their integrative aspect. These factors are the urban labour market, labour legislations, education and training and wider social aspects.

Chapter four considers the pattern of women's participation in professional and white collar jobs in greater Khartoum. Considered here are the activities women take, the different factors influencing their involvement in the job and the aspects of their experience in the labour market.

Chapter five deals with the different aspects related to women's involvement in wage labour in Greater Khartoum.
Chapter six focuses on the wide range of self-employed activities women take in Greater Khartoum. Here the socio-economic circumstances related to their association with the job, their prospects of expansion and their continuity in the activity are considered.

Chapter seven involves a discussion of the likely consequences of employment on some aspects of women's roles. The aspects considered are contribution to family budget, fertility, housework, relationship with male workmates and attitudes to work.

The conclusion discusses the findings in relation to some comparative data. In addition suggestions for further research problems are provided.
CHAPTER TWO

Social Formations in the Sudan.

As asserted in chapter one, a full understanding of the conditions of women is directly dependent on an analysis of the socio-economic formations. Hence, a full comprehension of the development of the positions and roles of Sudanese women entails an examination of the principal stages of the historical formation of the Sudanese society.

This chapter discusses the different aspects of the Sudanese society in different historical periods, showing how the conditions of women are moulded by the structure of the society. It is argued that the circumstances in the society enforced male-dominance and thus subordinate positions of women.

The Precolonial Period:

In the pre-colonial state, people lived in villages having a subsistence economy and practicing traditional rainfall agriculture and pastoral nomadism. But with the coming of the Arab and the spread of Islam, during the fourteenth century, the development of commercial activities
and contacts with outside world the society witnessed some changes. Some forms of inequality started to develop when some groups acquired more wealth in the form of livestock, agricultural crops and social power.\(^1\) Also the flourishing of the caravan trades led to the growth of some urban centres.\(^2\)

During the Funj rule (1504 - 1821) trade flourished locally and internationally. Gold, slaves, ostrich feather, ivory, gum arabic and rhinoceros horns were exported and spices, soap, perfumes, sugar and cotton manufactures were imported.\(^3\) Also during this period land became a commodity that could be bought and sold and this affected production relations.

But although some form of inequalities developed in property relations it was not very serious compared to the disruption that took place during the Turco-Egyptian rule

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1) Hassane, Y.P., 1975, gives an account of the coming of the Arabs to the Sudan and their impact on the society at large.


as a result of the introduction of the system of money exchange, heavy taxes and laws related to the ownership of land.\(^1\) However the effect of the Turk-Egyptian policy is negligible when compared to the period of British colonisation.

The Nahdiist Movement (1832 - 1839) failed in liquidating the developing semi-feudal relations although that was one of its main objectives. On the contrary the policy of its army leaders depended on expropriating peasants and herdsmen surplus for personal gains. Thus by the end of the Nahdiist period some form of inequality was noticeable in the social structure. The Khalifa and his generals took the land left by the Turkish and Egyptian bureaucrats and lend from peasants in nearby villages who then become agricultural tax owners under their authority.

During the Turk-Egyptian rule Sudanese towns developed for administrative and commercial reasons, the former being more effective than commerce in maintaining a town.\(^2\)

the Mahdist revolution undermined both aspects related to growth of towns as the urban centres lost their significance as seats for administration and were depopulated; particularly Khartoum. The establishment of Omdurman as a capital had further limited the aspects of urban growth in Khartoum. Other urban centres like Shendi, El Khatum though survived for some time gradually deteriorated during the Mahdist rule.

At the request, Omdurman was the significant centre having a population 750,000. However with the defeat of the Mahdi, it was depopulated and Khartoum emerged as significant political capital.

In this state wage labour was not widely known. It is only in the growing towns that we find people selling their labour for cash or being paid for it in kind. Some craft specialists were paid in the form of services in return for their commodities. In most cases the services were offered as part of the system of social obligations shared by the members of the society.
During this precolonial period, the family and the tribe were the basic economic, political and social institutions. In the areas of politics most matters were decided upon by tribal and family leaders. The family in the basic production and consumption unit and most of the decision related to property distribution or owing rested in the family head. Although most of the labour force in agriculture or herding animals came from within the family (extended or nuclear) some families had the opportunity of using slaves to obtain additional labour force. This led to the development of inequalities during the period. People’s lives were mainly governed by traditions, values, obligations and beliefs. These were the major determining factors in social relations and were mostly based on Islamic traditions.

Within this socio-economic context of the precolonial period women conditions varied in the different regions. In the southern and western regions they were active and took major roles in agricultural activities, animal husbandry and trade in addition to domestic labour and some specialised activities like weaving and food processing. In the other

regions many women assisted in agricultural operations and
animal rearing but women in well-off families abstain from
agricultural activities as manual work was not highly re-
garded. However none women were involved in trading
activities and domestic services, especially in the few
urban centres which developed during this period. Consequently
women played important roles in the domestic economy. These
roles gave many women prominent positions in public social
activities particularly in the southern and western regions.
Burton showed that Nileine women, play a prominent
part in all social activities. Also al Raisi stated that
women in the west took part in all public activities except
war. Comparatively women in the other regions especially
in the few urban centres that existed were somewhat isolated
from public activities, being heavily governed by Islamic
rules. But indirectly through gossip and songs they
influenced the social context especially political activit-
is of the society.

1) Personal communication with old informants.
4) Personal Communication.
However on the overall the contribution of women to production and their control over its distribution was associated with prominent roles in the domestic spheres particularly when they grow old.

The Colonial Period:

The whole socio-economic formation had been transformed during the colonial period. Like the other countries which underwent colonial rule, the Guian economy during the colonial period was moulded by the needs of the colonial power. The traditional economy, the political and social structure were disrupted by the penetration of capitalist mode of production developed during this period.

The British policy imposed a new process to which the productive activity, the market and services were to be oriented. The colonial state aimed for an export/import activity and thus the productive resources both foreign and indigenous were drawn to service foreign trade. Extraction of raw materials was directed to produce needed supplies to the British industry.
The Gesira was chosen by the British administration for building its new productive base. Cotton was to be produced as a cash crop to be exported to England to satisfy the demands of the British textile industry. To carry out such activity, the administration introduced a new mode of organization and utilization of the productive resources. A new system of land tenure was implemented. Modern imported equipment, machinery, production were used. By 1927, 300,000 acres were brought under cultivation while in 1929 this area was extended to 526,864 acres reaching an area of one million feddan in 1936/7. The Gesira Board became the responsible administrative body. It shares the revenue with the tenants in exchange of providing them with water, fertilizers, insecticides and other services.\(^1\)

The Gesira tenants used wage labour. The magnitude of such needed labour depended on the size of the tenancy. Hence the Gesira scheme allowed for the emergence of various factions between groups within the scheme itself.

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1) See Gaitekell, A., 1959, and Burnet, E., 1977 for detailed information on the Gesira Scheme and its development.
While work was going on in the Gezira, cotton growing was developed and expanded in Eastern Sudan mainly in the Gez and Karaka Schemes. At the same time encouragement was given from the 1930's for the growing of short and medium staple cotton in the Soba mountains. Moreover, in the late 1950's and early 1960's some government schemes were established on the White Nile. In 1955 one major scheme was fully operational on the Blue Nile. (1)

The export trade during this period was particularly enhanced by the establishment of railway lines which provided transport for goods and made possible contacts with markets. Line with the construction of El Obeid line in 1942 several organised markets were established and connected to promote export of gas, Arabic and cattle. This has made a significant increase in the value of exports. (2)

The non-agricultural activities of the colonial state included mainly the importation of consumer good from England and other European countries. Imports during this period

2) Reshir, M.H., 1972, p. 87.
included cotton, sugar, timber, coal, coffee, tea, tobacco, etc. The value of import was also increasing steadily.(1)

Together with the expansion of the export/imports activities and its corollary, the growth of incomes and employment, a new group of productive activities were emerging and expanding. Thus a number of commercial and non-commercial activities had developed to service the home market and satisfy the local needs.

The non-commercial activities including the public utilities like education, health and other social services provided by the government. These activities were very limited in scope and regional spread. The educational system was to provide administrators, clerks, accountants, teachers and judges to ensure the smooth functioning of the economic system. The health services provisions were very poor and concentrated in specific areas. The number of doctors, hospitals and dressing stations were very limited and small compared to the total number of the population. Other services in addition to the infrastructure like roads and railways were mainly concentrated in areas

(1)- Ibid.
devoted to production of exported agricultural goods.

The commercial activities carried out by the private sector included building and civil engineering, inland transport, distribution services, finance and manufacturing activities. These activities were provided on a very limited scope because incomes leaked abroad to be sent on import of goods or repatriated by government employees and foreign business men.

The manufacturing activities whose products were importable were carried mainly during the Second World War when the imports of goods were discontinued. The colonial authority encouraged production of import substitute commodities. Thus a number of manufacturing establishments were set up by the private sector to produce domestic substitutes.

The two main large scale manufacturing units were the brewery and cement factories and they were owned by the British interests. While the principal field of petty manufacturing included oil presses, mineral water, factories, flour mills, engineering workshops, carpentry workshops,
tin factories, ice, sweets and soap factories. However, the manufacturing sector was small in its absolute size and its individual units of production were also small and this is apparent in the pattern of employment within the sector where only 9,000 people were working in 1953/56. Moreover most of the investors in the manufacturing sector were merchants.\(^{(1)}\) Generally, the manufacturing, trade and agriculture were run by the same interest group.\(^{(2)}\)

The colonial policy had greatly encouraged the growth of the private sector. Not only a major part of the land in the Gezira had been privately owned but by 1955 there were about 1,000 private schemes in operation covering a total of 620,000 feddans.\(^{(3)}\) The private sector was also given prominence in commercial and petty manufacturing.\(^{(4)}\)

Thus it is apparent that the major objective of the economic policy of the colonial administration was the

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1) - Hiblock, T., n.d., p. 46.
2) - Say Mahmud, F.B., 1984, pp. 55 - 57.
4) - Ibid., p. 47.
promotion of exports and enlargement of the export/import activity as a whole. To carry its objective the colonial government continued to increase the area cultivated by export crops; the capacity of the irrigation system, of the gineries, of the transport and of the distribution network. Thus the factors of production were organised in the service of foreign trade and so is the income that accrued from it.

The policy of the colonial state had had its impact on the local socio-economic formation. As a result of the introduction of cotton production the Sudan, as many colonized countries, became a supplier of low profit primary products, beneficial to the metropolitan country, and a market for its high profit manufactured goods. This export/import activity led to the Sudan's economy being dependent on the power colonizing it.

1)- The Gashia scheme was expanded by an extra 300,000 feddans reaching a total of almost one million feddans in 1950/7 and the Gash Scheme was developed such that in 1950/7 80,000 feddans were under cultivation as opposed to the average of 20,000 between 1930/30-1955/6. In 1945 mechanized farming was started in the Gadaref area mainly to produce food crops.

2)- Mustafa, A.R., 1975, p. 75.
The introduction of the Gazira Scheme in addition to creating dependency on cotton monoculture has forced thousands of Indian farmers into the system of commodity production. Tenants were forced to sell their labour power. As a result of the introduction of consumer goods for each many people, especially women were forced to wage labour to meet their needs. Moreover the self-provisioning agricultural pattern which partially provided food security was disrupted because many cultivators resorted to producing export products. Those who failed to meet their needs by producing themselves turned into wage labourers in the agricultural schemes. Thus the households outside the irrigation schemes were also affected by the massive migration. Men or sometimes whole families from rural areas and regions migrated to large scale schemes to work as wage labourers. More women whose male members of the family migrated carry the whole responsibility of the family and those who migrated with their men in most cases were themselves involved in wage labour.

The importation of manufactured goods from Britain had an adverse impact on the small traditional manufacturing activity such as shoe making, manual spinning, oil, soap
and confectionery productions. Some of these industries started to suffer from competition from imported industrial products. The importation of consumer goods did not only drastically, checked the industries that were already servicing the home market but curtailed the prospects of establishment of new industries which would be unable to stand competition from imported products.

The growth of export/import sector which led to the integration of the economy into the world capitalist market had not completely destroyed the pre-capitalist relations of production but maintained some of the elements that further its interests. The indigenous system is preserved as a source of raw material, cheap labour and as a market for imported industrial products. Thus, the situation which developed was one of co-existence and simultaneous movement of two processes with one exerting an unfavourable influence on the other.\(^1\)

A significant distorting effect of the colonial policy was the disparity between the different regions of

\(^1\) Mustafa, A.M., 1975, p. 76.
the Sudan. Greater Khartoum grew into the largest agglomeration where administrative and various services were concentrated. It was also closely linked to the base of production, the Gezira, which as a result of commercial activities, provision of services and migration became an important productive concentration. Other areas of production like the Blue Nile region, Gedarif were also subjected to direct forms of capitalist transformations while regions like Kordofan, Darfur, though linked to the export market through the merchant capital, had received less services, investment and were thus less developed than other regions of production. As to the southern region, the British were not interested in the type of potential production in the area. In addition, it might have been cheaper for the British to exploit other areas than the south, since it was expensive to link to the rest of the country.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Mahmud P.B., 1984, p. 27.
and rural areas in the level of employment, income distribution, consumption, availability of services and infrastructural facilities.

As a result of the growth of some urban centres, the provision of services in those centres and rising cost of living, people in rural areas have been pressured into urban areas. However, it was not only labour power which was siphoned from rural to urban areas but also profits were appropriated away from rural areas of some productive regions, for example Kordofan and Darfur, and invested in other areas specially Khartoum and Port Sudan where better infrastructure had been located.

The system of production and appropriation of surplus products led to the emergence of several social classes during this period. The bourgeoisie group appeared as a class during the late colonial period. In its early stages the British policy consolidated economic power in the hand of the religious and tribal leaders. They were given large areas of land and were encouraged to engage in production. The bourgeoisie class in its early formation included the foreign merchants or agents of foreign capital controlling
the commercial activity; in addition to few factory owners who were encouraged by the colonial policy to invest in industrial activities. This last group was enlarged with the expansion in the industrial sector after the Second World War which came as a result of the growth of the privately owned factories for substitute industries.

The petty-bourgeoisie included various groups. El-Tayeb 1981 suggested that the petty-bourgeoisie forms a continuation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to exhibit in varying proportions of the defining characteristics of both. (7)

The petty-bourgeoisie includes a few shop owners mostly in retail trade with limited capital and not engaged in production or wage labour. This group also includes civilians and military state functionary with negligible capital and are powerless in the control of state machinery.

The proletarian, which has no property other than its labour power, includes the peasants who as a result of the on-going penetration of capitalism into other modes of production were alienated from their lands and resorted to wage labour. They work as labourers with the state owned cultivated land and with wealthy tenants. These are set different from the migrant labourers who had no access to land and sell their labour to earn their subsistence while the surplus goes to the state and wealthy tenants. Included in this group also those wage labourers in the railways and road construction related to large production schemes. They are employed by the state.

In this group there are also few industrial wage labourers employed in the small number of state and privately owned factories. Only after the Second World War has this industrial sector expanded and the number of labourers increased. Similarly the number of workers in the service sector has increased.

1) This has been discussed in details in Ahmed, A.G.M. 1990 and Al Sayegh, G. 1981.
The working class included not only Sudanese but Egyptian and other non-Sudanese recruited by the colonial administration to meet the labour needs of an expanding colonial and plantation economy.

Politically, the colonial administration policy was not successful due to its inability to understand the Sudanese society and thus to formulate policies acceptable to the latter. Although the government had tried through help of religious men, and tribal leaders to gain the confidence of people, rebellion broke out.

There were several rebellions by tribes in the western and southern parts of the country during this period and the government had to use force to suppress them. Some of these rebellions were led by those who were left of the Mahdist leaders, others were led by traditional religious leaders as for example in the case of the Omer.

1) Lobban, E. 1932 p. 23.
4) Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1940.
The use of force by the colonial government led to the pacification of the population in the countryside. The government followed this up with passing a number of ordinances in an attempt to introduce indirect rule through Nasiris, Omdas and Sheikhs. While this was relatively easy to attempt in northern and central Sudan it was very difficult among the Nilotic tribes of the south since their traditional political institutions do not seem to be compatible with fixed offices or posts.

The end of the First World War witnessed the emergence of Sudanese nationalism and formalism of political associations and organizations. This led to the revolution of 1924 which had a defined goal, namely the unity of the Sudan with Egypt. The advanced thoughts for nationalist movements continued to develop until 1935 when the Graduate Congress was established. The structure of the Graduate Congress reflected the different political trends and wishes of the graduates.

The classes which had emerged during the colonial rule had played a decisive role in the political scene. The bourgeoisie group including religious leaders, notables, traders, leading native administrators, and top civil servants were opposing the anti-colonial movement. They condemned the White Flag League in the 1920s. However, during the Second World War when the anti-colonial movement was very active the bourgeoisie parties came into being and consisted of most of the categories mentioned above.

The 1940s has also witnessed the emergence of the Sudanese working classes in the political scene. Thus the Workers Affairs Association composed of railway workers and Peasants and Farmers Association were formed. In 1949 the Sudanese Communist Party was also formed. Women also started to organize themselves during this period.

Class formation not only affected power relations at the national level but had significantly created inequalities at the household level and especially within the extended families. Although no specific study in relation
to those aspects during the colonial period had been carried out. Broadly speaking, the wage labour had changed the division of labour within the family (as will be shown later).

The urbanization process during the colonial period was relatively slow because the policy was supporting stabilization of peasant community and low intensification of capital in the economy. But the promotion of the market economy forced many people to exchange labour power for cash needed for taxes and subsistence. As job opportunities in rural areas became limited, many farmers migrated to urban areas to seek employment. Although the development of export import trade was based in rural areas, the commercial bourgeoisie was attracted to urban centres especially Khartoum. This is because all the government department e.g. foreign trade, exchange, licences and customs needed for conducting export/import services are concentrated in urban centres mainly Khartoum and Port Sudan. Thus the upper groups of commercial bourgeoisie became concentrated mainly in the capital to carry these activities.
Conditions of women in the Colonial Period:

The capitalist system established by the British administration had had differential impact on men and women and among females of different classes. The British administrators addressed their demands and their technical innovations to men. The latter dominated the land, and capital and opportunities for education and training. Accordingly the agricultural, industrial and commercial activities and administrative sector were exclusively taken by males, Indians and foreigners.

The inequalities developed during this period resulted in displacement of many women from production. This was not only because they were given no tenancies or training but because in large production schemes farms were far away from villages which made it difficult for women to coordinate farm work with their domestic work. In addition, migrant labourers were brought to the schemes and women were as a result excluded especially that their males were reluctant to let them mix with the labourers of fields. This is mostly the case among well-off families. Other women, forced by need, took part in family labour and the majority worked as wage labour. This was because they
needed cash as their families became increasingly dependent on products they did not produce themselves or which had become new necessaries. Thus "the self-perpetuating process of transforming colonized people into producers and consumers of commodities served the colonial powers' need for both raw materials and market". (1)

In urban areas women were completely excluded from productions. With the excuse of preserving traditions the British administrators made no plans to incorporate women in towns' activities. Instead they favoured men's access to cash, the economic dependency of women and thus the consolidation of patriarchal ideology. Accordingly until the 1920's the women's occupational alternatives were tailoring, petty trading and domestic services. Even when education was introduced the institutions remained for a long time limited in scope and spread. In addition work legislations were put to curtail participation of women in the labour force. (2)

2) This will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.
Hence until the beginning 1940’s women were mainly involved in teaching and nursing as a form of employment offered by the government. The education and participation of women in the labour force might indicate a changing attitude to the role of women. This change might be among middle class families whose men are also educated. But on a wider scale the indicators of persistence of male dominance ideology were more clearer. (This is discussed elaborately in chapter three).

Despite that, as a result of deteriorating economic situation and with the impetus of nationalist movement, women started to organize themselves in the late 1940’s. The first women’s organization was the League of Indonesian Women formed in 1945 by educated women clearly affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party. The League opened a nursery and organized lectures to discuss women’s problems. But the League was faced with great opposition from men and women who considered female’s role as primarily at home. It was supported by many educated people. Unfortunately, the League was unable to increase its membership for the discriminatory colonial educational policy and persistence of stereotypic perception about women who engage in public
In 1948, in line with the cleavage between the political parties, members of the League were divided and hence the League terminated its activities. Some of the members of the League joined the Women's Improvement Association set up by the women from the Mahdist family and their followers in 1947. The latter association did not continue long because its membership was small and the interests of its middle-class leaders were different from the need of the majority of most women who could join it.

The attempts of women for organized activity continued. In 1943 a group of primary school teachers, approached the colonial authorities for permission to organize a trade union but the authorities refused on the ground that such an activity was not accepted socially. On the insistence of the teachers, the union was founded in 1943 aiming to work for the improvement of working conditions of teachers and the increase of the educational facilities for women in general. Despite pressure from the colonial authorities, the Union continued its activities to the post
independence period. Further the participation of nurses in the Nurses Union had served to secure better working conditions.\(^1\)

The intensification of the nationalist movement activities in the 1950's and the deteriorating socio-economic conditions raised the awareness of some women as to the necessity of an organized activity. Some women's associations like Women's Development Associations and the Association for Improvement of Females Conditions also appeared in the early 1950's, but their activities soon stopped\(^2\). The Women's Union was founded in 1952. The Union is formed of a central committee of 15 members and has 20 branches in different regions of Sudan\(^3\). It started with 500 members in Omdurman and these increased latter to 1,200. Although the union had some activities among women particularly in the field of education as it established several schools.

\(^1\)- Ibid., p. 27.
\(^2\)- Ibrahim, F.A., 1962, pp. 54 - 55.
\(^3\)- Ibid., p. 42.
It was not able to widen its base or spread its activity as the traditional attitude condemning women's public activity was still persistent. In addition there were many organizational problems.\(^1\)

**The Post-Independence Period (1956 – 1969):**

After the political independence in 1956 there were no significant changes in the political or economic sphere. The nature of the state did not change. The power passed to the hands of the national bourgeoisie who gained wealth and power during the colonial phase. As well, the same system of economic production and appropriation was prevalent.

Thus the economy preserved its dual aspect, dependence on export of primary products and import of consumer goods. The import/export trade continued to be controlled by foreign firms mainly the British ones. The same low level of industrialization and class structure was also characteristic of this post-independence period. In addition the ruling class

after the evacuation of the colonial masters was built upon traditional alliances cemented by religious sectarian ties and by dominant mercantile interests. Also the limitation in opportunities for wage labour in the rural areas forced many Sudanese farmers and workers to seek employment in urban areas.\(^1\)

A great increase was planned in the amount of irrigated land in the Gezira Scheme. The development of the new extension known as the Damagil extension was opened in 1957 and was to be completed in 1961-62.

The first major extension of the railway system for over a quarter of a century was set by branching line from the existing Kordofan line reaching westwards to Nyala in Darfur Province and to Wau in Bahr El Ghazal Province.

During this period the industrial investment rose from £854,000 in 1956 to £82.7 million in 1959. The number of industrial establishments had risen from 40 in

1)  Lobban, R., 1982, p. 75.
Some Sudanese were able to invest in petty manufacturing in oil pressing, carpentry workshops, soap, sweets, textile and tobacco factories and in petty trading and real estate business.

The private sector share in all industrial investment was 98 per cent between 1955/60. Meanwhile the economic situation was deteriorating. There was a failure in disposing off cotton in 1957 when the world demand was declining and prices were falling. Furthermore 1955 cotton crop was poor.

In the political sphere the various competing political parties representing different economic interests had severely disagreed amongst themselves bringing about political instability that had characterized the Sudanese political scene immediately after independence. The result was that in 1958 the Umma party handed over the state power to a military Junta headed by General Abboud.

The Junta made use of foreign loans to encourage investment in agricultural, commercial and industrial projects. Loans were negotiated from different international
institutions and were invested in projects that were either too costly to be financed by the private sector or not profitable to it. These loans were used in programmes such as Al Managil extension, Rosaries and Khawan el Girba dams and in communication services.

The state policy was to encourage private investment and a number of banks were established. The Central Bank was established to facilitate credit and organise financial matters. The agricultural and industrial banks established in 1959 and 1963 respectively were to assist in financing of agricultural and industrial schemes. Then a budget deficit of three millions pounds was forecasted for 1959(1)

As a result of this there was shortage in foreign currency and basic imports were restricted. Subsequently basic consumer goods became scarce.

In 1961 the first comprehensive plan of economic and social development for the period 1961/62 to 1970/71 was approved. Although the Ten Year Plan was discontinued after

1964, its targets were taken as guidelines for development planning. This plan has played a significant role in promotion of industrial activities and 576.3 million were allocated to manufacturing industry. A substantial sum was also allocated for various infrastructural services needed for the growth of industry. The plan emphasized the role of the private sector. The government was to undertake activities which were essential to the economy of the country but which the private sector was unwilling to do because they were not directly profitable to it.

During this period the state investment in agricultural production increased, generally the area under mechanized farming had been extended. The cotton production was expanded to include Nansen and Nuba mountain areas. But the state was mainly producing for export except for sugar cane production which was for local consumption. Moreover the mechanized farming was dominated by the private capital. Over 65 per cent of the mechanized farming area was owned by private capitalists. Both the government and private investment depended on foreign loans as a source of finance.
Moreover, this period has witnessed a significant increase in the industrial establishment. Of all the industries established between 1947 and 1965, 62 percent was established during this period (1958-1964). The contribution of industry to G.D.P. increased from 4.5 percent in 1955/56 to 7.4 in 1965/66 and the industrial workers increased from 12,257 to 21,980 during the same period.

The livestock trade which was regulated formally in 1956, continued to increase. While the export of livestock was 102,400 heads of sheep and goats in 1955/56, in 1969/70 it reached 239,705 so it had more than doubled in this period, while the average of cattle export was 18,026 head annually in the same period. However, the producers get very small share of the export price because the exporters buy from producers through middlemen and small traders.

This period has also witnessed significant expansion

2) Ibid., pp. 125 - 127.
in the non-commercial activities i.e. public services. There were major changes in the field of education. Large numbers of schools were established especially at the early stages of education. High technical and vocational institutes were opened. The number of students in elementary and intermediate schools rose from few hundreds to almost two millions.\(^1\)

Means of communications also witnessed some expansion. Roads and bridges were constructed. But the health services remained poor and limited as inherited from the colonial period.

Generally the deteriorating economic situation had not allowed for expansion in social services. So it remained limited and poor in quality.

The military Junta of 1958 tried to make some economic improvement by stabilizing prices, distributing

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\(^1\) This expansion in education had been particularly favourable to females, as will be discussed in chapter three. There has been substantial increase in educational institutions at all level and thus in access of females to education.
land and planning housing projects. However its repressive policies which included exclusion of political parties, banning of strikes, demonstrations and trade unions and censoring of press around massive opposition against it. The deteriorating security in the south and the Nile Water agreement with the Egyptian government culminated into a bloody confrontation between the general public and the regime. The situation was worsened by the general civil strike and the refusal of the junior military officers to fire on demonstrating groups. Thus in 1964 the military regime was brought down by what is known as the October Popular Revolution.

During these years the poor sector of the society namely the agricultural workers in irrigated or rainfed schemes, the traditional agriculturalists and the nomads could no longer obtain the consumer goods they need at reasonable prices. This led to further deterioration in their economic position while those owning schemes or working in the field of commerce started to accumulate more wealth. Stratification within the society became more apparent and the process of class formation started to take shape. One significant change was in the composition of the commercial
bourgeoisie. "Formerly in the hands of small town and country traders, it was now in the hands of contractors and agents, wholesale distributors and co-directors of foreign financed firms, all created by the need for Sudanese middle men on sites being erected by foreign states and firms".  

The period 1964 - 69 witnessed the resurrection of the traditional political parties (Al Umma Party, National Union Party and People's Democratic Party) and the emergence of the Sudanese Communist Party and the Muslim Brotherhood as strong political pressure groups.

In 1966 general elections took place and the first parliamentary government after the overthrow of Junta was established. But the conflicts and differences within and between the parties had caused the deterioration of the political situation. The southern problem(2) worsened conditions further since the government had to spend most of its revenue in maintaining the fighting forces, in the


2) The southern problems started in 1955 with the murder of the southern Sudanese as an expression of their opposition to the new government. There was widespread disorder in the southern provinces and hundreds of people were killed. For details see Ashour H.O. 1967, and 1974 Dang, F.K. 1979.
south and supplying the southern civilians around its ports with their subsistence needs. In addition to this, all the economic policies which were followed specially the strategies stated in the ten years plan had weakened the economic performance of the country and led to further instability. These policies had given the upper hand in development to the private sector in agricultural areas, and hence allowed for the appropriation of customary owned land by villagers or used by nomadic people. This process forced some of these inhabitants of the land to change into agricultural workers on a land that they traditionally used to own or migrate to urban areas selling their labour force in order to obtain means of subsistence. Even for those who managed to stay on what had been left of the land, any possible surplus they generate mainly ended up with the new class of private entrepreneurs through their agents the middlemen who made their presence felt in all strategic points within the country.

The increasing rate of migration to urban areas and the instability of the industrial sector to absorb it resulted in a high rate of unemployment. Foreign reserves were declining as there were low revenues from export, increasing public foreign debt (doubled in 1984-89 reaching $250 million) and
thus leading to a deficit in the balance of payments and inflation. The indirect taxation on basic commodities brought in over $153 million in 1966-69 in contrast to only $22 million in taxation of income. All these factors weakened the government and promoted the free officers organization to intervene in 1969. However, unlike their military predecesors of the Abbud period, the Free Officers headed by Colonel Ja'afar al Numeiri regarded themselves as revolutionaries and anti-sectarianists whose aim was to realise the ideas set by the October 1964 Revolution.\(^1\)

In this period the rate of urbanization has increased to 25.0 per cent, according to World Bank Report 1981. This may be related to the growing intensity of rural decompositio and proletarianization. This process is also related to the capitalist intensification under neo-colonial structures.

Women in the Post-independence period:

The socio-economic transformation that occurred during this post-independence period had generated important changes

\(^1\)- For details see Burmeister, G. 1976.
in the position of women. As a result of economic pressures and migration many women were forced to seek wage labour mainly in rural areas. For example in the Gesira scheme in 1958/59 women constituted 37.4 percent of cotton pickers and during the sixties this increased above 40 percent. But the number of female tenants in the scheme had not exceeded 10.5 percent until the beginnings of the 1970's.

This period has witnessed significant increases in women's education which enabled many women to participate in the labour force and in activities originally dominated by men. The rising cost of living and the changing attitude of people to female roles had contributed to that.

In the public sphere the women's union enlarged its base mainly from the increasing number of employed women, and it continued its activities until the seizure of power by the junta in 1958 when all public organizations were banned.

1) This will further be elaborated in the following chapter.
But in the early 1960's the government established the Sudan Women's Popular Association. In the election for the leadership the Union element won eight seats out of ten, the rest taken by two women representing the regime's interests. But the association did not continue long because the activities of the central committee were banned once again by the government.

However, the Union continued informally and undercover. As a result it was able to take an active role together with other unions and organizations in overthrowing the regime in October 1964.

With the formation of the multi-party system the Union resumed its activities and succeeded in ensuring the full right to vote, the right to nomination and the right of membership in the political parties. The Union then gave its members free choice to join the political parties. Some women were nominated for the national elections in 1965 and the first woman member of Parliament had been elected in Sudan history. (1)

(1) This was Fatma Ahmad Ibrahim who was the leader of the Women's Union at that time.
Then the women formed the Committee for the Defence of Women's Rights which continued to struggle until women gained the right for equal pay, first for nurses and then teachers.

It has to be noted that the activities of the Union and other Committees were greatly dominated by urban middle class educated women. More specifically the union suffered from disorganization which separated the leaders from the base. There was also lack of communication of the branches of the Union in the different areas. (2) Despite that the Union continued its activities until the advent of the military regime in 1967.

However the transformation in women's conditions should not be overemphasized as the discrepancy in education persisted and female job opportunities remained restricted. (2) In addition the public participation was not widespread. This is because of the deteriorating economic situation political instability and the prevalence of male oriented

2) This will elaborated in Chapter 3.
Ideology during this period.


The military regime formed a Revolutionary Council as the governing body. The members of Sudanese Communist Party were prominent in this council as well as the Council of Ministers it appointed, although ideologically the communist party regarded the coup as petty bourgeois. But it was believed that with the communist guidance, the coup might be led along the true path of revolution and practically the communists knew that the regime needed their support to overcome its main enemies, the traditional parties.

Consequently the regime dissolved all political parties and declared a programme in 1969 in line with demand of the left. Socialism was announced as an important goal for the country to achieve. This aroused the opposition of the bourgeois parties who organised a series of attempted coup d'etat.

1) Ibid., p. 721.
But soon friction between the regime and the Sudanese Communist Party leadership developed. The party disagreed to some non-democratic activities of the regime, in addition to tension aroused by substantial differences regarding both internal and external policies. As a result the left-wing members were ousted from the Revolutionary Council, mass organizations and appointed leaders replaced them.

The main changes introduced in the socio-political arena by the government was the installation of a presidential form of government and a one party system and the involvement of the government in production. The aims of the newly established party, the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) are the formulation of a general policy in the political and economic fields, the development of public sector and the enhancement of popular participation. To achieve these goals the SSU has been structured on a hierarchical basis with the leaders of the party at the top assisted in the formulation of policies by the executive Bureau and the Party’s Central Committee. Units at different levels are

1) Ibid., p. 124.
also forced to ensure participation of all people in decision making.

In 1971 the People's Local Act was passed aiming at decentralization of government and decision-making processes. Accordingly the central government is left to deal with general matters related to foreign affairs, national defence and justice. But the other functions included services in the agriculture and the livestock sectors, education below university level, health and community development and other services are to be dealt with by provinces with assistance by the central government.

Planning started in the 1970's. A five year development plan 1971/75 to 1974/75 was put into effect with the objectives of diversifying production, increasing revenues from exports and encouraging industrialization and import substitution. The plan was recasted and extended to 1976-77. During this period the government development expenditure rose and investment was devoted mainly to infrastructure and large scale capital intensive schemes. But the plan showed no concern for development of poor parts of the country and it stimulated private investment.
The current six year plan 1977/78-1982/83 has some major objectives of improving the economic system by modernizing the agricultural sector to increase export. It also aims at reducing imports by improving the substitute industries. But the implementation of the plan was disrupted by domestic and external difficulties thus it has been suspended in favour of more short term plans.

During this period the industrial sector witnessed some expansion. As a result of the substantial investments both by the government and foreign investors, private investment accounted for over half of the total investment in manufacturing industries in 1977/78. The public investment was declining by the end of this period. The bulk of industrial activities occurred in food stuff, textile and leather manufacturing which rely upon imported goods and agricultural sector inputs for raw materials. At present the manufacturing production represent 6 per cent of the total G.D.P. and employ 6 per cent of the work force and producing mainly for domestic consumption. The industrial goods contribute only 6 per cent to the export value. The manufacturing activity is increasingly centered in the
Khartoum. About 60 per cent of the large scale and 30 per cent of the small scale firms are located there.

In agriculture the economy has continued its dependency on very limited range of agricultural crops for its foreign earnings. These are mainly cotton, sesame, groundnuts, sun arabic and lesser scale wheat. Although rice was introduced, its production was stopped in 1981. Thus the country continued to be supplier of raw materials thus preserving its peripheral position in the international market.

The livestock trade has been increasing tremendously since the 1980's. In 1976 it became the fourth export item contributing a share of 7.7 per cent of the total export. In 1982 it became the third export item and its value has increased by 75 per cent between 1981 and 1982. (2)

The markets for the exports are diverse. The U.S., Japan and

1) Small scale firms are establishments of less than 25 employees and large scale firms are with 25 and more employees.

Japan are also important markets, Kuwait Arabia has recently been an important market especially for livestock, and dunes. While annual export to the socialist countries has been in the average of 21.7 per cent of the total value of export over the period 1969-1977, it has substantially declined in the period 1978-1982.

The peripheral position of the Sudan in the international market is also reflected in the structure and pattern of imports. Main imports are consumer goods and agricultural inputs, mainly fertilizers, pesticides and machinery. Its value is 23 per cent of the total expenditure. However, in the last few years the inflated prices of oil and petroleum has increased its share of the value of imports. While in 1977 it accounted for about 42 per cent of the total value of import, it increased to 52 per cent in 1982.

The U.S.A., USA and Japan are main suppliers of Sudanese imports providing aggregate imports of about 56 per cent of

1) Ibid., p. 789.
2) Ibid., p. 785.
total value of imports. The socialist countries has also
a high share in imports. (1)

Consequently the Sudan continued to be a supplier of
low profit primary goods and a market for high profit manu-
factured goods for the developed countries.

The unequal exchange characterizing the dependency of
the economy has resulted in a deteriorating foreign trade
in this period. Although the value of exports has been
rising in the last decade, in 1977 it was more than double
that in 1970, there was a deficit in the balance of payment.
This is because the value of imports had more than tripled
in the same period. The same deficit is characteristic of
the period 1978/82.

The deficit has been mainly attributed to the decrease
in cotton export because in the last few years the output
has remained constant or increased by a small percentage.

(1) Ibid. p. 187.
The extensive increase in the government expenditure especially on security also contributes to the deficit. During the five years between 1974/75 and 1979/80 the central government expenditure increased at a rate of 22 percent in current terms and 5.4 percent in constant terms.\(^1\) The manufacturing sector has also been negatively affected by inflationary prices and dependency on foreign trade. Thus its contribution to the G.D.P. has been constant at about 6 percent from 1975/79 and 1979/80 and the industrial sector has been stagnant during the last five years.\(^2\) According to a survey by the World Bank in 1981, over two thirds of the factories surveyed operated only half their capacity. This can be attributed to demand problems in some cases (e.g. textiles and canned foods) and sometimes to lack of fuel, electricity shortages and cuts, unavailability of imported raw materials and spare parts and shortage of foreign exchange. These affect production, investment and employment.\(^3\)

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The incorporation of the Sudanese economy in the world capitalist system is further enhanced by the foreign loans. There has been increasing dependency on foreign loans to meet the deficit in the balance of payment gap(1) and to finance development projects. This has been recently further accelerated by encouraging investment of foreign capital. This situation results in transfer of value from the country into other parts of the capitalist system through high interest rates. The foreign loans also give the lending countries the hand to guide the domestic economic policies and thus control the economy of the country and exhaust its own revenues. The recent devaluation of the Sudanese pound is an example of such external pressure.

The non-commercial activities have undergone some expansion which have been limited to service benefit of the capitalist system. The funds allocated for such services are meagre.

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1) Sudan's external debt has now reached about five thousand millions $S_\text{S}$, Dollar. 2.46 thousand millions been of contracted in the four years between 1973-1977. In 1973 Sudan total debt to 5.5 millions and in 1978 to 300 millions. Falling behind its repayment since 1978 Sudan has compelled to ask creditors to reschedule their claims (1981).
Foreign loans have been used to improve the transport and communication systems which are essential for the growth of the private sector.\(^1\)

The educational facilities have been expanded at the lower levels and remained limited at the higher levels.\(^2\) Thus every year hundreds of students discontinue their education being not accepted in government schools and higher institutes and unable to afford private educational facilities.\(^3\) The latter are also limited in scope and concentrated in Khartoum. Moreover, there is great regional disparity as concerning educational facilities. Thus the illiteracy rate continued to be high.

The health services are also poor. The number of doctors and medical facilities are limited. There is only one doctor for every 18,000 persons. There is one bed in hospital for every 1,085 persons in 1973 as indicated by the following table.

1)- Mahmod, F.H., 1984, p. 63 - 64.

2)- Opportunities for technical education increased by 79% in 1973-74, and the overall educational opportunities has increased by 7% over the same period.

3)- Between 1970-72 only an average of 3.9 percent falls in the High Secondary School certificate. Only a small percent of those successful find chances for high education.
Furthermore the hospitals are concentrated in urban areas. The four major hospitals, the specialised hospitals, private hospitals and clinics of notable specialists are all located in Khartoum. There are nine private hospitals.

Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor Population Ratio</td>
<td>1:51,000</td>
<td>1:62,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Hospitals</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Doctors</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>2,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bed Population Ratio</td>
<td>1:1,068</td>
<td>1:1,085</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of beds</td>
<td>9,606</td>
<td>15,391</td>
<td>17,086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:

The consequence of the government policy and the deteriorating economic situation has been an increased disparity between the different regions especially the North and South and between rural and urban areas. The expanding industrial and commercial activities and service sector in Khartoum have further increased the exodus of labour force from other
regions and rural areas to Khartoum. But as the industrialization has been stagnant in the last few years, high rates of unemployment are prevalent.

An important aspect of Sudanese urbanization in this period is the increasing class differentiation. The noticeable expansion in upper class housing and urban points to growing socio-economic distinctions.

Presently the petty bourgeoisie can be considered to be constituted of three levels. According to Ahmed (1980), the high level functionaries include army general, ministers, doctors of government departments and governor’s of province. The middle level functionaries include doctors, engineers, lawyers, employed by the state. The low level functionaries constitute the low paid administrations, white collar employees who are a majority of this group. The difference between the upper, middle and lower levels are in the amount of capital and power they have. In the petty bourgeoisie continuum, the upper and middle level functionaries are set apart from the proletariat by their role in the maintenance of the social formation (which gives them access to more capital), their life style, aspirations and ideology. While the lower level functionaries who are more related to the proletariat have virtually no access to capital or low level of capital thus they depend mainly on their labour. In the course of the development of sanitation some of the higher elements of petty-bourgeoisie would expand their means of
production and eventually be elevated to the level of the bourgeoisie.

However, a significant feature of the urbanization process is the prevalence of different origins and cultures of people in the urban areas. The members of the various groups adhere to their respective cultural systems. Thus an important aspect of the urban life in Sudan is the persistence and maintenance and continuous reproduction of rural and tribal sets of values, attitudes and institutions. Many groups still retain their tribal loyalties, ethnic identification, close social and kinship networks and exclusive voluntary associations. Thus the modern capitalist social and economic formation in the urban milieu is co-existing with traditional pre-capitalist system of values and socio-political institutions.

Moreover, the changing economic situation has had its impact on the social aspects of the society. Changes in the family pattern are developing. The economic pressure is forcing changes in attitudes and power relationships in the society and the household. These changes have different impact among the various social groups. A tendency towards

2) Al Arifi, S. 1977, p. 139.
the establishment of nuclear families in urban areas is growing rapidly and the system of the extended families is giving way to individualistic attitudes.

Women in the current period:

The development of the various processes and structures of the social formation in the current period has resulted in slightly improved educational conditions for women, moderate participation rate in labour force in rural and urban areas and more responsibilities within and outside the home. But such improvement has been limited by the capitalist relations of production and the aims and benefits of the dominant groups. Accordingly, full participation of women has not been attained. The male-dominance ideology is changing very slowly and is still constraining women's roles.

As in many parts of Africa, the migration from one area to another in Sudan has been predominantly of males, until recently. This might have been because the incentives have been specifically directed to men and because Sudanese women have been strongly discouraged from movement and are expected to stay behind and tend the family plots and care.

1) The percentage of female cotton pickers has risen to 50 per cent in 1974/75 and in 1987/88. The migration of men from rural areas has further increased percentage of female benefits in the survey from 15.25 per cent in 1968/69 to 72.23 in 1980/81. Outside the large scheme more women are left in rural areas to shoulder the whole responsibility of the family. But now middle class women are confined to the home. (See El Sagar, G.H: 1962).
for the children. In addition the living conditions have not been particularly favourable to families of migrants. This until recently women do not come with their husbands to urban centres but there are some widows, divorced and unattached women who have accompanied their relatives. This may justify higher proportion of females above 50 years over males in the same category as ILO Report 1976.

However, recent surveys have shown that increasing numbers of women are migrating to urban areas. It has been stated that while in 1956 the sex differential ratio was 170 males per 100 females, in 1966 it was 220 males per 100 females. According to ILO Report 1976 while 60.4 percent of in migrants are males, 39.6 percent are females. (1)

Other aspects of urban growth are also contributing to increasing migration of women. As larger number of schools especially private schools and higher education institutions are concentrated in Khartoum, women have been forced to move in order to get access to them. Furthermore the urban economy offers better possibilities of employment as well as opportunities for upward mobility in Khartoum than other regions, thus an increasing number of females are coming to Khartoum. Of the number of migrant in our survey 23.84 percent have come originally to join a school or health & educational institutions. But some women may be migrating in search of

better economic opportunities just as the men do. There has been an increase in the number of unmarried female migrants. This is related to poor economic opportunities in the rural areas when compared to the urban areas.

Also the expansion of women's education in recent years is responsible for the increase over time in the number of women migrating for economic reasons. The proportion of female migrants who come to seek employment is rising significantly among the better educated. This is specifically the case because educational contents are not made relevant to the needs of the rural areas and thus women move to Khartoum to find better jobs that suit their qualifications. My sample showed that 34.2 per cent of migrant women are involved in activities that need a minimum qualifications of high secondary level.

However the tremendous increase in education and employment of women has not enhanced the participation of women in public institutions.

During the first year of the regime, the government with the support of the progressive elements in the society, put forward as one of its specific aims the improvement of the life of people specifically the under privileged group such as women and youth by increasing their participation in decision making in issues related to their interests. This different popular organizations were formed and women
were given rights of 25 per cent of all local councils membership. But by 1970 the regime developed conservative tendencies and the women’s union was dissolved on the pretext that it is in conformity with the culture and traditions of the society.

Then the Sudanese Women’s Union was reformed under the auspices of the Sudanese Socialist Union. It has a similar structure to the Sudanese Socialist Union and other popular associations, consisting of units at the smallest level of the neighbourhood and all the way to the national level through indirect representation. The women’s units are controlled by committees each with a membership of 15. The functions of the units are to be concerned with women problems like holding talks to raise the consciousness of women and discuss other subjects related to health, sanitation and the family. In 1975 women had several seats in the National Assembly. Also several congresses were held by Union discussing its activities and achievements. But it has been apparent that the Union has not been successful in both the political and social activities. One of its major tasks remained unaccomplished as 52 per cent of the units which are to be created and functioning never existed and 70 per cent of the units were intact. In addition its leadership has remained concentrated in the few members who

1) For details about performance of Sudanese Women Union see Sudan Alman January 1981 special issue about women.
originally were members of the banned Women's Union. Generally there seems to be lack of enthusiasm and apathy among the women to the membership of the Union. Only 5 per cent of my sample (699 working women) are members of the Union. Also Al Bakri's (1981) has shown that only 16% of her sample were members of the present union whereas 78.7 said that they used to belong to the now banned Women's Union.

With the exception of few women's cooperatives and Zaker Bakri Scientific Association which are exclusively female associations. Women's involvement in public activities is weak and superficial. In many institutions women representation does not reach the 25 per cent given to them by law. Moreover women members mostly do not take active part in public institutions activities since they are being hindered by their domestic and other social responsibilities or some times they are excluded from activities by male members of these same institutions. These reasons were given by many of my informants when this issue was discussed with them. Actually those who are participating in public institutions are very few as they are simultaneously members of several institution. Some time the female member of of a local council is also a member in the Sudan Women's Union Unit in her neighbourhood, a member of trade Union (if she is employed) and mostly a member of the cooperative in her area. This has been the case of five of my informants in the case studies. But there is more trend to combine membership of at least two institutions. Al Bakri
(1957) found that many women councillors are simultaneously members or even head of their Women's Units. This is because actually there are few women ready for public activities but more strongly because certain groups in the society dominate these social activities.
CHAPTER THREE

Factors Contributing to the Participation of Women in the Labour Force.

Considering the theoretical framework and the development of Sudanese social formations discussed previously, the different socio-economic factors directly related to the extra-domestic work of women are to be considered in this chapter.

The factors considered are the urban labour market, education and training, labour legislations and wider social setting. These are discussed historically assessing their relation to participation of women in the labour force.

Women in the Urban Labour Market:

The aim of this section is to discuss the aspects of the labour market particularly related to women. Although information in this connection is scanty yet a historical perspective would be attempted according to the data available.
The urban labour market has developed during the colonial period with its incorporation into the world capitalist market. The rough introduction of cash cropping, wage labour, sale of land, taxation etc. and hence more the incorporation of other traditional modes of production into the capitalist mode of production contributed significantly to the current structure of the urban labour market.

The production of cash crops and the organization of export/import trade necessitated the introduction of an administrative system that has changed the aspects of the labour market. In addition to the existing commercial and agricultural labour, wage labour including manual and non-manual workers both skilled and unskilled was growing. These aspects of the labour market have led to a conceptual distinctions between what is called 'formal' and 'informal' sectors or 'organized' and 'unorganized sectors or 'modern and traditional' sectors(1). In the literature about the Sudanese urban market the distinctions between the sectors has been stressed in some studies but others have realized the difficulty of operating the sectors and attempts an

(1) See for example (Bradley, R. and Garry, 1976).
alternative explanation in a dynamic perspective.\(^1\) Here reference is made to 'formal' and 'informal' sectors for analytical purposes but it is realised that the two sectors are interlinked and a dichotomy between them cannot be clearly defined.

During the colonial period the number of classified staff (which excluded skilled and unskilled manual workers) increased from 935 in 1901 to 12,427 in 1956.\(^2\) However, the number of women in the labour force during this period was small as their education was lagging behind that of men and social attitudes were unfavourable to their employment. In addition, the policy of the colonial administration was neglecting women. Thus only in the 1920's that women entered the government employment as teachers, midwives and nurses and later as medical doctors. According to the Medical Council 87 midwives, 47 nurses, 6 sisters, 25 visiting nurses and two doctors.\(^3\) In addition to a number of

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2)-Meshir, M.O., 1977, p. 20.

teachers mainly in the elementary and intermediate levels. Thus in the government sector women were in specific professional activities. Many informants assert absence of women from unskilled wage labour during that time not only because of social attitudes to work but because there were very limited opportunities for which men were competing and most of these opportunities are in the range of activities considered not suitable to women like driving, construction work etc. Thus the only option for illiterate women seeking work at that time was petty trading and domestic activities. But there is no information as to their number.

In the post-independence period the expansions in the government activities and the growth of the industrial sector discussed in chapter two, contributed to a rapid increase in the government employment especially in the civil service. Accordingly there was tremendous increase in the number of the classified staff. In the period 1965/64 and 1968/69 the employment in the civil service increased by more than one one third from 25,042 to 39,769\(^{(4)}\) But the rate of participation of women in the labour force during this period is rather

difficult to be exactly stated because of the wide variations caused by the different interpretations of the labour force concept.\(^1\) According to the 1956 Census the participation rate for females over 11 years was 9.4 percent. The 1964/65 population and housing survey pointed to a crude participation rate of 3.5 percent for women in the urban centers of the northern areas. Further the 1967/68 household survey estimated the overall participation rate for women in the northern areas as 9.6 percent. But for women in Khartoum the estimated rate of participation according to the 1965/66 census was 6 percent.

However the increase in the rate of female participation after 1956 is evident in the number of girls' schools which opened during this period and which employed many women. Also the expansion in the administrative sector was associated with increasing recruitment of women in secretarial and typing activities. In addition during this period women entered the service as unskilled wage workers mainly in the service occupations as cleaners in hospitals and schools.\(^2\) and few in manufacturing activities in the


2) Information taken from informants.
factorised. According to the Department of Labour Statistics, the number of women in some government departments was 3,723, 62.4 percent of whom are teachers, 8.5 percent in the health service and the rest in other professional and white collar jobs and in service work. Also of the total number of teachers during this period 25.8 percent females of those in health service only 9.9 percent were women. Despite that these percentages of women in the different job are low yet there is a substantial increase in the rate of participation compared to the few women in the labour force before 1956.

In the current period the increase in education and expansion in some sectors have increased employment further. According to 1973 census the rate of female participation in urban Khartoum increased to 9.9 percent. As table 2 and 3 indicates higher percentages of women are participating in specific activities. They constituted 12.9 percent of clerical and related workers in the public and private

1) - In a survey in a perfume factory since its construction until 1970, Fadri, N.K. 1975 showed that 3 entered work in 1968, 25 during the 1969, and 15 in 1970 making a total of 43.
sector (excluding government ministries and departments). In the financing, insurance, real estate, and business sources the female rate of participation was 12.6. But such figures do not represent the actual number of women in the labour force because the definition of economic activity used in statistical data is very narrow and not all economic sectors are covered.

Statistics also showed that the number of women in 21 government departments in 1976/77 was 42,180(1) 64.3 percent of them in Ministry of Education and only 8.9 percent of them with high qualification in professional and administrative jobs. In addition 15.0 percent of them are in white collar jobs and the rest (5.9) percent are unskilled workers with lower educational qualifications.

Recently the number of women in the labour force has increased further by establishment of banks, companies and expansions in service sector. But the change of private

Table 2.

Employees by major groups of occupations (excluding Government Ministries and departments), 1978.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Groups of Occupations</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% F/T.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Technical and related workers.</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Managerial workers.</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and related workers</td>
<td>7,997</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>8,145</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers.</td>
<td>1,366</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers.</td>
<td>6,091</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6,139</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production and related workers.</td>
<td>45,989</td>
<td>5,584</td>
<td>49,573</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers not classified by occupation.</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>63,447</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,676</strong></td>
<td><strong>68,123</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>44,759</td>
<td>3,422</td>
<td>45,181</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,594</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas and water</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels</td>
<td>10,885</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>11,628</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage and communications</td>
<td>4,365</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>4,477</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing insurance, real estate and business services</td>
<td>2,065</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>2,367</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community, social and personal services</td>
<td>2,489</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:**

| Total | 64,340 | 9,876 | 69,234 | 7.0 |

Source: See table 2.
industry policy in the late 1970's towards more recruitment of women in its labour force has contributed to a substantial increase in the number of employed women. Their number increased from a few hundreds in the late 1960's to 4000 in 1981 according to the Department of Labour statistics. But still the percentage of women in labour force is very low. For example in 1979 they constitute only 14.9 per cent of the labour force in the private sector establishments; 20.4 per cent of them in manual activities and 13.6 per cent in clerical jobs.

From the foregoing account it is apparent that women are mainly concentrated in the government sector as compared to the private sector and self-employed activities. This can be related to the high tendency of educated workers to get employed in the government encouraged by the government policy specifically in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The conditions of women do not differ greatly between the formal public and private sector as they are all covered by labour legislations and the wage structure is not that

(1) Sudan - Department of Labour 1981.
as different as will be discussed in the coming section.
But in both sectors there is wide differentiation between skilled and unskilled workers; and women in both sectors are concentrated in lower paid jobs.

The labour market in the formal sector is more competitive at the lower end because there is a larger supply of labour over demand. This is due to the high rate of migration to urban areas and slow growth of organized employment in it. The high competition contributes to lower percentages of women in the labour force as their low education and training compared to men reduce their chances.

The so-called informal sector is the resort of illiterate poor women. Thus their condition compared to women in other sectors and men in general is very marginal. Women in this sector are mainly engaged in petty-trading and domestic services. The migration and expansion in urban areas has contributed to the increase in the number of women in this sector. According to some informants, until the beginning of the 1960s, women in the market were mainly men's hats, dried herbs, perfumery and household equipment.

Recently there has been proliferation of women selling foods
particularly traditional bread in the market and in the living quarters. The demand for foods has increased as a result of increasing commercial activity in the market. In addition the changing life style of upper class women and participation of some women in the labour force increased demand for traditional bread and hence open job opportunities for women in this sector. This is evident in their congregation in the markets and activities in the living quarters.⁷ Despite that petty trading activity of women has not been expanding as their work facilities are limited by their poverty and the general capitalistic growth.

Women do not indulge in many of the activities available in the 'informal' sector. In Khartoum women do not work as builders, painters, plumbers, taxi drivers, contractors etc. as such activities are not socially approved for them. Hence they neither find training nor they attempt them.

⁷ This is elaborated in chapter six.
As mentioned before the two sectors are closely linked. The rising cost of living and low wages and, for some, aspirations for better living conditions made subsidiary occupations important for many wage earners. Thus some women are simultaneously working in the two broad sectors. In addition many women are moving between two sectors looking for better earnings. Many migrant women come to work temporarily in factories and return in the agricultural sessions to their rural areas. Some women discontinue work in factories or government ministries to take a self-employed activity. This may be for their domestic responsibilities or expectation for better earnings in the latter activity.

Generally the labour market sectors are both affected by the international labour market which absorbs Sudanese labour mainly those migrating to oil producing countries. In addition both sectors are affected by internal migration from rural labour groups including traditional peasants, agricultural labourers, non-agricultural, rural workers and nomadic pastoralists. Those also seek refuge in urban areas after their failure to compete with big merchants and farmers.
The previously mentioned factors and the general economic policy resulted in growing shortages of skilled labour, particularly in activities traditionally associated with men. As 90 percent of emigrants are males, women chances for skilled labour should be wider. But this is curtailed by their education and training. Their job opportunities increased in activities that need no training mostly white collar jobs while they have been unable to benefit from chances of manual skilled labour as they lack the training for it and socially they are considered not suitable for them.

Although the markets for unskilled labour are assumed to have labour surplus, new activities are opening up for women. For the declining real wages, males are increased deserting low paid jobs and women are replacing them. But still their numbers remained limited and their activities more associated with their domestic and familial responsibilities. Hence women continued to suffer from unemployment and limited job opportunities.

Wage Structure:

This structure emerged during the first decades of the
colonial administration within the employing units and it did not conform to the market conditions. Under the 'block grant system' adopted in 1937 there was no direct central coordination of wage rates or scales. The whole structure was rendered fluid by the absence of an accepted system of classification for jobs. Within this system unskilled workers were paid for less than skilled ones and women were paid four fifths the men's salaries.

The 'group system' of wage structure created by the Wakefield Commission in 1931 was concerned with increases in prices in the long run and the relevance of wages to needs of families by considering a cost of living allowance (Cola) in addition to a basic salary. Despite that it introduced many practical problems in its implementation as differentiations between categories of workers and men and women were prevalent.

1) For details see Fawzi, S. A. 1959 pp. 130 - 147.
In 1968 the recommendation of the Cadre Commission for a policy of equal pay irrespective of region and sex was, at least in principle, adopted by the government. This commission had not introduced significant changes in the 'group system' as the formula of 'basic wage plus cola' was retained though here the cola was no longer related to any price index. (1)

Despite such considerations since the 1930's all categories of workers actually experienced decreases in their real incomes. Between 1958 and 1954 it decreased by 30 per cent and between 1961 and 1970 it decreased by 24 per cent. (2)

Although employment of women increased considerably they were predominant in low pay grades as indicated by the following table. Their number decreases in higher pay grades.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Jobs</th>
<th>Pay Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>880/1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>556/1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>556/844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>710/820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>320/544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>635/710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>544/615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>441/592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>424/544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>420/544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>340/448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>552</td>
<td>340/448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>280/448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>260/448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>220/320</td>
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<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>186/280</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>174/28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>150/320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>150/280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1725</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Department Files.
In 1978 the wage reform introduced a new group system comprising 18 groups covering all types and grades of government employment. This pay structure is similarly characterized by large differentials between manual workers, clerical employees, administrative and professional staff. The latter two groups have additional fringe benefits like milage allowances and housing allowances. Generally even the highest paid government employees have experienced a sharp decline in their real income as a result of inflation during the last decade. The minimum wage for 1979 was £ 28 and this is irrelevant to increases in the price index which has been tremendous in the period 1980-1984.

In the private enterprises the wage is not that much different as envisaged by Gough's survey 1963. While in the government the minimum wage totaled £3. 40 per month (£3. 28 + £0. 12 for transport), most factories in the Greater Manchester area pay unskilled labour around £3. 45 per month as a starting wage. (1) The wage in the private sector may

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1) Ibid., the ILO report found that the establishments employing less than 20 workers generally failed to pay the minimum wage. Thus if the law of minimum wage is enforced it will benefit half of the workers employed in establishments employing 1-29 workers.
surpass that of the public sector by the various attendance bonuses which may amount some-times to one month's wage per year and by a variety of fringe benefits such as free or nearly free lunches, pension schemes at especially low rates, free transport or transport allowances, free medical care or at least medical insurance, etc. But these benefits are given under such restricted conditions (2) that the difference in wage from the government sector becomes negligible.

However the conditions of the highly qualified manpower differ in private enterprises. Being few, specifically those having technical training, have reached high salary levels not attained in the civil service. This resulted in a small drain of the professional manpower from government to the private enterprises and thus the latter continues to exert some pressure on salaries at the top of the wage and salary structure. Here women are at a disadvantage as those who are highly qualified and can compete

1) In some establishment the eligibility to the bonus is based on attendance. For example in the Sudanese Textile Industry the bonus is given if there is a full attendance and performance. 6% of it is cut in case of one day absence or two days late coming to work or in case of being charged a fine once or is being stopped from work.
for jobs in private enterprises are few and even when the
demand for specific jobs is associated socially with women
like secretarial work, supply in the last few years falls
far short of demand.

Although some of the women entering the self-employed
activity have been able to secure moderate incomes, that
were far less than those of males in similar activities.

In the light of the foregoing discussion and owing to
women's educational qualifications and shorter service
periods compared to men they are more likely to predominante
in lower pay grades. This is confirmed by Gosh's survey
1982 which shows fairly consistent differentials between the
pay received by men and women in similar occupations. Table
5 indicates differentials between the sexes for selected
occupations. In all cases, except that of secretaries/typist, female workers receive lower remuneration than male
workers in terms of mean and mode payments as indicated in
table 5(1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Annual</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th>Hourly</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Max.</td>
<td>Min.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Maxim</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>2,709</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>1.17</td>
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<td>1,366</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.30</td>
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<td>Teacher</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>2,095</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.36</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,664</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.51</td>
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<td>720</td>
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<td>720</td>
<td>0.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
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<td>850</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.30</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>360</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
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<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
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<td>Retail</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>906</td>
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<td>3,600</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,590</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.26</td>
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<td>Production Worker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>4,234</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment: The unemployment rate for Khartoum has been estimated in the range between 3 and 5 per cent. However this low figure is not acceptable as an increasing number of persons are registered as seeking jobs particularly in the last two years and a decreasing percentage of them have been placed. According to the Economist survey 1992/93 the ratio of placement to registration for unskilled labour in 1981/82 has decreased by 3.7 percent compared to previous years and for skilled labour the decrease has been 9.7 per cent for the same period. The conditions are worse for women as the ratio of their placement to registration has remained lower than that for men. This is evident in Table 6. Only in 1975 and 1976 that higher percentage of women with intermediate qualifications were placed but then that dropped vigorously in subsequent years. The high percentage of placement of female skilled workers is related to the demand for women in specific jobs. But this should not be over emphasized because those who actually registered are very few. The percentage of those unemployed is in reality higher as women usually do not register in the labour office especially those seeking employment in the informal sector.
It may be necessary for them to search longer - for such reasons as lack of knowledge as to alternatives or preferences to specific jobs or as it may be to wait for appropriate opportunities to open up. The 1967/68 Population and Household survey, for instance, showed disproportionately high unemployment rates among urban females (over four times the comparable rate for males) and among those without prior work experience (over three times the comparable rate for those previously employed and over 20 times the rate for females never employed as compared with females employed before).

The same consideration must be given to registrants and the employment exchanges. The labour office is responsible for employment exchanges since by law employers have to recruit or advertise their requirement through the employment office and all persons seeking jobs, or hired have to regularise that through labour office. But the facilities of the labour offices are poor therefore are less likely to carry their functions efficiently. Thus, the information to assist workers and employers is obtained through informal channels. The relatives and friends play a significant role in guiding the job search behaviour especially of migrants.
Unemployment is also related to the rewards of waiting. The organization of the labour market may be such as to provide suitable jobs only after a substantial lag and to inhibit participation in the meantime. This case is particularly relevant to the highly educated professional workers who wait in line for some of the best jobs in the government rather than get employed in private firms.

Recent data about Sudan shows that those entering government employment had to wait longer compared with shorter periods in agriculture, transport and industry. Registration and waiting periods for work were longer for graduates below 30 who were social science majors, lawyers, etc., than for graduates in medicine, engineering and other related scientific fields. But generally the employment in the government is taking longer than before three years for the deteriorating economic situations. However, the expansion in the private sector as a result of the establishment of a number of banks and companies has not helped much in solving the unemployment problem since recruitment is done from those already in service. Hence experience is

made an important requirement.

Trade Unions:

An important factor which may have an important bearing on whether work opportunities for women are fully exploited and expanded is the attitude of trade unions to women's employment. Thus it is essential to consider the extent of female membership in trade unions. This and the role of women as office holders. In addition it is significant to consider the contributions of trade unions activities to promoting fuller opportunities for women in the field of employment. Both these questions are related to participation of women in unions at both local and national levels and the likely impact they have on policies of unions as to improving opportunities of women. (1)

Historically trade unions in Sudan were characterized by negligible female membership and activities. In addition trade unions had done very little to reduce the tendency toward increasing job segregation by sex or the continuity of women's concentration in low paid jobs.

---

During the colonial period with trade union impetus, female teachers established a separate trade union and the demands and aims were considering an improved working conditions for female teachers and the educational facilities for women. The success of the Union with Women’s Union in post independence period to change some legislations constraining women’s employment was a significant factor in promoting further the employment of women. It contributed to increasing number of teachers at that time and it ensured the continuity of married women in the job.

Similarly the involvement of nurses during the colonial period might be associated with favourable impact on women’s employment as revealed by its demand for equal pay, limitation of working hours, opportunities for promotion to higher jobs and Sudanization of the nursing profession.

The impact of activity of both unions was apparent as these jobs were given priority for equal pay. However generally the trade union achievements had not gone beyond recognising the legislations specified for women.
Currently the substantial increase in the number of women in the labour force has not been accompanied by great increase in the female membership or participation in trade unions. In my sample only 18.4 per cent have admitted their membership in trade unions. 66 per cent of them are teachers and nurses. This prominence of teachers' and nurses in participation can be related to their long experience in trade union activities. But on the overall the participation of women in trade unions is very low as representation in most cases has not exceeded 2 per cent. In addition of those participating in the sample only 3.3 per cent are general secretaries of trade unions, 4.3 per cent are financial secretaries while none is chairing a trade union. The rest are members who participate in trade union activities only when it is held during working hours. The shying away of working women from trade union activities can be related to several factors major among them is the persistence of many ideologies specifying women's roles and their domestic responsibilities.

The consequence of low participation of women in trade unions in the neglect of the union to women's problems, which is currently prevalent except for some concern from
increasing job opportunities for women or reducing sex discrimination.

Women's low participation in trade union can be related to their under achievement in employment. The socio-economic factors which contribute to low participation in the labour force may also be influencing here.

This section about labour markets has indicated that their development influenced the participation of women in the labour force. The expansion in certain sectors in labour markets has been associated with increased participation. But the demand for jobs is continuously falling short of supply of women in the labour market, which is influenced by other socio-economic factors. Also predominance of women in low paid jobs in certain sectors of the
economy is related to different socio-economic aspects. These issues shall become more apparent in the following sections.

Education and Employment of Women

Education is theoretically considered to be directly linked with the occupational structure. It is also significant as a means to a successful economic career. As the demands in the labour market are mostly preferring educational qualifications, the latter contribute majorly to participation of women in labour force. The higher the qualifications can be acquired, the better socially-valued job that, and thus the higher the remuneration. But such relationship is not direct as other factors may intervene. Not all qualified people find jobs relevant to their educational qualifications as job opportunities are mainly determined by the economic system. The latter in turn structures the educational system and thus the number of qualified persons in the labour market. How does education influence participation of women in the labour force in Sudan can best be discussed by considering the development of women's education in Sudan stressing its impact on women's role in social production.
In the precolonial period there was only religious education for women. The religious leaders used to teach their daughters the Quran and Islamic traditions. This kind of education was not only limited in spread and scope but also limited in its aims. Women were taught traditions which enhanced their submission and subordination to men. Thus the aim was to confirm women's inferiority through religious education.

When the colonial administration came to Sudan they had no plans for education of women and even the education provided for males was limited in its aims and scope. As in many parts of Africa and the Middle East, the educational system established by the colonizing powers was geared towards the production of bureaucrats for the administrative service of the colonial power. Thus its aim was to create an elite group that might facilitate the process of exploitation rather than general development for the indigenous population. The objective of education were laid down to help the smooth functioning of the capital economy and to

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7) Wad Reifalla, M.N. 1974, Beshir, M.O. 1973. According to these writers women were prominent religious teachers to both men and women. Many notable men had been graduated from Kishwak where women taught, for an example, Fatima Jaber.
distract the educated from revolt by giving them employment.

The British were not only disinterested in women's education but they were reluctant to its initiation. Thus they did not support Babiker Bedri, a Sudanese educationist, who in his own initiative wanted to open a school for girls. Thus by his private efforts he opened an elementary school for girls in Muraz[1] in 1911 starting with 50 pupils.

Then and as a result of the insistence of the Sudanese the British administration was forced to start formal education for women. Thus in 1920 the first director of girls education was appointed in the Sudan and the first teacher training institute was opened in April 1921. Until that time there were only five elementary schools for girls in addition to few missionary schools with different educational levels. The first intermediate school was opened as late as 1938 and the first secondary school was opened in

1) Muraz is a small town east of the Blue Nile 130 Kilometers south east of Khartoum.
Thus the progress of women's education was very gradual during this period. Randerson (1961) attributed the slow progress in girls' education to people's reluctance to change or improve women's situations and to the British administration's policy of preserving traditions and religion. However, other explanations related to the desire of the colonial administration in avoiding economic and political costs and consequences are more plausible.

The reluctance of the colonial administration to development of women's education gave the missionary schools the dominant role in education of women. The high fees to be paid in these schools limited education to the upper and middle classes, mainly, daughters of foreigners and for Sudanese, merchants, government officials, clerks and professional men. Consequently, the job opportunities made available by the government mainly in teaching were dominated by women of these classes. (1)

1) For details see Beshir, N.G. 1970.
However the private education also developed during this period encouraged and supported by the Graduate Congress 1938. The several private schools established have also contributed to women's education. This and the several elementary schools established reflect the changing attitude of people towards education of women.

Generally education of women during the colonial period was not planned to promote their participation in labour force. This is because the facilities available do not provide places for all students to reach that higher level of education which would qualify them to compete for the limited jobs available at that time. After the general examination at the final stage of each level a large number of students were rejected. However these school leavers did not have any training allowing their incorporation into the workforce. Even the establishment of high secondary school did not promote employment of women noticeably at the beginning. This is because, as in the other levels, the content and programme of the education in this school included substantial amount of homemaking, needle work and home-economics and these were not relevant to the qualifications needed in the labour market except for teaching. Thus
only when natural sciences and mathematics were introduced, that some females found chances in the Faculty of Medicine and they graduated as doctors, a job highly respected at that time. Few graduated from Faculty of Arts. However the limitation of the colonial educational policy was not only reflected in the limited number of females educated and qualified for a job, but, also in its separation from the social and economic needs of the society as it had not been planned as an instrument of ideological struggle to change traditional ideas and remove prejudices against women’s education and employment.

In the post-independence period 1956-1968 although the economic and political policy of the colonial period persisted, attempts had been made to revolutionise the educational system. The inherited system and institutions of education were among the first fields to be questioned by the nationalist leaders who were themselves the product of the colonial educational system.

Despite the political instability that was prevalent in the post-independence period and the limited interests of the capitalist system in improving conditions of people,
some significant expansion had taken place in education especially in the 1960's. The policy of the military regime (1959-64) in the late 1950's was characterized by great expansion in education at the lower levels. While the governments that came after were interested also in expanding facilities of high education.

The result was an increase in the educational institutions and the number of girls in schools at different levels. Thus, at the elementary level the number of girls in the period 1958/68 had more than doubled, at the intermediate level their number were more than tripled as indicated in tables 7 and 8. While at the secondary level their number in 1968 was almost fifteen times their number in 1959 (see table 9). Simultaneously some progress in the higher educational level occurred as a result of establishment of several universities and colleges some of which specialized for women like High Nursing College and Alhad College for Women.

These changes in the educational facilities have had its effect on employment of women. There was a noticeable increase in the number of teachers and those in health
service and women in the market. In the former two cases the number has almost doubled.¹ Some women joined the civil service as typists and secretaries and they were mainly in Khartoum. Generally the effect of increase in educational facilities is rather minor regarding the number of females in labour force and variation of jobs. This is the case because the discriminatory aspects and limitation of educational policy adopted from the colonial time is still persistent. Thus the concentration of educational facilities in certain areas restricts chances of many females from continuing their education and thus their chances for qualification for a job in the labour markets. Many of the respondents who received their schooling during the 1950's and 1960's had to travel to other regions or areas to continue their education. Thus education of females during this time had its social and economic costs which many people could not afford. Even in Khartoum where schools of three levels of education were available many people could not afford the privately sponsored education, the only alternative available was the limited government

¹ See data in Medical Council Reports and Files of Department of Labour.
facilities. Many informants were not able to continue their education for financial reasons, and many of those who continued and received high qualifications for a job were from middle class families.

But the limited female access to education is not the only explanation for low participation of females in labour force but other aspects of education are contributing. One such factor is the irrelevance of educational structure and curriculae in schools to the needs of the national and regional economy. Generally the failure of the socio-economic policies to promote a new ideology and thus a new perception of the sexes to themselves and their roles contribute to exclusion of women from extra domestic activities.

In the current period starting in 1969, the educational revolution advocated by the military government necessitated some reassessments and redirection. The result was considerable expansion in schools, and the number of females at the different levels.
At the primary level the number of girls has more than tripled between 1969/70 and 1980/81 as indicated in table 7. Also at the intermediate level the number of females in 1980/81 is about six times the number of girls in 1969/70 as shown in table 8. A similar increase has also occurred at the high secondary level in the same period (see table 9). Concurrently the percentage of the girls to boys in schools at the different levels has also increased. For example at the primary level in Khartoum it increased from 68.5 per cent in 1969/70 to 87.2 per cent in 1980/81 and in the Southern provinces it increased from the average of 2 to 28.6 in the same period.

Similarly the higher education for females has been expanding during this period. The number of high institutions has increased and so is the number of girls enrolled. The number of females in the University of Khartoum in 1977/78 was almost double their number in the same university in 1972/73 and so is the case in Cairo University Khartoum Branch. In the same period women were also enrolled in some

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1) For detail see Appendix.
newly established institutes such as the Xray Institute.

The result of the expansion was the proliferation of thousands of women with different levels of education (elementary, junior and higher secondary) in the 'formal sector' as indicated by Table 10. Although no special training is given in schools but an intermediate education will qualify a woman for a job in the service and manufacturing sector. Thirty percent of the respondents in the study sample who worked as typists or clerks at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's had only finished intermediate level. But since the mid 1970's the minimum qualifications required for an administrative job such as a typist, a clerk and an accountant has been a high secondary level education. The increase in the number of secondary graduates since the post decade has resulted in increase in the number of females, in the administrative sector. Here the education contribution is significant, and for typing no training is needed for acquiring a job. Table 10 as well as Standing and Shehan's findings in 1974 show higher

Table 71:
Number of boys and girls registered at the elementary level and the percentage of girls to boys in the period 1955/60 and 1960/61.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic years</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Percentage of girls to boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59/60</td>
<td>240,886</td>
<td>69,549</td>
<td>33.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/61</td>
<td>223,040</td>
<td>82,758</td>
<td>36.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61/62</td>
<td>242,922</td>
<td>91,956</td>
<td>39.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/63</td>
<td>260,192</td>
<td>108,609</td>
<td>41.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63/64</td>
<td>278,527</td>
<td>126,731</td>
<td>45.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/65</td>
<td>271,145</td>
<td>145,863</td>
<td>54.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/66</td>
<td>297,557</td>
<td>147,845</td>
<td>49.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/67</td>
<td>308,783</td>
<td>150,662</td>
<td>48.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67/68</td>
<td>457,373</td>
<td>171,400</td>
<td>37.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/69</td>
<td>581,439</td>
<td>283,615</td>
<td>48.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/70</td>
<td>600,520</td>
<td>283,615</td>
<td>47.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/71</td>
<td>604,932</td>
<td>445,739</td>
<td>73.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/72</td>
<td>808,858</td>
<td>483,835</td>
<td>60.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72/73</td>
<td>779,816</td>
<td>528,012</td>
<td>67.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/74</td>
<td>842,250</td>
<td>569,853</td>
<td>67.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74/75</td>
<td>849,875</td>
<td>567,263</td>
<td>67.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Reports of the Educational Statistics Department - Ministry of Education.
Table 8:

Number of boys and girls at the intermediate level (academic schools) and percentage of girls to boys in the period 1959/60 and 1980/81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Number of boys</th>
<th>Number of girls</th>
<th>Percentage of girls to boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959/60</td>
<td>18,794</td>
<td>3,427</td>
<td>18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960/61</td>
<td>19,351</td>
<td>3,947</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961/62</td>
<td>19,994</td>
<td>4,219</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962/63</td>
<td>21,052</td>
<td>4,693</td>
<td>22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963/64</td>
<td>22,957</td>
<td>5,805</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964/65</td>
<td>25,896</td>
<td>6,904</td>
<td>29 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>23,506</td>
<td>7,264</td>
<td>31 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966/67</td>
<td>27,722</td>
<td>8,633</td>
<td>31 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/68</td>
<td>29,354</td>
<td>9,237</td>
<td>31 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>34,132</td>
<td>10,558</td>
<td>31 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>41,864</td>
<td>15,488</td>
<td>37 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>101,907</td>
<td>42,480</td>
<td>40 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>116,059</td>
<td>52,629</td>
<td>45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/73</td>
<td>134,670</td>
<td>66,610</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>131,346</td>
<td>71,284</td>
<td>54 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>150,127</td>
<td>92,638</td>
<td>62 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Number of boys</th>
<th>Number of girls</th>
<th>Percentage of boys to girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959/60</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>14 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960/61</td>
<td>5,403</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961/62</td>
<td>6,634</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962/63</td>
<td>6,837</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963/64</td>
<td>8,984</td>
<td>1,908</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964/65</td>
<td>13,097</td>
<td>2,484</td>
<td>19 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>13,857</td>
<td>2,774</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966/67</td>
<td>15,664</td>
<td>3,255</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/68</td>
<td>17,335</td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>18,525</td>
<td>3,763</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>17,057</td>
<td>4,642</td>
<td>27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>33,087</td>
<td>10,855</td>
<td>33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>37,239</td>
<td>44,975</td>
<td>40 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/73</td>
<td>43,137</td>
<td>18,919</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>54,655</td>
<td>20,829</td>
<td>38 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>56,636</td>
<td>26,774</td>
<td>55 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ibid.
participation of women with high secondary than lower levels of education. This is not because higher levels of education weaken the constraints of the traditional culture as explained by Standing and Shochen. Rather as asserted by the findings of this study it is a result of the limited chances of higher education and the demand in the labour market. This in addition to the rising cost of living which forces many females to seek jobs after finishing their high secondary level and seek higher studies while working, if possible.

In addition the policy of the government to guarantee jobs to university graduates, until the mid 70's, has contributed to the increase of females in the labour force. This also shows a major contribution of education as an increasing number of women have been qualified by the expanding higher education institutions.

However, the influence of education on participation of women is favourable only quantitatively as the number of women involved in the labour force is increasing. But qualitatively its contribution is limited. As the discrepancy between male/female access to education is still prevalent.
and the educational facilities for higher qualifications are further limited, many women whose socio-economic conditions forces them to take extra-domestic work are not qualified for skilled jobs. Thus the majority of working women are grouped in the non-skilled labour sector. As table 10 shows that in 1973 in urban areas the number of females in the pedagogical, technical and related activities which need lower qualifications (less than completion of higher secondary level) is larger than in those activities that need higher qualifications. The findings of the survey confirm that in industries few women are working as secretaries and clerks with secondary school qualifications while the majority are working in manual activities, such as packing and sewing that need no education. This is further supported by the Labour Departmental Survey of private establishments in 1980.

Furthermore, considering that in the labour market, the educational qualifications are very important for wage remuneration, a limited number of women at the higher levels of education causes women to group at the lowest pay grades. Because of limited educational facilities and development of skills, women are concentrated in the service activities,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers of less than 15 years</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>5678</td>
<td>18022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers of 15 to 24 years</td>
<td>2345</td>
<td>3456</td>
<td>5801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3579</td>
<td>9134</td>
<td>12713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: General Population Census, 1973 (Table 1).
mainly, catering, nursing, teaching in the public sector and in the manufacturing activities which include packing, weaving and sewing in the private sector. These activities are at the lowest pay grades.

Hence, the educational system has contributed to the participation of women in the labour force. Nevertheless, its influence has remained intrinsically linked to economic and social structure and has remained limited by the capitalistic nature of the economy. Thus the system reproduced the gender disparities that exist within the society in the labour force.

Opportunities for Job Training for Women:

The technical and vocational training has been given little attention from the successive governments of the Sudan. This is because the general perception to the primary roles of women has not significantly changed. For a long time the main favourable extra-domestic activities for women have been teaching and paramedicals. Consequently until recently, women were excluded from training for many technical activities. Until now women are excluded from
agricultural institutes and training for mechanics and electrical activities as these are persistently associated with men. Accordingly the institutions dealing with these latter activities provide no chances for women and women themselves do not attempt such training.

During the colonial period 1900 - 1955 there were three institutes for training female teachers. Those in the paramedicals were given few months training before starting their jobs. The Adult Education and Women Extension Programme started during this period in rural areas, its activities were concentrated on home economics. No training was given to women in agricultural activities as women's roles in agricultural production had never been considered officially.

After independence, although the economic policy of the government has not changed, the educational and training systems witnessed some expansion.

However the expansion in education had been above the capacities of the existing teachers training institutes. Thus the Ministry of Education was forced
to depend on untrained teachers to meet expansion in its intake. The number of trained teachers has further been decreased by the large number of those who are sent yearly by the Ministry of Education to satisfy the demand by Arab Countries.

Adult Education and Women Extension are two joint programmes which aim at improving conditions of women by giving literacy classes and training in home craft, home economics, nutrition and childcare. But as most of the other services, these training programmes were mainly found in the Gezira and Khartoum and they suffer from administrative and financial problems. (1)

This period also witnessed the establishment of the High Nursing College in 1960's which aims at graduating qualified nurses. There were very few students at the beginning of its establishment because of the stereotypes and attitudes widely held by society related to the nursing jobs. Still until now the women's enrolled in the College

do not satisfy the demand for qualified nurses. In 1973
there were 64 women in the college and this increased to
74 in 1974 and to 93 in 1978. The college which is a
government institution is receiving limited finance and
thus has a limited capacity due to the fact that the economic
situation in the country is hindering the expansion in many
fields.

The polytechnic Institute was also established during
this period. The women in this Institute were not only
small in number but concentrated in specific specialization.
They were mainly in the secretariat section.

However since the beginning of the 1970's several high
training institutes were established such as Institute of
Textile/Weaving Technicians, Institute of Mechanical Engineer-
ing Technicians and others. But these institutes have a
limited capacities. As for women they either constitute a
very small percentage of the students e.g. in the Institute
of the Textile and Weaving Technicians, they constituted
only 4.7 percent or they were completely excluded from other
institutes like Higher Institute of Surveying and the
Institute of Mechanical Engineering Technicians.
One of the main sources for semi-skilled manpower established in the late 1970's were the Youth Training Centres which are spread in different urban centres. These centres offer one-year vocational courses for young people, who discontinued school or who are illiterate, in carpentry, leather work, plumbing, fisheries, metalwork, electricity and handicrafts. Not all courses are organized in all of the centres. However, there are separate courses for women. Girls and young women are to be trained in sewing, home economics and various handicrafts.

The problems with each training centre are that the number of girls enrolled are very small and in several cases the centres are placed in areas not accessible to many people. They are placed in areas inhabited by upper-class families who attend training for personal reasons rather than for working towards gaining income. The potential to earn an income from sewing and some homecraft is limited by the need for obtaining the equipment or raw materials. Generally the Youth Training Centres are constrained by funding, manpower and the policies of the various parties and agencies contributing to the project.
Aba Halima Training Centre, was established in rural Khartoum to improve the life of the people in several villages. When the centre started its activities in 1975 it was limited to the vocational training of women. The activities of the centre included sewing, handicrafts, home economics, carpet making, machinery knitting and educational classes. (1)

Although the number registered at the beginning was large, the number of dropouts was substantial. Thirty nine out of one hundred and twenty students dropped out in 1975 and in 1976 the drop-out were 53. They dropped out for social reasons, and for the long distance they had to travel to and from the centre.

In 1979 most of the students (78.13 percent,) were from low income families. Hence their involvement in the centre activities was motivated by their interests in getting a qualification for a job. In the survey of the Department of Social Welfare in 1979, 20 percent of students

From poor families expressed their interests in producing at home and selling their products while the rest will be looking for any production work in the market mainly in factories. The problem is the relevance of such training to the qualifications needed in the market. For example with the exception of sewing, the other activities are not directly relevant to the work in factories. Moreover this training is not officially recognized and thus has no relevance to work pay structure. This study shows that women in the weaving and spinning activities whether educated or uneducated, trained or not are given the same starting salaries and the same benefits.

However the centre suffers from administrative and financial problems and lack of qualified trainers.

The Goba Welfare Centre is situated south east of Khartoum. It is a productive centre for training young women in income-generating activities. Its broad objective is to raise the productivity rate and improve chances of women in the labour market.
In 1975 the centre started its activities with 91 students out of 400 applicants. Literacy classes are compulsory for all illiterate women, while typing is a course provided for secondary school graduates to cope with shortage of typists in the labour market. In 1976 the centre qualified 57 typists.

In 1976 other activities, leather works machinery, knitting and cloth painting were introduced. The course duration for the activities may extend to nine months.

The majority of the students come from low-income families and they join the centre to learn some skills in order to increase the family income.

The centre expanded its activities by formation of production units or "families". A number of graduates with the same specialization from a group and practice on production activities with the assistance and supervision of the centre. This is done to help women to generate some income thus raising the family income and living standards.
However, the centre suffers from some problems such as the unsuitability of policies at high levels, transport problem and space limitation which limits its enrolment capacity and its activities. The curricula are disorganized and teachers are not well trained.

There are as well some other programmes to train women. One is the programme of the School Gardening and Nutrition Department which aims to train rural women for better nutrition and health through the school gardens, poultry units and giving lessons in childcare and sanitation. In the programme, teachers as well as guides are trained to carry out specific activities. Thus, the programme is in-service training. But its relevance to the labour market is limited, because it trains the guides who are needed by the programme and these guides are very poorly paid and their training does not qualify them for other jobs in the market.

The social Welfare Council has also an income-generating project by which some women were to be trained in different agricultural techniques and poultry raising. The project was mainly carried in rural Khartoum and is
been to be spread in other areas in the Northern Region.\(^7\)

In addition to the training programmes carried mainly by the government there developed recently a number of small private institutions giving training in typing, telex and business management. But they are concentrated in Khartoum and they are rather expensive thus they are accessible only to a limited number of people.

In sum, it is apparent that the different training possibilities for women are greatly limited. Some of these institutions mainly concentrate on the development of the role of women as housewives and mothers giving them no training that qualify them for a job in the labour market. Moreover no comprehensive planning or coordination seems to be present for the training programmes, thus they either fail or very little benefit accrue from them. This is because participation of women in labour force is not considered by the government policies as intrinsically significant.

Moreover in the vocational training institutes the number of women is limited and in others they are completely excluded, as some activities are socially considered unsuit-
able for women. Thus women cannot compete for some jobs that need training. This is noticeable in the last few years, with the migration of certain skills to Arab oil producing countries, resulting in a shortage in technicians, mechanics, carpenters, engineers. Because women are almost excluded from training in such skills, they have not been able to benefit from these job vacancies. As a result the women's options in self-employed activities have remained limited to sale of foods and items particularly needed by women.

The discussion in this section about education and training of women significantly reveal that the varying numbers and differing qualities of labour power depend on all types of labour producing institutions such as schools, colleges of higher education, institutes, universities, polytechnics and others. Moreover women's education and training has been controlled by the capitalist economic policy and the persistence of traditional ideologies associating women with domestic roles.

Work Legislation and Employment of Women

In many countries in the world, there developed a recognition to the dual role of women, thus specific work
legislation have been passed to secure the rights of women. Some of these legislations were ratified by the International Labour Organization Code, and in the Arab countries, some are ratified by the Arab Agreement of 1976. However, the content of the legislation may not necessarily satisfy the international organizations codes and are mainly influenced by the socio-economic and political policies of the state. Thus in the socialist countries laws were enacted to support creation of new social relations. Thus the work legislations concerning women have been supported by other legislations designed to promote a change in the position of women in the family and society in general. While in capitalist systems, not particularly concerned with women, legislations were passed to support the existing exploitative relations and in many cases they are made to support traditions of the society. (In Sudan Women are entitled to forty-days holiday in case of death of husband). Thus the presence of special work legislation may not be beneficial for women or their participation in the labour force. The law for maternity leave is prevalent in many countries but the duration of this leave and to what extent it is sustained by the presence of nurseries and kindergartens - the problem. What is the use of such a
law if the duration of the leave is short and there are no childcare centres?

In Sudan during the colonial period the work legislations were used as important means for restricting participation of women in the labour force especially the married ones. Women's work came as a result of economic pressures created by the colonial policies and it was designed just to satisfy some needs of the administration. Thus while women were accepted to work as teachers, their numbers were controlled by legislation. According to work laws of the colonial administration women were paid only four fifths the payment of men for equal work. Women were to be expelled from the job after marriage. If a woman had married during the service and wanted to continue in her work, she had to make a new application and bring the consent of her husband. She then might continue to work temporarily and on monthly basis without consideration to the previous period she worked. Moreover women were excluded from after service benefits. Mothers were given a week holiday for childbirth after which they should resume work. Holidays for women were less than those for men.
Other legislations that were discouraging to women during the colonial period in the main activity of women (teaching) at that time was that a teacher had to sign a contract that she would accept working in different regions. Otherwise she would not be offered a job. Thus only few women were able to sign such a contract since it violates the traditions related to single women freedom and mobility. One old informant asserted that she was actually sued by the colonial government when after being appointed she refused to be transferred to a school outside Khartoum where her family lived. A high penalty was imposed on her, but she refused to pay and thus she was forced to satisfy the contract's conditions.

One probable explanation for the imposition of such legislations on women's employment was to put down demand for employment and thus reduce the possibility of women's participation in the rising nationalist movement. Accordingly the several demands of the Women's Union and Female Teachers' Union were suppressed as they involved a challenge to the previously mentioned aims of the colonial administration but women's struggle along these lines continued. (1)

(1) See chapter two.
Since no much change had occurred in the state ideology and policies in the post-independence period 1956-1964, the work legislation promulgated by the colonial administration continued until the late 1950's despite the demands of the women's Union for changing them. In 1958 the legislations to discontinuity of married women were abolished. In 1964 with October Revolution when some changes were forced by women's political campaigns backed by the struggle of trade unionism some changes in work laws were considered and officially instituted in 1965 by the Women's Union representative in parliament. Women were granted maternity leave for eight weeks and leave of absence for accompanying husband abroad for four years.

In 1969 when May Revolution was supported by the communist party and was initiating a socialist programme, the Women's Union succeeded in promoting some laws. Thus women were granted equal number of holidays to men and women working in similar institutions, equal pay for equal work, after service payment was given to single women. Another legislation is that competition for jobs should be based on qualifications and experience rather than sex. Later on women gained the right for one hour for baby feeding and the
right for forty days in case of husband's death. Women also have become entitled for a pension at 55 years and a social security pay of which she can get 4/5 of the total period in security in case of resignation for marriage or if the husband wanted her resignation.

The constitution of labour laws prohibits female labour in underground areas, in underground mines, in quarries and public or private construction and in dangerous places or unhealthy activities. The same law prohibits female labour in night shifts excepted from these are those working in administrative, technical and professional activities and in social and health services.

Considering the different legislations specified for women it is then crucial to discuss their impact on employment. In this connection it is rather difficult to confirm whether such legislations have directly enhanced or constrained the participation of women in the labour force. This is because the latter is determined by a combination of economic and social factors which have to change relatively if a change in employment of women is to be considered.
However an evaluation of these legislations may highlight the likely impact they may have on the employment of women. Firstly these laws neglect completely the self-employed women especially those in the market.

Secondly these laws are sometimes completely divorced from socio-economic conditions. What is the use of maternity leave when kindergartens and nurseries are not easily accessible and domestic helpers are expensive. Maternity leave is useless as long as it is short and not accompanied by allowances. Missing such aspects these legislations are beneficial to specific women mainly the middle class women who are highly paid and thus can afford to pay helpers or those whose extended families can provide them with free childcare services. Hence many mothers may not be encouraged to return to work after short maternity leave or come irregularly until they lose their jobs. The poor women who cannot afford any childcare facilities would quit their jobs after childbirths although they need it financially. They may seek a self-employment activity that would not contradict with their childcare responsibilities.
Other laws are based on wrong perception as to the work women can do. For example the law prohibiting involvement of women in certain activities centres round the ill-conceived abilities of women that they are physically weak and therefore should be excluded from certain types of work. The tasks that are specified by the law as dangerous or difficult for women are done by many women especially in the Western and Southern parts of the Sudan. In addition women can work night shift in certain activities specifically in circumstances of need however they are prohibited from that. These laws are not only based on misconception about women but they are particularly preserving dominance of men and thus are discouraging to women’s participation in labour force.

Because of the influence of male dominance ideology some laws are vague and contradictory. In practice they actually further discriminate against women. For example, although the law gives equal rights for scholarship abroad for men and women, in practice there is inequality. While the male scholar is given a ticket for his whole family for accompanying him, the female scholar is given only two tickets for her children. This is because in the state
ideology the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the economic dependent. Accordingly he is given the right for leave to accompany her but not a ticket. Too many women in the sample of this study experienced this, when they got the chances of training abroad.

Actually work legislations for women have been a base for further discrimination against them as employers in private enterprise have for long been avoiding employment of women for costs of maternity leave. Though this is not a stated policy but even, when for labour need they have been forced to employ women, they discriminate against married women. This is evident in all the factories visited by the researcher. Women are predominantly either unmarried, divorced or widowed. Those who are married are old in age thus less likely to be pregnant and demand maternity leave.

Consequently the work legislations specified for women are more likely to discourage participation in labour force

1) I wonder how employers are going to accept new law giving women right for a 6 months relaxation period after husband death deducted from her holidays. Apparently this is more likely to increase their discriminatory attitude against married woman.
as long as they are based on patriarchal ideologies and dependency of women. In addition legislations would be detrimental to women if they are not backed by societal transformation.

The wider social setting and the Employment of Women:

Women's participation in the labour force is greatly influenced by their low status in the family. The control of women by kinship and family units is basically built on their economic dependency and this is consolidated by patriarchal ideologies. The latter is greatly influenced by Islamic principles.

To understand how ideologies influence the role of women in the family it may be helpful to consider first these roles in their ideal type forms in the family and then examine how they are separated from actual behaviour as a result of changing socio-economic situation.

The Kinship and Family Organization:

The Islamic principles have identified the main aspects of the family, from the time of marriage to its dissolution as well as problems of succession and family relations and
responsibilities. All those are based on the assumption that women are economically dependent on men. On this basis in Islamic principles a woman is to inherit half the share of a man, the latter may have four wives, unequal weight is given to the legal testimony of women and men. Men are allowed to divorce unilaterally but women can divorce only for limited causes before courts and with difficulties. Moreover child custody after a certain age goes to the father. In addition several texts in the Quran asserts male-dominance in the family. Ultimately, a male authoritarian family structure is supported by islam.

Women are economic minors as all norms and values of honour and reputation jealously guard men's rights to property including the productive and reproductive capabilities of women.

According to values and norms a woman belongs to her agnatic group. That is within the kinship unit a male relative from the agnatic group is responsible economically, legally and morally for a kinwoman regardless of her marital status. Further the notion of honour necessitates that the man preserves the female social purity on which depends
the family pride and male identity in the community. Thus to preserve the family pride and honour and their economic positions men have to guard their women and exclude them from any contact with the opposite sex. This is done by socialization for different roles of men and women by segregation of their activities at home and publicly and more significantly by controlling resources and providing them with what they need for subsistence.

Ideally the exclusion of girls and early marriages arranged and supervised by the parents are some means of control over girls. The latter are socialized and brought up to be future wives and mothers. Marriage is considered to be the ultimate goal for every girl. Alternative to marriage is considered as compromising a girl's sex ethics and a treat to any chances of her marriage.

The kinship institutions set some moral and financial obligations which help the divorced woman to restore her status in the society and give her economic support. When a woman gets divorced she returns to her parental home. Legally she is relieved of childcare responsibilities since by family traditions children are the responsibility of the
maternal or parental grandparents until her ex-husband demands custody over his children.

All these factors trigger a set of expectations by which the divorced can hope for a remarriage. To the possibility of a good match, the family imposes restrictions on the divorced woman, similar to those on the single, to secure a remarriage and at the same time gives her economic support.

However, the position of the widow differs considerably. She may return to her family and may be provided with financial support but she is not usually expected to remarry as divorced women do except if she is young.

The status of married women is not that different from single or divorced women. Her inferior position is maintained by a system of values and expectations and role allocation. The wife should be obedient and submissive to her husband. The normative system imposes on the wife a life of seclusion and relegates her role to childcare and domestic activities and restricts her contact to distant male relatives and strangers. While the husband has a wider social
life and freedom of contact and mobility. Therefore there are two separate worlds of the wife and husband.

In sum, ideally women are economically dependent on men. On this basis they are to be subordinate and submissive to men. They are confined to homes and excluded from any extra-domestic activities. Accordingly they are not ideally expected to work for income outside the home. This is considered socially degrading to the men of the family whose responsibility is economic support to women.

Considering this ideal situation of women how can the women's entrance into the labour force be explained. This has been detailed theoretically and empirically by many studies. Two conflicting arguments clearly illustrate the issues involved in this debate. One of them contends that female employment is a result of change in values, norms and attitudes in the family. Goode 1963 considers that women's entrance into the labour force is associated with an improvement of their position in the family. According to him egalitarianism may develop with job opportunities and better training for women. But Goode is aware of the slow pace of change in family relations and the difficulty
of interpreting the available data on values and behaviour.

The other contention mainly that of Scott and Tilley (1975) considers employment of women as 'less the product of new ideas than of the effect of old ideas operating in new or changing contexts'. Their data shows that at least in France, Italy and Great Britain change in cultural values is not necessarily associated with changes in patterns of employment.

In the case of the Sudan and to a great extent many Third World countries, Gude's argument is irrelevant as women's participation in social production has for long been associated with need. I agree with Scott and Tilley that no change in values is needed for women to participate in the labour force but I would add that with changes in different circumstances in social formation, some change in ideologies can be indicated. Such a change can be illustrated in the case of development of women's conditions in Sudan.

1) Scott and Tilley, 1975 p. 42.
As cited in chapter two most women in precolonial period participate in agricultural labour as part of family labour. But they are more socially segregated as the male-dominance ideology and exclusion of women are supported by the society.

With the penetration of capitalism and resultant economic situation changes in norms and values can be indicated by the entrance of women to schools and labour force. Although the colonial administration policy was discriminating against women on the grounds of preserving traditions of society, the changes in the society affected women. Thus educated men called for women’s education, but the facilities available made it accessible to middle class girls only. The latter were encouraged to education not only by their family’s economic ability but by a slight change in attitudes as to women’s role. But the change in attitudes had been very limited as only few were educated and many girls were forced to discontinue school to marry and fulfill the ideal role of motherhood.

The change in ideologies during that period was also indicated by acceptance of some families to women’s participa-
tion in Labour Force. The change is a result of education for middle class families whose women worked as teachers. But it is forced by economic situations on poor families whose women worked as self-employed or wage workers. In the latter condition the kin are failed to support economically their kinwomen and thus, cannot forbid them from working to earn income.

But the ideologies related to women were greatly challenged during the national movement. The need for improving education of women was recognized by the Graduate Congress. The change in perception as to necessity of education for girls was reflected in increasing number of girls in schools and in the teaching profession.

However, the impact of ideologies was clear when women thought of organizing themselves. This was debated publicly and support came from few educated nationalist and was fought by the majority as being against ideal position of women.

But with the struggle of the nationalist movement educated women were able to organize themselves and demanded
the improvement of their conditions and claimed equal political and social rights: the right to education, the right to vote, the right to professional activities and equal pay. The changes in ideologies have not been largely considered at that stage not only because they were likely to arouse public opposition against women's organization but that was beyond the perception of many women with the exception of the few radical ones. Thus in the struggle of the woman's defense union, changes in perception of women and about was sought according to some informants, to come indirectly through education and experience. This has been evident in the discussion with many informants as elaborated in chapter seven.

Despite that the laws related to the family were debated and changes were demanded. Thus the perpetuation of Islam through Sharia's law has not gone completely unchallenged in Sudan and in most Muslim countries. As a result of preparing new or economic and political aspects of life attempts to reform certain laws and to improve position of women have

been taken. In Sudan three major reforms have been carried out. Circular 54 of 1960 requires the consent of the wife to marriage. In 1969 the practice of returning the disobedient wife (Nashis) (1) to her husband by force has been stopped. In 1977 the wife who has been judged as nashis for two years or more can apply for a divorce if she can offer her husband a set fee on compensation. Circular 34 gives the court the right to grant custody to the mother if it is in the interest of the children. But such reforms are less likely to be applied in practice nor to be an effective remedy for the social mischief that the reformers set out to cure for several reasons. Firstly the reforms are the result of the struggle of the urban educated elites and thus the majority of women being uneducated and secluded are quite likely to be totally ignorant of their rights under the new legislation. Secondly even if they are aware of them they may lack the courage to run the gauntlet for the various social pressures and sanctions that would undoubtedly face any woman insisting upon these rights. 

(1) Nashis is used to refer to a woman who refuses to live in her husband's house for no lawful reason. It is also referred to a woman who does not obey her husband.
the court of law. But basically because these reforms are isolated, that is, the roots on which they are originally based are existing, they are irrelevant to an improving conditions of women. (1)

But currently changes in ideologies related to the subjugated women's position are not considered but at the state level there is a growing concern towards an ideal position of women. Despite that the changing economic situation is imposing changes in attitudes and norm which vary between classes, ethnic groups, regions and between rural and urban areas.

With the changing economic situation there has been continuous separation from the ideal specially for women of different social classes. This is indicated in the attitudes to women’s education, mobility and economic activities.

1) In this connection Al Hassan, I.S. 1980 wrote “Because ideologies have their bases on the class relations, they cannot be fought as ideologies alone. They can only be abolished through class struggle in its various forms (but prominently, its economic and political forms)”. P. 62.
On the overall changes in the attitudes to women's education are indicated by the increasing number of girls in schools and in high education institutions. This involves a challenge to the norms as education necessitates extra domestic contacts and may develop a threat to make exclusive dominance as it also promotes participation of women in the labour force and thus economic independence of women and also enhances women awareness. But such changes are restricted as women of upper and middle classes may discontinue education to marry and be mothers. Although some of them may work for income, prevalence of other norms related to domestic responsibilities, their subordinate position in the labour market and existence of male dominance ideology on wider perspective limit the development of any consciousness or egalitarian perceptions.

Education is further associated with delayed marriage age, and the growing economic hardships further contributes to that. But this may not be the case among middle class people who have more tendency towards the ideal future for a woman, that of housewife and mother. They are aided in that by their economic conditions. But similarly persistence of traditional conceptions among uneducated poor may
result in early marriage for girls which when closely examined can be seen to be motivated by economic hardship since marriage in such a case will relieve the family of an economic liability.

There is an increasing tendency among families in different classes to ensure women's consent to her future husband. For some the chances of education and employment have given them opportunity to know closely future husbands before marriage. Still many have family-arranged marriages specifically among rich families where compatibility of socio-economic conditions of husband and wife's families has to be ensured in order to further the consolidation of this class.

Polygamy has been greatly restricted by different economic conditions specifically among poor people as providing subsistence for one woman and her children is becoming a problem. It is not widely practiced by middle and upper classes men as courtship and prostitution are available. But this does not exclude the possibility of a poor man marrying more than a wife irrespective of economic conditions nor the presence of some middle class men with several wives.
As to divorce it is practiced still unilaterally. In families of different classes women are discouraged from either asking for divorce or economic support after divorce by social norms which do not highly approve of such practices but more specifically by long court procedures needed for that. In addition women may not sue husbands after divorce because their families support them in the middle and upper class but more specifically because they seek some means of gaining income themselves.

Currently there is a noticeable change in the attitude of men to the mobility of women outside the home. In Khartoum women are seen in the shops or the market getting their needs. According to an old informant until the late 1950's only old women are allowed to go to the market. But now women of all ages and marital status go to the market. However still among many families such mobility is either conditioned or forbidden. Many men of different classes still insist on providing all the house needs from the market making it unnecessary for their women to go out.

As social relationships and participation in social occasions are still highly valued, women of different
social classes, are more exposed to the outside by their participation in such occasions. But for women of the upper and middle classes exposure is restricted as they are mostly either accompanied by their males or transported by family's care but most middle classes and poor women use public transport. This is not the condition of all women as many still are forbidden from outside contacts by their males. Even some middle and upper classes working women do not participate in social occasions.

All these different aspects of women's conditions may indicate a change in the attitudes and relationships of kinship and family units of social class and thus on the control of males on females. A change is happening but within limits. As a single respondent noted "I am highly educated and I am employed but had to take permission from my parents to visit my friends and would not dream to go to a course or work outside Khartoum". This may not be the case for a poor woman as her family, to ensure her subsistence, would accept any job and are unlikely to resist any chances of training but otherwise may not accept their women's participation in social or political activities as asserted by many of the respondents in the study sample.
Thus the change in economic conditions is challenging the control of kinship and family units on women as the latter are increasingly participating in labour force. Kinship is no longer in its ideal form as a viable economic unit and hence cannot have firm control. But simultaneously, the ideologies are enforcing changing economic conditions of women as the latter's work is still mostly associated with need or their work is conditioned by the family to certain sectors or sometimes are forced to discontinue. This condition, for several reasons, is related to the nature of the capitalist system and Islamic practices.

Firstly the male dominance ideologies are compatible with the exploitative nature of the capitalist system. As a result, the policies of the state generate change within the limits beneficial to the system. Thus, the growing economic hardships are forcing working class women to employment and thus divert from ideal position of women. Lack of education and training poor women are a source of cheap labour for capitalist expansion. In opposition some middle

1) This interpretation is different from N. Youssef's which considers that kinship and family control is still absolute and no other institution to challenge authority of male family member or question this interpretation.
and upper class women, by their economic conditions and their access to education, are directed towards the ideal. This is apparent in the recent tendency among women to stress the need of the veil and seclusion from men. In the survey carried for this study such tendencies are not prevalent among many working class women. Neither in the market, nor in the service sector or in factories where working class women are concentrated is there a similar tendency for veiling or exclusion as that appearing currently among middle class women.

Secondly the educated middle class women who have long led the struggle to improve the position of women are now divided between supporters of ideologies tending for a suppressed position of women and those who are demanding economic and social reforms to improve the woman's situation. This is reflected in the recent revival of different organizations of women which have been prevalent since colonial times but disappeared during the early 1970's.

Conclusively conditions of women specifically their labour force participation and the ideologies related to it are related to the economic system and therefore the
sort of policies the country pursues for economic development and the ideology that justifies these policies. This is where the thesis diverges from the Feminists approach. Patristical ideology is considered as structuring relationship of men and women. But it is influenced by changes in the mode of production and not independent of the latter as analysed by Millet. In addition the power relations between men and women tend to differ among different classes in a capitalistic system. Thus the end of male supremacy would be achieved by changing the whole socio-economic system and not by elimination of sexual distinction or the restriction of biological family as the basic form of social organization as asserted by Firestone.\(^2\)

**Role and Responsibilities of women within the family:**

It is the concern of this section to discuss how changing attitudes and norms discussed in the previous section have affected roles and responsibilities within the family. This is done as a background information to a coming discussion of the contribution of employment to changing conditions of women.

\(^1\) Millet, K. 1970 p. 25.

\(^2\) For details see Firestone, S. 1970.
In Khoekhoegowab, ideally, as related to male dominance ideology, women are to be obedient and submissive to males of the family irrespective of their marital status. Accordingly, men are to decide and organize all family matters and women are to obey and serve. Though in actual life to an outsider the relationships may appear in their ideal typical forms, most men and women assert against that traditionally women have their indirect ways in forcing their decisions and exerting some pressures over men. In this they manipulate the same notions of honour and reputation that men use to suppress them. Thus by using gossip in favour or disfavour of men they control men’s behaviour. Another method is by allying with other men of the kinship unit. In addition aged women in the family become highly respected especially by younger males.

Although the woman in most traditional families is economically dependent, she has a role in most decisions concerning her household. A man might be responsible for shopping of her needs from the market but in most cases the woman would decide the variety and amount to be bought. The exception are the very wealthy families where men might buy all needs in abundance. But women who are likely to
play roles in decision making are elderly women particularly married ones. The single women are unlikely to participate in family decision. Even young married ones would be excluded from family decision in presence of other elder women at home. So is the case of a divorced or widowed woman who returns to live with her parents or other kia.

The role of women in decision making in the family has been somewhat affected by the changing conditions of women especially in the current period. Thus women of different ages and marital statuses are taking part in decisions concerning the families. It is no more the dominance of males and elderly women. But it is rather difficult to relate the change to one particular factor as variations exist along different lines, yet some indications may be attempted.

A remark of one middle class, old respondent points to a significant pattern. "Before we were not concerned about a family budget we just ask men to bring what we think is enough for our need. But recently things are getting expensive and difficult to get thus we have to cooperate first in deciding the family budget and then in acquiring needs."
On similar lines of reasoning a middle aged working class woman noted. "When I married at the beginning of the 1970's my husband, a worker, decided almost every item in the budget leaving for me the daily needs. At the beginning of the month he buys some basic things and he gives daily expenses for food. He also arranged for occasional needs, cloth for the children and other household needs. When he couldn't arrange that we ask our families for help. But now we have six children and things are getting expensive. He gives me all the salary to try to manage the food for the children. He goes to work walking and he comes to take breakfast at home as his workplace is not far from home. Despite that the salary hardly cover our expenses up to the middle of the month".

A young upper class woman takes the money from her husband and decides the whole family budget. She explained "I am educated and more aware of household needs and where to find them, especially that I have my own car".

In contrast another upper class woman remarked that the husband decides all things related to family except her personal needs.
But definitely more highly educated women are in favour of joint activities in the family. The effect of education is mainly evident in the case of single young girls. In several families, the elder mother leaves the management of the house including the budget decision to her young educated daughters.

Ultimately the changing economic condition and associated social changes explain changes in roles of some women in the family budget decisions. In relation to change some correlation can be established. From cases interviewed there has been a tendency for joint decision of females and males of the family in case of working class and highly educated ones. The high percentage of cooperation in financial planning is also reported in Bedri (1978) though it is not related to class. While dominance of women in financial planning is related to their education sometimes and absence of men in other times it is more among upper and middle classes.

It should be stressed that this change is limited and great variations are prevalent. Moreover traditional arrangement is prevalent among many families of different classes and conditions.

Domestic responsibilities:

Based on ideology of economic dependency and their subordinate position, domestic responsibilities are exclusively considered the woman's concern. Traditionally women are responsible for cooking, cleaning, washing even maintenance and repair of building and equipments in the household. Their activities include bringing of water and wood outside the home, care of domestic animal, weaving and food processing. In addition childcare is exclusively the females' responsibility.

The different household activities are carried jointly by females of the extended families and with the help of children. But men have no concern with domestic activities. However women may take part in agricultural operations beside their housework. Such a coordination was not difficult when the fields are near the houses and help is available from the extended families.
But the growth of urbanization and changing socio-economic conditions have to some extent influenced women's domestic responsibilities particularly in urban centres. In many African women are getting piped water at homes, charcoal and recently some are getting gas for fires, in addition to a wide range of goods mostly imported and which were traditionally produced by women at home. Other goods like cloth, labour-saving domestic appliances and convenience goods like non-iron clothes, detergents, etc. are also available in the market. But most of these goods and conveniences are not accessible to the majority of women. Their high prices make them accessible only for some few middle and upper class women while the working class women cannot afford goods that save them time or labour in the house. As the majority of those employed are working class women the housework seems to negatively affect the participation of women in labour outside the home as these activities accounted have to be carried out by women after coming back from work or by finding assistance from extended families or hired labour. The most significant domestic responsibility that may have some influence on women's participation in labour force is the childcare. For the working class women the childcare is not that great constraining factor as she
may choose self-employment and take her child with her to
the workplace. The survey findings show that some women
in the market are accompanied by their children and many
West African (Wolofa) women tie their babies on their
back and do their work. But for many middle and upper class
women children are taken care of by extended families
sometimes neighbours and nannies.

Few women mostly middle and upper class depend for
childcare on kindergartens and nurseries. This is because
the latter's number are very limited. Until 1961 there were
208 kindergartens in Khartoum and very few nurseries. In
addition the nurseries are not found in convenient places,
nor do their organization is compatible to the working condi-
tions of women. With the exception of the few that are
subsidised by the Social Welfare Council, the kindergartens
are very expensive. Considering the incomes of working class
women the cheapest kindergarten is beyond their financial
abilities.

However childcare is a constraining factor to women's
entrance to the labour force in case of migrant women mainly
middle class ones whose extended families are not in town.
and who cannot afford nurseries or kindergartens.

But in relation to childcare such generalization is rather misleading as the important factors that are related to women's employment are the number and age of children and above all the economic conditions of the family. In Sudan large number of children is highly valued for economic and social reasons. In some instances children add to the family labour force. Also they are security against old age specifically in the absence of a social security system by the state. In addition a woman with grown up sons and daughters may have a significant role in decision making in the family not only in the social matters such as marriage but sometimes in the economic and political affairs. A woman with married sons has authority over her daughters in law and can find financial and social backing from her sons and daughters against her husband and his other wives if he is married to more than one. A woman ensures a good share of inheritance property if she has children. In addition women are married at an early age and thus have chance for large number of children. For all the mentioned reasons there is no limit to the number of children wanted in most communities in Sudan.
The results of the 1973 Census showed that the crude birth rate ranges between 42 and 48 per 1000 and the number of children ever born alive to women 45 years of age or over is about six or more. Among the different social classes it seems that income or occupation have little to do with fertility differences. The most important factor seems to be high level of education yet even that does not produce a straight forward pattern. Thus the role of fertility of Sudanese women remained high despite the economic and social changes taking place.

Despite that it is very difficult to establish a negative impact of high fertility on participation of women in the labour force, as several socio-economic factors are involved. Sometimes it is the age of children which constrains employment of women. Mothers of pre-school age children may not find it easy to work outside home. But usually women with a large number of children need to work to provide additional income of the family. The presence of female kin and relatives who take care of children is

another factor, in addition to the fact that some women are able to hire other women to care for children while they are in the workplace. These different economic and social factors reduced the negative impact of high fertility on women's entrance to the labour force.

But to some extent high fertility may affect the kind of job a woman takes. A woman with a high secondary school qualifications and with no relatives in town to help with the children may not think to work as a typist or clerk as her income would not be enough for a nursery or a kindergarten. For these reasons as will be discussed latter, many single women discontinue work after being mothers. Thus the influence of childcare on the labour force participation is complex as it is related to other social and economic factors. Despite that, it can be generally argued that participation in the labour force is greater among women with few domestic responsibilities and no children. The participation is low among women with small children.

The discussion in this section has shown how housework is associated with ideology of economic dependency. The
labour force thus demands regarding equal pay and increased employment opportunities had also been persistently insited upon by the Women’s Union since its formation in 1932. Moreover, the problems of working women were discussed and highlighted in the Women’s Union’s magazine Samaat Al Maraa.

Accordingly the Union was particularly encouraging increased participation of women in the labour force. Although the latter is related to several contributions, the Women’s Union’s efforts in raising consciousness of women towards increased participation should not be minimized. Some women entered the labour force for self-satisfaction during that time. This motive is an additional one to poor women but a central one to some middle class women aware of women’s conditions.

Within the democratic sphere during 1960’s Women’s Union was able to enforce important demands related to equal pay specifically for nurses and teachers. Although that may have contributed further to encourage women’s participation its effect is negligible as long as economic policies and ideologies of the state and the family have continued to discourage women’s entrance the labour force.

But the activities of the current women’s organization
have no particular concern with employment of women. Although there is a unit of the Sudan Women's Union in Omdurman, yet the female leaders there lack the basic services such as drinking water, toilet facilities and for many they do not have shadow under which they can sit(1).

Furthermore, the Union is not concerned with sex segregation or concentration of women in low paid activities.

Consequently neither the state nor its unit, the Sudan Women's Union influence on the supply and demand for female labour. Throughout this period there have been no attempts directed to increase recruitment of women or promoting an ideology advocating women participation in the labour force.

Conclusion:

This chapter has clearly concluded that different social and economic factors come together to determine the position of women in the market. Hence different patterns of female participation in the labour force are likely to emerge related

1) While the draft of the thesis under typing the women's section in Omdurman market has been completely destroyed and women have to carry their activities in another market.
to the different integrative aspects of the different factors which are structured by the developing capitalist system. Consequently, there are different categories of women in the labour market having different patterns of participation as will be considered in the coming chapters.
CHAPTER FOUR

Categories of Women in the Labour Market: Women in White Collar Occupations

Introduction:

Having discussed the factors influencing women's work outside home and how these different factors combine to result in different types of activities women do, it is now necessary to look into these types or categories of jobs themselves by taking specific cases. The categories considered are of women in white collar occupations, women in wage labour and self-employed women. This categorization follows the differentiation adopted in the labour market between the group of officials (referring to professionals and white collar employees) and workers. Each category in the private or public sector has separate agreements with the employers and different conditions of work. The self-employment is considered as an informal sector activity but here the domestic service is included in the last category because it is not regulated by any legislations and work conditions are determined on individual bases. But few male domestic servants can be recruited through the labour office. This is not the case for female domestic servants.
This chapter is concerned with the discussion of the pattern of female participation in the white collar occupations. But throughout the analysis the teaching and para-medical activities have been singled out as they are the first jobs women take being considered more socially relevant to women's potentialities.

The analysis is partially based on a questionnaire data for 491 women, 297 of them white collar jobs; 32 teachers and 58 in health service. These numbers are representative of the different socio-economic characteristic of respondents. As the interviews are mostly carried in the workplaces, the nature of teaching and para-medicals makes the informants less accessible. The case studies are also taken as a base for discussion especially of general trends. Also much information have been collected from group discussion.

Professional Activities of Women:

The main activities in which women were involved are teaching, nursing and midwifery. They are the first activities women took during the colonial rule. Their history dates back to the 1920s with the opening of teaching and midwifery training schools.
Midwifery:

When women were first recruited to the midwifery school, they were not taught to read and write but were trained to differentiate among bills by smell. But later on with the spread of education especially after independence, an elementary education was required for a midwife. Despite the high demand for such a profession, it has somewhat been avoided by women because it is a socially low-valued activity and it involves a training of several months which many families do not allow. However, recently this profession is becoming attractive to some junior school secondary graduates whose chances in the labour market are becoming meagre due to the increase in number of high secondary school graduates who stand better chances of employment in the labour market.

Nursing:

This also is an activity which women entered during the colonial rule. It's a socially degraded activity because nurses must go out for night work or live outside the family premises which is not acceptable to many families. In addition, nurses are stereotyped with low morals. Thus it is a less desired profession by many, and it is taken by those
who have no alternative in acquiring other jobs.

But since the 1960's the establishment of the High Nursing College has changed the attitude of some people towards this profession. Thus an increasing number of qualified nurses are added to the labour force.

Teaching:

This is a profession considered as socially the most suitable for women. But involvement of women was restricted by legislation imposed by colonial administration. However, after the independence and with expansion in education, the number of female teachers increased. Most of them concentrated in primary schools – this being the lowest paid level of education. But as a result of increased teachers training, intake of women in universities and migration of male teachers, women teachers have been able to obtain better paid jobs as teachers in secondary schools and as principals in educational establishments. Not only that, but in the last three years, because of shortage in male teachers, women have been allowed to teach in boys' schools although until recently they have been restricted to girls schools only.
Other white collar activities:

In addition to teaching and nursing, women are also working as doctors, lawyers, judges, technicians, lecturers, engineers, agriculturalists, researchers and social workers.

Women's involvement in the medical professions dates back to the 1950's. After the establishment of high secondary school in Cudurun, some women have been able to qualify for the Faculty of Medicine. Since that time their number has been increasing. But women showed their presence in veterinary specialisation in the late 1960's mainly because this for long has been considered a job unsuitable for women and the first few who started that opened the way to others. During the same time few women entered faculties of agriculture and engineering. And the Polytechnic Institute established in the 1960's qualified some female technicians whose number increased as well lately.\(^1\)

Women entered the dental professions at the beginning

\(^1\) See section on education and Appendix 1.
of the 1970's with the establishment of the Dental School in Khartoum and increasing opportunities are offered for students in the different Egyptian universities.

Since the mid-1960s the number of girls in the sciences have been increasing as a result of expansion in education and changing attitudes of people. However recently, there have been noticeable increase in the number of women who are qualified for the different scientific specializations. A debate in certain circles has been going on lately on the means to be used to reduce their numbers in this area. Although nothing materialized of that debate yet it reflects discriminatory attitudes towards women.

Female lawyers and judges have been in the profession since the 1960s. But the majority of female law professionals are working as law consultants in the government and companies and very few are working as private lawyers. Those who are working as judges are excluded to

1) See section on education and appendix 1.
certain branches mostly delinquency courts and research offices. An explanation to women's exclusion to certain branches is the prevalence of conceptions of incompetence of women with specific jobs.

Women's presence in academic professions dates back to the 1900s when few women were able to qualify for higher studies and entered academic professions. Although their number is increasing, it is far behind that of men as is the case of women at all academic levels in universities.

Women researchers are very few. Many shun this profession as it may involve movement unacceptable to many families and unsuitable to domestic responsibilities expected from women.

Yet many work as social workers, an occupation considered suitable for them as women. Thus many of the social working science graduates are recruited as researchers in Department of Social Affairs in the Ministry of Interior, in hospitals and in prisons.
Women also work in administrative jobs as typists, secretaries, telephone operators, clerks or accountants. The secretariatship has been considered as an activity that suits women yet it has been socially resented by families as it involves mixing with males. But the establishment of the Secretarial Department in Khartoum Technical Institute in the 1960s has contributed to the presence of a number of secretaries in the labour force yearly.

Women have been in the typing activity since the 1950s but their numbers have been very small until the 1960s when some private typing institutes have been established and enabled more females to train in typing. Since the late 1970s the number of women with typing qualifications has inflated the market that job opportunities for them became scarce.

Telephone operating is one of the jobs in which women are prominent although it is not a socially approved activity as it involves shift work.

1) See appendix 1 for the number of graduates in different years.
Clerical and accountancy work has been for long dominated by men. Thus until the beginning of the 1960s women's chances were very limited because they find competition from males. But recently migration of men has contributed to substantial increase in the number of women in such jobs.

Women's presence in top administrative jobs is negligible as these are dominated by men. Only in few banks and government departments that one or two women in each are occupying a top level administrative job.

Pattern of Participation in the White Collar Activities

As discussed in the chapters two and three, the participation of women in labour force in Khartoum has historically been structured by the capitalist policies and its resultant labour market, labour legislations, education and training and the wider social setting. Women's changing rate of participation is related to changing economic and social perspectives.
The pattern of women's participation in white collar activities is greatly influenced by the family class positions which in turn influence the level of education a woman reaches and the kind of job she might be able to take.

As women's work is mostly associated with need, it is unlikely for many women of the upper class families to participate in the labour force as they consider this as shameful. But some upper class women who have been able to have high qualifications are now working as professionals (namely as teachers, lawyers, doctors, judges and pharmacists). One upper class woman interviewed stayed at home five years after graduating from the university because her father was refusing the idea of her taking a job. But after that since she had not got married, he allowed her to work as a teacher only to occupy her time. Another one, although graduated eleven years ago, and has been insisting on getting a job her family is resisting that. While a third one was able to get employed, after graduating as a pharmacist but after two years her husband, a rich businessman, convinced her to quit the job. These are some of the trends among some upper class families.
socially or economically compatible with the family status as some upper class housewives indicated. However, there are very few upper class women employed in low paid jobs like elementary school teachers as they have no high qualifications and they work for self satisfaction.

The participation rate in white collar activities is higher among women from middle class families. The latter permit their women to work in professional jobs if they are highly educated. Thus, they try to secure high education for their females and thus highly paid jobs. This is the case of highly paid administrators, some professionals and merchants. But the declining real income has made the income of the females in middle class families necessary for

class women, daughters, wives or sisters of government
collar labour in this study, while others would be in the teaching profession. But middle class women would not get involved in health service unless they are highly qualified nurses or doctors.

However, in the white collar jobs there are many women from the proletariat class. There are those with junior secondary education who are in the health services as nurses, midwives, and primary level teachers, and some elder girls who were able to work as typists before emphasis was put on higher qualifications for the job. In addition many females from the proletariat families have been able to finish high secondary level and are working in clerical and typing jobs, mainly in the government offices.

The relation between family class position and participation of women in professional and white collar jobs is illustrated further by the data which shows that
the education and work of other members of the family influence greatly the pattern of women's participation in professional and white collar jobs. Thus what kind of job, low or highly paid, is mostly influenced by the family socio-economic conditions.

As table 11 indicates clearly, a higher percentage of low paid respondents have their fathers in low paid groups. 37.2 per cent of those in health services have their fathers in the same occupation and 37.9 per cent of them have their fathers as workers. Also a higher percentage of teachers and those in other white collar jobs have their fathers' occupations as workers. This is represented by 39.6 per cent and 32.0 per cent respectively. Daughters of workers may either discontinue education at senior secondary level and work as primary school teachers or sometimes as typists. But most of them have actually reached high secondary school level to qualify for their current professional and white collar jobs. This has been made possible by several factors, amongst them is the involvement of an older brother or sister or mother or any relative in the labour force. Such an involvement brings additional income to the family, which has made it possible for daughters of
TABLE 14

Occupation distribution of the sampled population by father's occupations and respondent's current occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Professional in teaching Career</th>
<th>Professional in Health Service</th>
<th>Other white collar occupations</th>
<th>Blue collar</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Dec.6</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Nov.6</td>
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<td>Nov.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.0</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
workers to complete secondary education. This does not discard the possibility of the presence of some respondents whose fathers have been able to secure their education by seeking other informal jobs.

But the daughters of workers who have been able to get chances of high education and thus better paid jobs have reached such a situation either with the help of relatives or mostly have been working during their attendance of higher studies as indicated by about 15 per cent of the respondents. Thus most of those with high education in professional jobs or highly paid administrative occupations are daughters of middle class employees, merchants and teachers. Many of the female doctors, lecturers and researchers interviewed are from middle class families. Similarly the 29.7 per cent of those in the health service who are working as technicians, highly qualified nurses and midwives are daughters of middle class merchants and administrative employees.

However, it is not only the father’s job that influences the nature of the woman’s work. The presence of an older brother who is educated or working is also significant
in relation to the participation. This is because the brother as a male kin is responsible to assist in supporting the family although this is not necessarily always the case. If there is an elder brother who can help in supporting the family in the proletarian class then there is a greater possibility that his sisters may continue in education to a level that qualify them for a white collar job. This explains the case of the few respondents who have brothers and are taking low paid jobs in the health service. Here there is a great possibility that the brothers themselves are working in low paid jobs, otherwise it is unlikely that they accept the involvement of their sisters in such socially low valued activities.

The similarity between brother's and sister's jobs is evident in the case of 32.7 per cent of those in white collar jobs and 41.4 per cent of teachers, as their brothers are having similar occupations as indicated in table 12.

However, in some cases the brother may discontinue education and at an early age to support his sister, in which case the latter may continue education to at least high secondary level and finds a white collar job.
This is illustrated by 4.4 per cent of those in white collar jobs in the sample and 6.8 per cent of the teachers respectively who have their brothers occupation as workers.

But the presence of the elder brother does not always have these positive effects because the elder brother, being able to help in supporting the family, makes it unnecessary for his sisters to be educated or employed regarding stereotypes related to the position of women in the society. Also in case that the family wanted the elder brother to continue education, the sisters may discontinue education to work mostly in low paid jobs to assist in family subsistence. This is the case of 10.1 per cent of those in white collar jobs, 6.3 per cent of the teachers and 5.2 per cent of those in the health services, whose elder brothers are students as shown in table.42.

Moreover not all men help in the education of their sisters especially if they have their own families. Thus the presence of an elder brother may not influence participation of the sister in the labour force. This is particularly the case in some upper and middle class families in which the father can afford to send his daughters
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Professionals in Teaching</th>
<th>Professionals in Health Service</th>
<th>Other White collar occupations</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
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<td>White Collar Occupations</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
and sons to schools.

As the presence of elder brothers is significant in relation to participation of women in the labour force, so also the presence of an elder sister or sisters may be related to education and employment of younger ones.

According to the survey more than half of the sample have their sisters employed in different occupations as indicated in table 13. This may be taken to indicate that employment of elder sisters enhances participation of women in the labour force. This effect, among poor families, may include the financial help by the elder sister's employment which enables younger sisters to continue education and get a job. In such a case an elder sister may work at an early age to help the family. This is supported by the presence of some women in the administrative occupation or teaching with sisters in different low paid jobs in the 'informal' sector as indicated by table 13.

However, sometimes there may be close similarity between the jobs of sisters in the family. This may mostly be among the middle class families who can afford to provide
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Occupations</th>
<th>Professionals in Teaching Professions</th>
<th>Professionals in Health Service</th>
<th>Other White Collar Occupations</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
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<td>22.7</td>
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<td>64</td>
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</table>
education for their daughters. It may also be in proletarian families. In case the family needs additional income, the younger sisters would not continue beyond the level that qualify them for a similar job as their sisters who would probably help in getting access to the job in such conditions. This is illustrated by Table 13 where 49.5 per cent of these in white collar jobs, about 23.9 per cent of the teachers and about 1.7 per cent of those in the health service have their sisters in similar occupations.

The influence of mothers is negligible as most mothers are housewives. This is the case of 79.1 per cent of the respondents. But the rest have their mothers involved in different activities in the labour force. The similarity between mothers' and daughters' occupations occurs mostly in some middle class families. When the mother is highly educated and is involved in a professional job so will mostly be her daughter. This is indicated by 2.7 per cent of those in white collar jobs who have their mothers in the same occupations. Similarly is the case of 4.6 per cent of teachers and 1.7 per cent of those in the health service.
But the more general trend is that the daughters of working women have higher education, and hence different and sometimes better paid occupations than their mothers. This is because mostly mothers, especially those of the proletariat class, take any low-paid job to support the family. They do so in order that their daughters may find chances for education. But in most cases when the woman is the main supporter of the family, it is less likely for her daughters to continue to high levels of education. Some would reach junior secondary level and work in the health service or teaching and some may teach high secondary level and get involved in a teaching profession or any white-collar job. But very few manage to make it to higher studies and usually not depending only on the mother's support. This is reflected best in case of a medical doctor whose mother is a worker and divorced. The former has four sisters. Her father has left them to her mother on the condition that he does not help in supporting them. They lived in a bad state of poverty until the elder sister finished her secondary school and got a good paying job in a bank. Then a second sister also got a job. They have supported her during her studies in the university and she is now helping to support her younger sister.
Within the family the participation of married women in the labour force is somewhat related to her husband's occupation and income as men more likely marry a woman from his own socio-economic stratum. But it is more likely for most married women in the labour force to have their husbands in similar or higher occupational positions. This can be attributed to the fact that men generally are more educated than women. Alternatively it may be related to the ideology of domination over women. Thus a man would not accept to marry a woman who is more qualified than him unless he earns more than her. This would explain the conditions of those respondents in white collar jobs who are married to workers, servants and others in self-employed activities. As indicated in Table 74 there are 1.3 per cent and 14.3 per cent respectively. Otherwise women in white collar occupations have their husbands working in similar occupations or as teachers. This is the case of 9.8 per cent and .7 per cent respectively. Similarly is the case of teachers.

The relationship between the jobs of the husband and wife is influenced by whether the woman married before or after work. The positive correlation for some middle class
<table>
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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Precincts in teaching</th>
<th>Professionals in health</th>
<th>Other white collar occupations</th>
<th>In Total</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>297</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>297/77</td>
<td></td>
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<td>91.8</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>9.1/98.9</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>100.0/100.0</td>
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</table>
women in the professional and white collar jobs is related to their marriage after work because they are mostly married to their workmates.

This is indicated in the case of 75 per cent of the respondents in white collar jobs, teaching activities and health services, who are married to their colleagues.

Attitudes of Family Members

The family does not only influence the participation of women in white collar jobs by its economic situation but social attitudes of the members of the family are very significant.

Although many women (about 90 per cent of the sample) take the decision to work themselves, some of them have to spend sometime convincing their families with the idea of work before they start looking for a job. This is the case of 77.5 per cent of the women in the sample. Their intentions for extra-domestic work is resisted sometimes by the father as in the case of 61.1 per cent or by the brother as in the case of 4.6 per cent of the sample. Few (15 per cent) find objection from other male relatives and some
(9 per cent) from the husband. While 18 per cent have their mothers and sisters resisting their participation in extra-domestic activities. In all cases work is resisted for stereotypes related to the female position in the society.

Although objections to women's work are mostly faced by women in middle class families, some women in proletarian class face similar situations. The probable explanation is that impact of economic conditions on people is not similar for all classes. While many people have changed their attitudes to women's work with changing economic situations still some have not. This is confirmed by the data as 4.7 per cent have their families objecting because they consider that involvement of women in the labour force is an indication of the inability of the males to support them, 7 per cent think that women's place is in the house. While a few (1.5 per cent) consider it as violating to religious traditions. Others (1.7 per cent) consider women's employment help in developing bad conduct. But for the married ones the objection is related to the difficulty of coordinating between housework and extra domestic work.
Women facing such objection usually spent long time convincing their families and many times they are aided by other relatives or neighbours to be able to force their decisions.

Women may not find objections from their families to their employment but certain conditions are put for some by their families. In most cases families do not approve shift work or activities that necessitate their females to travel or mix with men. For some teaching is the most satisfactory work for their females. But many informants have not satisfied their families' conditions either being forced to their current jobs by unavailability of other jobs or because they intended not to comply with their families' conditions. This is illustrated by Aza a middle class administrator: "My father was insisting on the teaching job only but I applied to a bank job and with the help of my brother I got it and then I argued with my father until he reluctantly accepted". This shows that not all women are submissive to their families' decision and some have developed the personality to take relatively independent decisions. The help of the brother reflects generational difference and changing attitudes of males to women’s roles.
In some cases the brother plays a significant role in mediating between his sisters and one of the parents especially in matters related to extra-domestic activities. This is reflected by one middle class informant when she stated: "I stayed for three years at home after graduating until my brother came from abroad and convinced my parents as to the importance of my work." This reflects change in ideologies among some men as to the role of women.

Furthermore the members of the family influence participation of women in the white collar jobs by providing information as to the availability of jobs. Also in many cases women got access to the jobs through the help of immediate family members or other relatives. That is one probable explanation for the similarity of women's job and their family members.

The trend mostly is that each of the members of the family would make his contacts to find a job for the females of the family whether in their workplace or in other places where there are friends and relatives. Thus many are aided by fathers, brothers, sisters and mothers to get access of the job.
Among some middle class families girls are encouraged since childhood to score good marks in examinations to qualify for higher studies and respectable jobs later.

Such encouragement to women is part of a growing trend of changing attitudes towards women's education and employment, elaborately discussed in the previous chapter. Such an attitude is not necessarily motivated by economic conditions but sometimes it is a result of education and growing awareness among the family members.

Age:

The women's involvement in the professional and white collar activities declines after the age of twenty-five. This is indicated by the survey where 56.2 per cent of those in white collar jobs are at the age of 21 - 25, 31.7 percent of them in the age group 26 - 30, 8.5 percent in the age group 31 - 35, 1.5 percent in the age group 36 - 40 while the rest are above 40 years (See table 15).

The presence of the majority of women at younger ages can be related to the expansion of education during the last two decades as discussed in Chapter three. Many of the
secondary schools female graduates have been able to be employed in white collar jobs. The data shows that 65.3 per cent the respondents at the age between 21 and 25 years are secondary graduates and the majority of them are in white collar jobs as indicated by table 15 and 16. Similarly three quarters of those between 26 and 30 years are employed in white collar jobs.

The predominance of young age is simultaneously related to the expansion in some sectors of the economy as shown in Chapter Two, which increased the demand for typists, clerks and secretaries. In fact there is a shortage of secretaries in the labour market that is noticed in the number of advertisements in the newspapers for secretaries. Moreover several informants in the secretarial work have been appointed in jobs even before getting the results of their final examinations. While some of them take the first job they find and then change to several places looking for the highest pay and best conditions of employment, others prefer to wait several months to get a good offer.

Moreover, the rising cost of living has forced many males to quit the low paid white collar jobs and resort to
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<th>Age</th>
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Total: 132
Row %: 95.7
Col %: 80.5
Ratio: 1.0
the informal markets to be able to meet their responsibilities. This in addition to the increasing rate of emigration has increased job opportunities for young women in certain occupations like typing, clerical and accountant work which are increasingly taken by young high secondary graduates. This is specifically enhanced by inability of many families to cope with rising cost of living and hence they send their daughters to work sometime before they reach their twenties.

The presence of fewer women above forty years in the white collar jobs can be related to several factors, among them is the limitation of educational facilities during the 1940's and the prevalence of conservative attitudes towards participation of women in the labour force particularly office work during that time. Thus only 16.7 per cent of those above forty years are in such occupations while the rest are teachers and nurses.

The prominence of teaching and nursing professions among higher age groups can be related to the fact that since the 1920's and until the late 1940's these are the main occupation attended by educated women. Thus the
differences between age groups at any given moment are the result of historical changes which are reflected in the labour market as differences in the kind of occupations they take.

But because of changing economic situation each new age group or cohort entering the labour market would have a different pattern of participation than the previous one. The young women who entered the labour market have different education and training and faced different conditions in the labour market, thus will show different employment patterns than the older ones.

Education and training:

This influences greatly the occupational distribution as in the labour market for particular jobs certain educational qualifications are needed. Thus we find those in white collar jobs mostly with high secondary education while very few with junior secondary education. The latter are mostly of the older age groups who worked when the minimum requirement was not the completion successfully of high secondary as is currently the case with most white collar jobs.
Also many women wait until they find jobs suitable for their educational qualifications. Thus it is unlikely for most high secondary school graduates to apply for nursing or jobs in factories, not because these are socially degraded activities, but because they are more qualified than is needed for such jobs. In many cases they wait to work as typists and clerks which are paid lower wages than workers in some factories. They would accept nursing or midwifery only after getting higher qualification in the nursing college so that their statuses are different from other less qualified nurses.

The influence of education on the occupational distribution of women is indicated in table 15 which shows concentration of high secondary graduates in white collar activities and teaching; 65.0 per cent in the former; 32.7 per cent in the latter and only 2.0 per cent in health service.

The latter low percentage is related to the degraded value of nursing and midwifery, two main health service occupations possible for high secondary graduates.
Table 56
Percentage distribution of the married population by educational level and respondents' current occupations.

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<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Respondent's Current Occupation</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>In teaching</th>
<th>In health</th>
<th>Other white-collar</th>
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<th>Professional</th>
<th>In teaching</th>
<th>In health</th>
<th>Other white-collar</th>
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While for junior secondary graduates their chances have recently been greatly limited for high competition from abundant high secondary school leavers. For many white collar jobs and primary school teaching the minimum required is completion of high secondary level. Thus their chances in white collar jobs distribution are in the post office or telecommunication.

The higher tendency among women with high qualifications for white collar jobs can be related to the policy of guaranteed employment for university graduates in the early 1970's and availability of more job opportunities in these activities. This explains the presence of 64.2 per cent of university graduates and 81.2 per cent of post graduates in white collar jobs as indicated in table 16. Lower percentages of these higher levels of education are in teaching job because it involves transfersence between towns and rural areas and between schools in the towns. While their number in health service is limited by restricted number taken for the medical profession.
Education contributes to the presence of a moderate number of migrant women in the labour force in Khartoum. Many high educated women come to find jobs relevant to their education as this is not possible in rural areas or in less developed regions.

In addition education is very significant in acquisition of information about availability of jobs. Educated women can spot advertisement for jobs. They read about the nature of jobs and which ones are more relevant to them though in many cases the demand for specific jobs in the labour market limit their choice.

Marital Status and Domestic Responsibilities

Single women are predominant in the professional and white collar jobs. This may be because most of them are involved in the labour force soon after completing school. (1) There may also be the possibility that rising cost of living is causing delay in marriage of many middle class and proletarian males and females as they cannot afford marriage expenses or establishment of a home. Thus many females

(1) As indicated later some respondents have not waited very long to get their jobs.
work for some time to help in the establishment of their future homes. This is part of the process of social change in attitudes of people which is influencing the participation of women in the labour force. Many men are giving priority to their single daughter's education or their involvement in the labour force. This is particularly reflected in the help females find from their male kin in acquiring a job. For these reasons a high percentage, 67.2 per cent of the respondents in professional and white collar jobs, are single women.

Married women have lower rate of participation in professional and white collar jobs as only about 45 per cent of this category in our sample are ever married women, while the rest are single. Married women are hindered from participation mainly by domestic responsibilities.

The most important domestic responsibility that hinders the participation of women in the labour force is childcare. This may indicate that the participation of women in professional and white collar activities may be influenced by the fertility rate. Considering that there is still preference for large numbers of children (as
discussed in chapter three) and meagerness of convenient kindergartens and nurseries, fewer mothers are able to be employed. Thus an important factor related to the participation of women is the number of children. The smaller number of children the woman has the greater her chance for her involvement in the job. Also the younger the children are, the less likely for the woman to be employed. This is supported by the data which shows that the percentage of women in the white collar activities decreases with increasing number of children. While 15.5 per cent of them with one or two children only 7.7 have between three and four children and only 7 per cent have between five and six children. The same condition is apparent in the case of teachers where 23.5 per cent of them have one to two children, 6.9 of them have three to four children and 3.5 per cent have five to six children and 1.5 per cent have seven to eight children. Similar pattern is indicated by women in health service. This is the case although with growing economic hardships, presence of large number of children creates need for additional income and thus for involvement of mothers in the labour force. Therefore children and age, which has been previously discussed are the major factors
in limiting the possibility of women participation in the labour force.

As most of the working women are young so are their children. The data shows the women who have pre-school age children are more than those whose children are above seven years of age. Thus 68.5 percent of the mothers in most white collar jobs have pre-school age children and 24.7 per cent have children above seven years. Of the teachers 78.3 per cent have children in preschool age and the rest with children above that age. While this issue is not that relevant for those in the health service.

Thus the age of children for this category does not seem to be a limiting factor. This is because of the prevalent system of delegation and sharing of domestic responsibilities among females. Few mothers depend on the help of neighbours and friends for childcare while the majority of mothers depend on women from their extended families as the case of 70 per cent of mothers in the professional and white collar jobs in the survey. This is the case of most middle class and proletariat women who cannot afford nurseries or kindergartens. This shows clearly that the relationship between participation of women in professional
and white collar jobs and fertility is not a direct one. Rather fertility indirectly affects the pattern of participation as the relationship is indicated by the family's economic condition and the availability of domestic help and to an extent the government policy in establishing nurseries and kindergartens.

Other domestic services have no effect on participation of women in the labour force as women of all classes combine both jobs.

The class position of the family influences significantly some differences in the participation of married, divorced and widowed women. It is less likely that widows and divorcees of middle class families work because they may find support from their families or the husbands or because their qualifications may not allow them a chance to get a job compatible to their socio-economic position. While many women of proletarian class families have to get a job in case their families or that of their husbands can not support them.
Moreover if they are from poor families and if they are middle aged, they are less likely to have the educational qualifications that get them a job in the high professional and white collar jobs. They are more likely to find jobs in teaching and health services as is the case of 22 per cent of all the divorcees and widows in the sample. But this does not exclude the possibility that middle class divorced and widowed women with high qualifications may work depending on the availability of domestic help. In fact most of those widowed or divorced working in the professional and white collar jobs, in the sample have at least university qualifications.

Migration:

The increasing rate of migration to Khartoum has had its significant impact on the pattern of participation in the professional and white collar jobs. The recent tendency of migration of families to Khartoum, discussed in chapter two, has resulted in a substantial number of women in the labour force particularly in professional and white collar jobs as shown in Table 17.
The high participation of migrant women in these activities can be related to several factors. As most migrants come to secure a living in the urban areas, most of the migrant women whether coming alone or with their families, participate in the labour force. The exception are women of rich families who migrate to the city to invest their capital.

Another factor is that many migrant women are young and thus they may get a chance of education in Khartoum and later on seek employment. Most of the migrants in the sample are of young ages. The sample shows that 11.0 per cent of them are less than 20 years, 48.0 per cent of them between 21-25 years and 22.4 per cent of them between 26-30 years and the rest are above 30 years. Moreover most of them are single. This is indicated by the sample where 60.5 per cent of migrant women in the professional and white collar jobs are single, 27.4 per cent are married and 2.5 per cent are divorced and 1.5 per cent are widows. Moreover many migrant women are educated. They may either have come young with their families and have got a chance for education in Khartoum as is the case of 98.5 per cent of the migrants in the sample. They also
may have come specifically to finish their study in Khartoum as the condition of 23.8 per cent of migrant women in the sample. Accordingly almost half of the migrants in the sample are with high secondary qualifications, one quarter with university qualifications and the rest are from intermediate level or illiterate. Therefore being young, single and educated, these women got chances for employment in professional and white collar jobs.

But not all migrant women come with their families. Many come alone and they come to get employed. These are mostly highly educated women who are overqualified academically to the kind of jobs available to women in rural areas or under-developed regions. A university graduate would not find a job in her village unless there is a high secondary school and she is specialised in subjects taught in such schools. A woman graduated as a medical doctor has to work at least the first year in a hospital in an urban area, thus she cannot stay in her village. In addition those with high secondary qualifications have only the option of the teaching profession in junior secondary schools. As the schools are few in rural areas and the underdeveloped regions the chances of jobs are limited. Thus they have to come to Khartoum where
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**Table note:**

*Percentage distribution of the median occupation by phase of plan and demographic criteria.*
there is a concentration of administrative, industrial and commercial activities and where their chances for clerical, and teaching activities are greater than in rural areas or other regions. Those with lower qualifications have the options of health service or industrial sector and many prefer the latter as it has higher payments and less socially degraded. This occupational distribution is illustrated by the sample where 48.7 per cent of migrant women are in the white collar jobs, 41.1 per cent in teaching and only 9.2 per cent in health service.

Labour Market Conditions of Women in Professional and White Collar Jobs:

The discussion of the patterns of participation of women in professional and white collar jobs entails considerations of other important issues related to women in the labour market. Such issues are, occupational choices, acquisition of the job, in-service training and promotion, continuity in the job, job commitment, job satisfaction and absenteeism.

Occupational Choice:

This is mainly determined by the labour market conditions, education of women, family's attitude to women's work
and social evaluations as to what jobs are appropriate to women.

Women's occupational choice is greatly limited by the availability of jobs in the labour market. Although emigration to Arab countries and expansion in some sectors of the economy are increasing job opportunities yet the number of jobs available in the market are very limited. As discussed before only a small percentage of men and women registered as unemployed are placed.

The choices of women is also significantly affected by their educational qualifications. As educational institutions for women are lagging far behind those for men, the former have limited chances in the market. The junior secondary graduates had a choice mainly among nursing, midwifery and telephone operating. This is the case of about 29.3 per cent of those in the health service. But the high secondary graduates have a somewhat wider choice. They can work as typists, clerks, teachers, receptionists, waitresses, airhostesses. But the last three occupations have been available recently with the establishment
of few hotels and restaurants and expansion in air service. Such jobs are still very limited and not highly approved of by families as they involve night shifts.

Thus the choice is between clerical and typing work and teaching. But many women avoid teaching as it involves transference to other regions of which many families do not approve. Only 32.7 per cent of high secondary graduates chose teaching profession, while the rest have taken typing or clerical activities.

For those with higher studies, the limited educational facilities and the high competition influence greatly their occupational choice as their scores in examination determine their specialization. Although the limited educational facilities restrict the specialization and thus the occupational choice of both men and women it is perhaps even more so for women for economical and social reasons as discussed before.¹ Thus whether a woman is a medical doctor, a social science graduate, a secretary or a highly qualified

¹- See section on education.
nurse, her career is determined by the results of her high secondary certificates.\(^1\)

But those who are social science graduates have choices between teaching and different types of administrative occupations. For those who choose latter occupations they have a choice between different workplaces. They have the choice to apply to the vacant jobs announced by the official committee responsible of placing graduates or to seek occupations in banks and private companies. This has been the case for 65.9% per cent of our respondents with high qualifications, university or post university graduates.\(^2\)

In addition to the labour market conditions and educational facilities, what choices are available to women are greatly influenced by the family's attitudes and social evaluations to specific jobs. As discussed before many

\(^1\)- Many women who are aspiring for certain specialisations would repeat the year to get the scores needed for the specialization they want.

\(^2\)- See table 16.
families limit the choice of their women to teaching jobs, while many object to occupations with shifts. As well many respondents never consider jobs which are socially degraded as a possibility to be considered.

Consequently, the occupational choices available to women are determined by a combination of different factors. But the more general trend is for women to take the first opportunity they find. This may be because of economic need as in the case of most proletarian women or because it is the only job available for some time. While for many the first job they find suited their qualifications as it is the case of 58 per cent of the sample. Others had taken the first opportunity they find for the salary is high.

Acquisition of the job:

For the high competition in the labour market and limited occupational opportunities and the malfunctioning of labour offices, many women do not depend on the labour office to get access to a job. Although they all have to get the labour office's registration cards they resort to social contacts to get the jobs they need. This is the case of 75.2 per cent of the sample who have been helped.
in getting their current jobs by immediate family members, other relatives and friends, 11 percent of this group were helped by their sisters, 17.2 percent by their fathers, 1.7 percent by their mothers, 15.6 percent by their brothers, 4.6 percent by their husbands, while the rest 52.1 percent got access to the job through other relatives and friends. To repeat, the help of family members in getting jobs to their women indicates a significant change in social attitudes to women's roles.

Those who resort to social contacts to get jobs are mostly typists, clerks and accountants, not only because competition is high for such jobs but also because vacancy of such jobs is mostly not announced, but information is got through people who are in the service. That is why in many cases we find some similarity between some of the family's members' jobs (see tables 11, 12, 13, 14).

But 13.1 percent of the sample got their jobs through the labour office. These are women with specific qualifications needed in the labour market like nursing and technical activities.
The high instituted and university graduates are to be placed in jobs by an official committee which announces vacant jobs in the government, and chooses those most suitable for the jobs. This has been the main channel for all graduates seeking employment in the government. But those who prefer private sector, banks, companies, or some government corporations have also to depend on social contacts to get access to the jobs there. Although the trend in all these institutions is to announce the job in the newspaper and to grant examine applicants to choose from them, the choice in the last resort is influenced by nepotism. This may explain the predominance of middle and upper class women in highly paid jobs in the private sector and other non-governmental bodies are recommended by their relatives, administrators, professionals, and big merchants to such jobs. But this is not necessarily the case for all of them as some who have high qualifications and experience may stand high in the competition and get access to their jobs. This is specifically the case for those in local offices of international organizations.

The social contacts enhance the acquisition of the job provided that there are opportunities available. Thus
in occupations for which there is high demand, women are less likely to wait long before getting the job. That is why many women in teaching professions and health services do not wait long to get access to a job after applying for it. This is illustrated by 68.3 per cent and 63.8 per cent of these two groups respectively who got their jobs immediately. As indicated in Table 18 the rest have also not waited long, so 22 per cent of teachers and 10.1 per cent of those in health service waited for 3 months and 11.4 per cent and 8.6 per cent of both groups waited for six months. Compared with other occupations they wait for shorter periods.

For other professional and white collar jobs with the exception of secretaries there is high tendency of waiting few months before getting the job as the demand for it is not high in the labour market. This is because the large numbers of secondary school graduates and social science university graduates and some scientific college graduates exceed highly the job opportunities available. Although some of the specialisations are greatly needed and there are vacant jobs yet the deteriorating financial conditions in the government make it difficult for many government departments to have the financial support which allows it
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to recruit for the jobs needed. Thus some have to wait until
the financial support is ensured before they get the job.(1)
Table 13 illustrates that only 26.9 per cent of those in
white-collar jobs got access to the jobs soon after applying
for them while the rest have waited for varying periods of
time. While the rest have waited for three months, 10.4 waited
for six months and the rest 37.4 per cent waited 12 months
or more for that.

This section has shown that most women depend on social
contacts for getting access to the job. Also many have to
wait few months before getting the job, mostly for unavail-
ability of job opportunities.

Wages:

Women in professional and white-collar jobs have no
problem of lower wages as compared to men as legislations
give them right for equal pay for equal work.

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1) This has recently been the case of medical nurses and
dentistry.
But on the overall there are wage differences between men and women as women enter the labour force later than men and as they are concentrated in occupations that pay less.

The predominance of women in areas of lower wages is supported by Gosh's findings about urban labour market. He shows that women are concentrated in lower income groups as compared to men.\(^1\) Similarly the sample data of this study indicates the presence of higher percentage of women at lower pay grades. 40 per cent of the sample are receiving wages above $200. These are mainly highly qualified professionals, most of whom have worked several years to reach higher pay grades. A high secondary school teacher who has been working for twenty years receives £50 (Sudanese Pound)\(^2\) monthly. A post university graduate researcher receives after ten years working period £3 375.00 monthly. A secretary working for six years in the government may receive a pay of £2 275.00. But women in clerical jobs in international organizations are among those highly paid.

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1) Gosh, J. 1943, p. 106.
2) The Sudanese Pound is today equal approximately to 0.43 U.S. Dollars (Dec., 1984).
group as usually they qualify for such jobs after long experience or they are highly qualified. These groups include as well many university graduates in banks and companies.

While the 15.2 percent receiving between £s 16.00 and £s 200.00 monthly includes professionals with several years of service and some clerks with long years experience as well as university graduates in different government jobs with no less than seven years of work. A typist working for 18 years received £s 200.00 monthly.

A large number 46.8 percent of the sample of women receive between £s 120.00 and £s 160.00 monthly. These are fresh university graduates and many teachers with several years of work. But most typists, accountants, clerks and nurses with long years service receive between £s 130.00 and £s 150.00 as the case of 23.6 percent of the sample in such occupation include in this latter group many junior secondary level teachers and telephone operators. A nurse with a 30 years experience receives £s 120.00 monthly.

The rest of informants receive monthly wages less than £s 100.00. These are women in teaching, health service and
white collar jobs. A typist with three years service would receive £80.00 monthly. A health nurse working for 18 years receives £200.00 monthly.

The predominance of women in the last two pay groups can be related to the emigration of men or their avoidance of such low paid jobs which in the rising cost of living would be unrealistic to their responsibilities. But as women lack higher qualifications, have limited job opportunities and in most cases their incomes are subsidiary in the family, they accept lower wages.

In-Service Training and Promotion:

Due to shortage in training institutes there is great dependency on in-service training for improving skills of employees in the country at large. This applies to both sexes. However, nurses and midwives are taken into training schools as soon as they get in the job. After finishing a training period they are allowed to work full time in different health institutions. After several years of service they get further training. Some may get further advanced training to become health visitors or midwives. But this takes place after long years of service so that
the number of midwives is not allowed to grow more than the government can afford.

Although teachers of primary schools used to be given first training course the first years they start their profession, currently for the shortage of teachers in some schools, they are allowed to work several years before getting further training.

Otherwise for all other jobs the training is given after some years of service. Typists have chances of training in the Clerical Institute and many are released for few hours a day in join that institute for better qualifications. Many of those in the administrative activities have chances of training in the Institute of Administration and the University of Khartoum. While teachers may have advanced training in different teachers' training colleges.

The general trend for high institutes and university graduates is to get training abroad. However, this has been stopped by the government for financial problems. Thus currently the concentration is on internal training.
Although training is generally limited for limited training institutions and finance, for women there are further limitations. For some of whom limitation is related to the attitudes of men and sometimes of women in high administrative positions. The father mostly doubt efficiency and continuity of women in the job, thus they favour men for chances of training. For many the attitudes of family members hinder them from benefiting from training chances. This is represented by one the case studies namely of Alia. She got two chances for courses abroad, but her father refused the idea completely. In the third chance she was able to go having obtained the support of her brothers in convincing her father.

Others are hindered by domestic responsibilities from taking training chances. This is the case of many married women with small children. Furthermore labour legislations hinder women from chances of training abroad as unlike males she has no right for tickets or allowance for her whole family. She is given tickets for two children only.
But despite the previous limitations many women have been able to join training courses abroad and internally.

The in-service training in addition to years of experience and efficiency are major bases of promotion. According to labour legislations one is due to be promoted after specific period of service depending on his/her efficiency in the job and the training he/she acquires. As the latter two are greatly influenced and judged by top administrators who are mainly males, there is the possibility of women's promotion being affected by their attitudes. Many women consider that their promotion has been delayed because their superiors have been doubting their efficiency and preferring their male workmates.

Although promotion of both sexes in many government departments is delayed for lack of higher posts and finance. The delay seems to be longer for some women than men specifically if the promotion is for a leading position. In the latter case in fact, it is not only the men's discrimination which hinders women's promotion but women themselves say from such positions. Some have actually refused promotion chances fearing responsibilities while for others conditions of
promotions do not suit their domestic responsibilities. This is evident particularly in the case of teachers.

Many times it is necessary for teachers to work in other regions before qualifying for a school principal posts. As it is difficult for many mothers or single women whose families refuse their work away from the family they miss such chances for gaining experience and hence qualify for promotions. There are few who refuse the chance for working in other regions knowing that it would be difficult for them to combine it with domestic responsibilities. This is also the case among some women in administrative jobs.

For many women the promotion is delayed by their limited chances of training. This limits their ability to compete for higher posts. Thus in-service training and promotion of women are principally affected by general economic conditions, social attitudes and responsibilities of women.

**Continuity in the job:**

As the participation of women in the professional and white collar jobs is mainly related to the labour market
conditions and the wider social setting also their continuity in the job is related to these factors. As many of the women in the labour force are from proletarian class families and they work because of their economic needs, they are more likely to continue in the job for a long time so that their families are able to cope with the rising cost of living as well as hoping to change their social conditions.

Speaking of the continuity one of the case studies, Fatma, states:

"I don't think I'll ever quit my job because my father's pension hardly covers milk and bread expenses and my three younger brothers have at least six years more to finish their schooling and we hope they continue to higher studies to improve the family's condition.

Now my salary and my sister's and what we both get from extra office work (typing) hardly covers our basic needs".

Among the middle class women there are several factors related to their continuity or discontinuity in the job.

Kaitlyn, a middle class highly qualified teacher, reflects on the changing economic situation when she states:

"When I decided to work ten years ago it was because I was bored. My first son was in the nursery and I felt I was in need of a job realizing the social importance of work for women. I got a job in a government department in a section which I thought has relevance to my study. But after one year I felt that socially and experience wise that place is not rewarding. There was overcrowment and actually there was no work at all so I resigned. I stayed at home for six months after which I felt that I am wasting my time nonsensically as
the whole morning is actually spent in fullfilling social obligations which a working woman can disregard. Then I applied for a teaching job. But none I would never quit my job for whatever reason because I don’t know how we live without my salary when now both my salary and my husband’s hardly covers our expenses of the month”.

Thus here the rising cost of living is enhancing continuity of some middle class women in the job. But there are some middle and few upper class women who are continuing in the job for ideological purposes. They believe that independence, achievement and experience gained from work is indispensable and cannot be found otherwise. This is illustrated by Anna’s remark:

“The social rewards are more valuable to me to be committed to my job and to continue in it as long as possible. Many times I fail to convince people who think that I should not work as my family is wealthy. They could not conceive social gain from work”.

The continuity and discontinuity in the job is further related to motherhood role and the attitudes of husbands to women’s roles. Many women leave their job to care for children sometimes they are convinced with such a decision, in others they are not. In the latter case they satisfy their husbands by quitting the jobs for some time and then after their children go to school they return to their
work. This is best illustrated by case of Amal, a middle class medical doctor. She married immediately after graduating from the university. When she finished the year of housemanship she had her first baby. Then her husband, supported by her father insisted that she should stay at home to care for her daughter. She quit her job and stayed at home for ten years during which she has had four children. When the last one went to school she returned to work. Here Amal's case is reflecting the submissiveness of women to men. Fearing the consequences of divorce she has no way out to discontinue her job.

However, Suad, a middle class teacher, represents another case. She took the decision to stay at home herself to care for her children and returned to work after her children went to school. To Suad the pressing factor is the coordination between her teaching job and domestic work. As she says 'With the absence of close relatives or nurseries for my children I had no choice but to leave my job'.

This case shows the impact of domestic responsibilities mainly childcare on patterns of women's participation in the
labour force. Moreover, both Amal and Sond cases show that entries and exits from the labour force are influenced by changes in family conditions.

For 40 per cent of the sample, the work conditions have been behind discontinuity in the job. Several teachers left the job when they were transferred to schools in other regions. Others quit due to problems in the work place, as Amal, a typist notes:

"I worked to support myself but in the workplace I had to struggle to continue the male workmates that I am not a strong girl so that soon after marriage when I realized that my husband's income can support us I quit the job".

But Amal, a middle-class researcher points to another problem when she states:

"Since I got my Master's Degree last year, I and my immediate superior couldn't get any work done. It was so disgusting, that I have not thought of accepting a job before resigning".

Continuity is also motivated by social security in the form of pension, old age insurances, etc. as the state does not support unemployed through a system of social security benefit. Work at an old age is also related to class. Women of proletarian class may discontinue work if their sons or daughters get employed. But many who are committed to their jobs may continue as long as their health
permits them. As an old midwife said:

"I am not in need of money but all my daughters
and sons are busy with their work and families
so my work keeps me busy and acquainted with my
workmates."

Although some women may discontinue the job for different
reasons, the majority who continue seem to have a low
rate of turnover. Women are more likely to stay in the
job for a long time because most of them are in economic
need and their occupational alternatives are very limited.
Thus more than three quarters of the women sampled in the
white collar jobs, 85.6 per cent of the teachers and 91.4
of those in health service had no previous work experience
as indicated in table 39. Of the women sampled only 18.1
per cent had previous work experience.

Women are more stable in their work because their
options in the market are very limited. The majority of
them have no training so that they can benefit from
chance in the labour market. Moreover the greatest
employer is the government and hence conditions would not
be that different in different departments. While the
other alternative, the private sector, banks, companies
and international organizations demand high qualifications
and experience but they offer very limited opportunities,
and in very specific jobs, mainly secretarial and typing work. Thus those mostly changing workplaces are in these activities and they change from government service to the private sector for higher payment and better working conditions. 78.7 per cent of those who had jobs before in the sample are in the white collar jobs. While 15.7 per cent of teachers have been able to change workplaces by the recent increase of private schools at different levels. Similarly the recent trend of establishing private hospitals have opened options for those in the health service. As these are still few, only few of those in the health service have actually been able to change workplace. This is the case of 4.5 per cent of the women in the health service in the sample as indicated in the table 10.

Recently some women mainly teachers, nurses, midwives and lecturers are seconded temporarily to the Arab countries.

**Job satisfaction:**

Many women are satisfied with their work. This is the case of about 60 per cent of the women sampled in the survey. But in many cases the satisfaction is not
attributed to the nature and conditions of the job but it is rather related to the consequences of the work, that is, experience, economic independence and participation in social production. Thus about half (49.9 per cent) of those in white-collar jobs, teaching profession and health service who are satisfied with their work mention such reasons. This is the case because when women worked they were mostly motivated by economic need thus later after getting involved they realize the social aspects of work.

But still there are some who relate their satisfaction to the work itself. Thus 3.1 per cent of those in professional and white-collar category are satisfied with high income and 29.36 per cent are satisfied with their work responsibilities.

Those who are dissatisfied attributed that to work conditions. Many are dissatisfied with low income. These are mainly women in typing and clerical work, nurses and primarily level teachers. As a teacher noted:

"How can I be satisfied when I teach a minimum of 20 hours a week, prepare lessons and correct hundreds of copy books and after ten years work I get $340 monthly."
Some are dissatisfied with facilities in the work. These are doctors, technicians, nurses, midwives and teachers. They complain that conditions in hospitals and schools are unsatisfactory as most of the equipment and services needed are not available.

Also many are dissatisfied because their jobs do not suit completely their aspirations. These are mainly women who after high secondary level are forced by economic need to join low paid white collar jobs. Most of them are studying while working hoping one day to achieve their aspirations.

Thus satisfaction and dissatisfaction are a result of the impact of work on women's awareness or related to the work conditions.

Job Commitment:

The discussion on the continuity of the women in the job has thrown some lights on women's commitment to extra-domestic work. To repeat, many proletarian women would not leave their paid jobs because they needed it economically. So also many middle class women may not leave the
job for ideological and economical reasons and some try to compromise between domestic obligations and their work, to continue their career. Thus generally speaking there seems to be high job commitment.

Women sampled have further asserted high job commitment. Although more than half noted that they would leave their jobs for different reasons, 62 per cent of them are changing workplaces and not the jobs because they are leaving it for promotion, better payment or convenient place of transport. These women asserted that they may take the same job if these conditions are fulfilled. Thus actually those who are not intending to leave their current jobs are three-quarters of the sample as indicated in table 24.

Those intending to leave their jobs would mostly be looking for jobs with better work conditions and these are women in government offices which are overstaffed and/or women who are overworked like some typists, nurses or teachers. These are 10.4 per cent of those working in white collar jobs, 6.82 of teachers and 7.7 of those in health service. While 6 per cent of the three groups are
looking for jobs suitable to their qualifications. Thus here job commitment is hindered by conditions of work itself.

But there are some whose socialization and perception of women's roles hinder them from being committed to the job. Thus some (5.4 per cent of those in white collar jobs, teaching and health service) would leave their jobs whenever their family conditions necessitate that. These are mostly young women who plainly accepted that they would leave the job if the future husband is well-off and can support them, or if the husband demanded that. Thus persistence of an ideology that supports domination of men and subservience of women is expected. But considering the results of a previous survey by the researcher in connecting the percentage of the group with perception of traditional roles for women is decreasing. This can be attributed to the rising cost of living which made many women realize that their work would be indispensable for their future families considering that they mostly marry men of similar class position. It can also be attributed to improve

(1) Working women in Khartoum and ElFasher Forthcoming.
experience of many females which has made them appreciate the social values of work more than the economic ones and thus develop commitment to their jobs.

For the latter reason many women would give priority to their jobs in relation to other social and sometimes familial obligations. Many women stay several hours after worktime to finish their work delaying any other social obligations. Many teachers would be working additional hours to finish syllabus or for helping students with difficult lessons. Many doctors may stay in hospital long hours to attend patients in crucial situations. Similarly many women in administrative jobs would not hesitate to work late to finish a specific work. This is best noted by Ratul, an administrative officer:

"To finish the annual report in time, my colleagues and I had been working until seven o'clock in the evening daily leaving my children to their father".

Also Pathia stated:

"To finish typing the papers for the seminar, I worked the whole of last week until 6 o'clock in the evening daily and thus I was not able to attend some social occasions".

Some women may sacrifice familial occasions for their work.

This is reflected by Alwia when she stated:
"I did not attend my brother's wedding because I had to attend a seminar abroad."

Many other women had restricted their participation in family's social occasions to evenings and holidays, giving priority to their work. This shows high commitment of these women to their work.

Consequently women's commitment to their jobs is related to their work conditions, social perception and obligations of women. It is also related to changing awareness of women of their potentialities and roles.

Absenceism:

This is one of the main problems related to women's work. It is generally stereotyped by employers and administrators that women absent themselves from work more frequently than men. But as other issues related to the women's employment, absenceism from work is influenced by work conditions and wider social setting in which the women live.

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1) During period of data collection, in the procedure of taking permission for conducting interviews, administrators responsible mostly suggest study of problem of women absentism from work as an urgent problem that needs consideration for work progress.
Speaking of absenteeism Araf, a university graduate, states:

"Why should I come every day to work when there is nothing to be done. I mostly go for two or three hours and then go out to do more beneficial things than sitting idle, and once a week I stay at home."

Araf's answer explains the conditions of many employees in certain government offices filled with university graduates, most of whom were appointed when the policy of guaranteed employment for university graduates was in action. Here the absence of work responsibilities encourages women in some government departments to absent themselves from work. This should be seen in relation to the fact that in many other government departments where no such over employment exist women would work overtimes if necessary. The lack of uniformity in the employment policies in different departments contribute to the issue of absenteeism.

Women in international organizations and in banks and private sector's companies and corporations absent themselves rarely from work. This is mainly the case because their specific work responsibilities and strict measures are mostly imposed by employers to ensure that work must be finished in specified time limit.
But there are many women who are working in the government offices and in other working places who do not absent themselves from work unless for urgent matters, regardless of whether restrictions are imposed by employers or there are responsibilities to be carried. There are women who are responsible and committed to their jobs.

But absenteeism from work is significantly related to the social relationships, traditions in social occasions and the position of women in the society. As mentioned before the kinship and neighbourhood relationships are very strong and essential for the individual’s life in the society. The obligations of such relationships necessitate help and cooperation of the kins and neighbours in important social occasions. Although some of these obligations are changing with changing situation yet still fulfilling of some obligations causes both men and women to absent themselves from work in less urgent family conditions. Thus 30.0 per cent of those in white collar jobs, teaching and health service absent themselves from work to according to social occasions. This is also expected as many traditions in social life have not been transformed to suit women’s working conditions. In fact women need to maintain such social obligat-
ion due to the fact that such wide social relations can be useful in a situation of uncertainty in a rapidly changing society.

But the traditions and expectations in social occasions are different between men and women. Women carry service work in social occasions and these force them to be absent from work more often than men. A man absent himself in the case of the death of an immediate family member and so is the women. This is a right approved by law. But the death of other relatives, uncles, aunts, cousins or neighbours is also a social occasion that necessitates absence from work. Women are forced to be absent from work in such occasions not only because people come to console them but they are also more likely to be responsible for the preparation of food needed in that occasion. Moreover, going to work during such occasions in the first three days of the mourning is not socially acceptable and may violate the social relationships in a society which still highly values such social relations and considers women's employment as subsidiary to their domestic roles. Although men are also expected to be absent in such occasions, they are more free to go at least for few hours, to work.
Although absence in such social occasions is considered socially necessary by many employers and administrators and hence accepted by employees in such occasion, women's attitudes vary. Some give priority to social obligations and absent themselves from work in different social occasions. But others would not do either for restrictions imposed by employers or because they are giving priority to their jobs.

However the data revealed the strength of social relationships leading to absenteeism as a higher percentage of all groups admitted that they are absent from work in immediate family's social occasions for three days and more they would also consider to be absent in the case of other relatives and neighbours' occasions, particularly death. In the latter occasion they would be absent for one or two days depending on the permission of employers.

Absence is related to marital status. Mostly mothers have higher rates of absenteeism as socially the childcare is in their responsibility. Thus in children's illness mothers are forced to be absent from work. But it is less likely
that many mothers absent themselves from work in absence
of nurseries or kindergartens as relatives or neighbours
solve such a problem.

Summary out

This chapter has discussed the different professional
and white collar jobs women are involved in Khartoum. It
has been argued that socio-economic conditions greatly
influence the activities women take. Women of upper
classes are employed in specific professional activities.
But the middle class women although prefer highly respectable
professions yet many are forced by growing economic hard-
ships and demand in the labour market to take any white collar
occupation available. In this category there are as well
women from proletariat class who have been aided by certain
family conditions to continue education and qualify for
professional or white collar jobs. Women in this category
are educated, young and single in addition a moderate
number of them come originally from outside Khartoum.

In the labour market their occupational chances are
greatly limited; they are more concentrated in low pay
grades. Their chances for training and promotion are
Categories of Women in the Labour Market:

1. Women in the Workers Category.

In this category women are concentrated in two kinds of activities. They either work as cleaners and messengers in the service sector or in manual activities in industries. As such the nature of their activities are different from that of the women in the white collar jobs. In addition the activities of the women’s workers are not highly valued. Thus it is completely avoided by upper and middle class women who are dominant in the other category. However, they share many characteristics with women in the white collar jobs as their participation in employment is influenced by their families’ socio-economic conditions, their attitudes and the labour market conditions.

The information provided here is of a group comprised of 200 women workers in the two main occupations. Statistical data is available for about 168 of them and the rest are taken as case studies. Here similar to the trend in the previous chapter the analysis is based on statistical information, case studies and group discussion.
Women in Service Occupations:

The main service occupations women are taking are cleaners in schools, hostels and hospitals and they entered this occupation since the 1920's. But cooking, though a specialty of women at home, is dominated by men in institutions. Women help in cleaning the kitchen and distributing the food but have nothing to do with cooking. One possible explanation is that this activity has long been dominated by men and that women find no chances at present to join it. Women are not engaged in other service activities like gardening, driving, guarding etc.

But recently women entered an occupation from which they had been completely excluded in the past. Until few years ago only men work as messengers in offices but women are continuously taking their places as is noticeable in government offices. Such activities are so low paid and lack prospects of advancement, that they are continuously being deserted by males. Thus women are finding opportunities for such jobs and employers are forced to accept that.

1) These activities in the government offices involves also cleaning responsibilities in addition to running some errands.
employer stated "In the last year, the males appointed for such jobs have not stayed more than two weeks and they just disappear so we have to replace them by women". Women take such jobs as their options in the labour market are very limited.

Pattern of participation of women in the service occupations:

Women's participation in the service sector is particularly enhanced by their family class position. All women in these occupations are from poor families and they are forced to work jobs by the conditions of their families. As such these activities are socially downgraded.

Their marital status influences significantly their participation in the labour force. In contrast to women in professional and white collar jobs they are mostly widows, divorcees or married women. Those who are married have their husbands in low paid jobs and the husband's incomes are not enough for the family's needs. Thus they work to maintain the family's income or in case of loss of the male breadwinner, to support the family. This is confirmed by the data which shows that 90 per cent of women in such activities are ever married women, 50 per cent of the latter are married
women, 25 per cent divorced and 25 per cent are widows. In all cases the husbands are in the workers category. 60 per cent of the latter work as cleaners, guards, cooks, 8 per cent are farmers, 4 per cent are petty traders and the rest in different low pay unskilled activities.

The data also shows that other members of the family, father, brothers, sisters and sometimes mothers are in similar low paid unskilled activities. Thus they are not able to support their female kin. But the lack of support of male relatives is not a significant factor for some women as they do realize the importance of economic independence.

The presence of single women in the service occupation is a recent change as most of them have worked recently. Their participation in these occupations is related to the changing family conditions, economic need and their lack of any skill and unavailability of other job opportunities.

As to age, women in service occupations are predominantly middle age and elderly women though there are few young ones. Three quarters of women in service occupations in the sample are between 35 and 45 years old, 15 per cent are above 45.
years and, the rest in their twenties. The presence of the younger groups indicate a change in the pattern of participation in service occupation as those elderly women did not enter this occupation at such young age. With the increase in the number of women in need of work and availability of opportunities in this activity, women will be predominant in this activity and other low paid jobs.

Being mostly middle aged, and poor, these women also have little education. This is confirmed by the data which shows that 52 per cent of those represented in the sample are illiterate. 4.7 per cent with two or three years of elementary education, the rest have completed that stage and few of the latter have even done some years in the junior secondary level.

The change in pattern of participation in these service occupations is particularly related to migration since those in the younger age groups are predominantly recent migrants to Khartoum. In addition also the majority who are working as cleaners and messengers are migrants. In two large work-places, all the women messengers are migrants.
Generally migrant women are highly involved in service occupations being one of the few alternatives available to them. As they are mostly married and divorced their chances are poor in industry due to the fact that employers prefer single women. The other alternative is trading which needs capital that they may not afford. Thus the service sector is their only resort at least for some time, that is, until another alternative is made available.

As in professional and white collar occupations the domestic responsibilities constraint participation of women in service sector is lessened by presence of other females from their extended families or sometimes neighbours. Childcare is not a problem to many women who enter such occupations at elder age as their children would be grown up.

Although the recent trend of entry at younger ages has resulted in the presence of number of mothers of young preschool children, childcare has not been a problem for them due to the presence of extended family members.

Women in Industry:

The prominence of women in recent years in industry has been mainly motivated by a desire to mobilize unused
Manpower reserves, for a long time women have been relatively absent with exception of very few women working mainly in small industries. But since last decade as a result of emigration of men to Arab countries and the attraction of unorganized sector to many workers, large factories have been suffering (not actually of labour shortage as percentage of unemployment is high) but of high labour turnover. Thus this has for some time been solved by the presence of a large number of unemployed women.

The increase in the number of women has been substantial such that in some factories they outnumber male workers. In one factory there have been 112 female workers and 55 males. In another there have been 38 females and 72 males. In few, very small factories, all workers are females. Moreover in the biggest textile factory in Khartoum the number of women in 1963 is more than ten times their number in 1975, but the major increase has been in the last four years.¹ But in the latter factory men outnumber women. One probable explanation for the tendency of small factories to employ women is related to

The ability of the management to control the latter.

Women in factories are predominantly from the proletariat class. They are daughters and wives of men in the low paid jobs. They work to help or support their families.

A changing trend in the participation of women in industry is also indicated by the presence of few women whose families are not in need of their incomes but they work to support themselves and to help in improving family conditions. This reflects a change in the awareness of women as to their roles in their families and perception of wider social context. The latter is a result of wider changing economic and social conditions in the society.

Age is a significant variable in relation to the participation of women in the labour force. The majority of women in industry are young (below the age of 25 years). Out of 60 women interviewed in a factory only 4 were middle aged women. Of all the women interviewed in factories 40 per cent were less than 20 years, 70 per cent in their twenties and the rest above that age. This reflects
the impact of changing economic situation on changing roles of women in society as more women at younger ages are contributing to the financial needs of the family.

Being young, these women are also unmarried as evidenced by 95 per cent of women interviewed in factories. Although changing situation in the society has contributed to a delayed age of marriage, the industrial management has contributed to the predominance of single women in factories. There is no stated policy on the part of the management in connection with recruitment of single women. But absence of married women from factories may suggest that the industrial management have been attempting to avoid the costs of maternity leave. Simultaneously, the evidence of avoidance of married women to factory work is available. Many married women, particularly mothers, have not considered factory employment, because the nature of factory work specially shift-work is unsuitable to their domestic responsibilities. In addition, financial restrictions related to absenteeism or late coming to work may make factory employment unrewarding and not different from wages in service occupations. Thus the domestic responsibilities seems a contributing factor to presence of
small number of married women in industries.

Education is another important factor related to participation of women in the labour force. The majority of them have terminated their studies at the elementary level for various economic reasons or social attitudes of the family as the case of 25 per cent of women in those activities in the sample. Some (25 per cent) have reached junior secondary level only, for similar reasons. While 50 per cent of them are illiterate. The low level of education of women in factories limit their chances for other jobs. But the presence of few in high secondary school level reflect limited job opportunities for some. As the industrial concentration in Khartoum has been one important factor behind migration to Khartoum, the pattern of participation in industry is influenced by the latter. For many migrant women the factory work is a highly fortunate alternative regarding the jobs available to them in their place of origin or in Khartoum.

Many of the women in factories have come to Khartoum in the last ten years. While some accompanying families, others have come specifically to work as the opportunities
of work for them in Armenia are better than in any other place.

**Type of Women's work in factories:**

Women in factories are concentrated in specific jobs. In food, chemical, perfumery and soap industries they are mainly concentrated in packing processes. While in textile industries they are engaged in spinning, weaving, tailoring, embroidery and packing. Some are employed in cleaning. But they are excluded from other activities thought by factories' managements as difficult for women and more suitable for men. For example, in textile industry women are completely excluded from coarse spinning process. Consequently there is segregation of men's and women's activities.

But in activities considered suitable to men there may be few women. This is the case specifically in food factories and all would be mostly in packing processes. But the more general trend is the presence of few men as supervisors in departments set mainly for women but there are no women in department of activities considered suitable to men only.
The manner in which factories manage women's activities is a realization and reinforcement of a wider perception of women as weak inefficient and unstable participants to certain jobs.

Occupational choices:

Women in the workers' category have very limited options in the labour market. Their choices in the market are limited by their lack of education or skill and the economic conditions of family. Being uneducated or with low levels of education they are excluded from many professional and white collar jobs. Actually their alternatives are domestic work in other people's homes and self-employed activities.

The domestic service is not highly regarded socially. In addition it is low paid and insecure and married women cannot combine it with their domestic responsibilities. Self-employment needs capital and skill which most women may not afford and similarly it is insecure.

Consequently these uneducated women are left with the choice between service work and factory work. The married
once have no chula but service work as they are avoided by managements of factories. Which of the two jobs a single woman takes is influenced by the demand in the labour market. Here the family has no influence on the choice since it is limited by qualification whether these are related to education or skills.

Acquisition of the job:

Social contacts have a significant role in acquisition of jobs. The labour offices have a minor role in this connection. Personal contacts with employers is another way attempted for getting jobs.

Information about availability of jobs is mostly acquired from relatives, friends and neighbours whose efforts are mostly essential in getting access to available job. While some would acquire the job through recommendation of these related contacts, others have their relatives, friends and neighbours actually following the process of appointment in the job. 60 per cent of the sample have got work through social contacts.
Some have got information about the availability of jobs from labour offices. This is the case of migrants with few relatives in town, who can help in such connection. These migrants had to depend on contacting the labour office, and this is the case of 15 per cent of the respondents.

Others keep going to different workplaces asking for jobs until they find vacancies. This is also the case of young migrant women who have come with the intention of working in factories, thus they keep going to different factories until they get their jobs. Thus more than 40 per cent of women in factories have acquired their jobs through such ways.

Mass media has also been a means providing information about vacant jobs. Thus some women get access to their jobs by getting information from newspapers or the radio but mostly such information is communicated to them by educated relatives and friends. This is the case for 2 per cent of women sampled in the workers' group. Consequently, how women get access to jobs is influenced by malfunctioning of labour offices which give social contacts prominence in this connection.
Social contacts are particularly influential in case of jobs with few opportunities in the market such as service occupations and in case of factories where preference for men may delay acquisition of jobs. Although the period of waiting in search for a job is essentially influenced by the availability of job opportunities, it is also affected by social contacts. Many women in factories have got their jobs immediately after starting their search as a result of high turnover of male employees and thus availability of job opportunities. Similarly is the case of some service occupations described recently by me. That may explain why about three quarters (71.4 per cent) of informants in these occupations have got their jobs immediately.

But the less are the opportunities in certain occupations the longer the period women have to wait to get access to the jobs. This is the case of cleaner jobs in schools, hostels and hospitals where no major expansions are taking place to increase job opportunities in these services. Thus women seeking such occupations may wait for 3 months to 6 months or even longer. Also some women seeking factory work may wait sometime before getting
their jobs since they like to have the work place close to their homes or insist on having jobs with good working conditions. These different factors explain the case of 10.7 per cent of the informants in the workers category who waited for 3 months, 6.0 per cent who waited 6 months and the rest who waited longer than a year.

But comparing women in workers’ category with those in professional and white collar jobs, the data shows that higher percentage of the former have got their work immediately and their number decreases with longer periods of waiting. A probable explanation is recent higher percentage of turnover in workers’ occupations as compared to other occupations as well as the expansion in industrial sector. But it may also be related, as mentioned in chapter 3, to the rewards of waiting. Many of those in professional or white collar may wait longer to get better paid jobs.

Wages:

Generally workers’ wages are very low compared to other occupations. A worker with 35 years in the government employment receives only £2 120 monthly. The majority of women with long periods of service hardly reaches £100 inclu-
ding transport and living allowances. Women in big factories who relatively receive better wages would only receive more than 75 pounds monthly. This includes bonus, allowances and overtime. But many women especially those in small factories receive far lower wages.

Moreover in big factories wages can be cut easily as it is related to punctuality and attendance in some factories and production in others. In the former case, for example in the largest textile industry, an absence of two days a month results in the loss of 30 per cent of the bonus and the absence of more than two days in the month means the loss of bonus that month. The wage differences between males and females when looking at occupations is related to the concentration of women in low paid ones, low standard in education and lack of training compared to men. But for those in the workers category, differences in wages is related to other factors. In the service occupations women are not involved in activities that enable them to take overtime work from which many male workers are benefitting. While the women in factories receive lower wages than men as they do not work night shifts. This is the case of large factories. But in small factories, the
owners exploit the situation of absence of trade unions, ignorance of many workers of the labour legislations and their need for the job and hence pay them low wages. In several cases wages have been less than minimum wages stated by the government.

Generally the lack of women's education and socialization contribute to the wage differences between their's and that of men. An employer could pay women less without great resistance. Women are far more passive than men. Thus in many small factories, owners prefer to employ women and give them lower wages exploiting further the lack of trade unions, ignorance of women of labour legislations and the women's need for money. But even in large work places women's submissiveness and passiveness prevent them from getting their rights. Many women lose their allowances, suffer financial penalties as they cannot exert pressure. In addition dominance of men in top positions further contribute to lower wages of women. In factories many women are pressured by their male supervisors thus they suffer cuts from their wages without being able to defend their rights. Ultimately here what is significant is not only political power or pressure but collective
action or at least great awareness of women is needed to allow them to defend their rights and resist discrimination.

Lower wages of female workers has forced some women specifically those heading families to carry on other occupations in their spare time. Spare time occupations are such as tailoring, traditional hairdressing, singing, body decoration. But recently some are trying to engage in petty trading in workplaces. Few secure additional incomes by selling foods or drinks to colleagues but this has to be done in restricted places and needs permission from administrators. There are also some who sell clothes, perfumes and household equipment to other workers. This shows how people combine other occupations with paid jobs.

In-service training and promotion:
The nature of most of the work women do in factories or in services occupations need no training. Cleaning is an activity associated with women in their homes. While in factories women do repetitive and unskilled work that needs no training. The exceptions are few women working in embroidery and in spinning who are instructed for one or two weeks on how to use machines.
As women are engaged in unskilled 'dead end' jobs that need no training, their prospects for advancement and promotion are nil. Only in areas of large concentration of women and mostly with long years of service would a supervisor be appointed as a supervisor and in most cases this position does not entitle her for any financial increases in wages. During the long years of service what women get is an yearly allowance which in many cases is not secured as it is given depending on judgement of male supervisors and managers of her efficiency. Consequently women workers have no chances to be promoted to better paid jobs.

Job Continuity

As women in the workers category are engaged in activities with no prospects for more skilled jobs, it is more likely that they would continue long in their jobs. This is the case of women in service occupations. They have high tendency to continue long in the service as their current jobs are more secure and involve less physical labour than the types of petty trading or domestic services which are otherwise open to them. In addition, the presence of extended families solve the problem of domestic responsibilities which would have otherwise constrained
the possibility of the continuity. In addition many mothers of small babies working in schools, hospitals or hostels can feed their small babies either by bringing them to the workplace or, in few cases, by returning home if the workplace is close to their homes.

But the problem of childcare makes it difficult for women working in factories to continue. Should they marry or have children even if the management did not get rid of them, they may have great difficulty to continue in their work. This is because the concentration of most industries is far away from residential quarters and long hours of work makes it difficult physically and financially for mothers to attend to their small babies. The cost of feeding babies with powder milk while the mothers are at work is more likely to force such mothers out of factory jobs. Consequently continuity in factory work is greatly affected by marital status of women.

The continuity of women is also related to the new trend of combining other self-employed activities with their paid jobs. Thus their ability to increase their income normally increases the possibility of their continuity in
the job.

Migration has also its influence on continuity. Many migrant women who have not come with immediate relatives and who have come specifically to work are more prone to discontinue work. This is the case of some young females who came to work in factories for specific periods and definite ends. Thus once these ends are fulfilled they are more likely to discontinue work.

The changing conditions of the family may be a factor influencing continuity of some women. Elderly women may discontinue their occupations if their sons or daughters are employed and the family conditions improved.

Eventually, the changing aspirations and attitudes of women are also influencing their continuity on the job. Many women would continue to work even if family conditions improved. This is because they aspire for further improvement sometimes for upward mobility. While others would continue because they developed new values in relations to their work. The latter became to them a means of obtaining respect, experience and social achievements.
The different trends of women in service occupations and factories are further evidenced by women in the sample. Many women in service occupations have been continuing for over a period of ten years. The majority who have a few years of service are in factory occupations.

Ultimately continuity in the job is influenced by women's need, limited skills and prospects, their marital and domestic responsibilities and their changing economic and social situations.

With regard to turnover, there seems to be less tendency for many women in service occupations and in factories to move from their jobs. This is because their jobs opportunities are very low and the percentage of unemployed is very high.

Women in service occupations seem to be more stable in occupations because of surplus of unskilled labour and because their alternative service occupations are restricted by attitudes as to what is socially suitable to women.

But in factories there seems to be some variations.
between small and big factories in relation to stability of women. As big factories are offering better wages and facilities, some women in small factories mostly aspire to leave to the former ones. But this is curtailed by limited job opportunities. Out of sixty women interviewed in one factory, only one had been working in another smaller factory before the current one. But the rest had no job before the current ones. The stability of women in jobs is further related to their limited experience and passiveness which makes them less tenable than men to risk changing their jobs or workplaces. But on the other side the changing aspirations of women especially the new educated women cause them to change jobs until they find other socially suitable to their qualifications. Furthermore temporary migrant females are not stable in their jobs. Otherwise tendency for stability in the job would remain.

An evidence of high stability in factories is asserted by Ali's (1983) study of Sudan Textile Industry, the biggest textile industrial employer in Khartoum. This study shows that female workers have relatively lower rates of turnover in the factory than the males. The average
turnover rate being 17 percent for females for the period 1975-1983 compared to 32.8 percent for males in the same period. Moreover while the turnover rate for women has been decreasing persistently in the last three years, it has been increasing persistently for males.

Job satisfaction:

Women in the workers' category show relatively low satisfaction with their jobs. Many are dissatisfied with low income which is irrelevant to the rising cost of living and their needs. This is particularly the case of women heading families. Many are dissatisfied with dominance of men in work and the pressure the latter exert upon them. Women in the factories are disgusted with work conditions, the poor conveniences available for them and the hard physical work needed.

But many considering their poverty regard the salary as satisfactory. This is the case of factory women especially if they compare it to women in service sector.

But many of them are satisfied with independence, experience and changing values they acquired from work.
Absenteeism

This is influenced by work conditions and women's responsibilities and social obligations as the case of women in professional and white collar jobs.

Restrictions imposed on women workers and absentees force many women to be punctual and not to absent themselves from work. But mostly when they do not come to work, they are pressured by personal illness, domestic responsibilities and social obligations. Mothers absent themselves not only when they are ill but when their children are ill as childcare is their responsibility.

Moreover many could not resist fulfilling their social obligations even if that results in a cut in their wages since reciprocity of social obligation is the only social security system they have. In this connection there are significant variations related to marital status, domestic responsibilities and the range of social obligations. Here there are differences between women in service occupations and those in factories.
Those in service occupations being mostly married, divorced or widowed women and mostly mothers are likely to be absent from work more than women in factories. The latter are single and mostly with light domestic responsibilities as will be discussed later. In addition single women have lesser social obligations.

To what extent do women workers absent themselves to fulfill social obligations is greatly enhanced by the attitudes of supervisors and their relationships with the latter. In case of service occupations women's good relations with their supervisors may allow them to fulfill some of their social obligations without risking any penalties. A woman may be absent in case of her uncle's death for one day and she needs only to inform her supervisor who may come himself with others to console her.

This may not be the case for a factory worker. The supervisor may have good relation with women worker but the system of management and supervision would not give him a chance to consider such social obligations of his subordinates.
Thus the supervisor had to report her absence and the women suffer the consequences. For these reasons many women in factories are less likely to absent themselves in social obligations as the economic cost is also higher than the rate of those in service occupations. Thus in factories restrictions imposed by the management discourage women from absenting themselves from work. But some social obligations are so binding that they absent themselves from work whatever the economic loss may be.

Evidently absenteeism is related to a complexity of social and economic factors involving both the employee and employers. But a more general trend is that ever married workers tend to have higher rate of absenteeism than single women and the stronger the restrictions and penalty of absenteeism the lower the rate of absenteeism.

Job Commitment:

Job commitment of women in workers’ group as those in professional and white collar jobs is related to conditions of work and perception and awareness of women, mostly gained from work. Whether conditions of work are favourable or not greatly influences the extent of women’s commitment.
to their jobs. Many women with favourable work conditions such as reasonable and interesting responsibilities, good pay and social atmosphere at work place, are more likely to develop high commitment to their work. While many are intending to leave their jobs for its heavy, tiresome responsibilities or low pay or disagreements with supervisors and workmates. But despite the prevalence of the latter work conditions some women would give priority to their work over their social obligations and would not terminate their work to stay at home. This is because they developed commitment to extra-domestic work recognizing the value of independence and experience gained from such work. Thus the commitment of women vary significantly with their changing awareness.

In contrast the commitment of women to their work is lessened by women's unchanging perception and attitudes. Many consider their role mainly as housewives. Thus they wouldn't hesitate to leave the job or give priority to their familial and social obligations over their jobs. This shows that women are influenced by their socialization as to their roles in the society and the relevance of extra-domestic work to their life.
But commitment of women may further be affected by women's domestic responsibilities, to what extent domestic responsibilities impinge on women's work which together with general social attitudes and perception are less likely to help her to be committed to her work.

Consequently commitment of women 'workers' to their work is a result of a complexity of factors. If sticking to the job is taken as a significant index of commitment, women in service occupations and factories in Khartoum are not highly committed to their jobs, since more than half (52.7 per cent) of the sample are intending to leave their jobs. But considering other factors, specifically assertion of women of the importance of extra-domestic work for its social and economic benefits, women can be considered as having high commitment to their jobs.

Summing up:

The discussion about women in the workers category has clearly indicated that women are concentrated in cleaning and recently errand activities. In industry they are mainly involved in packing, sewing, spinning and weaving.
Women in the service sector are mostly uneducated or with low level of education, ever-married and middle-age or old. These are their significant different characteristics from women in the professional and white collar occupations. Although women in industry are young and single they are predominantly illiterate.

The occupational choices of women in this category are far more limited than the women in the professional and white collar jobs. Their work is harder and under difficult conditions and they receive lower wages than educated women in the latter category. In addition their chances for training and promotion are very meagre. They show more tendency to continue longer in the job and they are more punctual, compared to women in the other category although they are less satisfied with their working conditions.
CHAPTER SIX

Categories of Women in the Labour Market:

Self-Employed Women

Introduction

The information about Sudanese self-employed women is scanty. This can be related to the neglect of women's studies in general and to their marginal positions in the society and the market in particular. Even if women are considered, the statistical information about them has never revealed the actual size in relation to men in the same employment of the self-employed activities in which they are engaged. This may be because the significance of self-employed activities of women to production is not clearly conceived by the census designers and the economists and planners concerned.

The activities and conditions of work of self-employed women differ considerably from the activities of women in the other two categories as will be discussed latter. But like women in other categories, the participation of women in self-employed activities is influenced by family and market conditions.
This chapter considers the different self-employed activities of women. These activities are restricted to the range of activities considered suitable to women. As mentioned in chapter three women are absent from the transport sector, contracting services. This is mainly because these activities need certain skills which are associated with men. Similarly, women do not work as carpenters, electricians, and painters, not only because these activities need initial training and access to tools but basically because such activities are considered out of range of occupation's suitable to women.

The self-employed women in Khartoum work as petty-traders in the market. In addition, there are a variety of activities carried outside the market. Women are also prominent in domestic services. These different activities are considered in separate sections.

The information is partly based on detailed interviews with 750 informants in the market in addition to 30 women working outside the market.
As different socio-economic factors combine to determine the women's involvement in self-employed activities, case studies and group discussion were used for obtaining material which can allow for the analysis of the trends followed by women in this field and for determining the existing general pattern.

Fetty-Traders in the Market:

The largest congregation of female traders is in Omdurman market, although there are some women in all other big and small markets. In Omdurman market there are about 300 women. In Sagana market there are 40 women and in other small markets their number range between 10 and 20 each. However, the number of women in the markets fluctuates considerably. This is because some come irregularly while every day there are a number of new-comers to the market, especially those selling food substances since most of them do not have licenses. Those who have health certificate cards mostly get it after

1) Omdurman is an old town and with Khartoum North and Khartoum they constitute the capital Khartoum. For historical background see Chapter 2.

2) Sagana is a living quarter developed in the 1960s in Southern part of Khartoum.
they have been in the market for some time and it means that they have been licensed to work.

The different premises assigned to men and women in the big market reflect the influence of the gender-biased ideology, as well as the marginal position of women on local councils' policies and the persistence of these ideas in society. Accordingly, women are grouped in specific places and men in others and the latter have far better premises. A description of premises can reveal clearly discriminatory position of women.

In all big markets, most men have properly built shops or booths which are spacious while women are crowded in small spaces and some of them sit under the sun with no shade. Although some men especially newcomers sit under shade, but they differ from most women who have been for long time in the market and their position is recognised by the market Local Council as they pay a nominal monthly rent.

Until the late 1970s the women's section in Omdurman used to consist of four very big verandas but recently one of these verandas was taken from them and given to men.
Women were forced to be crowded in the other verandas. Each veranda which is approximately twenty meters by five meters is divided into two sessions so that the women sitting are making two rows. In each row there are about sixteen women each has a space of about one meter by two meters where she puts her goods and sits. Each has a small place to store her goods. But one of the verandas is not divided and each woman has a place enough for a stool and a small box on which she puts her goods. Some of the goods may be put on the floor. The places of women are getting smaller and smaller as the number of women are increasing.

The verandas on which women sit are open and not secured against theft. Some of them have big store boxes to keep their things while the majority have to carry their goods home every day and bring them the next day. Thus they have to limit their goods to few things. Some of them hire watchmen to secure their goods but many cannot afford it. Some of them may ask some merchants to hold the goods for them in their shops during the night.

In other markets no specific places are secured for women thus they sit under the shade of trees or in cor
ners in front of shops or sections reserved for men. The position of these women is not secure as they can be sent away by these men any time the latter like. Only one woman in Sagana market had a shop which she inherited from her mother. But because all other women near her shop display their things outside, she also keeps her goods outside the shop.

However, in the newly established markets, women would be sitting directly under the sun to sell their goods. Mostly women in such markets would be selling food thus they are there for a short time. But women selling tea and coffee may be moving from shade to the other or may get permission from males in the market for a small shady corner in which they sell their things. In all markets women selling traditional bread sit directly under the sun near butchers and vegetable sellers to be accessible to the customers. Other women would choose any strategic place to sit on. This may be near bus stations or petrol stations or schools.

Women in newly established living quarters would be sitting near a shop and displaying their things on the
floor. Here anyone who comes first sits where she likes. The men in such conditions would be having a table as they stand where they can display their products. They are in a totally different position as they would be selling things in large quantities and choose the place for prospects of higher prices and earnings.

All women selling foods in the market have no specified places and are harassed by the health authorities and the police. In a case their products and equipments will be confiscated. However, this is not done exclusively for women but for all street vendors whose numbers have increased tremendously in the market.

Pattern of participation of petty traders in the market:

A number of economic and social factors combine to promote a pattern of participation of petty traders in the market different from women in other self-employed activities and other paid occupations. Their participation is influenced by their family conditions which reinforce the age and the skill with which they entered the market and their conditions in the market. Their involvement in the
job is related to labour market segmentation and job opportunities. Thus variations in participation according to family class position, age, residential and marital status, education and earnings are expected. These different factors reinforce continuity in the job, job commitment and attitudes.

The family conditions are one fundamental factor driving women to the market. Women came to the market because they are in need of money either to subsist or to support the family. But there are few whose motive is to maintain the status of the family and sometimes to improve conditions of family.

Unlike other African towns, for example Nigeria, trading activity is less socially desirable for women. Thus those who are involved in it are predominantly working class women and very few middle class ones forced to it by the changing economic conditions.

Hence most of the female petty traders belong to households of informal sector workers. Their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons work intermittently as construction pawns.
market porters, butchers, tailors, or generally in low paid occupations. Even those whose males work in paid jobs are in lower pay grades mainly as watchmen or casual workers. Also many of the women have their mothers and female relatives involved in similar activities. Therefore, there is high compatibility of occupations or incomes of some members of the family.

The compatibility of occupation does not hold in case that the income of the woman enhanced education of children. In such a case the sons and daughters would be able to get into paid employment. This has been the case of 40 per cent of informants in the market whose sons and daughters are working in white collar jobs, in professional activities as nurses, teachers, doctors or judges. Also some of them have their sons involved in commercial activities and have been able to improve their capital tremendously as compared to their mothers.

Otherwise the poverty of the women's families force their children to discontinue education and work at an early age. But young females may get married if they have not been employed. Ultimately the limited educational facilities and the expenses needed for children's education
letter in education. But also the growing commercial activities in the market attract the children of poor families from schools to work mainly as porters, street vendors and transport conductors. Thus also the future bread winners of the women in the market are in insecure, low paid jobs. Apparently it is less likely for women in the market to bring major changes in the family’s conditions as the case of many men in their position.

The family class position is also fundamental in relation to the level of education, age, marital and residential status of women in the market. It furthermore largely reinforces their position and conditions in the market, influencing their capital, earnings and continuity in the job.

Age: This is an important variable in the pattern of participation in the labour market. In contrast to the women in the paid jobs, the participation of women petty traders is high after the age of twenty five. The findings suggest that the majority are above 30 years and higher percentages in the 40’s and 50’s as indicated in table 19.
The prominence of middle and elder age groups can be related to the unpopularity of education and bureaucratic works at their time and availability of wage labour. Similarly domestic service and other self-employment activities were less in demand and it is less socially approved by their families. Thus petty trading was actually their only alternative.

Different age groups in the market are associated with different goods. Those selling peanut and peanut butter are young girls, between 9 and 16 years. While most of the middle age ones are involved in sale of cooked foods and traditional bread, some middle aged and elderly women sell the handicrafts, herbs, perfumery, hats and other households goods, particularly women's needs. The differentiation in sale of goods between age groups is related to changing social and economic conditions, which increased demand for certain goods traditionally produced at home and widening occupational choices for women in the market. But the elder generations are less likely to compete with younger generations or submit to changing demand in the market for physical conditions. Preparation of food and traditional bread is a labourious task.
Age groups also differ in their concentration in the marketplace and within markets. Elder ones are mostly concentrated in big and old markets. The exception are elderly migrant women, who may be found in newly established markets. But the younger generations are found either in separate places in the big market, and this may be because they are selling different goods, or they are concentrated in small newly established markets. The different concentrations of different age groups are related to the availability of consumers more than the segmentation of the market discussed before. Women selling traditional bread would be sitting near butcher and vegetable sellers to be accessible to consumers coming to buy their goods. (1)

The age groups are further different in the entry age to the labour force. Considering working perioda, the elder generation came to the market at an elder age than the younger generation. This is vividly indicated by the data in Table 20, which shows that more than half of those above

1) This has been the main reason that the women selling traditional bread in Odumpan have been for long refusing to move to an area assigned to them by the Market Council considering it as not accessible to customers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of stay</th>
<th>Less than one year</th>
<th>1-4 years</th>
<th>5-9 years</th>
<th>10-19 years</th>
<th>20-24 years</th>
<th>25-39 years</th>
<th>40+ years</th>
<th>Ever lived in</th>
<th>Ever lived in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 80</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage Distribution of the Sample Population by Period of Stay in Years and by Current Age.
80 years and three quarters of those above seventy have been in the market less than thirty years. Thus these older age groups entered the market at their 50s or later than that. This is to be compared to 77.4 per cent of the age group 40 - 49 years who had been in the market for a period more than 10 years, 37.4 per cent of them being there more than 20 years. Ultimately the women in this age group entered the market in their 20s.

This indicates a fundamental change in the pattern of women participation in petty trading. This change have particularly been imposed by the growing economic hardships which forces women of younger age to enter the market.

Education:

Low education or lack of it is one significant factor related to the involvement of women in self-employed activities. This is vividly illustrated by the data which shows that all women above fifty years of age are illiterate and the rest have terminated their education in the first grade. The exception are some middle class women who are mostly highly educated.
The lack of education for older generations can be attributed to the fact that during their childhood education was not popular for women and was not facilitated by the colonial government and was resented by many families. But for younger generations their lack of education is due mostly to their family’s poverty. While for some especially migrants, non-accessibility of schools in their area was a reason. The influence of education in case of older generation is very weak considering that bureaucratic activities were less popular in their time and thus even if they are educated they are less likely to be involved in it. Although teaching and nursing could have been options for them but their working conditions were discouraging. Job opportunities were limited as the number of schools and hospitals are limited. Above all the age at which they entered the market makes any other options inaccessible even if they are highly educated. This is similarly the case of the few elderly middle-class women. While for younger generations education limit their choices to nursing, service occupations or factories’ production activities, the limited job opportunities and may be incomes in the trading activity, are more influential regarding their involvement in petty trading.
Martial status:

One fundamental factor driving women to petty trading is their marital responsibilities. Being mostly old, women petty traders are mostly widows and divorcees as shown in table 21. Married women are less likely to be found in elder generations in the market before these last two decades except in the case of the husband’s sickness and the absence of other breadwinners. This is because incomes were mostly compatible with the cost of living and the male breadwinner mostly can earn the subsistence of the family.

The prominence of the widows can be related to several factors. These women being mostly from poor families lack any source of financial support in case of the death of the husband. Their families’ poverty hinders their other male relatives from supporting them as is traditionally expected. This is because the the latter are mostly in low income groups and they can hardly support their families, let alone their relatives. Even if they can find help from brothers or sons, as is the case of several informants, that may not satisfy their basic needs. Such a condition shows how the changing economic situation can promote changes in values and expectations.
### Table 21

**Percentage Distribution of Married Population by Marital Status by Sex and Age (in years).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Less than 20</th>
<th>20-44</th>
<th>45-64</th>
<th>65-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80 and Over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Frequency</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed Frequency</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated Frequency</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Frequency</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer Frequency</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The divorced women are less prominent than widows in petty trading. One probable explanation is that their right for maintenance from ex-husbands discourage their participation in trade although many husbands escape from such duties after divorce. Moreover suing such family problems in court is not only socially not approved but it takes long time and many expenses which may women cannot afford. This in addition to the fact that even if husbands fulfil their duties, that may not be enough for the women’s needs, especially if their husbands are in wage labour as is mostly the case. This may explain the increasing participation of divorcees in petty trading.

However, the growing economic hardships has contributed substantially to recent proliferation of a number of married and single women in the trading activity in the market. This is illustrated in Table 21 which shows higher percentages of married women at younger age groups and very young singles.

1) ‘Nafara’ is the Arabic word for money paid to a divorced woman by her ex-husband to support her and her children. According to the recent reform in the law that should be 1/3 of the husband’s income.
women. All of them work mainly to support the family income.

Consequently marital status is one significant factor related to participation of older poor class women. But the changing economic conditions is weakening its influence on the pattern of participation of women in labour force as women of different marital statuses are in the market. This is more likely for poor class women than others. This change in the participating pattern is largely affected by increasing migration to Khartoum and hence residential status of women is significant.

Migrant status:

Generally migration influences the participation pattern in petty trading as certain goods produced by women are essentially needed and more convenient to large number of single male migrants in Khartoum. Moreover, migration has greatly enhanced participation of women in petty trading as increasing numbers of migrant women are entering the market. This is confirmed by the data which shows that a high proportion of those entering the market recently are migrant women. This is related to recent tendencies of family migration in Khartoum noticeable lately by the grow-
in slum areas.

The change in the pattern of participation in petty trading is greatly influenced by migration as the single and married younger women in the market are predominantly migrants coming from poor groups or regions where ideology related to women approve her extra-domestic role. This is specifically the case of women coming from the west and southern regions.

Capital:

The capital of women in petty activity in the market is fundamentally determined by the economic conditions of their families or relatives. Mostly coming from poor class families, women petty-traders are more likely to have very small capital which they take from their male relatives or sometimes borrow it from neighbours and friends.

A woman may come to the market with empty bottles and boxes which she begged from relatives and neighbours. Many may start their activity with less than ten pounds.\(^1\) But the capital of the majority of female traders would not exceed £5. This shows their marginal position.

\(^1\) This is partly for older generations who started their activities before these last two decades when the pound has a higher purchasing power and thus some women have been able to start their activity with £2 only.
In comparison to men as the latter are generally more able to secure higher capital. This documented by ILO report which shows that of the cocoa surveyed the minimum capital is not less than 30 pounds.\(^1\) This is because many of the latter take a low paid activity to secure a moderate capital with which to start their activities, or being men it may be easy for them to work with big merchants until they establish their own activities. But these two means are less possible for women. This is not only because of limited job opportunities in low paid jobs but because if women occurred a paid job it is less likely for her to change to trading activity realizing the security of the former and her limited options, profits and insecurity of the latter. Moreover, working as merchants' assistants is not socially approved for them. Limited by their age and socialization they are less likely to work as street vendors. Despite these limitations there are very few women who have secured their capital from a previous paid occupation.

But women are discouraged from securing large capital with which to start their trade by the limited range of

goods they have and their marginal position in the market. A woman realises that there are specific goods socially possible to her as a woman. In addition she is aware that she cannot secure a place in the market thus she has to start with minimum goods and thus needs minimum capital for that. Thus the negligible number of women in the market trade who started with a relatively high capital of above 50 pounds are women who inherited places in the market and thus were able to keep and display wider quality or range of goods.

The expansion in capital of petty traders is influenced by whether they are the producers of their goods, whether there is a demand for the goods they are selling and what is the kind of competition they face in the market. Regarding the first factor, in case they are not direct producers their profits are shared by the actual producers and this lessens the possibility of expanding their capital. Similarly if the demand for their goods is low their gains are low and their capital is unlikely to increase. In addition the high competition is more likely to result in small profit margins and inhibits the possibility of any expansion in capital necessary for extending their
But the expansion is further influenced by women's financial commitments in the house. If she is the main supporter, a high proportion of her profits would be consumed in providing needs of the family. But if she is supporting the income of family there is the possibility of securing an expansion in capital.

Accordingly some women selling foods have been able to have substantial profits and expand their capital and activity. Some women selling food in strategic places where no competitors are available have been able to employ labourers to cope with increasing demand. The opposite is the case of women selling men's head caps. As the latter is now mostly imported from abroad or brought by middlemen from outside Khartoum, their profits are very meagre and thus their capital has not expanded. Similarly women dealing with charcoal containers and wood ovens are continuously losing higher percentages of their profit to middlemen supplying them with the goods instead of getting

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1) Scott, A. H. 1979, p. 126.
it directly from producers.

Moreover, generally women's possibility of expansion in big markets is reduced by their high concentration in specific places. The presence of few women dealing with palm containers in Khartoum market have enabled them to become wholesalers. But in other cases many women would hardly gain what is needed for their financial responsibility and thus reduces their capital. In contrast, others have expanded their capital by contributions from employed sons and daughters and their low financial commitments at home.

On the whole a significant mean for expanding capital available to women in big markets is the credit association organised specifically for this purpose as will be discussed in a following section.

Through these different means some women have expanded their capital to few hundred pounds but their conditions in the market has not changed as their prospects are limited by their subordinate position in petty production activities.
Goods:
These are determined by the capital the women have, their skill and experience, and their domestic responsibilities. As well it is greatly influenced by values as to what is appropriate for women to deal with.

The low capital which dependent women can secure limit them to cheap goods and small quantities of it. Low capital has recently prevented women from dealing with some goods associated with them as its costs has risen tremendously. This has been noticeable in markets in greater Khartoum where most women deal with wood scents (tali, and phaf but not sandal as the latter is a bit expensive). Few with high capital sell sandal wood after processing it. They also deal with cheap herbs and spices.

Women petty traders sell goods which are traditionally their speciality. These are cooked foods, peanut, peanut butter, traditional bread, dried meat and fat, chickens, eggs, youghurt, cheese butter, pigeons and different handicraft products and head caps. In addition their range of

1) Fali, phaf and sandal are different kinds of woods which women use as fumigation to have an attractive smell.
goods is limited to females needs. That is they sell cheap
kitchenware produced locally, dusters and charcoal con-
tainers.

Women's range of goods is further limited by the
market process for obtaining the goods and the place needed
for selling them. Thus a very limited number of women
deal with vegetables and a negligible number with fruits.
This is not only because such goods need large capital
and are dominated by men but the process of getting it from
the producers is beyond the social and economic capacity
of many female petty traders. The latter mostly do not own
and cannot afford transportation facilities or costs and
places to sell vegetables in quantities that make their
efforts worthwhile, i.e. secure for them some profits. Thus
the very few who are dealing with vegetables are enhanced
by the lack of competition from males in some markets or
possession of pales and network that made such activity
possible. The survey shows that some women are selling
vegetables in a newly established area in a neighbourhood
far away from the market. As a group they hire a van to
transport their vegetables and they sell it in the street
putting it on the floor or on the back of carton boxes.
The few women in big markets have inherited the place from their male relatives and are enhanced by cooperation of other male sellers in dealing with the sale of vegetables.

No petty trader is involved with the sale of fruits in the market because one needs the capital and place for that. More fundamental is the fact that the dominance of men may soon exclude them from the competition. That is why the few women dealing with it sell it near the hospital where no males are competing. Above all, women in the market are not involved in it as it has long been associated with men.

The kind of goods that women deal with is also influenced by age, marital status and domestic responsibilities of these women. Thus older ones deal with goods that need less effort and mobility. They are mainly selling goods brought to by producers or middlemen but they do not produce such goods themselves. The younger generation mostly sell things they produce themselves.

The ever-married women and particularly mothers of young children choose the goods that does not take them...
long from the house. Thus if they make cooked foods or drinks or traditional bread, they do small quantities to spend less time in the market. The exception are those who can bring their children with them, then they can make larger quantities. But middle-aged married women with no childcare or with relatives carrying domestic responsibilities deal with larger variety of foods as they can stay longer hours away from home to sell their product. Apparently, domestic responsibilities influence the products women sell.

Above all women are influenced in the choice of goods they sell by market demand. Women’s choice of particular goods would be particularly enhanced by their awareness or relatives’ awareness of demand in the market. This is the case of most recent young petty traders selling cooked foods, tea, coffee, sweets and candies in newly established markets or schools. In most cases the activity is proposed to them by their male and female relatives who may help in providing capital and information as to the suitable place. Three women in Chuhum Central Market have been brought by their male common relative. Another selling near school has been encouraged by her neighbours.
The conditions of the market determine to a great extent whether women stick to the products they started with or change it. This is firstly related to the expansion in capital. If there is an increase in the latter a woman may increase the quantity of the same products she is selling if the demand for it is high. Otherwise many women try to widen the range of their products to lessen the insecurity of the market and increase her profits margin. But some women may reduce their range of goods specially those for which the demand is low or those less accessible from producers. But some women may illuminate goods sold by other competitors, while others stick to particular commodities for its high profits.

These different patterns have been observable in the markets in Kharboum. Some women started with empty bottles and now are selling wood scents, and different kitchenwares. Other selling wood scents and herbs have widened their range to include dusters, kitchenwares, spices and handicrafts while some stopped dealing with some handicrafts like mudpots and plan carriers as they cannot afford their rising prices. Other concentrated on the latter commodi-
ties so as to dominate the market.

However, it is unlikely for women selling traditional bread and cooked food to trade in other goods. It also secures good profits which makes it unnecessary to deal with other goods but expand the activity itself by having helpers to deal with larger quantities. In several cases women dealing with such products have hired other women either to help in production of traditional bread and cooked food or help in the sale process by washing dishes or preparing tea. But with older women there is a shift from the sale of traditional bread and cooked food as its production becomes less possible for them.

The market condition influences greatly the activity of few women in the market as they keep shifting between products according to their availability in the market. One woman may buy any cheap vegetable in the market and sell it. Otherwise she may sell plastic bags. She may sell both products in the same day if she finishes from the first one in a short time. Another one would sell eggs if she finds it from wholesalers. Sometimes she may try pigeons or chickens. In other days she sells the sour milk
she processes at home. Another is a woman in Al Hourada market who would be selling onion sometimes and carrot buga at other times according to the availability of these items in the market.

But the dealings with goods is also influenced by women's commitment to the job, her working period and more fundamentally her awareness of the market conditions. The higher her commitment, the more would be her awareness of market conditions and the more likely the changes in the range of her goods provided her earnings are high. Moreover, the longer she stays the more she is aware of market needs and more compatible will be her goods or its quantities. The latter is specifically the case of women selling cooked foods and traditional bread. Such relationships can be less definitely stated as many other factors may be intervening such as changing family conditions.

Conclusively the range and quantity of goods are determined by a wide range of social and economic factors.

1) Al Hourada is a living quarter in Omdurman.
related to the women's dependent position as well as market conditions. The range and quantity of goods women deal with reflect their marginal position in society as men are dealing with a wider variety of goods. The latter deal with goods from which women are completely excluded like cloth, electrical equipment, meat, gold, groceries, etc. They sell some of the commodities women sell but in larger quantities and on a wider scale, like wood, scents, kitchenware.

But women have not been able to indulge in the sale of many goods traditionally associated with men. They are not hindered from that economically because some women who have been able to expand their capital have never, for example, thought of dealing with cigarettes, soap, and clothes. Although the accessibility of such goods from whole-salers may prevent most women from attempting but from the discussions with informants, the influence of perception of segregated activities is much more influential here. It needs more than economical ability and market experience.

Earnings:

As most women petty traders have low capital and are dealing with marginal goods they are more likely to have low earnings especially compared to men. In addition their earnings are affected by whether they are producing
the goods themselves or buying it from producers or middlemen.

Commodities such as scents, herbs, palm containers or kitchenware are either durable or less needed by people thus only limited quantities. In addition, they are supplied to women from producers. For these reasons a woman dealing with such commodities is less likely to secure high earnings. She makes a little higher profit from herbs and scents as she can control the quantity and raise the price but she is limited by competition from other sellers. Her chance of high profit is in the case of scarcity of some herb or when she sells dried meat which is forbidden by the health authorities. Here she can charge higher prices. On the overall a woman selling such a commodity would secure between fifty plasters to five pounds daily depending on her range of goods. The more restricted her range of commodities the less are her earnings. But relatively the earnings are very poor compared to other petty traders and to males.

As petty traders selling foods are producing it themselves, they are more likely to make higher profits depen-
ning on the level of competition, transport costs, quantity
and variety of foods they make. The women selling traditional
bread can also make good earning since they can charge prices
according to the market conditions. The higher the price of
the dough, the higher the price they charge adding the trans-
port costs. The women in small markets charge very high
prices since they find no competition, but those in the big
markets have lower prices since their number is large and
they have to compete to sell their products. Depending on
the quantity, the majority of informants would make an
average profit between two to five pounds daily from tradit-
ional bread sale. However, there is a high probability of
loss because many of the latter have no health card and thus
the health authorities may come and confiscate their products.

The sale of cooked food is similarly a source of high
income. The earnings from it depend on the strategic place
the women choose, the quantity they make and varieties of
foods they make. Only one or two varieties at most can be
done as transport increases the expenses. Women in such
a condition would make a profit between five to ten pounds
daily. But some middle aged women, who through their long
time in the market have been able to expand their capital
and increase the quantity and variety of food they sell, relatively secure much more higher earnings. From observation of the daily activity these women would make up to 20 pounds a day as they stay in the market for the whole day. Clearly, the women in food stalls have better earnings than other petty traders.

This latter factor has made earnings a significant factor enhancing participation of women in petty trading. But the earnings reflect the marginal position of women since their earnings are far relatively below that of many men in the market. A young boy selling cigarettes would likely get a profit of no less than 5 or 10 pounds daily.

Aspects of the Labour Market Experience:

Some of the important aspects of the labour market experience are the extent of women commitment, women satisfaction and continuity of the job. These different aspects are related to each other and they are greatly influenced by work conditions, the social atmosphere of work experience of women and their familial circumstances.
Job satisfaction:

Women petty traders are highly dissatisfied with their work conditions and social atmosphere. The nature of work is tiresome and the workplaces miss basic conveniences and socially they are exposed to a lot of embarrassment. But the petty traders selling foods are satisfied with their incomes, while the latter is a source of discontent for others dealing with other goods.

Despite these variations, many are satisfied with their economic independence and changing roles in the family.

On the whole, urban petty traders expressed more satisfaction with their work.

Job Continuity:

This is influenced by different factors, changing family conditions, nature of the work, changing attitudes of women, their experience and to an extent market conditions.

As the majority of women are involved in petty trading for economic need, the probable expectation would be their discontinuity in work with improving family conditions. But
such a tendency is not probable for many cases of petty traders in Khartoum. In contrast there seems to be a high tendency for continuity in the job. This is illustrated by my findings which show that many women have been in the work for long periods. Moreover, a negligible number expressed their intention to terminating the work.

Women are more likely to continue in petty trading activity because in most cases the conditions of the families hardly improve to the extent that their contribution is not needed. As mentioned before even if incomes of the women's families has increased by employment of other members of the family, women's income is needed for coping with rising cost of living. Also many women have large numbers of children or are supporting dependents whose needs necessitate continuity of women in the job for a long time. The young single woman's income is basic for the family's expenditure and for her own future family as she would mostly be marrying a man in the same socio-economic conditions. Consequently the family class position limits any prospects for improving these women's economic conditions and enhances their continuity in the job.
The continuity of many elderly women in the market is related to the values they developed in relation to their work. Thus even though some have other sources of income and their family conditions improved yet their commitment to their work surpasses the financial rewards. Thus they continue in their work as they are used to it, and it gives them satisfaction. While others highly value economic independence. Thus they work to satisfy their needs and support themselves.

In some cases income generated from petty trading is considered relatively high that aspirations and expectations for improving family's conditions further necessitates continuity in the job. Also ability to increase capital and expand activity is an important enhancement for continuity in the job.

The discontinuity in petty trading is enhanced by changing family conditions. In case of the employment of the elderly woman's sons and daughters her need for income may be eliminated. Thus she is likely to discontinue her work provided she has not developed high values or commitments in relation to the latter. The family need for her
domestic services may become more important than her income.

Single girls are more likely to discontinue petty trading if a better paid job is possible or if they get husbands who can secure good earnings. Furthermore the discontinuity in the market may be caused by market conditions. Some women may quit the job as they fail to stand the competition. For some the competition of some males or large scale production has reduced demand for their products so badly that they have been forced to discontinue.

Life histories of many petty traders has shown that they are less likely to have an interrupted working life. They are less likely to quit their jobs for few months intermittently. An explanation may be because of persistent economic need; but another probable one is their fear for losing customers. Although the latter may not be applicable to the case of women selling handicrafts, herbs or palm containers as they are less likely to have regular customers as the case of those selling food. But the latter may also be motivated not to interrupt their work by risk of losing the workplace as it is not officially reserved.
Cooperation and competition:

The cooperation between women is greatly hampered by their positions in the market and society in general. Having small capital, dealing with marginal goods and being inexperienced in public activities discourage them greatly from cooperation that can promote their conditions in the market. Thus they neither have their own organisation nor are they members of the Market Graders’ Union organised by men.

The only form of cooperation available among some of them is a traditional form of credit associations organised among some women and including few men. The credit associations are found among elderly women with a long time service in the market. The latter enabled them to establish social relationship and hence trust on which such associations are organised. No claims or bills are written in the process of money exchange in the association.

The credit organisations are found among women in Onumpa. In one case women are members of an association organised by a male trader in the market. Those among women involve small contributions relevant to their earnings. Those with men have larger contributions thus only few
women are able to take part. For the former the contribution ranges between 2 and 3 pounds a month and it is far higher for the other.

The presence of a large number of women in the market selling a limited range of goods results in intense competition and thus lower profit margins and limited possibility of expansions in activities. In addition, the dependence of some on producers or market for getting their inputs make them vulnerable to fluctuations in prices which either increase their costs of production or lessens their profit margins.

The few women who have been able to expand their capital have almost monopolised the sale of palm products. Two women in Omdurman and three in Khartoum concentrated on that by buying them directly from producers in large quantities. Thus they have been able to control the price. However, their earnings are relatively small in the market as these are cheap and not regularly demanded items. This is specifically the case when compared to men in petty trading who with small capital can deal with wider range of goods shifting according to demand thus increasing their
profits tremendously compared to women.

But women are restricted by their social position and values related to their work from competing with men. The latter have even been dealing with goods traditionally related to them. This is done by young male street vendors and by large scale producers.

**Middle and upper class female traders:**

The pattern of participation of middle and upper class women is different from other petty traders in several aspects. The important precipitating factor is the availability of capital. The major course is to invest it and maintain family's income for some or improve family's condition for upward mobility for others. But for upper class women it is a prospective capitalist investment. Thus the magnitude of activity would be relative to the capital.

Accordingly involved in trading activity some middle-aged women with moderate capital and a small business. This includes sale of imported goods, like dresses, perfumes, shoes, cosmetics and a variety of goods demanded by women. Others had groceries. But the very upper class have large-
scale business. One such case is a woman owning a factory producing children's dreams and two had a farm producing eggs and chickens.

In most cases although the capital involved is tremendously large compared to the majority poor petty traders in the market, it is far below that of men in similar activities. The exception are upper class ones whose access to adequate security made them eligible to bank borrowing.

Education is a very significant factor in participation patterns of middle and upper class traders. The majority are highly educated women. Even those who have low level of education have been supported by educated sisters and daughters. They are all ever-married women with husbands mainly top level administrators and merchants. The substantial amount of capital originally belongs to their husbands or other male relatives. In only one case has the capital been accumulated by the woman from previous work.
The education and capital have been very important incentives for the women traders in this group. Some have entered the market as a rational choice being aware of the market conditions and the likely prospects of high profits. But there are other motives. For some it involves an alternative to a previous work unsuitable to family condition, or a substitute to a loss of a job, while for others it is a continuity of the jobs of dead husbands. In one case it is an expansion of a small trading activity started before.

The prospects of advancement and continuity are very limited for most of them as they face severe competition from male large-scale producers. The middle class ones have been greatly limited by their capital and inexperience from conducting a prosperous activity. Thus their business is declining. One is limited by her domestic responsibilities and thus she is almost in the process of stopping the activity. But one woman is insisting on continuing despite the numerous problems she is facing. She is supported by her highly educated daughters who, though are taking it as a subsidiary job with their mother, they are highly committed to it. The upper class women are continuing as
they are supported by their men and they have the capital to stand competition. But their position is rather insecure especially with the growing interest of foreign investors in fields such as farm products in which they are involved. Recently the market is flooded with some farm products of a Kenyan company supported by the government.

**Women's self-employed activities outside the market:**

Some self-employed women conduct their activities at home. Their accessibility to the market is restricted by social attitudes and their domestic responsibilities. To many families the involvement of women in market activities is not socially approved and morally dangerous to their females. Although this is the attitude of all middle class it is also prevalent among some lower class families. The latter case illustrates the persistence of traditional attitudes and perception of women.

The domestic responsibilities are similarly significant constraint to some women's involvement in market activity. But for other the availability of customers in the living
area is a more stronger precipitating factor for their conducting activities at home. This is mostly the case of proletarian class women who sell goods highly demanded by people, like traditional bread.

Proletarian class women who are involved in petty trading at home are predominantly motivated by economic need. They are mostly widows and divorced women with children or other dependents who need support. But middle class women are in need of additional income to maintain their status in the changing economic conditions.

The class of women influence the capital women are likely to have for their activity and also the goods they deal with. Thus the poor ones deal with goods that need small capital and regularly demanded goods. While the middle class women can afford to deal with goods irregularly demanded by few people. Furthermore, women of each class would choose goods relevant to their skills and social position.

Thus the working class women at homes sell traditional bread, foods, sweets and handicrafts products.
While the middle class women make specific kinds of food on demand by customers like cakes, pastries, biscuits or sell dresses, sheets, pillowcases or a variety of other imported goods. The working class women do not only lack the capital and skill for some of the latter goods made by middle class women but also have no facilities of producing or getting access to them.

The women selling at their homes have no licences with the exception of few dealing with imported goods. For example two women in Omdurman have had licences and they travel abroad to bring their goods. As the women are not in the market, they depend on their social network for selling their products. Thus they mostly start with relatives and neighbours who in turn bring other customers. But some are depending on supermarkets and small shops in the neighbourhood for merchandising their product. Thus their profits are decreased due to charges of sale required by shopowners.

The earnings of self-employed women is influenced by women’s class position. The middle class women charge higher prices as they mainly deal with customers of their
class or from the upper class. Even the working class women who sell to higher classes get more for the same products they sell to the woman of their class. For example a woman selling traditional bread in a third class area would charge lower prices than the one working in middle class area and dealing with its people. Thus the earnings are influenced by the class of the customers women deal with.

In addition, in all cases, the earnings are determined by the demand and supply and presence of other competitors. Although women of middle class are dealing with less regularly demanded goods they can secure good earning as they charge high prices. These women may find competition from large scale producers although they can always compete due to the good quality of their products and may secure a number of customers who have preference for home made things.

In the case of proletarian women they can secure high earnings as they deal with highly demanded goods and they mostly secure compatible supply. Here the influence of the presence of other competitors is reduced by the quality
of their products and the preference of customers for good quality goods. In one area a woman has been selling traditional bread for fifteen years continuously. During that time two women in the same area tried to indulge in similar activity but could not compete with her for customers.

An activity related to self-employment at home is that of dalalía. This is an old self-employed activity taken by women. The nature of the activity is to buy dresses, perfumes and kitchenware and move in the neighbourhood areas or to relatives and friends to merchandise goods. The payment is done in instalments.

This activity has been flourishing particularly before the last two decades when very few women could go to the market to buy their things. But it is still continuing as many women especially poor ones do not afford to pay in cash for many of their basic needs.

The involvement in such an activity though influenced by economic need, it is not necessarily always the case as it needs capital, wider social network and freedom from
domestic responsibilities. But more fundamentally it needs a socially independent woman who can deal with merchants and move around to find customers. That is why it is mostly associated with middle aged, divorced and widowed women of middle and proletariat classes. But as it is not a highly valued activity it is less attempted by the former class though their number have recently been increasing.

Such an activity can be started with a small capital and latter on expanded. Thus the proletariat women would start with cheap house and kitchenware and depending on demand they later widen their range of goods. But the middle class ones start with expensive but limited range of goods to avoid possibility of loss. In both cases the activity is expanded by cooperation with several merchants and customers. The former would give them the goods demanded by the latter and wait to be paid later. Thus if the merchants do cooperate and if the customers pay regularly they are likely to secure high profits because they usually charge high prices. Recently some women have expanded their activity tremendously dealing with different durable expensive goods.
The changing aspirations and interest of housewives has caused middle class women to widen their range of goods to imported shoes, sheets, dresses, beds, curtains, carpets, etc. In addition the difficulty of getting some daily needs has encouraged few women to add some food items to their range of goods. One woman would go to the market and bring any cheap and good quality vegetables and fruits which she sells to her neighbours.

But the activities of many middle class women are slightly affected by competition from some merchants who are offering similar facilities to women and with lower prices. Others are continuing as their customers have less access to merchants offering such facilities.

Accordingly the continuity of women in such activities is related to an extent to the commitment of their customers. Some women have terminated such activities, when customers escaped payment of their instalment and they lost their money. Others have not been able to secure long term customers.
Domestic Services:

This activity as an occupational alternative for young females is very significant in relation to migrants and urban employment patterns of women. Although it is hard to offer precise estimates of the incidence of domestic service of the female urban labour force and the prevalence of recent migrants in that position it may be possible to provide thorough discussion.

The demand for domestic servants is an old phenomenon. But it has been largely enhanced by the emergence of middle and bourgeois classes whose socio-economic conditions and their changing life styles have raised the need for help at home. Recently, the participation of women in the labour force has also significantly contributed to increasing the demand for domestic service. Domestic tasks needed are mainly cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing clothes and childcare. But also baking of traditional bread, making specific perfumery and helping in parties and celebrations.

Until the late 1970s certain domestic tasks like cleaning, washing and ironing have been dominated by male migrants. But recently expansion in manufacturing activities in
industry and low wages in domestic service has made the
career activity economically worthless for them and any
other work in the market more rewarding. Thus males are
increasingly deserting domestic service. Those involved
in it do so for a short period until they find other
jobs. Thus this increased opportunities for women who are
now doing certain domestic tasks especially that they
are preferred by many employers for social reasons.

The participation of women in domestic services is
influenced by lack of job opportunities, women's lack of
education and skill, migrant status and marital conditions.
Women are indulged in domestic services for economic need
thus they are all poor class women. It is the only alter-
native available for many especially for foreign migrants
as they are not allowed paid work in factories or govern-
ment offices. While for many other young female migrants
domestic service is a highly socially valuable and access-
able job. Thus they rarely think of other alternatives,
I.E. industrial occupations. For middle aged and ever
married women lack of education, domestic responsibilities,
limited opportunities in service occupations and the
policy of factories management in avoiding mothers, limit

their employment chances to domestic services. For many, the free room and board is a significant incentive since it is part of the job condition.

As women in domestic service are predominantly migrants they get access to their jobs through relatives who come to reside in Khartoum before them. Similarly other urban jobs are sought through relatives and friends. Recently it has been possible for male domestic servants to get a job through the labour office. But this is not the case for females as they may either not be aware of such a channel or because relatives secure jobs for them.

In relation to these different factors influencing participation there are significant variations in age, marital status and sometimes place of origin of migrants regarding the type of domestic tasks performed, wages and career patterns.

It has been noticeable that middle aged and elderly women from western region work mainly as nannies and cooks for a fixed monthly wage and in most cases they would be living with the employer. The young single females from
the Nuba mountains work mainly as helpers in the kitchen although some may do cleaning activities. They also live with their employers.

The young single females from the southern region work in cleaning houses and ironing of clothes. But they mostly live with their families and relatives and come to work daily. However, the married southern females like the married Nuba ones are more specialised in cooking. Involved in the domestic services also are young single girls from the eastern region. They mainly work as nannies and as assistants in the kitchen. They also live with their employers.

The females of the Bellahia group of all ages and different marital statuses are involved in domestic services. They work irregularly with different employers and are paid by piece work. Because of their poverty most of them live in the slums or in poor areas. They group in specific lower class areas and in a few middle class areas where employers come to ask for their services. They may do cleaning, washing of dishes and clothes, collect garbage and are specialised in grinding of spices. They are the
lowest paid groups because they mostly work with lower classes who cannot afford to pay them well.

The elderly and middle age foreign migrants work mainly as maids and cooks. While the young ones work in different domestic services, cleaning, washing and ironing or cooking or child care. The young married ones also work in such activities. Almost all foreign migrants live with their employers.

The domestic tasks of middle aged and elderly women urban dwellers differ from all the previous groups. The main activity for these women has been baking of traditional bread for middle class families in the latter's houses. But in the last few years the sale of traditional bread in the market has reduced the demand for such service. Currently the services which these women provide include only baking of specific bread for fasting month, making of perfumery and food in cases of celebrations. This is provided mainly for bourgeois families. Thus their activities are irregular and seasonal. They are paid by piece work.
Women who are originally from Khartoum are less involved in other domestic services like cleaning, washing and ironing when compared with migrants because these activities are highly associated with men and socially degraded. In addition they either have more chances of education than migrant women or wider social network, both of which may secure them paid jobs in government departments or industry.

Generally domestic services are associated with low pay, although recently wages for domestic services have increased tremendously for men, it is still very irrelevant to living conditions and far lower for women. Even those working permanently or temporary for upper class families receive higher wages than those working for middle class families. Those receiving far lower wages are those working by piece work in the proletariat class area. In the first case, depending on the tasks performed, wages given for domestic services may have reached £3 180 for cook and £2 750 for nurse. Many middle class families give up to £6 60 for similar tasks. There are still some new omen migrants who accept very little payments from their proletariat employers for occasional work.
The difference in wages, between the Sudanese migrant women and foreign women is related to the class of their employers. The foreign women working as domestic servants are more associated with higher wages as they work with upper and middle class families. While the latter mostly work with lower middle class families and provide domestic work in lower class areas thus they accept lower wages. But the differences in wages can further be attributed to the fact that foreign migrants have their organisations, which play a role in raising their awareness.

Phase 2: Old foreign migrants also play a role in raising awareness of their relatives as to suitable wages or work conditions. The Sudanese female migrants are not organised but may have relatives who negotiate for them wages and work conditions with employers. Despite this the social attitudes of employers to women's work and perception of Sudanese migrant women capacities contribute significantly to the low wages given to them. An employer would accept to give an Armenian girl £200 monthly for childcare and accept her conditions having the idea that they are more experienced in such work. But would bargain with a Nuba woman or a woman from eastern Sudan for a wage not exceeding £70 for the same job.
There are similarly some variations between women in their career patterns related to their migrant status, their motives for migration, marital status and age. For most of the young single Sudanese women domestic service is only a temporary job until they get married. But they may continue if they married and settled in Khartoum. But many have an interrupted working period as some return home in agricultural seasons. Many of the refugee single females would continue until they find a good paying job in the Arab equation or a chance of joining relatives in other European countries. Otherwise they continue their career though they are less stable as they move from time to time to the eastern regions where most of their families are living.

The married women are more likely to continue long in their career as they are mostly having their families with them in Khartoum. Otherwise they work for a short time and return home. Elderly women especially from urban dwellers are most likely to discontinue their career in case of improved family conditions. But such a possibility is reduced by growing economic hardships or changing aspirations.
In general women are less stable in their job due to low pay, tiresome work and bad treatment. Thus they are more likely to move between employers seeking better conditions of work. In sum the patterns of participation in domestic activities are influenced by class and gender aspects.

Other self-employed activities:

In addition to petty trading in the market and the home women carry out a number of other activities related to their skills and socio-economic conditions. All these activities are significantly affected by exploitative capitalist growth in the country. Some of the activities discussed here are tailoring, hairdressing, body decorations, signing, prostitution, begging and liquor brewing.

Tailoring and Embroidery:

This is an old activity socially associated with women. It is one of the first skills formally taught to women since the beginning of the century. Despite that women have been less prominent in this activity as their subordinate economic and social positions hinder the expansion of their activity. As a result it has been dominated by men. While generally proliferation of important dresses and embroidered sheets is
gradually press the activity.

As tailoring and embroidery are activities associated with women, their skills may possibly be acquired by women in adult education classes and in youth centres. But graduates of such institutions have been discouraged from using independent gainful activity, hindered mainly by their poverty as such courses are greatly attended by housewives or poor young females. The latter mostly seek jobs in factories. But more frequently the skill is acquired informally from other relatives, neighbours or friends. Unfortunately capital needed to start such activity discourages some who have the skill from using it as a source of income.

As tailoring needs capital to buy sewing machines and other needed equipment, it is mostly taken by lower middle class women. In the survey several middle class housewives who have bought the machines for household use only are currently using it to gain some money to maintain the status of the family. But some proletarian women have been able, through previous occupation, to acquire capital and get in the activity. Others have acquired the needed capital through the assistance from relatives.
As in other activities the earnings are related to the status of the employer and customers. But the earnings are influenced by demand. A woman living in a poor class area may have more customers as her charges are low. While the charges of a middle class tailor's though may be discouraging to customers but their limited number may be in favour of high demand for their services.

The earnings are furthermore controlled by production. How much time can women tailors give to their profession. The variation here is related to their age, marital status and domestic responsibilities. The young, single women with light domestic responsibilities may give more time to their work. But their earnings would be relative to their experience and popularity which would definitely be less than a middle age longer experiencing one. The obligations of an ever married woman and her domestic responsibilities may restrict the time she is able to give to her work, unless the tailoring is the basic income of the family. In the latter case priority is given to the activity.

Above all the earnings and possibility of expansion have been greatly controlled by high competition from
men who mostly own better capital and facilities. Men tailors have more access to customers as they work in the market or in shops in living quarters. In addition they have no domestic responsibilities to intrude with their work and are more likely to have better capital than women. These widen their chances of expansion. Some are now producing on a larger scale and merchandising their products through street vendors or displaying it in their shops. Thus currently tailored dresses are available in streets, travel stations and living quarters. This is gradually displacing some women from tailoring activity as ready made dresses save money and effort needed to demand service of women tailors.

The possibility of expansion is very limited for women of poor classes as they may be pressed by domestic responsibilities or low income of the family. But recently few middle classes professional tailors have expanded their services hiring assistants and producing helpers. Despite that they cannot compete with men being hampered by social obligations and less acceptability to customers. In my survey only one woman has been able to compete with men working in a shop and hiring helpers. Yet though she is
working in a middle class area she charges very low prices compared to male tailors in the same vicinity. This is not only to attract customers as she started recently but because dominance of men in this activity lessens confidence of people in female tailors. Thus a woman may pay £2.50 to a male tailor but would not do that to a woman unless the latter is a foreigner. Thus social attitudes of women to women's work is a significant factor in this connection.

Hairdressing:

This is another self-employed occupation for women. Traditionally all Sudanese women have a specific style of hairdressing which is done by women specialised in this activity. The skill is taken informally from relatives and neighbours. In the last fifteen years this activity is dying because attitudes to hairstyles have changed as a result of increasing contact with European fashions. For this reason those who keep the traditional hair style are some middle aged and elderly women. But the majority of young generation use modern hair styles.

Hairdressing is an activity taken for economic reasons as it is socially degraded activity. Thus it is unlikely that
a middle class woman takes traditional hairstyling as an activity. In addition it is now more associated with elderly women and few middle aged who are involved in it. In the survey one midwife takes this activity occasionally as the customer to her main activity are very few because she lives near the midwifery school and customers prefer to go there. Another is a petty trader who sells breakfast in schools so she has time for such an activity which she learned from her mother.

The modern hairstyling is dominated by men. Negligible number of women are involved in it as it needs specific training accessible only abroad. Of those practicing few have gained the skill by working as helpers thus they may do some services but cannot compete with professional hairdressers. These are mainly women from poor families or refugees who found no other job. For them it is a temporary job as they are exploited by male hairdressers, working long hours and receiving low payments.

1) While this thesis is being typed, male hairdressers have been stopped by law from this activity and it is restricted to women. The question is are there women who afford training on hair styling abroad and able to buy the highly expensive equipment needed for the service.
Others who are involved in it are middle class women who are not practising hairdressing but only supervising the activity. In two cases in the survey the investment is done by husbands and women are helping them and only one case owns the whole business. An exception to this group is a woman who got the skill while accompanying her husband abroad and now is a hairstyler herself.

The prospects of advancement in this activity for women is largely discouraged by lack of training possibilities. In addition involvement in it needs large capital which many women cannot afford. Furthermore the domestic responsibilities may contradict with demands of this activity if the woman is to compete with men in this business. This is supported by the case of the woman practising. Until her last child reached his second year she would not be working in the mornings as no one is to care for him. She works only for two hours in the afternoon when her husband can be with the children. While the male hairdressers shops open for 12 hours daily.
Prostitution

This is an old phenomena which has existed in different forms in the society. But as an economic and social phenomena, prostitution in the Sudan has essentially developed with the growth of urban areas and enhanced by the introduction of money economy and its impact on traditional social relationships. Thus it has long been associated with migrant women but many urban dwellers are as well involved in such an activity.

As the case in many African and Asian urban areas, prostitution is an important independent occupation for migrant women. Paced with economic need and limited job opportunities migrant women are forced to prostitution as a means of living. It is mostly taken by foreign and migrant women of other Sudanese regions who have come alone to town. Most of the latter have left home for circumstances which made it difficult for them to return. The urban dwellers

1)- Information on prostitution have been taken from some old women some of whom were old prostitution. But life histories of few young and middle aged prostitutes were also noted.

2)- This information is given by some old informants from Khartoum. See also V. Foué, 1930.

who are involved in such occupations are mostly associated with slave origin but recently it started to spread widely among other urban dwellers.

As prostitution is taken due to economic necessity it is largely associated with poor class. However, recently some middle class women are as well involved in it. One precipatory factor to prostitution is the demographic imbalance of sexes caused by migration of large number of single men from other regions to Khartoum. This increased the demand for women.\(^1\)

Another contributing factor to involvement of women in prostitution is limited job opportunities available for women especially illiterate and uneducated ones. Most jobs possible for the latter are dominated by men. The growing hardships are making it difficult for many middle class families to meet their essential needs let alone specific expensive needs for their females. In addition increasing mobility of women, their public exposure and mass media has greatly changed aspirations of women. These different

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\(^{1}\) Bajra, J.M., 1975 has noted similar explanation for prostitution in Nairobi.
factors are probable explanation for middle class women involvement in prostitution. The latter is enhanced particu-
larly by the availability of contraceptives and awareness of it which made it possible to get into prostitution with-
out risking pregnancy. In some cases participation in a paid employment and availability of transport have been
significant factors facilitating indulgence of women in prostitution as they help to escape family control and
public social degradation.

Furthermore, social attitudes and socialisation of men and women contribute significantly to association of
some females with prostitution. Perceptions of many males to working women as possible prostitutes, as well as limited
experience of women, are factors behind the prostitution life of some women. The latter indulge into relationships
with workmates which later lead them to prostitution. This may be enhanced by other social problems, like early
marriage to unwanted husbands, broken families etc. These latter factors have led to the involvement of educated women
in prostitution. Recently few highly educated women have become prostitutes.
Prostitutes with migrant origin are professional ones who used to provide their services in specific quarters in the three towns. But they have been removed by the government in an attempt to abolish prostitution. Despite that some other prostitution quarters soon developed in newly established areas and slums. In addition prostitution became widespread in the streets in all areas. This made it easier for urban dwellers especially middle class women who mainly move in the streets and choose distant unknown places to sell their sex without the risk of public social degradation.

Women’s continuity in the prostitution activity is stopped by marriage. Some women may have such strong relationships with a customer that latter on it may develop into permanent marriage. Some terminate their activities when their children from a previous marriage or illegitimate children are grown up. But old prostitutes may turn into organizers of new commerce into this profession. Few return home and also few may turn to petty trading activities.

The successful prostitutes may terminate their activity to start a new social life. This is done by acquiring property, buying or building houses. This is usually done by those who
have children or adopted them. By educating their children and ensuring them a career or a happy marriage these women secure their old age and improve their socially degraded positions. Many have been successful in achieving an upward social mobility.

However, many may attempt to change their life through children education and career without terminating their occupation but changing its aspects. Consequently prostitution is an important self-employed activity influenced by wider economic and social aspects of the society.

Body Decoration:

In contrast to traditional hairdressing, body decoration as an earning activity appeared and developed recently as a result of changing socio-economic situations. It is an activity done by women alone or by free help of neighbours and friends. Some body decorations tasks developed by changing aspirations and attitudes among middle and upper class women and their changing social attitudes. As a result body decorations which have been part of social exchange turned into a payable service. Such service is demanded by middle class women and is offered by lower class women. They are
mainly middle aged and young ones and with different marital conditions.

As the skills are part of the culture, any woman knows how these are done. But those who take this as an economic activity have to develop particular skills. Some women have done so through social exchange of services with neighbours. With the spread of demand for these activities women who are in economic need attempted it.

Body decoration is a service performed in different premises. It is mostly done in customers' homes. But recently many women prefer to conduct services in their own homes. This is because they can have access to more customers at a time. For few, especially single ones, their families object to their mobility to customers' home but allow them to receive customers. For others, especially married ones, because of their domestic responsibilities, they have to work in their homes.

The prospects of continuity in this job is related to customers' tasks and changing fashions. It is equally affected by changing conditions of the family. Of importance
is the skill and innovation of the body decorator. The more new styles and fashions she introduces the longer she is likely to continue in the activity and have new customers.

However the latter factor is not only significant for continuity but it is simultaneously important for expansion. This is made possible in such a transitional setting of the society when people are looking for the new and aspiring for change. Women body decorators who developed skills and are introducing innovations have been able to expand their service, establishing specific premises in their homes to receive customers.

Earnings of body decorators is influenced by the class of customers like all cases of other self-employment services. It is related to popularity which attract more customers and thus high earnings. It is enhanced by changing attitudes among middle class women in celebrations. Recently in weddings the ‘Henna’ decoration for the bride developed into a significant social occasion which results in high earning to

1) Henna is (Lawsonia Alba). Its leaves are dried, ground and made into a paste which women use to dye their hands and feet for decoration.
women body decorators. The most popular "hinaa" decorator can gain Rs. 100.-- in one day if she worked for 10 customers. But if she has bride her earnings are higher. Other dealing with lower middle class and proletariat women who demand services in celebrations have lower earnings than that. The few involved in the activity mostly fix a minimum pay which is mostly related to the class of most of their customers. The latter mostly influences this minimum charged because a fashionable trend among some upper class women is to give body decorators higher than they charge to ensure further more fashionable and quick services from them. This latter explanation reflects an important aspect of capitalist society where both those giving services and customers are aware of their classes positions.

Section:

Unlike body-decoration, singing is an old activity but has been enhanced recently by proliferation of showing attitude and competition among middle and upper classes. Recently a fashion to have singers in any minor occasion has developed. However singers are mostly demanded in big occasions like weddings.
It is a socially degraded activity. People do not approve it as it may involve staying out late at night and risk of bad reputation. Accordingly only poor women driven by economic need are involved in it. But recently some are attracted by the high earnings associated with it. Only a limited number of women can take singing as a gainful activity as it needs specific skills, help in domestic activity and above all a family that approves the nature and obligations of the work.

Singing has, for long, been associated with middle-aged, divorced and widowed women. But recently high demands and earning from this activity resulted in proliferations of young, single women and some young married ones. This indicates a significant change in attitudes of families especially males. That can be attributed to economic pressures. One young woman who became known recently as a singer has her husband transporting her. The latter attitude can be related to one of two factors either he is still resistant and wants to protect her from mixing with other men who would transport her or her income is so essential that he is encouraging her. But the former explanation is more probable than the latter.
This activity has for long been associated with illiterate women. This has been changing as some educated women are involved in it. The establishment of Higher Institute for Music and Theatre has contributed to that as some of its graduates are practising now. The youth centre has further encouraged some young educated women to the activity. But the earnings has been attracting more educated women. Few high secondary school students are doing that to help their families. For some women it is a subsidiary activity that increases income. A typist and a nurse has recently appeared in the occupation.

There is a significant variation to the singers access to the mass media and how they conduct their activities. The highly educated ones have got their reputation through mass media as their practice in the institute or youth centre gives them access to it. Then they would be singing with an orchestra. The other non-educated performing with the traditional drum and singing songs they set themselves or old songs have less access to the media.

Only few middle aged ones participate in certain programs. This is because their songs are considered less sophisticated. But many women singers refuse cooperation with mass media
for family restrictions. One of the graduates of the High
Institute for Music has been for a very long time singing
in the radio and television without her name being mentioned
or her face appearing on the television screen.

The educated ones would be coming to customers under
the same condition of professional male singers with a
fixed sum of money and mostly in elaborate ceremonial occa-
sions, while the others would come in any occasion, at any
time, at short notice. Unlike the former they are involved
in dancing activities, teaching the dancing to visitors or
dancing themselves as part of their activity.

The earning of the singer is influenced by their
different practice and by their popularity. It is also
relative to their customers' class. The educated ones fix
a large sum of money to be paid to them irrespective of
how long they sing. But the other ones although some may
fix a minimum to be given to them their earnings are mostly
relative to the occasion itself; those present in the
occasions and their contributions which are offered over and
above the agreed sum. The bigger the occasion, the more the
attendants, the higher the payment. But the higher the class,
the higher are the contributions and so the earnings. But
the accessibility of less educated women also contribute to
higher demand to their services and thus they can secure
high earnings. While the high payment of some educated ones
is discouraging to the demand of their services. Sometimes
bad reputation or bad behaviour of some singers affect their
popularity and so their earnings.

The prospects of continuity is related greatly to
popularity and the relationships the singers establish with
customers. The latter factors have contributed significantly
to continuity of older singers in the professions. For the
younger ones, changing marital conditions may cause them to
terminate the job, while those taking it as a temporary job
are more likely to leave it for more permanent, better
socially valued ones. But the continuity is significantly
related to the changes and innovations a singer introduces
to her activity since this ensures higher demand for her
services.

To conclude, the participation of women in the singing
activity is influenced by class, marital status and changing
attitudes of people.
Begging

As an activity for livelihood begging is an old activity dominated by gypsies, few elderly and disabled people. For the former group it is a socially approved activity in their community specifically for women being the most marginalised groups in the society. Recently it is noticeable in the markets and spots of movement of people that large number of children, men and women are asking for alms.

It has been noticeable that middle aged and elderly women are more prominent in this activity. They are predominantly migrant as asserted by the few interviewed. In addition the majority, when asked, claim their migrant status and lack of relatives who can offer economic support. Thus the changing aspect of begging is an urban phenomenon reflecting unequal development of regions which push these people to the largest urban area. It significantly reflects the impact of the economic situation on values and relations.

1) The information on this section depends on observations and interviews with very few informants as most of them were reluctant to cooperate.

2) According to some informants some decades back even the elderly and disabled people would not be beggars because their kin are obliged to support them. This is asserted by absence of beggars in villages where traditional relationships are persistent and tenable.
ships of people as strong kinship relationship and obligations act as security in old age and physical illness. Such obligations are rendered untenable as a result of growing economic hardships. But more specifically the development of the activity can be related to the exploitative capitalist system of production which leads many people to a state of poverty that forces them to beg.

Furthermore the limited job opportunities in the labour market may explain the position of middle-aged able women who are now in this profession. Though in this connection existence of any expected earnings may be precipitating factors.

The earnings of beggars is related to the spot of activity and the extent of their mobility. Those begging in crowded spots or places where the movement of people is continuous like bus stations, markets, mosques etc. ensures large number of donors and thus high earnings. Many begger have recognised the significance of mobility that they became aware of suitable times to ensure high earnings. For example some of them spot the occasion of weekly prayers in churches or mosques and congregate there at the specific times of
prayers to beg from the almsgivers. In this connection the earnings are greatly influenced by religious beliefs related to alms giving. Many people are ready to give alms to those who are in need. In doing so, they are fulfilling their religious duties. Thus begging as an activity is enhanced by socio-economic situation.

**Liquor Brewing and Selling**

This is an activity associated with uncertainty as it is considered illegal. But it is highly demanded in urban areas considering high prices of industrialized liquors. In addition, a large number of migrants raise substantially the demand for it as types of liquor brewed are important items in the regions with highest percentage of migrants.

Despite uncertainties, liquor brewing is a rational choice for the women involved in it. Their only alternative is domestic service and this is less attractive as it involves low pay, low wage, and may contradict with their domestic responsibilities as a majority of them are ever married women. But liquor brewing is not an alternative for the women whose males have been in Khartoum for a time long enough to acquire some urban attitudes thus seeing this
activity as shameful.

Liquor brewing is a convenient option for some for the high earnings it involves and the little initial capital it needs. More significantly it needs no training as it is part of the women's domestic responsibilities in their home areas.

This is an activity mainly of migrant illiterate women. It is more associated with married women as they have the skill. The young girls are less likely to have it in addition to their aspirations and suitability of domestic service to their conditions make the latter a better option.

Although the earnings from this activity are high it is a risky activity. Being illegal, women may be arrested and their liquor, raw material and/or equipment may be destroyed in a raid or they may have to bribe the police. But as the case of women in Mathare in Nairobi these women have complex networks from customers, neighbours in local residential clusters and friends which enable them to cope with the difficulties engendered by policy action and the uncertain—

ties arising from having to sell on credit to men over whom they have no sanctions.\(^{(1)}\)

Despite insecurity, the prospects of continuity in the job are great as demand for it is high and the networks mentioned decrease insecurity. In addition recent harassment to this activity has lead women helped by their networks to develop means to secure the continuity of their activities. Some of these means are the separation of places of brewing and selling or to sell to customers secretly without allowing to drink in the brewing houses. The recent raids of the police displayed, in the television have shown how developed are the technological means women brewers use to hide the activity.

**Running Up:**

From the analysis in this chapter it is clear that:

First the activities women carry in the market are associated with the work they do in their homes. In both the domestic

\(^{(1)}\)- This information has been taken from some male attendants to liquor houses and few women connected with it.
sphere and the market they are engaged in provision of food childcare, domestic services and sex. Second, the self-employed activities are predominated by women from the proletariat class. This may lack the opportunity to expand their activities. Third similar to the case of other occupations different patterns of participation in self-employed activities are emerging with changing socio-economic conditions.

Unlike women in professional and white collar occupations, self-employed women are predominantly old or middle aged, illiterate and poor. They share these characteristics with women in service activities. Unlike the other two categories self-employed activities are insecure and the earnings are mostly very meagre. In addition there are no cooperative or organized activities among the self-employed women and they are not protected by any legislations.
Chapter seven
Effect of Women's Employment on their Role, Perception and Awareness

Introduction:

In chapter three, some changes in women's roles and ideologies related to them have been indicated as resulting from general socio-economic changes. Participation of women in the labour force has been cited as one indicator of change. But as employment means economic independence of women and this involves a challenge to the bases of male's dominance it is expected to have further implications for women roles and positions in society.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss some possible consequences of employment on women in their families and society. These are decision making roles, domestic responsibilities, family size and attitudes to children. Also considered is the implication of extra domestic work on women's perception and awareness as well as their relationships and contacts with their male counterparts.

The analysis in this chapter refers to the three categories of women in the labour market. The statistical
data covers 659 women in the professional and white collar jobs as well as women in the service sector. The discussion also includes information about the self-employed women.

Decision-making Roles:

The role of women in decision making has been taken by power theories as one aspect in measuring the power of couples and female employment has been considered as a factor influencing change. But the aim here is not to study power relations but to consider the effect of employment on decision-making role of women concerning specific issues. The discussion refers to the role of women in deciding the family budget in addition to several other family's issues that need to be decided upon.

Family Budget:

As discussed in chapter three, the changing socio-economic conditions has been associated with some changes in the role of some women in the decision of the family

budget. Some married women, particularly from the middle class, take major role in deciding the family budget. In connection with the employed women there seems to be some variations.

The data shows that the employed women who decide the whole family budget themselves are few in the white collar occupation and in the workers category. They constitute 12.1 percent of the two categories as indicated in table 22. This low percentage is justified on the ground that employment of women is not necessarily associated with a radically changing position in the family as many patriarchal ideologies are still prevalent. In addition many respondents are single and migrants and thus they only send their contributions to their families.

From table 27 it is noticeable that a higher percentage of respondents deciding the budget themselves are from the workers category as compared to those in the white collar occupations. This may be because many women in the former category are the main supporters of the family. Also being from poor families their incomes may be high in relation to other incomes in the family. Such explanations are further supported by the conditions of the self-employed
## Table 27

**Percent distribution of the members of the family who decide the budget by respondents' current occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Category</th>
<th>Budget Decided By</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professionals in Leasing career</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professionals in Health care</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other working class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Writers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>So Others</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Category</th>
<th>Budget Decided By</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
women. Almost three quarters of the latter decide the budget themselves. But in this connection the age, education, class and the marital status are important factors explaining some trends.

It is noticeable in table 23 that a high percentage of women deciding the budget themselves (42.5 percent) are single. This shows how employment is enforcing significant changes in the role of single women who traditionally take no part in decision making in the family as they are economically dependents. Such a changing trend is further indicated by the joint decision of the budget by the single respondents and males of the family. Here the high income of the respondent in relation to the total income of the family may be one factor behind changing attitudes of the family members and their women roles\(^1\). But for most cases the income, education and experience are together important factors enhancing joint decisions between the males and females of the family.

\(^1\) In many interviews specifically with older people of both sexes it was remarked 'Now a day's girls are better than boys' because they earn as the latter and care more for financial needs of the family'.
### Table 2

**Percentage Distribution of the Family Members who decide the Family Budget by Marital Status of Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>71.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Total**
The divorced and widowed women decide the budget themselves because they are the main supporters of their families. They are mostly from poor class families whose male kin cannot support them and thus they decide for their families. But some middle class divorced and widowed women decide the budget themselves because they have high incomes, education and experience which qualify them for deciding the family budget even if they are living with their parents.

From the survey and particularly the discussion with the informants it has been noticeable that there is a high tendency for joint decisions of the husband and wife as illustrated by 62.3 per cent of the married women (see table 33) in the sample. This is the case specifically among the poor and some middle class families where both incomes, of the wife and husband are limited. As such joint decision is needed to cover most basic needs or maintain the family status in relation to the growing economic hardships. In this connection age and education are significant as higher percentages of those taking joint decisions are at higher levels of education and the majority are below 35 years of age. (see tables 24, 25).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80+</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20

Percentage distribution of the family members who assist the patients by their immediate family age

In years.
In all cases and considering the traditionally segregated activities of the couple, the joint decision in the budget indicates a significant change in women's role. This latter can be greatly related to their economic contribution to the family budget.

Among the self-employed many divorced and widowed women who are main supporters of the family decide the budget themselves. But for some elderly ones whose sons and daughters are employed there is a tendency for joint decision. For leave the decision to their employed daughters. The latter in most cases have higher income, than the mother. Married women also showed high tendency for joint decision with husbands.

The age of the respondents indicated in table 24 also points to some significant changes. It is noticeable that moderate percentages of women at younger ages are taking part in budget decision. Of those deciding the budget themselves 28.8 per cent are at age group 21 to 25 years, 18.6 per cent are between 26 and 30 years and lower percentages are at elder ages. Similarly is the case of those taking part with other member of the family in budget.
done by the father, mother, husband or others. This is to be compared to 14.5 per cent of the age group 51 to 55 years who do not take part in budget decision while the majority (71.4 per cent) decide the budget themselves.

The prominence of middle aged and elderly women in the budget decision is evident among the self-employed women. This is because they are mostly the main supporters in the family. In contrast the younger ones do not take part in the decision of the budget as they mostly work to help their families. Many of the latter asserted that they hand their earnings daily to their male supporter or female elders.

Education is not a greatly influential factor to the prominence of women in financial planning in the family.
More than half of those deciding the budget themselves are at lower levels of education. As shown in Table 25, 25 percent of the latter are illiterate, 16.5 have junior secondary level education. In addition many of those with higher education attribute their prominence more to their higher incomes in comparison to other incomes in the family. The prominence of self-employed women, who are mostly illiterate, in budget decisions illustrate further the less significant impact of education in this connection. However, this does not exclude the presence of some women for whom the newly acquired knowledge through education gives them prominent role in deciding the family budget. The role of education in this connection is emphasised further by several non-working respondents.

The discussion with many respondents in different occupations has revealed that women take part in the budget decisions because they are responsible to the same degree as other breadwinners in the family to meet any contingencies. In several cases some working class respondents and few middle class ones have borrowed money from the workplace
to meet certain occasions like expenses for school needs for brothers and sisters, maintenance of the house, purchase of land ... etc.

However the conditions of those who are not participa-
ting in deciding the family budget are relatively different. They are mostly not responsible except for the contribution they pay. The budget is either decided by the father as the case of 9.1 per cent or by other persons as indicated by the data. Similarly is the case of some few young self-employed women. But the non-participation cannot be related to specific factors though some general tendencies can be cited. They are predominantly at younger age groups as indicated in table 26. They are at higher levels of edu-
cation. As table 25 clearly shows 56.7 per cent of those for whom the budget is decided by the father are at the high secondary level and 23.4 per cent of them have university or high institute education. While 88.1 per cent of those for whom the mother decide the budget are at high secondary level education and higher than it. In addition those not participating in the budget are predominately single as indicated in table 25. Also more of them come from middle class than proletariat class. This is further
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Budget decided by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 25**

Percentage Distribution of the Family Members Who Decide the Budget by Educational Level of Respondents.
evidenced by self-employed women who are mainly proletarian and very few actually do not participate in the decision of the budget.

Generally the high tendency of non-participation of respondents in different categories in the budget decision points to the dominance of patriarchal ideology according to which different family matters are dominated by males and elders. Despite that the economic independence of women contribute significantly to an improvement in the role of women in deciding the family budget.

Other issues: The role of women in decision-making tends to differ with different things to be decided upon, but generally there seems to be a tendency for women to dominate decisions for issues traditionally associated with them like house's furniture, clothes, kitchen equipment... etc. In many cases women would be buying bedsheets and kitchen equipment without the knowledge of the husband. They decide the need for such things and the quality. But it is less likely for a electric equipment as its price is beyond the financial capacity of many women. The exception are few highly paid bourgeoisie women who also may not buy any
household expensive equipment being influenced by perception that provision of household needs is the responsibility of men.

For similar reasons a woman may decide to buy a bed, a stool or chairs whose prices are moderate and for which she finds a credit facility. This is the case of some working class women and some petty bourgeoisie. But the general attitude is to take joint decision with members of the family for expensive furniture.

It is unlikely for a woman to take part in decisions concerning purchase of a car or a land among bourgeoisie families. But among some highly educated couples a woman may take part in such decisions. Among middle and working classes a woman is involved in such a decision as her financial contribution is needed. In many cases even women of these classes have contributed to purchase of land by arranging credit associations.

Children's schooling is an issue to be decided upon only among middle class and particularly educated parents. The general trend is to register children starting
their education in the nearest school in the living quarter, while in other levels their school is decided by their grades. But some middle class families may prefer privately sponsored schools or particularly reputed schools not necessarily in the vicinity quarter. Here some women are involved in the choice of children's schools, others are considering this as male's responsibility. Although the educated woman show more concern about that and take part in such decisions.

As to the celebrations of social occasions it has been asserted by many informants that men dominate such decisions. For some because such occasions need family and the responsibility of men to secure it. But in case that the woman can do that from her savings or credit associations, she may take the decision herself. While generally in this issue there is a tendency for joint decision. As one middle class informant noted "When I had my first child my husband did not have money for the naming ceremony, thus he decided that the ceremony be restricted to our immediate families and I agreed as I had no money myself. But in the case of the second child I arranged to have my turn in credit association in the expected time of child birth, thus was able with help
from my husband to have an elaborate naming ceremony’.

But decisions concerning social occasions may involve other members of extended families. In many cases of middle class insurclass, in laws, brothers or sisters are involved in deciding how and when social occasions are to be celebrated. Although the involvement of extended family is part of close kin relations it is also influenced by their likely financial contribution in such occasions.

Among the working class families, decisions concerning social occasions are mostly jointly taken by males and females as their limited income, to a great extent, shape their decisions and celebrations.

As many women take decision to work themselves, many (92.5 percent of the sample) asserted that they would decide the continuity or discontinuity themselves. But 4.7 percent mainly married women consider that this should be a joint decision with the husband. About 3 percent of the sample asserted that they leave such a decision to the father and mother. While the rest prefer to have joint decision with other members of the family. These results
point to a changing perception of women as to their roles in decisions though those considering joint decisions as regarding this issue seem to be considering their roles as controlled by their families.

Family Size and Fertility:

As women's employment is expected to act as an element generating change in attitudes and behaviour, it may have some bearing on fertility. Hypothetically an association between women's work and decrease in fertility seems more plausible. But recent empirical investigations especially in the Third World have not confirmed or denied the causal relationship between the female labour and fertility. This is because the problem is rather complex and need to be seen in relation to the different aspects of the social formation in which they occur.

The investigations considering the relationship between work and fertility stipulated that work can influence certain

1) See Hawthorn, O. 1970 for reviews of some studies considering relationship of fertility and women employment.
variables that in turn affect the fertility and thus the family size. These variables may include general factors such as the socio-economic context in which individuals live but may be factors more directly related to the number of children a woman has, like means of fertility control, factors affecting copulation, factors determining conception ..., etc.\(^1\) Although the level of fertility is determined by a combination of these different factors, an explanation of the relationship between work and fertility can be attempted by relating the former to several factors acting on fertility. A significant effect of work on the family size comes through effect on the age at marriage. Education and employment mostly generate late age at marriage. This is shown by the data where 38.1 per cent of the single women in the sample are above 20 years whereas traditionally girls are married between 12 and 16 years. Even of those ever married women in the sample, 61.9 per cent have married after work and 80 per cent of them have at least high secondary school qualifications. Probably they have married in their 20's. This increase in the age of marriage may reduce mortality of women and thus the number of children. But

\(^1\) See \textit{Women's Labour Force}, 1989 p. 60.
such effect is never definite or direct as other factors usually intervene.

One factor related to the likely effect of work on fertility is the motive to work. Those women who are working for self-fulfillment and are thinking of a career, are more likely to think of having fewer children. This has been asserted by very few informants. 4 percent of those having one to two children. They are above 40 years and not thinking of additional children. Beyond that the data cannot assert any definite effect of employment on the working women who have small number of children are still young and thus may possibly have more children to reach the average of seven estimated for Khartoum. Those having one to two children are more than half of the mothers in the sample but about 70 percent of them are in their 20's.

A probable effect of employment of women on fertility can be illustrated by the attitudes of women to children and the number preferable to them. The general perception of high value of children seems to be prevalent among women of different classes.
The data of Sudan Fertility Survey 1979 shows that working women desire more children than women who never worked. However, the data of the working women in Khartoum indicates a probable effect of employment on women's desire for children and their attitudes as to the value of children. As Table 26 shows 20.5 percent of the respondents prefer less than 4 children and 23.1 percent prefer 8 to 5 children. Considering that the average number of children for women in Khartoum has for long been seven and an unlimited number of children is always welcomed, these women are developing a changing attitude as to the ideal number of children. This change is related to younger ages as most of those preferring lower number of children are at young age groups as indicated by Table 26. But this can be more associated with work experience and class than education since among those preferring 4 to 5 children the percentage of workers who are mostly illiterate is high. Even in the group preferring a minimum of 2 to 3 children the percentage of workers is moderate, it is lower than those in other occupations.

1) Sudan Fertility Survey, 1979, p. 79 - 83.
Some respondents have not been able to decide on the number of children they want. These are 33.4 per cent of the sample who asserted that number of children would be relevant to their future conditions. If they assure good economic conditions large number of children is welcomed, otherwise a small number will do. But most of them asserted that large number of children is unlikely to be more than six. Although this may suggest prevalence of traditional attitude and high value of children yet it simultaneously indicate a changing perception. To relate number of children to the economic conditions is different from the perception of having large number of children to secure good future economic conditions as is generally the attitude or the belief that God will feed any child that is born.

The absence of a system of social security weakens the possibility for a changing attitude to large number of children. Thus many informant confirmed that they prefer more than five children as security for the future against economic need and illness.

A changing attitude to children is asserted by justifi-
cation of some working women for lower number of children
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>18-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-64</th>
<th>65-74</th>
<th>75-84</th>
<th>85+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex M</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex F</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage distribution of the aged population by number of children ever-born and current age at first marriage.
than average. Some consider lower number of children enables good socialization. 30 per cent of the respondents think that changing socio-economic conditions is incompatible with large number of children. The growing economic hardships make it difficult to secure basic needs, food, health and education for children. Many argue that even socially bringing up children is not easy. This is best illustrated by an old, working class informant's remark. "Socialization in the past was not a problem, it was secure to leave your child in the neighbourhood and he/she had no problems, he/she had no problem passing from one grade to the other in school and though my income was low, it was enough for good living. But now my daughter has to struggle to protect her children from the neighbourhood and great efforts are to be taken by the family for children to secure their places in schools and we all work and our real incomes are not compatible with a good living."

In discussing the particular contribution of employment to such realization in connection with socialization many informants asserted that work experience is one important factor but not the determinate one.
Sixteen percent of the sample consider that lower number of children is suitable for a working woman as childcare is a problem affecting continuity in job of many women. Although this percentage is small yet it reflects a growing concern of women to their extra-domestic work and a likely negative impact of employment on fertility and family size.

However many informants asserted indirect effect of employment on fertility. Their experience and public exposure related to work is partly responsible for their awareness of different contraceptive methods.

The foregoing discussion indicates clearly some changing attitudes to children and a tendency for small family among working women but the effect of employment cannot be definitely stated. This is because non-working women interviewed have the same changing perception and attitudes. But definitely the number of working women asserting a changing perception about children is greater.

Housework

Housework has been considered as one factor imposing
some constraints on women's participation in labour force. Thus it has been considered in theoretical debates (1) as well as empirically. Many solutions are continuously being discussed as to the impact of housework on women's employment (2). But as division of labour in the house is related to patriarchal ideology, no great progress is usually made in this connection and in many advanced countries domestic work remains female responsibility. Also in Khartoum the socio-economic changes taking place, has preserved traditional division of labour and added to women's responsibilities tasks like shopping which is originally male's responsibility as discussed in chapter 5.

The concern of this section is to consider how domestic responsibilities are affected by women's employment. To what extent are working women burdened with domestic responsibilities is related to the family class position, income, marital status and presence of other members of the extended family.

1) See chapter three for discussion on this issue.
The main house tasks are cooking, cleaning, childcare, shopping accompanying children to doctors and transport of children to school.

These domestic responsibilities vary according to class. The working class women have to carry more laborious task as they cannot afford helpers and the equipment which facilitates their responsibilities. Thus middle class tasks are comparatively higher. On the overall women of different classes find some help from extended families or other relatives. Thus the domestic tasks also vary according to the presence or absence of other relatives. But it differs somewhat whether a woman has hired help or depends on help of relatives because the latter would be helping in specific tasks. But the hired helpers would be carrying most of the arduous tasks of cleaning, washing, ironing and sometimes shopping.

Those who have high incomes are relieved by hired helpers from childcare and cooking. However recently many middle class women are discouraged from hiring helpers for because of their high charges which are incompatible with most women's income. Thus only 12.6 per cent of the sample are able to
pay helpers and many of these depend on irregular paid services in washing and ironing. Only 14 percent of those who have helpers have more than one. These are highly paid groups working mostly as doctors, lawyers, etc...

Income differences are also influential in use of nurseries and kindergartens. Thus those in the workers group can hardly afford to pay fees for the cheapest kindergartens. The latter are beyond the capacity of many women. The cheapest kindergarten which is assisted by the government, charges Rs.42 a month for a child excluding the transport. If the woman has one child this makes almost one-eighth of a salary of a typist working for several years. Many cannot afford it especially if there is more than one child in preschool age.

The domestic responsibilities differ according to the marital status. The single women are not bound by specific responsibilities as married ones. They give help to other relatives at home. Here there is a difference between working class single women and middle class ones. As domestic tasks of working class housewives are more laborious single women in those families have to give help at home, too
least of which in cleaning and washing of clothes. But many middle class single women are relieved from such tasks by presence of helpers who carry such activities.

Considering these different factors related to domestic tasks, working women with help or without it are responsible for all domestic tasks. This may be evident by considering some domestic tasks and the way women organise it and the help they find.

Kitchen activities: Many middle class, ever-worried women cook twice a week and store it in the refrigerator. Thus they have only to warm up foods after work. But some noted that their husbands insist on eating freshly cooked meals thus they have to cook daily. So in the condition of all working women though they may be helped in cooking by other relatives at home or sometimes by neighbours as the poor have practices of mutuality with neighbours which is sometimes lacking among middle and upper class families.

Single women help irregularly in cooking and in case of married women, other female relatives would also help in cooking. Middle class women would find help in
cooking from helpers. Few upper class would depend completely on helpers for cooking.

Males very rarely help in cooking and if they do it, it is done irregularly and in emergencies only. But most males help in preparation of tea, few in washing dishes. The data shows that only 3.6 percent admitted help of husband in kitchen and .9 percent find help from other males, father, brothers or other relatives in the kitchen.

Cleaning and Related Activities: Cleaning is exclusively done by women except in case of presence of helpers hired specifically for that. Even if the woman has relatives at home it is unlikely that they do the cleaning. A working mother may be helped in cleaning by daughters. A single woman cooperates with her sisters in cleaning.

Males very rarely help in cleaning, 2.1 percent in the sample find help from husbands in cleaning, 1.5 percent find help from other male relatives. But it is unlikely, as asserted by many informants, for a man to sweep the floors but he can help in dispensing of garbage in the public dust bin on the street or dispensing of the dirty
water from the sink outside the house.

Washing and Ironing: This is done once or twice a week, though in presence of children it is done daily. For middle class women this is an activity done by helpers hired monthly or daily. But among working class families, these activities are shared between males and females. Males usually wash and iron their own clothes but women are responsible for washing and ironing all the family's clothes aided mostly by their children. It is unlikely for other relatives to help in washing and ironing as they are responsible for their own clothes.

Many informants consider that when males in the family wash their clothes, this is a help to them in the housework and in family tradition this is a woman's responsibility.

Childcare: This is a problem for mothers of pre-school children. Some middle class women depend on nurseries or kindergartens. Others depend on nannies. While the majority depend on presence of other relatives at home, in the vicinity or anywhere in town and on neighbours.
But males are less likely to help in childcare even after work. Only 8.3 per cent asserted that sometimes they may leave the children with their husband in certain occasions.

Shopping: As this is an extra domestic activity, it has for long been dominated by men. That is why 49.7 percent of married women have their husbands responsible for shopping mainly of groceries. But many do that jointly with the husband and sometimes alone. Few depend on other relatives for that. But the divorced and widowed women living independently are responsible for shopping themselves. Many single working women may also be involved in these activities in cooperation with other members of the family.

It should be pointed that in many middle class families shopping of most groceries is done monthly and other food items weekly. But most working class families buy groceries either weekly or daily. They buy foods daily as they may lack means of storing it.

As to other things there are some variations. Many women go to the market to buy their needs and children's.
Some do it jointly with the husbands. Few depend on males for that.

Other activities: Taking children to schools is a responsibility for some families as the tendency is for children to go to schools within the living quarter with other children. But if the school need transport it is very common to see children alone taking public transport. These are mostly children of poor and middle classes families who have no cars. Otherwise many middle class families transport their children to schools. This done mostly by the males. But in few cases women do that.

Taking children to the doctors is in most cases a joint activity between males and females. But in case the woman have other small children at home, the father can take older children to the doctor.

Women's Relationships and Contacts with workmates:

How the woman relates to her workmates especially males is greatly influenced by general perception defining the relationship of females with strange males. Accordingly with different perception, different degrees of relationships
are prevalent between women and their workmates. Although there are variations related to age, education, employment, experience, workplace atmosphere yet it is very difficult to point to a specific pattern related to any of the factors.

Many women influenced by fear of bad reputation in the workplace try to keep restricted relationship with their male workmates. Thus as indicated in Table 27, 49.6 per cent of the sample describe their relationship as very restricted. That is their relationship does not go beyond the work needs. But 20.6 percent describing their relationship as almost restricted would not mind discussing with the workmates sometimes, some general issues. Generally those keeping restricted relationships with male workmates are women in factories who are young and single. They do not only fear bad reputation but exploitation by male workmates as their occupations are associated with low morals. But included in this group also a number of typists and clerks working in some ministries and private companies who are coming directly from high secondary schools and are less experienced in dealing with many strange males. The general trend is for many to keep restricted relationship for a long time until they get to understand people
| Relationship with Wife's Relatives | Professionals in Health Service | Other White Collar Occupations | Welsh | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                                  | Frequency | Row % | Column % | Row % | Column % | Row % | Column % | Row % | Column % | Row % | Column % |
| Professionals in teaching career | 2         | 1.5   | 11.4     | 27    | 20.3     | 2     | 19.4     | 2     | 19.4     | 2     | 19.4     |
|                                  | 18        | 12.7  | 9.3      | 102   | 52.3     | 3.5   | 1.7      | 53.2  | 7.3      | 53.2  | 7.3      |
| Professionals in health service  | 0         | 0     | 9.9      | 39    | 0        | 0     | 4.2      | 64.7  | 4.2      | 64.7  | 4.2      |
|                                  | 2         | 0     | 9.9      | 0     | 0        | 0     | 4.2      | 0     | 4.2      | 0     | 4.2      |
| Other white collar occupations   | 2.5       | 14.2  | 14.2     | 12.7  | 22.2     | 0     | 4.7      | 0     | 4.7      | 0     | 4.7      |
|                                  | 3.7       | 22.2  | 7.6      | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        |
| Where are you from?              | 1.8       | 10.4  | 10.4     | 34.3  | 18.5     | 23.1  | 15.4     | 55.4  | 15.4     |
|                                  | 2.5       | 14.2  | 14.2     | 12.7  | 22.2     | 0     | 4.7      | 0     | 4.7      | 0     | 4.7      |
| No answer                        | 0         | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        |
|                                  | 0         | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0     | 0        |
| Total                            | 2.0       | 15.4  | 22.2     | 2.0   | 7.6      | 2.5   | 12.7     | 15.4  | 12.7     |
|                                  | 100       | 100   | 100      | 100   | 100      | 100   | 100      | 100   | 100      |
around them. Some may develop intimate relationships but others prefer to keep relationship restricted.

It was noticeable that women in the market at different ages have relatively restricted relationships with males. This can be attributed to segregated places of males and females in the market but also involved is traditional ideologies among both men and women as to the relationship between the sexes.

Although the university graduates have experienced mixing and dealing with non-related males yet some keep restricted relationship with the latter as indicated by the table. They are influenced by traditional values and attitudes.

In contrast many informants (53.1 percent of the sample) described their relationship with some male coworkers as intimate. Intimacy here means cooperation in work, conversation, taking breakfast jointly. Education does not seem to be a particularly important factor as high percentages of different educational levels are involved in this group as table 28 indicates 60.8 percent of those with junior secondary education, 59.3 percent of those with high
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<tr>
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<td>1.4</td>
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</table>
secondary education and 56.0 per cent of university graduates have intimate relationships with male workmates. Here work experience may be a contributing factor.

Those having very intimate relationships with workmates are predominately, long experienced and highly educated women (see table 2B). Their relationships involve discussion of general issues, problems of work and families, borrowing and lending money and cooperation in general social and economic occasions.

Contributing to the relationships of workmates is the workplace conditions. In a small school where very few teachers are working there is more likelihood for intimate relationship to develop between teachers irrespective of sex. Similarly in small departments and offices joint activities may develop intimacy but in large ministries and factories where many people are to cooperate and interact many women avoid intimate relationship fearing bad reputation especially if they are single or divorced.

Another significant factor is the attitude of the male workmates themselves, and how they perceive women. Some
avoid any contact with females having low perception about them while others try to exploit women. Females usually avoid both kinds of men. Others mistreat women, discriminating against them publicly and these are also avoided by women. But there are others who are understanding and considerate to women and they usually succeed in having intimate relationships with the female workmates.

Generally the workmates relationships are not extended outside the workplace. Very rarely a woman introduces her workmates to her family and so is the male. It may happen in case of few liberal families and among some married women but it is unlikely for single girls as such relationship may not be approved by the family. In addition it involves the risk of bad reputation for unmarried women. Consequently to preserve good reputation among workmates and to be respected by family, the women especially single mostly does not extend her relationship beyond the workplace. That is why only 42 per cent of the sample admitted that they visit their workmates families. Sometimes a young woman would not go to visit her male workmates family unless she knows one of his related females. Simply because his family may not accept her. Even in case of a married man the relation-
ship is enhanced in case she knows her male workmate's wife. Thus actually relationship between male and female workmates is not carried outside workplace unless it has other social relevance. That is a relationship between male and female as workmates is not accepted socially.

Ultimately the majority restrict their contacts with male workmates to social occasions. Here the tradition in most workplaces except the factories is for all workmates, males and females to go together during working hours. This happens only in case of death of a very close relative or in case of serious illness of the workmate himself. Even in the latter case unless the woman's relationship with her male workmate is very intimate she would not go. Hence 46.6 per cent of the sample restrict their contacts with the male workmates to the social occasions.

However many women have no contacts with male workmates outside the work place as indicated by Table 29. They are mostly women who have restricted relationship with their male workmates.

Women in the market have no contacts with male workmates.
### Table 20

Percentage Distribution of the Sampled Population by Contacts with Male Workmates Outside Workplace by Educational Level of Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Contacts with Male Workmates Outside Workplace</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
as their relationship with the latter is greatly restricted. But as relationship and contacts of women with workmates is influenced greatly by general social perception and attitudes it may be rather difficult to consider a specific pattern related to education or occupation but some general tendencies can be pointed. The data shows no great differences in percentages of women of different occupational levels admitting no contacts with males. For example 45.8 percent of illiterate, 41.2 percent of post university graduates and 32.8 percent of university graduates have some negative answers. But among those who have contacts sometimes, the percentage of those with high secondary and university qualification is substantial making 49.5 percent and 27.9 percent respectively, while similar percentages of women in different educational levels have contacts with male workmates in social occasions. (See table 29).

But in relation to occupation, the working period seems more significant as those with longer period of work have more intimate relationships and thus better contacts with workmates. Thus the percentage of those with long periods of work among those having no contact is very low. While a substantial number of those having contacts sometimes
have working periods over 10 years and 80 percent of those having contacts in social occasions have been in work over five years.

Hence it is apparent that persistence of patriarchal ideology limits greatly women's relationships and contacts in the workplace.

Perception of Work:

It was mentioned in chapter three that the participation of women in the labour force is associated with need. This is further emphasized when the pattern of participation in Khartoum has been discussed. But involvement of women in social production is hypothetically expected to generate some change in the attitude of women to work and extremely it is expected to widen their awareness as to their oppression and the struggle to free themselves.(1)

In this section it will be argued that work experience is generating some change in the attitudes of women limited

1) This is discussed in chapter one.
by the lack of the wider relevant social, economic and political perspectives which are needed to forge such change. This is done by considering the responses of working women in the sample to certain suggestions and by discussing with many respondents issues related to women's employment.

The first suggestion is that work for women in a significant social experience. 61.5 percent of the sample agreed strongly to the suggestion, 32.3 percent accepted it, 1.5 percent were not sure and only 1.1 percent disagreed with it. Hence a majority has come to realize the significance of work to women. This seems to be more related to work experience as it is not associated with any particular educational level. It is supported strongly by 66.7 percent of the illiterate women, 65.3 percent of those with elementary education and 68.2 percent of those with university education. Thus great variations along educational levels exist but it is more supported by older women than younger ones the former having longer work experience. As one old informant explained "the social significance of work is in mixing with strange people both males and females and learning how to deal with them in different occasions".
A changing attitude to work is also reflected by the second suggestion that "work is important for economic independence". Although a majority are working to support or assist in family living yet higher percentages of them are accepting the significance of work for economic independence. Thus 43.6 percent of the sample support strongly the suggestion and 43.4 percent agree to it. Similarly education is not a contributing factor as women of different educational levels are among those who support the suggestion realizing the significance of economic independence. Such realization is behind the continuity of some working women in the job despite that the need of their families to their incomes ceased. The economic independence is best appreciated by many elderly women who asserted that to be free to decide your needs and plan for them cannot be done without one having his own income and once one tried to be economically independent, it becomes difficult to be otherwise.

However, response to the suggestion that work is a contribution to social production reveals the limited perception of women to their work. Although the majority of the sample agreed to the suggestion, many were not definite about
It. They could not conceive how their work actually contributes to production. Those who were definite about it are women in productive activities in factories, teachers and highly educated ones. Although women in the market are aware of the effect of production and changing economic condition on their activity they are less clear about their contribution to social production. Such a limited perception can be related to limited public experience and absence of campaigns aiming to promote women's perception and attitudes.

This latter reasoning can be related to the response to the suggestion that work conflicts with traditions as more than 50 percent of the informants were positive about it and many of them consider that as work involves mixing with strange men it is against the traditions. This reflects persistence of traditional perception of men and women's relations. But a changing perception is suggested by the negative response of 56.5 percent to this suggestion. This change is best illustrated by an old woman in the market-

we have to realise that traditions are changing and women's work is a reflection of this change. But in connection to this education seems to be influential 66.2 percent of those in post university level and 70.9 percent of those with
university or high institute education refuted the suggestion. This emphasizes that work experience and education are important in relation to the awareness of women on a change in their perception as to the position and the role of women.

The complementarity of work experience and education is further reflected by the response to the suggestion that only women in economic need should work. Here higher percentages of those in the university and post-university level are refuting the suggestion. These were 72.9 percent and 76.5 percent of them respectively. Hence lower percentages of them are agreeing to the suggestion. The same data shows that higher percentages of those in lower levels of education are disagreeing with the suggestion than those in high secondary level. This may signify relevance of other factors in this connection among which is work experience.

The socio-economic conditions of respondents vary considerably. Thus no specific pattern emerges from the responses to different suggestions related to occupations. For example the suggestion that all women should work has been refuted by 71.2 percent of the teachers, 72.4 percent of those in health service 63.3 percent of those in other white
collar occupation and 73.2 percent of the workers.

A changing attitude to work is essentially indicated by the responses to the following suggestions: "Only women in economic need should work." "Only educated women should work." Three quarters of the informants refuted the exclusion of work to a particular category accepting that conditions of women differ and so is their involvement in extra-domestic work. While the prevalence of a number of women agreeing to exclusion of work to certain women does suggest that perception as to women's economic dependency, personality to her 'housewife' role is supported by women themselves.

Considering all these suggestions there are important variations in attitudes related to age, class position of women, experience and attitudes of other family members.

Particularly related to variation in attitudes of working women are intergenerational differences. It has been noticed from responses to different suggestions and discussion with informant that older generations of working women have wider perceptions of women's conditions and more aware of changing situations and thus have developed more
favourable attitude to work. For example in several cases young informants negated existence of any discrimination against women in workplace yet when their problems in work were discussed, they pointed to the existence of discrimination.

The differences in the attitudes of the young and old generation can be attributed to the different patterns of participation in the labour force among the elder generations. Many middle class women have entered the labour force for self fulfilment. Considering the suppressed position and work policies they witnessed, the elder generation participation has involved a struggle to improve working conditions of women and this resulted in wider experience and knowledge. Thus the younger generations found the ground paved for the abolition of the discriminatory role. Moreover women of elder generations lived and witnessed periods of significant socio-economic changes. Thus they have witnessed women’s struggle during the 1950’s and 1960’s, even if they have not taken active role in the women’s Union they have been exposed to information about its activities, its aims and were aware of its achievements. In contrast, the social milieu for younger generations is rather confused, and repressive politically and socially.
In addition to intergenerational differences there are also class differences in relation to awareness and changing perception of the working women. From the responses to the different suggestions and discussions more working class women seem to have developed better perception of work than the middle class women. This can be related to many factors. One probable explanation is that the economic independence help the working class women to improve their suppressed position and thus they more likely to develop favourable attitude to work. In contrast many middle women may be hindered from a favourable perception of work by their socialization and limited middle class perception.

In relation to class difference, the working conditions are also significant. A working class women in service occupation with low pay and long hours of work may appreciate the economic benefits of occupation but not its social consequences. Similarly some girls in the factories with poor working condition are more likely develop a unfavourable attitude to work. But this is not an expected attitude for all working class women. The difficulties and struggle which many working class women pass through to find work and to continue in it may enrich their experience and help in
developing favourable attitude.

On the other hand not all middle class women with good working atmosphere, highly valued jobs appreciate the social significance of work. They may prefer more a middle class housewife. In this connection the socialization and attitudes of members of the family are very significant. Now the members of the family perceive women's work and how they value her work experience, greatly influence woman's attitude to work. This is illustrated in the response of a woman to the suggestion that all women should work. As she explained: "All women should not work as many have to choose between a happy family life and work, by husband considers my work as an obstacle to my role as housewife. That is why once he gets better sources of income I would leave the job to have a good family life." Another one responded; "I think that all women should go through the experience of work. Since my childhood I dreamt of becoming a doctor by seeing the respect and appreciation given to my working sisters and other female relatives".

However, generally it can be concluded that many women
have developed a favourable perception of work while others have not. The work experience contribute to a changing perception but in relation to other socio-economic conditions.

**Conclusion:**

From the consideration of impact of employment on some aspects related to women's role the following is revealed:

1. Among working class employed women, single women are taking role in budget decision for their high income although other factors are also involved. In case of non-middle class women prominence in budget decision is related to education and changing attitudes of the family enhanced by the economic contribution the women make. The data shows high rate of non-participation in budget decision indicating no great impact of employment. In relation to other items there is a tendency for joint decisions between males and females as both have to contribute financially. Among upper classes the tendency is for women to decide on items related to their concern.

2. Relationship between employment of women and fertility is unclear as different factors are involved.
3. As to division of labour at home employment has no effect as women are still responsible for all domestic activities.

4. Relationships and contacts of women with workmates is greatly influenced by deep-rooted traditions and behavioural patterns.

5. In relation to attitude to work although some responses are indicating a changing perception it is impossible to indicate a specific pattern.
CONCLUSION

This thesis has considered the adequacy for the historical materialist approach for analysis of different issues related to women. Based on that an explanation of the patterns of participation of women in the labour force is given. The analysis is conducted in relation to the development of the economic and social aspects of the Sudanese social formation.

This study has clearly confirmed that the rate of women's participation in non-agricultural activities in urban Khartoum has been increasing since the country's independence in 1956. Also women are entering branches of specialization originally dominated by men. More women are becoming lawyers, doctors, technicians, engineers... etc. Similarly women have been recently admitted abundantly in productive activities in factories and in services in government offices.

Both these aspects show that it is objectively possible for women to play significant roles in the economic and social development of the society. However, it has been
assisted that expanding application of female labour have had its limitations. The women's rate of participation is far below that of men. Also there is larger concentration of women in gender-type occupations, secretaries, nurses, typists and are rarely found in engineering and technology. The majority of women are concentrated in unskilled labour and their number decreases the more skill is required. In wage labour women are mainly cleaners but there are no women working as drivers or electricians or mechanics. Actually, women in paid activities are predominant in fields in which remuneration has been low. Thus women are considerably underrepresented in top positions in government, industry and other professions.

Women working independently are mostly small petty traders with small capital, small range of goods and little prospects of expansion. They deal with cheap goods needed particularly by women and they mostly avoid dealing with goods dominated by men being limited by their capital and by social attitudes and competition from men. They are predominant in sale of foods, liquor and sex. Besides they are greatly involved in domestic services, and to a limited extent in tailoring.
The expansion in capitalist production has provided chances for female labour. The growing export/import trade and expansion in industrial production and other services raised the need for female labour in activities associated with women and others less desired by men. But as expansion in capitalist production is limited and the rate of migration from rural areas to Khartoum is substantial and hence the work chances for women are limited and they suffer more from unemployment than men.

Women seek employment mainly to help their families to cope with rising cost of living. Some middle and upper class families whose women work, their economic conditions secure them chances of specialization in highly prestigious professions. Few women work for self-fulfilment.

Female employment is not necessarily an indication of changing ideologies and attitudes of the family or kinship unit. It is rather a response to changing costs and opportunities on the part of families. A stereotypic perception about women. That is why the decision to work and the education and kind of job a woman takes, are greatly influenced by the woman's family conditions.
A woman's domestic role influences profoundly her conditions in the labour market. The persistence of differential emphasis on the role of men and women reinforces greatly the heavy domestic responsibilities. Women carry housework in addition to their extra domestic occupation and any conflicts between the two roles are solved by delegation of domestic responsibilities to other females. But in case such a solution is not possible priority is given to the husband's career as he often has a higher salary or has the greater potential for occupational advancement. The priority given to the husband's career further hinders the advancement of the wife's career.

Women's commitments are often divided between work and family. They have to spend considerable time in the care of other dependents, infants, children, parents and other relatives. The absence of adequate childcare facilities and of a people's home and persistence of family social obligations contribute to that.

The family conditions and the persistence of conservative attitudes to women's work also impedes women's advancement in occupation. Although women's training and promotion
are greatly curtailed by the managers' perception that they are not as valuable employees as men. The family's perception and attitude contribute to that as well.

This perception of women's roles influences state policies and therefore still education of women lags behind that of men. Women's training is limited to activities socially associated with women and there is an emphasis on segregated activities of men and women. Hence no particular efforts are being made to support a changing role of women in the family or social production.

Because employment of women has come primarily as response to growing economic hardships and increasing demand related to capitalist expansion, its expected positive effects are less likely to be achieved. Some employed women have gained prominent roles in decision-making within the family and there seems to be more tendency for joint decision-making among males and employed females of the families. But these conditions are not exclusive to working women and women are more associated with decisions of domestic affairs. In addition for the majority, the decision-taking remained dominated by elders and males.
Considering division of work at home there are persisting sex difference in the time spent on housework. In addition the rising cost of living and general inflationary prices makes the appliances that would ease the burden of housework less accessible to the majority of working women.

Economic independence and work experience are contributing to a changing attitude among some working women as to the social importance of work. But on the whole the association of work with need seems to be more prevalent.

Furthermore the persistence of traditional conceptions of women's role greatly influences women's relationships in workplace. Many women keep restricted relationships with male workmate fearing bad reputation.

The policies of the state and the persistence of traditional conceptions profoundly impede development of awareness of employed women as to the significance of organization and public activity to improve their conditions. The consequence is that trade unions activities continued to be dominated by men and women shy away from its membership and activities.
Apparently the pattern of women’s participation in labour is determined by interaction of different social and economic aspects within the capitalist system. Thus the change and continuity related to women’s employment is related to the development of different circumstances within the social formation.

The findings about aspects of women’s employment supports profoundly the theoretical framework considered in the thesis. It clearly asserts that any issue related to women is not separated from the wider socio-economic context; and the current condition of women is a product of development of different circumstances of social formations in different periods.

The findings significantly indicate that the participation of women in the labour force is greatly hindered by the growing capitalist system in Sudan. Similarly in many advanced European countries, employment of women has been constrained by the capitalistic policies. Although higher percentages of women in these developed capitalist states are participating in the labour force, it is far below the percentages of males. According to the ILO (1976) estimates,
the percentage of women's participation has not exceeded 40%. In the Third World Countries following the capitalist development percentages of women in non-agricultural activities is far lower as more limitations and prejudices are placed on them. For example in the Middle East the rate of participation in many countries is still below 10 per cent of the total number of female population in urban areas. Moreover women are concentrated in unskilled labour and their number decreases the more skills are required. For example in France women make up 29.6 per cent of all unskilled workers, 22.9 per cent of all semi-skilled workers, 15.8 per cent of all skilled workers, 11.7 per cent of all technicians and 5.4 per cent of all engineers.\(^1\) Added to that women in most capitalist countries receive lower pay for equal work done by men. In addition, women still suffer the burden of house responsibilities specially childcare.

Comparatively, in the socialist countries the transformation of the socio-economic conditions and the accompanied

\(^1\) Kovalsky, N.A. and Others, '1975 p. 121.
policies and ideologies of the state have provided able conditions for women to work outside home. The level of female employment is generally higher than in the capitalist states. It is exceptionally high in the USSR, where there are marginally more women, in the labour force than men especially in 1970's.\(^{(1)}\) In most socialist countries, urban female employment has increased substantially and this is especially noticeable in the Third World Countries following a socialist development where participation was low in the pre-revolutionary period. In China about 48 per cent of non-agricultural population between the ages of 14 and 64 are female. In Tunisia it is 50% and in Algeria 24%. This is an exceptionally high rate considering that in the latter two countries beliefs and attitudes place further limitations on women.

Moreover in the socialist countries labour legislations are made with the aim of enhancing women's employment. Thus paid maternity leave with differential incentives are given to women in different socialist states. Where short maternity leave is offered, nursery and kindergartens are provided and maternity allowances are given for example in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and USSR, the mother's allowance has been
introduced to pay women to stay home for the first three years of the child's life. In the Democratic Republic of Korea, women with three or more children under 13 years are entitled to 8 hours pay daily or six hours daily, allowing them extra time and money for domestic duties.

In addition in these countries efforts are made to transform traditional ideas and attitudes and to remove discrepancy in education of the boys and girls.

This comparison indicates that to improve women's conditions or to enhance their participation in the labour force is not enough to plan and design for income-generating activities or training programmes. Rather the whole socio-economic conditions of women have to be considered. That is why the projects designed by the International Organizations to integrate women in development fail. (1) Doubtless the long term solutions of women's problems and their liberation necessitate complete transformation of the socio-economic conditions to generate new perception and economic situation for women.

(1) For a thorough discussion about International Organizations' projects for women see Noger, N. 1950.
However currently within the existing conditions some improvement in the participation of women in the labour force can be achieved by increasing educational facilities training, adequate childcare, nurseries and easy access to most basic living needs. But more significantly more information and research on women are needed to provide better understanding of their conditions, their problems and needs and to give indications of their changing situation.

The discussion in this thesis has raised many questions which need further investigation and research. Firstly the discussed how working women coordinate between housework and their extra domestic occupation. More information is needed on how do women and men in the family budget their time and how is that different from non-working women. What are the constraints on women's time and what do women wish to see done to eliminate these constraints? What are the effects of these constraints on their perception, awareness and relationship with their sales. Do saving and technology help them? What do women do with the time released through such devices?
Sex discrimination in work has been pointed to as a problem for some women while others are unaware of it. Here a detailed investigation to the attitude of employers and managers can provide a significant understanding. How do they value women's work and do they prefer men and are they willing to give women's chances of training. Do they recognize women's family obligations and to what extent do they cope with them. A clearer understanding of such a problem would necessitate the investigation of women's perception to sex discrimination and the problems which they think are particularly related to women. Do they accept to be discriminated against and how do they react and what do they actually do?

The discussion has similarly pointed to some indication of a changing attitude to women's work among some families and some working women. A more thorough examination of families conception to women's work is necessary. Particular consideration of families of nonworking women would indicate clearly the continuity and change in the attitudes of families to work. Of significance in this connection is to discuss the extent these values influence socialization of children.
The influence of employment have been touched upon very briefly in the thesis. A research considering women's role in decision making would be very significant. Here a comparative study of the decision making role of working and non-working women would indicate clearly the extent to which employment enhances the role of women in decision making in the family.

A further profoundly important problem is the consideration of popular participation of women. The study of such issue among working and non-working women would give a clearer understanding of the influence of employment. In what popular institutions are women involved? What is the nature of their participation? What are their perception of popular participation and how is it relevant to their lives at home and in public?

Although this thesis is not offering clear answers to these questions it has attempted to point to certain indicators that can be further utilized. It has mainly tried to demonstrate the pattern of women participation in the labour force.
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<th>Region</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>22.33</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>22.33%</td>
<td>22.33%</td>
<td>22.33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>16.10%</td>
<td>16.10%</td>
<td>16.10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
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</table>

Note: The data presented here is for illustrative purposes only and does not reflect actual statistical data.

Table 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Boys %</th>
<th>Girls %</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nile</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassala</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gezira</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Nile</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>32.4</td>
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<td>S. Kordofan</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>34.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Kordofan</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Darfur</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Darfur</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>21.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Southern Pro-</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vince.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>43.0</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Institution</th>
<th>Female to Male Ratio 1972/73</th>
<th>Female to Male Ratio 1973/74</th>
<th>Female Students 1972/73</th>
<th>Female Students 1973/74</th>
<th>% of Female Students</th>
<th>Male Students 1972/73</th>
<th>Male Students 1973/74</th>
<th>% of Male Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Baghdad</td>
<td>12 : 10</td>
<td>10 : 8</td>
<td>10,001</td>
<td>8,797</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>12,001</td>
<td>11,001</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchanging Univ.</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cairo Univ. at All.</td>
<td>10 : 9</td>
<td>8 : 7</td>
<td>10,001</td>
<td>8,797</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>12,001</td>
<td>11,001</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic Institute</td>
<td>7 : 9</td>
<td>6 : 10</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>10,001</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Co-op.</td>
<td>5 : 3</td>
<td>2 : 1</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health Nursing College</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering College</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afgh College for Women</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Radio and</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Institute of Edu-</td>
<td>10 : 8</td>
<td>8 : 9</td>
<td>10,001</td>
<td>8,797</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>12,001</td>
<td>11,001</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cation and Sports</td>
<td>xx</td>
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<td>xx</td>
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<td>Forenisi</td>
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<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures for the High Institute of Education and Sports are not yet established.

Table 4

Number and Percentage of Women Students in the University of Khartoum, 1974, by Faculty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% F/T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Social Studies</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and Architecture</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>1,374</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Science</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>5,856</td>
<td>9.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% F/T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Social Studies</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and Architecture</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1478</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Science</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1106</strong></td>
<td><strong>5812</strong></td>
<td><strong>19.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics of the National Council for Higher Education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute or College</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% F/T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College of Fine and Applied Arts</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Textile/Weaving Technicians</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum Institute of Agriculture</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higher Institute of Surveying</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Survey Technicians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Rangers College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Laboratory Technicians</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum Nursing College</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Hygiene</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Business Studies</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Secretariats</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Technical Teachers Training Institute</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Teacher's Physical Edu. Institute</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Teacher's Training Institute</td>
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<td>18.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Engineering and Architectural</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Institute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum Institute of Technical &amp; Electrical Engineering Technicians</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahyad University College (for Women)</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>2,428</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Serial Number

2. Age
   
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Less than 20 years
   (2) 21 - 25
   (3) 26 - 30
   (4) 31 - 35
   (5) 36 - 40
   (6) 41 - 45
   (7) 46 - 50
   (8) 51 - 50
   (9) More than 55.

3. Education
   
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Illiterate
   (2) Primary
   (3) Elementary
   (4) Junior secondary
   (5) High secondary
   (6) University / High Institute
   (7) Post University

4. Are you
   
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Not Married
   (2) Divorced
   (3) Widow
   (4) Married

5. Are you the only wife to your husband?
   
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) Has another wife
   (3) Has other 2 wives
   (4) Has other 3 wives
(5) Not married
(6) Other

6. Is your husband
(0) No Answer
(1) Your cousin
(2) From neighbors
(3) From family's friends
(4) A relative
(5) Workmate
(6) Not married

7. Are you married.
(0) No Answer
(1) Before work
(2) After
(3) Not married

8. Father's education.
(0) No Answer
(1) Illiterate
(2) Khalsa
(3) Elementary
(4) Intermediate
(5) Junior Secondary
(6) High Secondary
(7) University / High Institute
(8) Post University

9. Father's Occupation
(0) No Answer
(1) Administrative occupation
(2) Teacher
(3) Health service
(4) Worker
(5) Farmer
(6) Other occupation
10. Mother Education
(0) No Answer
(1) Illiterate
(2) Khalwa
(3) Elementary
(4) Junior Secondary
(5) High Secondary
(6) High / High Institute
(7) Post University

11. Mother's Occupation
(0) No Answer
(1) Teacher
(2) Health Service
(3) Other white collar job
(4) Farmer
(5) Tailor
(6) Housewife
(7) Petty Trading
(8) Worker
(9) Other occupation

12. Brothers' Education
(0) No Answer
(1) Illiterate
(2) Khalwa
(3) Elementary
(4) Junior Secondary
(5) High Secondary
(6) University / High Institute
(7) Post University

13. Brothers' Occupations
(0) No Answer
(1) Teacher
(2) Health Service
(3) Other white collar occupation
(4) Worker
(5) Farmer
(6) Student
(7) Other Occupation
(8) Have no brother

44. Sisters' Occupation
(0) No Answer
(1) Teacher
(2) Health Service
(3) Other white Collar Occu.
(4) Farmer
(5) Tailor
(6) Housewife
(7) Petty Trading
(8) Worker
(9) Other Occupation

45. Husband's Education
(0) No Answer
(1) Illiterate
(2) Kwalwa
(3) Elementary
(4) Junior Secondary
(5) High Secondary
(6) University / High Institute
(7) Post University

46. Husband's Occupation
(0) No Answer
(1) Administrative Occupation
(2) Teacher
(3) Health Service
(4) Worker
(5) Farmer
(6) Other Occupations
(7) Not Married
17. **Number of children**
   (0) No Answer
   (1) 1 - 2 Children
   (2) 3 - 4
   (3) 5 - 6
   (4) 6 - 7
   (5) Above

18. **Do you have pre-school children?**
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) No Children
   (4) Not Married

19. **Do you have working sons or daughters?**
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) No Children
   (4) Not Married

20. **With whom do you live?**
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Parents, Brothers and Sisters
   (2) Husband and Children
   (3) Husband, Children and in-laws
   (4) Husband, Children and my Parents
   (5) With my Sons and Daughters
   (6) With Relatives
   (7) Other (Specify)

21. **When did you came to Khartoum?**
   (0) No Answer
   (1) I am Born in Khartoum
   (2) Less than 1 Year
   (3) 1 - 2 Years
(4) 3 - 4 Years  
(5) 5 - 6 "  
(6) 7 - 8 "  
(7) 9 - 10 "  
(8) More than 10 Years

22. Why did you come to Khartoum?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Accompanying Husband  
(2) Accompanying Parents  
(3) Studying  
(4) Work  
(5) Others  
(6) Born in Khartoum

23. If you have not come with family with whom have you come?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) A Relative  
(2) Friends  
(3) Alone  
(4) Born in Khartoum  
(5) Other (specify)

24. Have you changed your work after you came to Khartoum?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Yes  
(2) No  
(3) Born in Khartoum  
(4) Yes, not Working

25. Are you planning to settle in Khartoum?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Yes  
(2) No  
(3) Born in Khartoum
26. Why are you planning to settle in Khartoum?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Because all the family is in Khartoum.
   (2) " Khartoum is my work place.
   (3) Because my husband work is in Khartoum.
   (4) Other (Specify).
   (5) I am not planning to settle in Khartoum.
   (6) I am born in Khartoum.

27. Why are you not planning to settle in Khartoum?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Because my family is not in Khartoum.
   (2) Because I would be more comfortable outside Khartoum.
   (3) Other (Specify)
   (4) I am planning to stay in Khartoum.
   (5) I am born in Khartoum.

28. What is your job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Professional and white collar jobs.
   (2) Teacher
   (3) Health Service
   (4) Worker

29. How long have you been working?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Less than a Year
   (2) Less than 2 Years
   (3) 3 - 5 Years
   (4) 7 - 10 Years
   (5) 11 - 14 Years
   (6) 15 - 18 "
   (7) 19 - 21 "
   (8) 22 - 25 "
   (9) More than 25 Years.
30. Who took the decision for your work.
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Myself
   (2) Father
   (3) Mother
   (4) Brother / Sister
   (5) Husband
   (6) Sons and Daughters
   (7) Other (Specify)

31. From whom have you found objection to work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) No Objection
   (2) From Father
   (3) " In law
   (4) " Mother
   (5) " Husband
   (6) " Relatives
   (7) Others (Specify).

32. What are the reasons of objection?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) No objection
   (2) Family is not need of my income.
   (3) Woman's place is at home.
   (4) Extra domestic work contradicts with traditions.
   (5) Extra domestic work involves risk of immorality.
   (6) Difficulty of coordination between domestic and extra-domestic work.

33. Did they put any conditions for your work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) No Conditions
   (2) To work in teaching activity only.
   (3) No shift work.
   (4) Work in a place where there are only women.
(5) Work should involve no transfer to other region.
(6) Other (Specify).

34. How did you get your current job?
(0) No Answer
(1) Through Labour Office.
(2) Through the Official Selection Committee for University Graduates
(3) By applying directly to the workplace.
(4) By help from Relatives.
(5) By help from Friends.
(6) Other (Specify).

35. From whom did you find help to get your work?
(0) No Answer
(1) No Help
(2) From Sister / Brother
(3) From Father
(4) From Mother
(5) From a Friend
(6) From my Husband
(7) From Relatives
(8) Other (Specify).

36. What is the help given?
(0) No Answer
(1) No Help.
(2) Submitted an application.
(3) Wrote a Recommendation.
(4) Appointed me in his/her Office.

37. Did you have chance to choose between your current job and others?
(0) No Answer
(1) I had a Choice
(2) No Choice
38. If you had no choice why did you accept?
(0) No Answer
(1) Because my qualifications are limited for any other chance.
(2) I was in bad need for money.
(3) Another chance was not secure.
(4) Had a choice.

39. If you had a choice why did you choose your current job?
(0) No Answer
(1) For its social status.
(2) It was the choice of my family.
(3) It suited my qualifications.
(4) Its income is high.
(5) Had no choice.

40. How long have you waited to get the job?
(0) No Answer
(1) 3 Months
(2) 6 Months
(3) 9 Months
(4) 1 Year
(5) 1 - 2 Years
(6) Immediately.

41. To how many workplaces have you applied?
(0) No Answer
(1) Registered at the labour office and waited.
(2) I applied to two workplaces.
(3) I applied to several workplaces.
(4) I applied to my current workplace only.

42. Why have your application been refused in case you applied to more than one place.
(0) No Answer
(1) No Vacant Posts
(2) No Recommendation
(3) My qualification unsuitable
(4) Sex discrimination
(5) Applied to my current workplace only.

43. Are you satisfied with your work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

44. Why are you satisfied with your current job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) For high income
   (2) Economic independence
   (3) Work is a contribution to social production.
   (4) Light responsibilities
   (5) Social experiences
   (6) Not satisfied.

45. Why are you not satisfied with your current job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Heavy responsibility
   (2) Difficulty of coordination with housework.
   (3) Low income
   (4) Current job is not suitable to my qualifications.
   (5) Current job does not suit my aspirations.
   (6) I am satisfied.

46. If you had a chance to choose between your current job and other jobs do you choose your current job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Choose another job
   (2) Choose my current job.

47. Do you aspire for another job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No.
48. What do you think of your efficiency in your current job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Perform my job with high efficiency.
   (2) I don't care for efficiency.
   (3) If I had another job, I would be more efficient.

49. Do your job responsibilities hinder you from achieving any of your duties or aspiration?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) My job responsibilities conflict with my children's needs.
   (2) My job responsibilities conflict with my duties as a housewife.
   (3) My job responsibilities conflict with my social obligations.
   (4) My job responsibilities limit my participation in public activities.
   (5) My job responsibilities do not hinder me from any achievement.
   (6) Other (specify).

50. What is the benefit of your job to you?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) My job is beneficial to me socially.
   (2) My job enriches my knowledge and social experience.
   (3) My job is beneficial to me only economically.

51. Did you have a job before your current job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) No job before
   (2) Teacher
   (3) Professional and white collar jobs.
   (4) Health Service
   (5) Teacher
   (6) Worker
   (7) Other
52. Why did you leave your previous work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Work tiresome
   (2) Work not suitable to my qualification.
   (3) Troubles with workmates.
   (4) Low income
   (5) Socially low valued work
   (6) Contradict with childcare needs
   (7) Family's decision
   (8) Had no previous work.

53. I would leave my current job for a job with
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Higher income
   (2) Promotion
   (3) Highly socially valued
   (4) Lighter responsibilities
   (5) Heavier " "
   (6) Job near living place.
   (7) A number of these conditions
   (8) Would not leave my current job.

54. Why do you refuse to work until a late hour if your boss asked that?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) To avoid problems with my husband
   (2) To avoid problems with parents
   (3) My children would be alone.
   (4) My boss does not cooperate with me.
   (5) I do not refuse to work to a late hour.
   (6) Other (Specify).

55. What are the good aspects of your job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Social Relationships, cooperation with workmates.
   (2) Social experience and knowledges.
   (3) Contribution to production.
(4) Availability of transport.
(5) High income aspects
(6) A number of these aspects
(7) Other (Specify).

56. What are the bad aspects of your job?
(0) No Answer
(1) No bad aspects
(2) No cooperation
(3) Difficulty in transport.
(4) Work limit participation in social activities.
(5) Work contradicts with family responsibilities
(6) Low income
(7) Heavy work
(8) A number of these aspects
(9) Other (Specify).

57. Specify the major problem you face in your work?
(0) No Answer
(1) Administrative problems.
(2) Sexual Discrimination
(3) Delayed promotion
(4) Transport
(5) Heavy responsibilities and low pay.
(6) Transferences
(7) Other (Specify).

58. How do your boss value your work?
(0) No Answer
(1) My boss consider me very efficient.
(2) My boss doubt my efficiency
(3) My boss trust my male colleagues more than me.
(4) My boss undervalue my efforts
(5) Other (Specify).
59. Have you been penalized?
   (O) No Answer
   (1) Have to write an explanation
   (2) A negative report was written about my work.
   (3) Had to write
   (4) Had a cut from the salary
   (5) Had a warning for a cut.
   (6) Had a warning for a dismiss
   (7) Was transferred for problems.
   (8) No punishment

60. How do you organize your work?
   (O) No Answer
   (1) Do it immediately when getting it
   (2) Do it when it is time for handing.
   (3) Other (Specify).

61. Do you think that your conditions would be better if your boss is a woman.
   (O) No Answer
   (1) Yes.
   (2) No.
   (3) No difference.

62. If the answer is yes why?
   (O) No Answer
   (1) Men do not appreciate women's social obligations.
   (2) Men doubt women's efficiency at work.
   (3) Men discriminate against women
   (4) No difference
   (5) I don't prefer my boss to be woman.

63. If you do not want your boss to be a woman why?
   (O) No Answer
   (1) Women do not consider social obligations.
   (2) Women are very strict about rules.
(3) Women in top positions do not cooperate with other women.
(4) No difference
(5) Prefer my boss to be a woman.

64. Do you absent yourself from work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Once a month
   (2) Twice a month
   (3) Sometimes
   (4) According to need
   (5) Never absent.

65. What are the urgent conditions in which you absent yourself from work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Illness
   (2) Children's illness
   (3) Absence of somebody to take care of children.
   (4) Difficulty of finding transport.
   (5) Social occasion in the family.
   (6) Never Absent
   (7) Other (Specify).

66. How do you explain your absence?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Sick leave
   (2) Holiday leave
   (3) Verbal permission
   (4) No body asks
   (5) Never absent myself.

67. Do you know the labour legislations?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Heard about some from coworkers
   (2) Read about them
   (3) Know some of legislations from experience.
(4) Do not know anything about legislations.
(5) Other (Specify).

68. Do you know labour legislations exclusive to women?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Do not know about them
   (2) Heard of them
   (3) Read them
   (4) Know few of them.

69. Have you claimed any rights in relations to legislations exclusive to women?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) For leave without pay
   (2) For non-punctuality
   (3) For maternity leave
   (4) No

70. Income
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Less than 50 Sudanese pounds.
   (2) 50 - 40
   (3) 41 - 60
   (4) 61 - 80
   (5) 81 - 100
   (6) 101 - 120
   (7) 121 - 140
   (8) 141 - 160
   (9) Above 160.

71. Do you have any extra job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No.

72. What is the nature of your extra job?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) No extra job.
(2) Teaching in evening schools.
(3) Give private lessons.
(4) Sewing
(5) Trading
(6) Other (Specify).

73. What is your income from your extra job?
(0) No Answer
(1) 20 - 40
(2) 41 - 60
(3) 61 - 80
(4) 81 - 100
(5) Above 100

74. Who contributes with you in the family living?
(0) No Answer
(1) Nobody
(2) Father / Mother
(3) Brothers and Sisters
(4) Sons and Daughters
(5) Relatives
(6) I do not contribute

75. What is the nature of your contribution?
(0) No Answer
(1) I pay a certain sum of money monthly.
(2) I buy certain things monthly.
(3) I pay certain bills monthly.
(4) I buy all family needs.
(5) I and my husband / Brother / Sister / Mother put our incomes together and cooperate to buy family needs.
(6) I do not contribute.

76. Who decides your contribution?
(0) No Answer
(1) Myself
(2) Husband
(3) Father
(4) Mother
(5) Sister/Brother
(6) Relatives
(7) Other
(8) I do not contribute.

77. Do you have any other relatives (other than your immediate family) to

(0) No Answer
(1) Uncle
(2) Grandmother
(3) Nephews/Nieces
(4) Other relatives
(5) I give no help.

78. How do you cope with a deficit in family budget?

(0) No answer
(1) Reduce food expenses
(2) Lean from relatives or friends
(3) Take things on credit
(4) Take extra work
(5) Lean from workplace
(6) Depend on credit association
(7) Income is enough for needs.

79. Do you have a house assistant or a nanny?

(0) No Answer
(1) I have a house assistant
(2) I have a nanny
(3) I have a nanny and a house assistant.
(4) I don't have nanny or a house assistant.
(5) I live with relative.

80. How much do you pay her/him as them?

(0) No Answer
(1) Less than 20
(2) 20 - 40
(3) 41 - 60
(4) 61 - 80
(5) More than 80
(6) No assistant.

81. What do you do before coming to work??
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Make tea only
   (2) Prepare children to school, make tea and organize the house.
   (3) Make tea and Cook
   (4) I do nothing
   (5) I do what times permit me in the morning.
   (6) I give help to mother and relatives at home.

82. What do you do after coming from work?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) I prepare lunch and wash dishes
   (2) I prepare lunch and wash dishes, clean house and wash children's clothes.
   (3) Do some housework and cook for next day.
   (4) I help in preparing lunch and go to sleep.
   (5) I do nothing.

83. Do you do any spare time activity at home?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Sewing.
   (2) Drawing.
   (3) Rearing poultry.
   (4) Other (specify).
   (5) I have no time.
84. Do you do all housework yourself?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

85. Who gives you help in housework?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Husband
   (2) Mother
   (3) In-laws
   (4) Sister
   (5) Domestic Assistant
   (6) Nanny
   (7) I give help to mother or relatives
   (8) Other (specify)

86. What help does your husband give you?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Husband gives no help
   (2) Helps in cooking
   (3) Helps in cleaning
   (4) Helps in washing clothes
   (5) Helps in shopping
   (6) Helps in childcare
   (7) Not married

87. What help does your mother give you?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) I do not live with my mother
   (2) Mother gives help in some housework
   (3) Mother helps in cooking
   (4) Mother helps in childcare
   (5) Mother helps in shopping
   (6) Other (specify)
   (7) Mother does all housework
88. What help does your Father or Brother give at home?
(0) No Answer
(1) I do not live with them
(2) They do shopping
(3) They help in cooking
(4) They help in cleaning
(5) They help in washing clothes
(6) They help in childcare
(7) Other (specify)

89. What help does your sisters give you?
(0) No Answer
(1) They give no help
(2) They help in cooking
(3) They help in cleaning
(4) They help in washing clothes
(5) They help in childcare
(6) Other (specify)

90. What help does your house assistant give you?
(0) No Answer
(1) Have no house assistant
(2) He/She cleans and washes clothes
(3) He/She cooks
(4) He/She does all housework

91. What help does the nanny give you?
(0) No Answer
(1) Have no nanny
(2) She takes care of children
(3) She takes care of children and helps in cooking.
(4) She takes care of children and helps in cooking and does other activities.

92. What help does your in-laws give you?
(0) No Answer
(1) No Help
(2) They help in childcare
(3) They help in cooking
(4) They help in cleaning
(5) They help in washing clothes
(6) They live far from me
(7) Not married

93. If the males at home do not help what do you do with them?
(0) No Answer
(1) Discuss the issue with them
(2) No discussion
(3) Leave certain activities so they are forced to do it.
(4) They help

94. Why do you discuss the issue with them?
(0) No Answer
(1) Because I need help
(2) Because it is their duty to help
(3) Because I want them to develop new attitudes to housework.
(4) I do not discuss the issue with them
(5) They help

95. Why do you not discuss the issue with them?
(0) No Answer
(1) Because men usually do not help at housework
(2) Because men are not trained to do any housework.
(3) Because men's work outside is more important
(4) Because men do the shopping
(5) Because housework is women's responsibility.
(6) No males at home
(7) They help

96. If your children do not help you at home what do you do with them?
(0) No Answer
(1) I do not ask them for help
(2) I force them to help
(3) I punish them
(4) My children help at home
(5) Other (specify)
(6) I have no children
(7) I am not married

97. Why do you not ask your children for help at home?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Because I do not need their help
(2) Because they do not know housework
(3) Because they have to study
(4) Because I want them to enjoy, playing
(5) My children help me
(6) I have no children
(7) I am not married
(8) Other (specify)

98. Who help in childcare while you in work?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Nursery/Kindergarten
(2) Nursery
(3) Mother
(4) In-laws
(5) Neighbours
(6) Relatives
(7) Children in school
(8) I have no children
(9) Not married

99. Who helps children in studying?  
(0) No Answer  
(1) Myself
(2) Husband and
(3) I and my Husband
(4) My Sisters/Brothers/Husband’s Brothers and Sisters.
(5) They have a teacher
(6) No body helps them
(7) Children are not in school
(8) Not married

100. Who takes children to school?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Husband
   (2) Relatives
   (3) Neighbours
   (4) School bus
   (5) They go by themselves
   (6) No children in school
   (7) I have no children
   (8) Not married

101. Who takes children to the Doctor?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Myself
   (2) Mother/Sister
   (3) In-Laws
   (4) I and my husband
   (5) Other (specify)
   (6) I have no children
   (7) Not married

102. Do you know your husband's or father's or brother's income?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

103. Does your husband know your income?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) I am not married
104. Does your brother/father/mother know your income?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

105. Who decides the family budget?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Myself
   (2) I and my husband
   (3) I and my father/brother
   (4) My mother
   (5) Husband
   (6) Father
   (7) Others

106. Who decides on the following?
   (1) Buying house furniture
   (2) Buying a car
   (3) buying clothes
   (4) Buying a house or land
   (5) Celebrating an occasion
   (6) Your continuity in the job

107. Has there been the arrangement before your employment
   (0) No answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) This arrangement has been after my employment

108. If you are using contraceptive who decides no that
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Myself
   (2) Husband
   (3) I and my husband
   (4) My mother
   (5) The Doctor
   (6) Other
(7) I am not married

109. Who decides the number of children in the family?
(0) No Answer
(1) Myself
(2) Husband
(3) I and my husband
(4) Mother
(5) Other
(6) I am not married

110. How many children do you prefer to have?
(0) No Answer
(1) Less than 4
(2) 5 - 6 children
(3) 8
(4) Above 8
(5) No desire for children
(6) According to conditions

111. Why do you want that particular number?
(0) No Answer
(1) Less than 4 children makes socialization easy
(2) Socialization of large number of children is difficult
(3) Children are security for the future
(4) No desire for children

112. Who decide which school the children attend?
(0) No Answer
(1) Myself
(2) Husband
(3) I and Husband
(4) In Laws
(5) My parents
(6) Other
(7) Not married
(8) Have no children
113. If you compare your position in the family before your employment and after what do you think is the implications of employment?

(0) No Answer
(1) More participation in decision making of the family
(2) I started to take all decisions myself
(3) More respect from the family
(4) No change
(5) No respect from the family
(6) Other (specify)

114. Describe your relationship with your male workmates?

(0) No Answer
(1) Very Intimate
(2) Intimate
(3) Restricted
(4) No relationship
(5) No male workmates

115. What kind of problems do you find with male workmates?

(0) No Answer
(1) No problems
(2) They consider women as subordinate
(3) They doubt my efficiency
(4) They misunderstand my informal dealings with them
(5) No relationship
(6) No male workmates

116. What kind of problems do you face with your female workmates?

(0) No Answer
(1) No problems
(2) No cooperation in work
(3) Gossip
(4) Division
147. What is the nature of your relationship with your male workmates outside the workplace?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Visit their families sometimes
   (2) Visit their families in social occasions only
   (3) No relationship with male workmates outside workplace
   (4) No male workmates

148. What is the nature of your relationship with your female workmates?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Visit them frequently
   (2) Visit them sometimes
   (3) Visit them in social occasions only
   (4) No relationship with female workmates outside workplace

149. If you are a member of the Sudanese Socialist Union, have you joined it before getting employed or after that?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Before getting employed
   (2) After getting employed
   (3) I am not a member

150. If you are a member of the Sudanese Women's Union (SWU), when have you joined it?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Before getting employed
   (2) After getting employed
   (3) I am not a member

151. If you are a member in SWU unit what is your position?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Head of a Unit
   (2) Secretary
   (3) Treasure secretary
   (4) Other
(5) I am not a member of the executive committee.

122. Do you participate in the meetings of the cooperative society?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) I participate in all meetings
   (2) I participate sometimes
   (3) I do not participate
   (4) I am not a member

123. If you are a member in a cooperative society, when have you joined it?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Before work
   (2) After work
   (3) I am not a member

124. If you are a member of the executive committee of the cooperative what is your position?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Head of the committee
   (2) Secretary
   (3) Treasurer
   (4) Other
   (5) I am not a member of the executive committee
   (6) I am not a member of cooperative society.

125. Do you participate in the meetings?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Participate regularly
   (2) Participate sometimes
   (3) Participate very rarely
   (4) I do not participate
   (5) I am not a member of a cooperative society

126. Are you a member of the trade union?
127. What is your position in the trade union?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) Head of the trade union
   (4) Secretary
   (5) Treasurer Secretary
   (6) I am not a member of executive committee
   (7) Other
   (8) I am not a member of the trade union.

128. Do you participate in the trade union’s meetings?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) Sometimes
   (4) I am not a member

129. How frequent do you participate?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Regularly
   (2) Sometimes
   (3) Very Rarely
   (4) I do not participate
   (5) I am not a member

130. Did you vote in the Local Council Election?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

131. If the answer is no why?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) I did not know the voting time
   (2) I have not time for that
122. In your activities in any of the previous organizations do you try to specify certain achievements for women?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Yes
   (2) No

133. What kind of rights or facilities have you been arguing for?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Specify labour legislation for working mothers
   (2) Better health facilities, education
   (3) Availability of consumer goods
   (4) More efforts to improve women's awareness
   (5) Others

134. Name other associations in which you are a member?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Family Planning Association
   (2) Children Protection Association
   (3) Alikiki Besri Scientific Association for Women Studies
   (4) Women's Rights Association
   (5) Others

135. What did you join it or them?
   (0) No Answer
   (1) Before work
   (2) After work
   (3) I am not a member

136. What is your position in the association?
   (0) No Answer
(1) Head of the executive committee
(2) Secretary
(3) Treasurer secretary
(4) Other
(5) Not a member of executive committee
(6) I am not a member

737. State your position to the following suggestions related to women's extra-domestic work, Answer with (Support strongly, Agree, Disagree, I am not sure).

(1) Work is an important social experience
(2) Work is important for economic independence
(3) Work is a contribution to social production
(4) Work is important for improving the family conditions
(5) Work is significant for the family only economically
(6) Work conflicts with the children's needs
(7) Work conflicts with some traditions
(8) Work is not important for women
(9) Work is an additional burden for women
(10) All women should work
(11) Only women in need should work
(12) Only educated women should work
(13) Only single women should work
(14) Boys are superior to girls
(15) There is discrimination between men and women in workplaces.
(16) Women are subordinate to men in the society.