

DISCUSSION PAPER

GENDER ANALYSIS OF LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES IN SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA:

Recent Evidence from Cameroon and Mali



No. 16, July 2017

VIRGINIE COMBLON, ANNE-SOPHIE ROBILLIARD AND FRANÇOIS ROUBAUD
FOR PROGRESS OF THE WORLD'S WOMEN 2015-2016

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This paper has been produced for the UN Women flagship report Progress of the World's Women 2015-2016 by Virginie Comblon, PhD Candidate, DIAL, Paris-Dauphine University, Anne-Sophie Robilliard, IRD Research Fellow and Francios Roubaud, Research Director IRD.

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ISBN: 978-1-63214-090-6

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Produced by the Research and Data Section
Editor: Christina Johnson
Design: dammsavage studio

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY/RÉSUMÉ/RESUMEN i

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. LABOUR MARKET ATTACHMENT:
WOMEN'S RIGHT TO WORK 3

3. JOBS: WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT WORK 17

3.1 Employment structure 17

3.2 Quality of employment 19

3.2.1 Earnings 19

3.2.2 Other working conditions 21

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS 33

REFERENCES 34

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY 35

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INDICATORS
AND DEFINITIONS 37

SUMMARY

Using micro data from two recent labour force surveys collected in Cameroon and Mali, this paper explores gender differentials in labour market outcomes covering key areas such as occupational segregation, informality, part-time work and gender wage gaps. While women's participation to the labour market is relatively high in Africa compared to other regions of the world, the examples of Cameroon and Mali suggest it varies significantly within the continent. The data also show that the differential between the two countries in terms of women's participation is driven by the differential in education levels. The analysis also reveals that noticeable gender differences can

be observed in the employment patterns: while men are more likely to be salaried workers, women are more often unpaid family workers. However, in both countries, informal employment is the norm for both sexes. Gender gaps in monthly earnings are found to be much bigger for self-employed than for wage workers, a result that is consistent with other studies. Although education of both women and men is likely to play an important role, social norms in general deserve to be studied more thoroughly in order to understand remaining differences and their evolution in a context of rising education levels.

RÉSUMÉ

S'appuyant sur les microdonnées issues de deux études sur la main-d'œuvre menées récemment au Cameroun et au Mali, le présent document examine les différences entre les sexes dans la situation qui prévaut sur le marché du travail, couvrant des domaines tels que la ségrégation dans le marché, la précarité, le travail à temps partiel et les écarts de rémunération entre les sexes. Bien que la participation des femmes au marché du travail soit relativement élevée en Afrique par rapport aux autres régions du monde, les exemples du Cameroun et du Mali indiquent qu'elle varie considérablement entre les différents pays du continent. Les données démontrent également que l'écart de participation des femmes entre les deux pays découle de l'écart qui existe dans les niveaux d'éducation. L'analyse fait également

ressortir d'importantes différences entre les sexes dans le domaine de l'emploi : d'un côté, les hommes sont plus susceptibles d'être des travailleurs salariés et, de l'autre, les femmes sont le plus souvent des travailleuses familiales non rémunérées. Toutefois, l'emploi informel est la norme pour les deux sexes dans les deux pays. On constate que les disparités entre les sexes en matière de salaires mensuels sont plus importantes pour les travailleurs indépendants que pour les travailleurs salariés, ce qui vient confirmer les conclusions d'autres études. Malgré le rôle significatif potentiel que peut jouer l'éducation des femmes et des hommes, les normes sociales en général méritent un examen plus approfondi pour comprendre les autres différences et leur évolution dans un contexte de niveaux d'éducation en hausse.

RESUMEN

Utilizando microdatos de dos encuestas recientes sobre la población activa realizadas en el Camerún y Malí, este informe explora las diferencias de género en los resultados del mercado laboral en lo que respecta a aspectos clave como la segregación profesional, la informalidad, el trabajo a tiempo parcial y las diferencias salariales por razón de género. Aunque la participación de las mujeres en el mercado laboral es relativamente alta en África en comparación con otras regiones del mundo, los ejemplos del Camerún y Malí sugieren que hay diferencias considerables dentro del continente. Los datos también muestran que el diferencial entre los dos países en términos de la participación de las mujeres depende de las diferencias en cuanto a niveles de educación. El análisis también

revela que se observan notables diferencias de género en los patrones de empleo: mientras que los hombres tienen más probabilidades de ser trabajadores asalariados, las mujeres con más frecuencia son trabajadoras familiares no remuneradas. Sin embargo, en ambos países, el empleo informal es la norma para ambos sexos. Las brechas de género en lo que respecta a ingresos mensuales son mucho mayores en el conjunto de trabajadores autónomos que en el de asalariados, un resultado que es coherente con otros estudios. Y si bien es probable que la educación de mujeres y hombres desempeñe un papel importante, las normas sociales en general merecen ser estudiadas más a fondo a fin de comprender las diferencias que persisten y su evolución en un contexto de aumento de los niveles de educación.

1.

INTRODUCTION

This paper uses micro data from recent labour force surveys collected in Cameroon and Mali to explore gender differentials in labour market outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa. The objective of this commissioned work was to inform and provide substantive input to Chapter 2 of *Progress of the World's Women* (UN Women 2015), focusing on livelihood and labour market insecurity.¹ While building on existing studies, it focuses primarily on direct analysis of micro data. It covers key areas most relevant to the understanding of gender differences in labour market outcomes, such as occupational segregation, informality, part-time work and gender wage gaps.

Among developing regions, sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by relatively high levels of female employment-to-population (ETP) ratios. According to the International Labour Organization's recent report on global employment trends for women (ILO 2012), the ETP ratio stood at almost 60 per cent for the region as a whole, compared to 20 per cent in North Africa and 50 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean. ETP ratios stood higher only in East Asia (at 65 per cent). As a result, the gender differential in terms of ETP is relatively small compared to other regions. Various explanations have been suggested for the observed high levels of female participation in the labour market. One is the high share of the working age population in the agricultural sector, where both women and men participate. Another explanation is related to the high levels of poverty in the region, which entail that women can generally not afford not to work. Despite the high levels of participation, a number of studies have shown that the ratios vary significantly within the

region from one country to another. For instance, in the case of seven West African cities, Nordman et al. (2011) show that the paid employment rate for females varies between 29 per cent (for Niamey, Niger) and 57 per cent (for Lome, Togo).

Concerning the two countries under study, a number of stylized facts deserve to be mentioned. Cameroon is a lower-middle-income country of Central Africa with a population of 21.7 million (2012), 53 per cent of whom live in urban areas. In 2012, its gross national income (GNI) per capita (Atlas method) was estimated at 1,170 USD. Cameroon has enjoyed a decade of steady economic performance, with its gross domestic product (GDP) growing at an average of 3.2 per cent per year. The country has high levels of gross primary enrolment for both boys (118 per cent) and girls (103 per cent). By contrast, Mali is a low-income country of West Africa with a population of 14.9 million (2012) and a GNI per capita (Atlas method) estimated at 660 USD in 2012. From 2000 to 2012, Mali also enjoyed strong economic growth, at an average of 4.9 per cent per year; however, this favourable trend was halted in March 2012 by a coup d'état that marked the beginning of a profound political crisis. Despite this crisis, Mali is on track to achieve universal access to primary education. Gender inequality persists, however, in access to secondary education. The urbanization rate is low, with only 36 per cent of the population living in urban areas.

¹ Given the time perspective associated with the report ("progress"), the initial objective of this work was to take advantage of comparable survey data collected over the 2000s in both in Cameroon and Mali. Indeed, three surveys were carried out in 2004, 2007 and 2010 in Mali while data were collected in 2005 and 2010 in Cameroon. As all five surveys used nearly identical questionnaires for the labour module, they should provide comparable labour market statistics over time and space. However, comparative analysis reveals important variations between the different rounds of surveys in Mali that are difficult to explain. As a result, we chose to focus the analysis on the most recent data.

In sum, the two countries studied differ significantly in terms of income, urbanization and human capital. In particular, the level of human capital is high in Cameroon: less than 20 per cent of the population never attended school as opposed to around 70 per cent in Mali. Concerning demographic trends, the large share of youth population in Cameroon and Mali (respectively, 40 per cent and 50 per cent were under 15 years old in 2010) offers an opportunity to benefit from a demographic dividend, provided that the labour market is able to absorb the growing working-age population.

The discussion in this paper builds on intensive analysis of two comparable labour force surveys (LFSs) collected in Cameroon and Mali in 2010: The “*Enquête sur l’Emploi et le Secteur Informel*” (EESI) for

Cameroon and the “*Enquête Permanente Auprès des Ménages*” (EPAM) for Mali. These surveys, derived from the 1-2-3 survey’s generic framework, use the same questionnaire that has been designed to capture the specificities of labour markets in developing countries (Roubaud 1992; De Vreyer and Roubaud 2013; see Appendix). The characteristics of the 1-2-3 survey are presented in Table A1 in Appendix 2.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 analyses labour market attachment from a gender perspective (women’s right to work). Women’s rights at work, focusing on job quality and earnings, is the subject of section 3. The final section makes concluding remarks.

2.

LABOUR MARKET

ATTACHMENT: WOMEN'S

RIGHT TO WORK

In 2010, the total labour force population (LFP) represented 67 per cent of the working age population² in Mali and 77 per cent in Cameroon (Table 2-1). This 10 percentage points gap is entirely due to the difference in the participation of women between the two countries. LFP rates for men are very close in the two countries, but the female LFP rates differ markedly (52 per cent in Mali and 72 per cent in Cameroon). The gender gap in participation, computed as the difference between male and female LFP rates, reaches 30 percentage points in Mali while it is around 10 percentage points in Cameroon. The differential between the two countries is consistent with the differential in educational levels: indeed, women are much more educated in Cameroon than in Mali (Table 2-2). Differences in social norms regarding gender roles and religious affiliation³ are also likely to explain part of this gap.

Gender differences in employment rates are similar to those in LFP rates. Table 2-1 also shows that women in the labour force are more likely to be unemployed than men in both countries. Although the female unemployment rate is lower in Cameroon than in Mali, it is twice as high as that of men (8 per cent vs. 4 per cent). Nevertheless, gender discrepancies are less pronounced than for LFP and employment rates. As a result of the combination of LFP and unemployment rates, the employment rate of men greatly exceeds that of women in both countries: 77 per cent vs. 46 per cent in Mali and 78 per cent vs. 66 per cent in Cameroon in 2010. As for LFP, the gender gap is higher in Mali.

By age, the LFP rate exhibits the classical concave profile in both countries (Figure 2-1). Around 40 per cent of young people aged 10 to 15 years old and more than half of those aged 15-24 are in the labour

force, reflecting the limited school attendance rates at higher levels of education. At the other end of the age ladder, 60 per cent of the seniors (65 years old and more) in Cameroon and 37 per cent in Mali are not yet retired. This is not surprising because the coverage of the institutional system of old age social insurance is limited, exclusively targeting formal workers. The inverted U curve of LFP rates by age holds for both women and men. Before 15 years old, about 33 per cent of women participate in both countries, while their male counterparts are 39 per cent in Cameroon and 49 per cent in Mali. Between 25 and 54 years old, nearly all men are employed (more than 90 per cent in both countries), as are Cameroonian women (more than 80 per cent), whereas women's participation is much lower in Mali (less than 60 per cent). Gender gaps are higher in Mali for all age groups due to the overall lower female participation in this country. In Cameroon, the gender gap is low for the younger age group. The LFP gender gap reaches its peak for the 25-44-year-olds, which coincides with the period when women are mainly involved in giving birth and

² The working age population comprises all individuals above 15 years old.

³ Cameroon is mostly Christian, while a large majority (more than 90%) of the Malian population is Muslim.

childcare. Finally, at the end of the life cycle, 30 per cent of women and 45 per cent of men were still in the labour market in Mali in 2010. In Cameroon, seniors participated even more: 65 per cent for men and 53 per cent for women.

The decrease of unemployment rates with age is another classical stylized feature of labour market outcomes in least developed countries (LDCs) that is observed in both countries (Figure 2-2). In the absence of an institutional unemployment protection scheme, this feature essentially captures the problem of youth integration into the labour market. The unemployment rate reaches 10 per cent for 15–24-year-olds in Cameroon and 12 per cent in Mali. It then decreases continuously until reaching less than 1 per cent after age 54 in Cameroon and 2.5 per cent in Mali. As a result, the gender profiles in employment rates by age are similar to those observed for the activity rate (Figure 2-3), with gender gaps much higher in Mali than in Cameroon,

As regards education, Cameroon has a noteworthy good level, with “only” 20 per cent of the population who never attended school compared to 70 per cent in Mali (Table 2-2). About one third of the population in Cameroon reached the primary level and about 42 per cent reached the secondary level; in Mali, less than 20 per cent of the population attended primary school and less than 10 per cent attended secondary school. Gender differences in education are present at all levels in Mali, while the share of primary educated individuals is similar for both sexes in Cameroon. LFP and employment rates are higher for those with primary education compared to those with no education in Cameroon but not in Mali (Figures 2-4, 2-5 and 2-6). Among educated individuals, these rates tend to decrease with the level of education in both countries when considering general education. When considering individuals with secondary education, both women and men who attended a technical specialization instead of general schooling are more likely to participate in both countries (79 per cent vs. 69 per cent in Cameroon and 79 per cent vs. 46 per cent in Mali). In both countries, gender gaps are lower at higher levels of education. Conversely, the unemployment rate increases with education. Female

unemployment rates are higher than those of men at all levels of education and reach 24 per cent for higher educated Cameroonian women and 34 per cent for Malian ones.

Considering area of residence, urban LFP rates are lower than rural ones for both women and men in both countries (Figure 2-7). Differences in employment rates by area of residence are even more sizeable, with 85 per cent of the Cameroonian rural population employed versus 70 per cent in urban areas, and 66 per cent of rural Malians working compared with 48 per cent of urban ones. This result can be explained by the fact that a large part of the rural population, both women and men, contributes to agricultural activities. Rural individuals are also five times less likely to be unemployed than urban ones in both countries. Gender disparities in terms of economic activity are much more pronounced in urban areas than in rural ones in Cameroon, while they are similar in both areas in Mali (about 30 percentage points). Unemployment rates are systematically higher for women compared to men, especially in urban areas where they are almost twice as high as those of men. In rural areas, the unemployment gender gap is very small (less than 1 percentage point) due to the low overall level of unemployment.

In terms of marital status, married men are more often active and employed than single ones in both countries (Table 2-3). This is also true for women in Cameroon but not for Malian women. This might reflect the fact that men are usually the breadwinners of the family while women take care of the household chores and children in Mali (Slegh et al. 2013). Among married men, those in a polygamous union work slightly less than those in a monogamous one. Single people are much more likely to be unemployed than those with other marital status, as is also the case for widowed Cameroonians. As expected, divorced people in Cameroon display high activity rates as they may have to meet family needs alone. Widowed individuals have a relatively low employment rate, which is mainly explained by their more advanced age (60 years old in mean in 2010). From a gender perspective, several features should be highlighted. First, men participate systematically more than

women whatever their marital status, but the gender gaps in participation and employment rates are lower in Cameroon compared to Mali and for unmarried individuals. Second, women's work behaviour in Mali seems to be less dependent on their marital status than that of men, whose labour market indicators vary greatly depending on their status; in Cameroon, women and men follow the same patterns of employment across marital status. One interpretation could be that men's labour attachment along marital status depends more on the economic situation while women's participation is more constrained by overall social norms concerning gender roles as well as their low level of education in Mali. Third, women are much more likely to be unemployed than men whatever their marital status.⁴

Since fertility and childcare are likely to be related to female LFP, Figures 2-8, 2-9 and 2-10 show labour markets outcomes depending on the number of

dependent children in the household. Results do not show significant variations in female labour participation in Cameroon with the number of dependent children in the household. As regards men, their participation increases with the number of children, which reflects an increased need for income. In Mali, where the size of households is larger and the number of children is higher (Table 2-2), LFP appears to be relatively stable until the number of dependent children reaches five and then decreases for both women and men. As regards the role of household income (Figures 2-11, 2-12 and 2-13), it is worth noting that the first quintile presents lower LFP and employment rates and much higher unemployment rates. For the other quintiles, none of the three indicators seems to present systematic variations by per capita income quintile. Regarding gender gaps, they appear constant over quintiles except for the unemployment rate of the poorest in Mali.

⁴ Note that due to the small sample size of divorced and widowed individuals in Mali, results associated to these categories are not discussed.

TABLE 2-1**Labour force participation (LFP) rate, unemployment rate and employment rate (%)**

	Cameroon		Mali
LFP rate			
All	77.0		67.0
Male	82.0		83.2
Female	72.4		51.8
Gender gap	9.6		31.4
Unemployment rate			
All	6.2		8.5
Male	4.2		7.1
Female	8.3		10.5
Gender gap	-4.1		-3.4
Employment rate			
All	72.2		61.3
Male	78.5		77.3
Female	66.4		46.3
Gender gap	12.1		30.9

Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 2-2
Descriptive statistics

	Cameroon	Mali
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	7,953	2,976
NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS	34,323	18,591
URBAN	42.65	22.2
AGE STRUCTURE		
0-9	31.3	34.7
10-14	12.4	12.9
15-24	19.7	17.9
25-34	14.8	12.3
35-44	9.5	8.6
45-54	5.7	5.8
55-64	3.3	3.6
65+	3.4	4.3
RELIGION		<i>not asked</i>
Christian	69.6	
Muslim	22.7	
Other	7.7	
EDUCATION LEVEL (15+)		
Men		
None	15.2	62.4
Primary	30.8	23
Secondary general	34.05	6.6
Secondary technical	9.4	4.9
Higher	10.5	3.2

	Cameroon	Mali
Women		
None	28.2	78.5
Primary	29.9	13.9
Secondary general	29.9	3.6
Secondary technical	5.8	3
Higher	6.1	1

MARITAL STATUS (15+)		
Single	46.8	27
Married monogamous	32.5	40.9
Married polygamous	11.7	25.9
Widowed	6.6	5.3
Divorced/separated	2.3	1

NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN LESS THAN 10 (OF THOSE AGED 15+)		
None	30	18.7
1	22.8	18
2	19.2	18.2
3	13.7	15
4	8.9	13.6
More than 5	5.5	16.5

HOUSEHOLD LEVEL VARIABLES		
Average size	4.3	6.2
Female-headed households	26.8	8.4

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations

TABLE 2-3

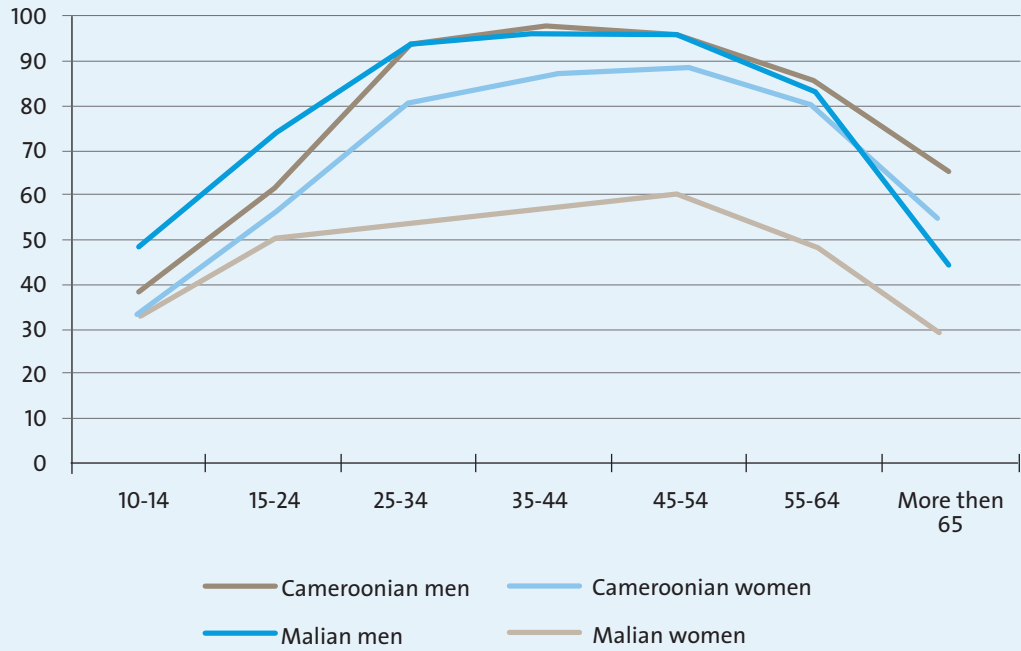
Labour force participation (LFP) rate, unemployment rate and employment rate by marital status (%)

	Cameroon				Mali			
	All	Male	Female	Gap	All	Male	Female	Gap
LFP rate								
Single	69.4	73.6	64.0	9.7	67.4	74.8	52.1	22.7
Married monogamous	87.0	94.5	79.8	14.8	71.4	91.2	51.6	39.6
Married polygamous	80.5	88.0	76.5	11.5	64.9	82.5	55.0	27.5
Widowed	72.4	73.9	72.1	1.8	50.4	70.0	43.5	26.5
Divorced/separated	88.3	89.9	87.7	2.2	42.5	48.8	42.1	6.7
All	77.1	82.0	72.5	9.4	67.0	83.2	51.8	31.4
Unemployment rate								
Single	9.9	6.8	14.7	-8.0	14.6	13.1	19.0	-5.9
Married monogamous	4.0	1.7	6.6	-4.8	8.0	5.2	12.9	-7.7
Married polygamous	2.3	1.7	2.7	-1.0	3.0	1.6	4.2	-2.6
Widowed	1.5	0.0	1.7	-1.7	7.2	10.3	5.5	4.8
Divorced/separated	5.5	0.2	7.8	-7.5	8.3	4.8	8.5	-3.8
All	6.2	4.2	8.3	-4.1	8.5	7.1	10.5	-3.4
Employment rate								
Single	62.5	68.6	54.5	14.1	57.6	65.0	42.2	22.8
Married monogamous	83.5	92.9	74.5	18.4	65.7	86.5	45.0	41.5
Married polygamous	78.6	86.6	74.5	12.1	63.0	81.2	52.7	28.5
Widowed	71.3	73.9	70.9	3.0	46.7	62.8	41.1	21.6
Divorced/separated	83.5	89.7	80.9	8.9	39.0	46.5	38.5	8.0
All	72.3	78.5	66.5	12.0	61.3	77.3	46.3	30.9

Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.

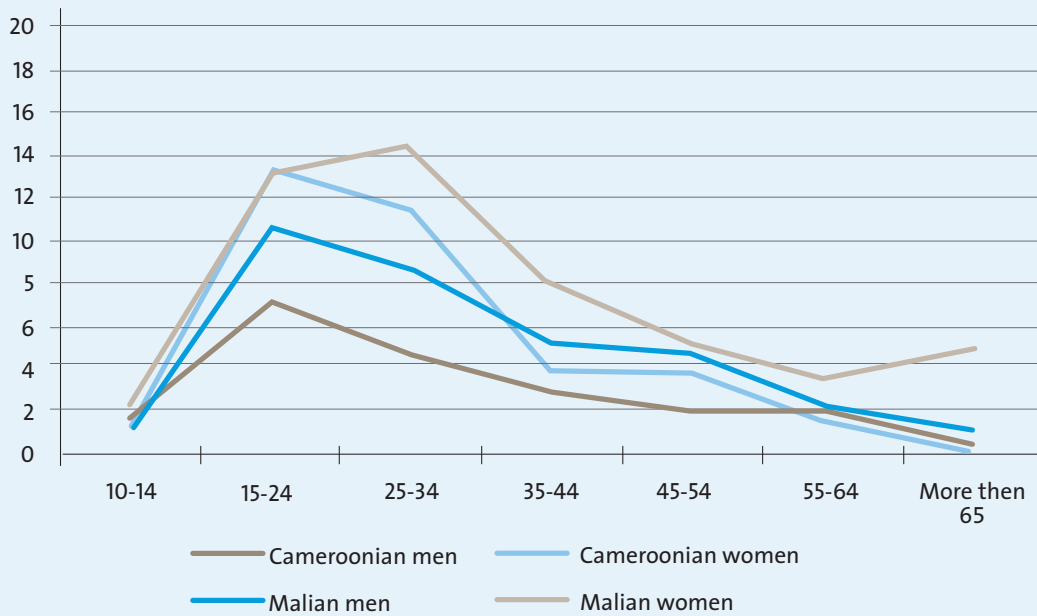
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-1
Labour force participation rates by age (%)



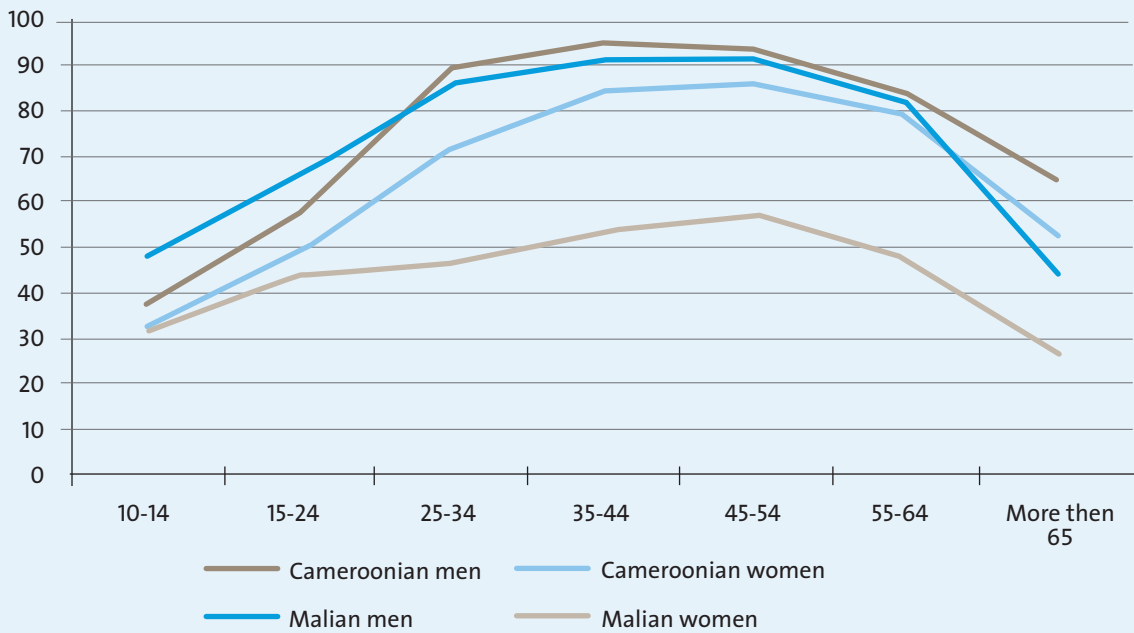
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-2
Unemployment rates by age (%)



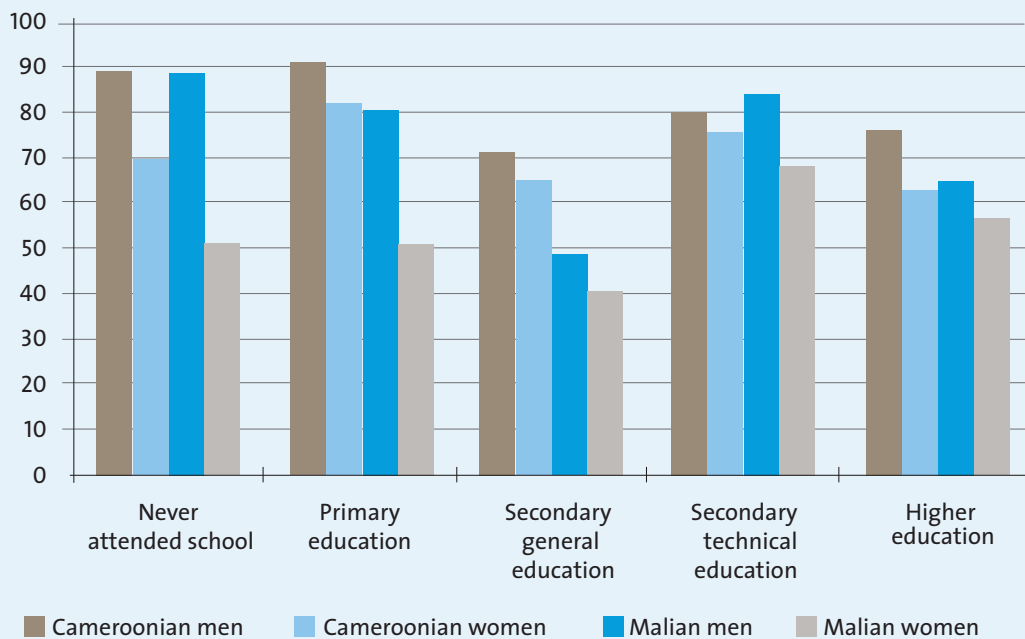
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-3
Activity rates by age (%)



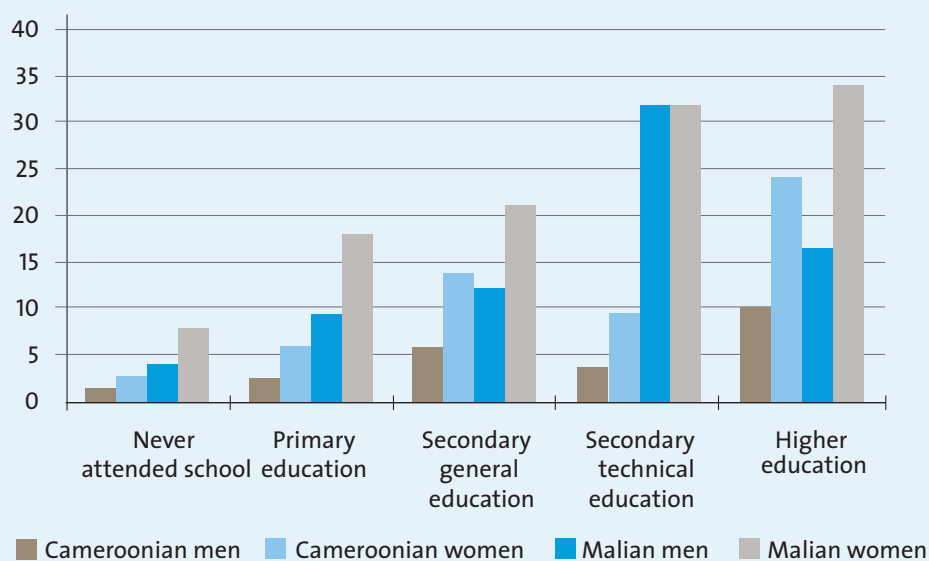
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-4
Labour force participation rates by educational level (%)



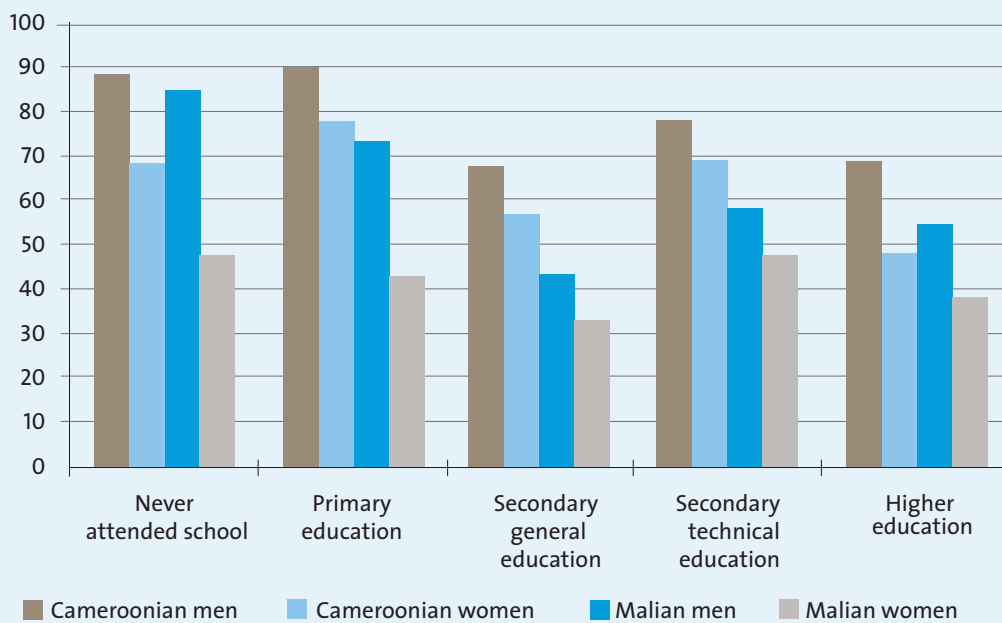
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-5
Unemployment rates by educational level (%)



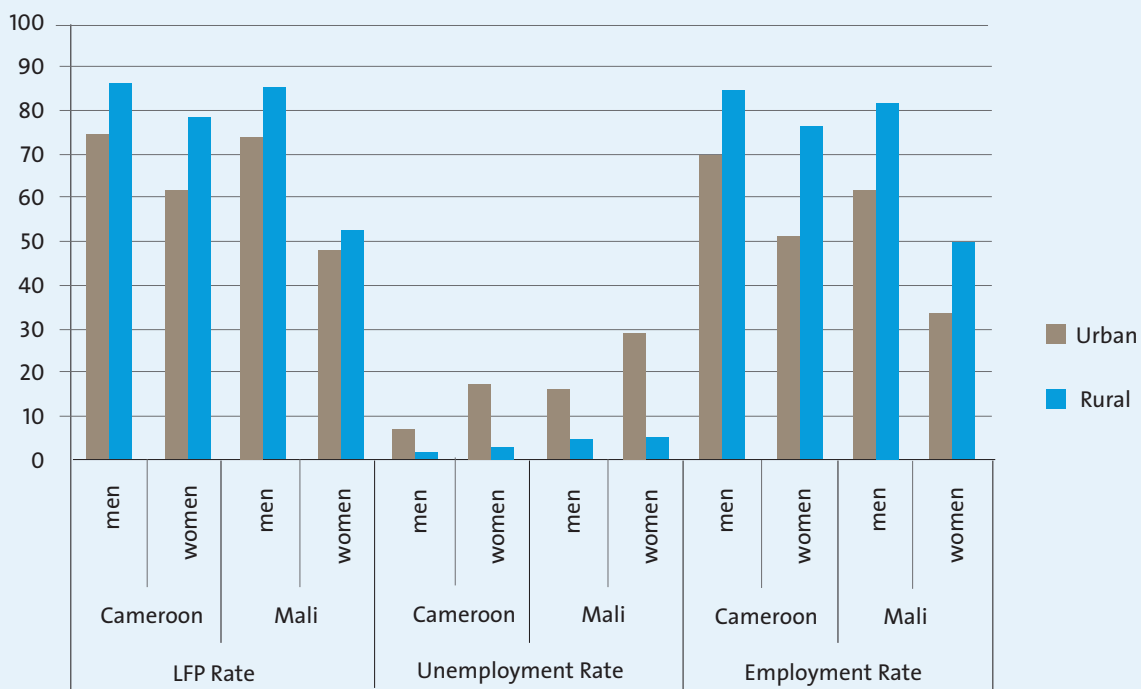
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-6
Activity rates by educational level (%)



Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

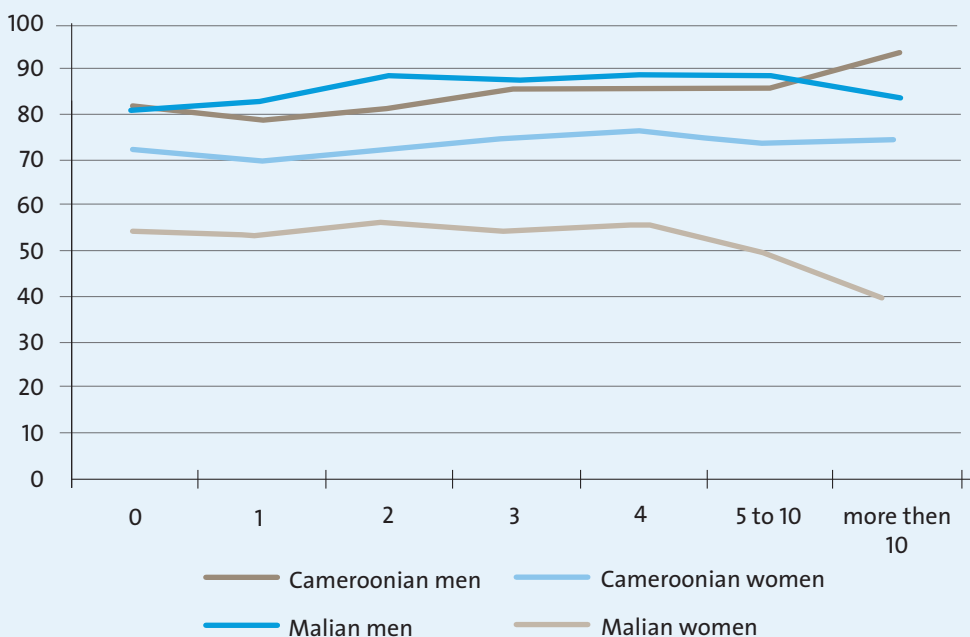
FIGURE 2-7
Labour force participation (LFP), unemployment and employment rates by area of residence (%)



Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.

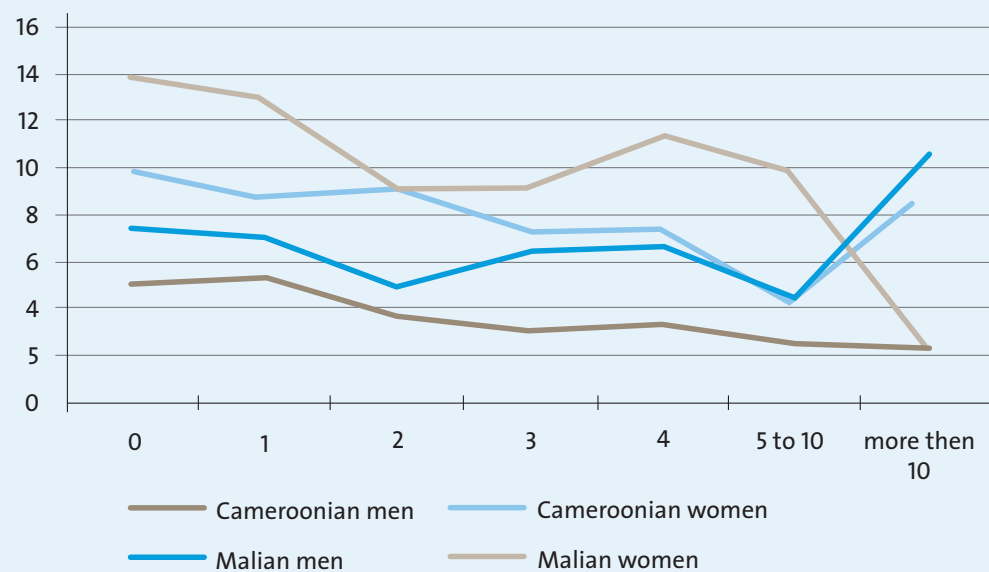
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-8
Labour force participation rates by number of dependent children (%)



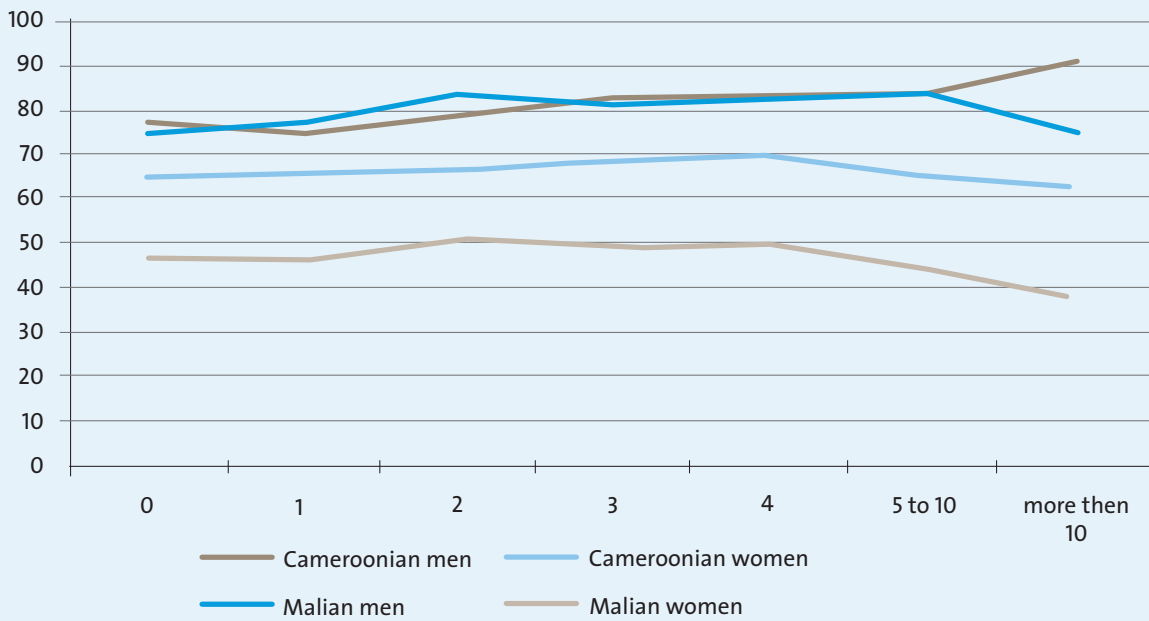
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-9
Unemployment rates by number of dependent children (%)



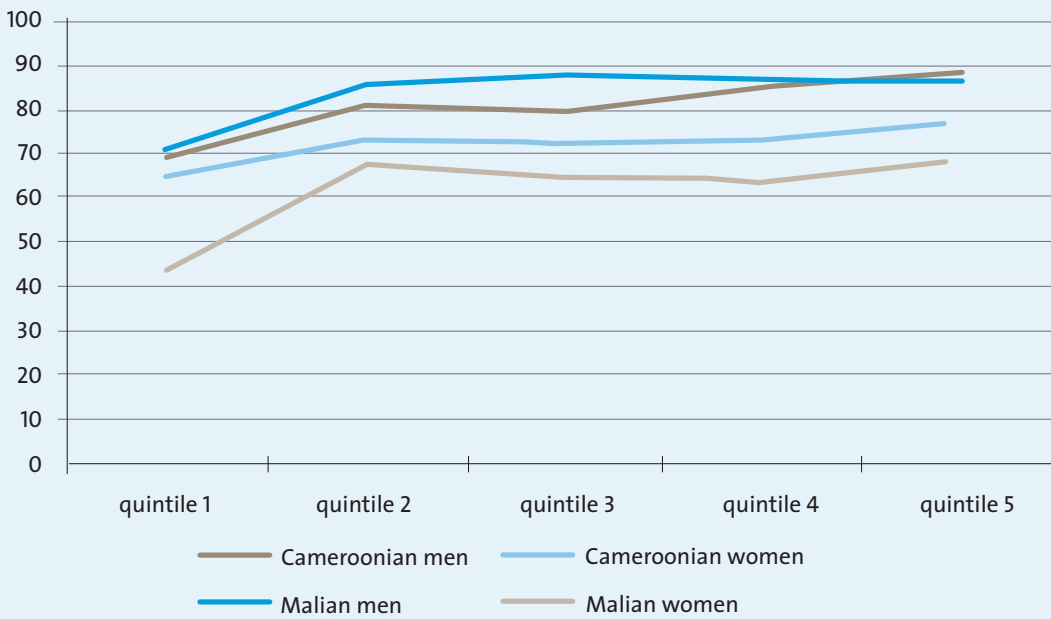
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-10
Activity rates by number of dependent children (%)



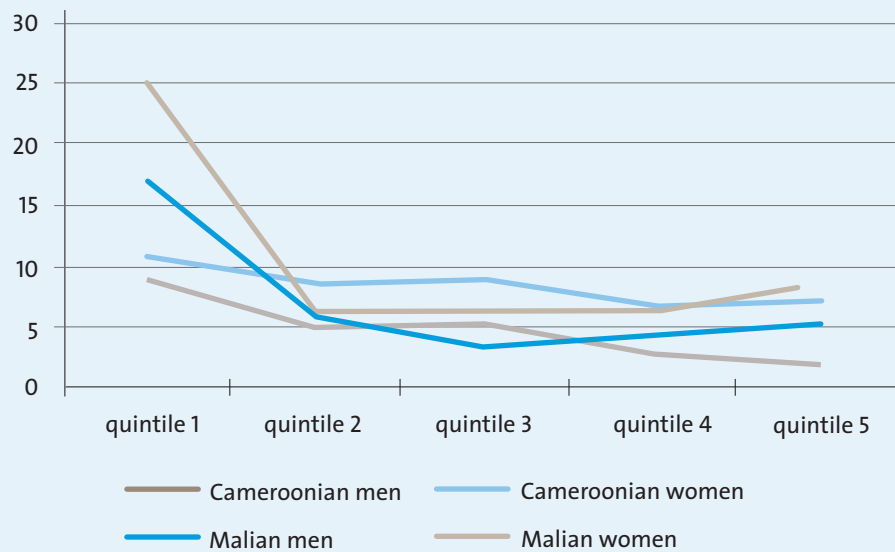
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-11
Labour force participation rates by per capita income quintile (%)



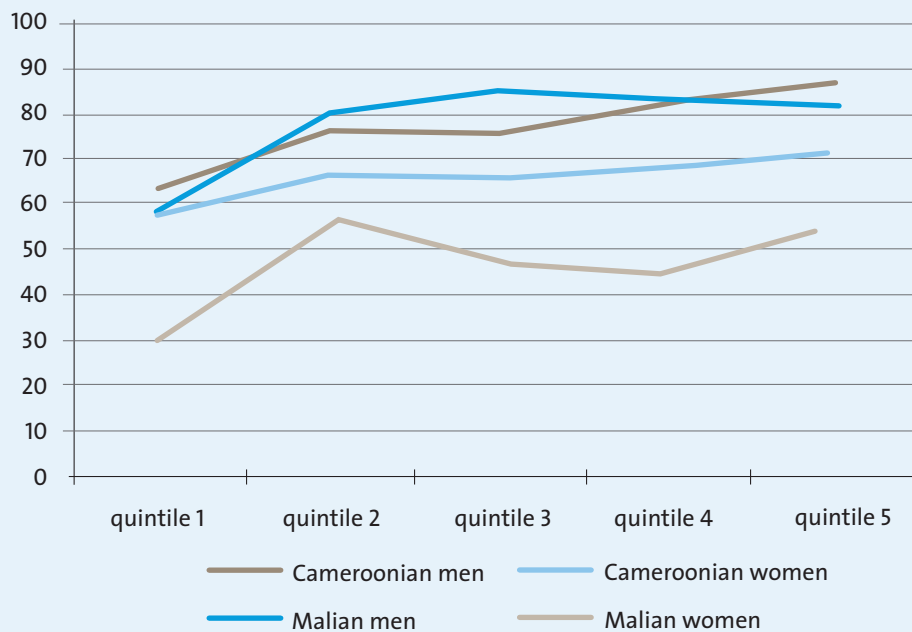
Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-12
Unemployment rates by per capita income quintile (%)



Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 2-13
Employment rates by per capita income quintile (%)



Sample: Individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

3.

JOBS: WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT WORK

3.1

Employment structure

Analysis of the employment structure by sector (Figure 3-1) shows that the primary sector dominates both the Malian economy and, to a lesser degree, the Cameroonian one. In Mali, around two workers out of three are employed in the primary sector, while they are one out of two in Cameroon. Not surprisingly, the primary sector is the main provider of jobs in rural areas, while the tertiary sector is predominant in urban areas for both women and men (Figure 3-2).

Sectoral employment patterns of women and men are partly common to both countries, partly country specific. Overall, both sexes are more likely to work in the primary sector. Nevertheless, in Mali, men are more likely than women to work in the primary sector (87 per cent versus 55 per cent for women) and women are more likely than men to work in the tertiary sector (28 per cent versus 8 per cent for men). On the contrary, in Cameroon, the majority of women is employed in the primary sector (57 per cent) whereas men are equally distributed between the primary and tertiary sectors (Figure 3-1). In rural area, although the primary sector employs a high share of both women and men (Figure 3-2), there is a strong gender division of agricultural labour by type of crops. In Cameroon, men are over-represented in traditional cash crops (e.g., cocoa, coffee, cotton), while women farm more food crops for family consumption (e.g., cereals, tuber, oilseeds) (Figure 3-3). In Mali, both agriculture and

cattle breeding are dominated by men (Figure 3-4).⁵ In urban areas, employed Malian women are more likely to work in the tertiary sector (78 per cent) than their male counterparts (59 per cent), who seem to have a higher probability of accessing jobs in the secondary sector. We observe the opposite pattern in Cameroon, with a higher share of employed males (78 per cent) compared to females (68 per cent) concentrated in the tertiary sector. We also observe intra-sectoral specialization in this sector in both countries (Figures 3-3 and 3-4). For instance, in Cameroon, while jobs in catering, domestic services and to a smaller extent retailing are dominated by women, jobs in transport and automobiles are held almost exclusively by men (Figure 3-3). In Mali, the production of handicrafts and textile items is mainly carried out by women (around 60 per cent), while jobs in building and mechanical production are held almost exclusively by men (Figure 3-4).

Considering status of employment, self-employment appears to be the norm in both countries, followed by family workers, while employees come last (Figure 3-5). The share of self-employed workers is 60 per cent in Mali and 55 per cent in Cameroon. Among them, employers represent a negligible part (between 2 per cent and 3 per cent of the employed population). The two countries differ, however, in the share of wage workers and family workers. As expected, the

⁵ Data about occupations in the Malian survey is not detailed enough to break down the distribution of women and men across the types of crops. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that women traditionally have limited access to land and often work as labourers on their husband's or father's land (Monimart and Tan 2011).

salaried jobs share is higher in Cameroon (22 per cent vs. 10 per cent in Mali), while the opposite is true for family workers (23 per cent vs. 31 per cent). As regards gender disparities by status of employment, men are more likely to be salaried workers than women, women are more often unpaid family workers and the share of self-employed is quite similar for both sexes. The share of male wage workers is more than twice as high as that of female wage workers in Mali (13 per cent vs. 5 per cent) and the gap is even higher in Cameroon (32 per cent vs. 12 per cent). Almost 38 per cent of women work as unpaid family workers in Mali compared to about 26 per cent of men; the respective figures for Cameroon are 31 per cent and 15 per cent. Women are much more often employed in vulnerable jobs, as defined by the ILO. Indeed, Figure 3-6 shows that women are more likely than men to be own-account workers and contributing family workers.

To go beyond the classical dimensions of job structure (industry and job status), we dedicate the remainder of this section to informality (jobs in the informal sector and informal jobs⁶). The distribution of jobs by institutional sector is a valuable indicator of labour market structure. We distinguish four main sectors according to the type of organizations: the public sector, the formal private sector, the (nonfarm) informal sector and the primary sector. As the primary sector is almost exclusively unregistered, our four sectors typology can be aggregated into two main broader groups: formal and informal sectors.

As discussed previously, the primary sector is the most important institutional sector in Mali and Cameroon, employing 65 per cent of workers in the former and 51 per cent in the latter in 2010 (Figure 3-1). In both countries, the informal sector comes second (25 per cent and 31 per cent respectively), while the formal sector is reduced to a limited share: 4 per cent and 6 per cent for the public sector and 8 per cent and 11 per cent for the formal private sector (Figure 3-7). All in all, only 12 per cent of the employed individuals were in the formal sector (whether public or private) in Mali and less than 18 per cent in Cameroon. The

6 See definitions in Appendix 3.

distribution of employment by gender has already been discussed above for the primary sector. In Mali, employed women have a higher probability of working in the nonfarm informal sector than do men (40 per cent vs. 16 per cent in 2010), while there is almost no difference by gender observed in Cameroon. In the formal sector, women are significantly less likely than men in both countries to work in the public sector (2 per cent vs. 4 per cent in Mali ; 5 per cent vs. 8 per cent in Cameroon) and in the formal private sector (5 per cent vs. 10 per cent in Mali; 7 per cent vs. 15 per cent in Cameroon).

To complement the analysis of employment by institutional sectors presented above, the ILO (2003) suggests distinguishing informal employment from employment in the informal sector.⁷ The latter comprises two main components: the majority of the informal sector labour force (some workers may be exceptionally covered by voluntary schemes), and unprotected employees in the formal sector (ILO 2013). In line with ILO recommendations, we adopt the following definition of informal employment: all contributing family workers, all independent workers of the informal sector and all employees without written contracts and that do not benefit from social protection. Two main conclusions can be drawn from Table 3-1. First, informal employment is the norm in labour markets in both Cameroon and Mali. More than 90 per cent of the workers are informally employed, which means that formal employment is almost inexistent. Secondly, informal employment is significant in every institutional sector. As expected, nearly all jobs in the informal sector, whether in agriculture or not, are informal. But informal employment is nearly as common in the formal private sector. Its share in private formal sector jobs is 92 per cent in Mali and 89 per cent in Cameroon. Furthermore, informal employment also accounts for a non-negligible part of public sector jobs, with 68 per cent in Mali and 44 per cent in Cameroon.

All in all, the informal sector (farm and nonfarm) remains the main provider of informal employment with more than 90 per cent, largely reflecting the

7 See definitions in Appendix 3.

underdevelopment of the formal sector in sub-Saharan Africa compared to other continents. From a gender perspective, women are on average more prone to be in informal employment, but the difference is limited, mainly because informal jobs are the

norm for all. In 2010, the difference is 4 percentage points in Cameroon (96 per cent vs. 92 per cent) and insignificant in Mali (98 per cent vs. 97 per cent). By institutional sector, there are no significant gender gaps except for Cameroon in the formal sector.

3.2 Quality of employment

3.2.1 Earnings

Three gaps are computed: for monthly earnings, monthly hours and hourly wages. Gaps are typically measured as the difference between male and female earnings as a share of male earnings using the following formula: $(W_m - W_f) / W_m$, where W_m denotes male earnings and W_f denotes female earnings. Median values, which are less sensitive to extreme values than mean values, are reported and used to compute gaps. Gender gaps in hourly wages are computed using information on monthly earnings combined with information on hours worked. While the monthly earnings gap captures both differences in wages and differences in labour supply, hourly wages are typically the basis on which gender discrimination is measured. Here, we do not attempt to measure discrimination – which would require implementing decomposition methods à la Oaxaca-Blinder⁸ – but examine how gender gaps vary across different characteristics. Note that monthly earnings include income from both wage and self-employment but exclude unpaid family workers. This is a crucial choice since more women than men declare themselves as unpaid family workers (Table 3-2). More specifically, numbers indicate that among individuals aged 15 years or more, 14.9 per cent of working men and 31.5 per cent of working women are unpaid in Cameroon.

The respective numbers for Mali are 26.0 per cent and 37.4 per cent. Excluding unpaid workers from the analysis is likely to drive the gender gap down by increasing the median level of female earnings more than the median level of male earnings.

Gender differences in terms of monthly earnings appear to be relatively high in Cameroon: as indicated in Table 3-3, male median monthly earnings are equal to 51,000 CFA francs (86 USD) per month, while the value for women is 31,000 CFA francs (52 USD). The difference between the two corresponds to 39.2 per cent of male earnings. For Mali, the levels of earnings are significantly lower: men earn an average of 39,000 CFA francs (66 USD) per month, while women earn an average of 15,000 CFA francs (25 USD). However, the resulting gender gap is equal to 61.5 per cent, much higher than the gap in Cameroon. As indicated above, the gender gap in terms of monthly earnings can be, at least in part, accounted for by differences in hours worked. Indeed, figures in Table 3-3 indicate that women spend a smaller number of hours in paid work than men in both countries: men work on average around 208 hours per month while women work around 170 hours in Cameroon and 130 hours in Mali. Resulting gaps in hours worked vary between 16.7 per cent for Cameroon and 37.5 per cent for Mali. Although it is significant, the gender gap in hours worked is too small to explain the monthly earnings gap entirely. Indeed, gender wage gaps appear high in both countries and across years. In the case of Cameroon, men earn a median wage of 280 CFA francs (0.47 USD) per hour while women earn 211 CFA francs (0.36 USD). The

8 The Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method explains the gap in the means of an outcome variable between two groups (e.g., between males and females). It requires first estimating an equation relating the outcome in question and its determinants. The gap is then decomposed into that part that is due to group differences in the magnitudes of the determinants of the outcome, on the one hand, and group differences in the effects of these determinants, on the other.

respective numbers for Mali are 220 CFA francs (0.37 USD) and 130 CFA francs (0.22 USD). These numbers translate into gender wage gaps of 24.5 per cent for Cameroon and 41.7 per cent for Mali.

Tables 3-4 to 3-9 present gaps along different socio-demographic characteristics. In the case of age, different patterns emerge from numbers presented in Table 3-4. For both years in Cameroon, gender gaps in monthly earnings appear to be increasing with age while the pattern is less consistent for Mali. Concerning hours worked, there appears to be a somewhat consistent decreasing pattern across surveys that is significantly more pronounced for Cameroon. For hourly wages, the resulting pattern is a pronounced increase in hourly earnings with age in both countries.

Concerning education, only three levels are taken into account given the small sample sizes at higher education levels. Results in Table 3-5 indicate that monthly earning gender gaps are stable across education levels in Cameroon and decreasing in Mali. Indeed, in the case of Mali, uneducated males earn more than twice as much as uneducated females. This translates into a gap of 60.0 per cent. For primary educated workers, the gap is significantly lower at 37.5 per cent. And for more educated workers, the gap stands at 24.3 per cent.⁹ In Cameroon, a less consistent pattern is found: gaps are respectively 37.8 per cent, 35.7 per cent and 39.2 per cent as levels of education increase. Considering hours worked, the analysis suggests that gender gaps tend to decrease with education. In Cameroon, the gap is equal to 20.0 per cent for the uneducated while it is around 14.6 per cent for the more educated workers. The respective numbers in Mali are 37.5 per cent and 12.5 per cent. This result could stem from the fact that more educated individuals work in the formal sector where the heterogeneity in hours worked is smaller than in the informal sector. Finally, gender gaps in hourly wages do not exhibit a consistent pattern with respect to education. For Cameroon the gap is higher for the more educated group (25.7 per cent) and significantly lower for both the secondary educated group (15.6 per cent) and the uneducated

9 Note that in Mali, samples of secondary educated females are very small.

group (16.9 per cent). For Mali, the numbers suggest that the gaps are lower at higher levels of education, although not consistently.

Marital status is expected to affect the gender gap in earnings through its effect on hours worked. Indeed, married women are expected to increase the time they spend taking care of domestic chores and, correspondingly, to decrease their time spent in paid activities. It could also be the case that single women have to work more hours given that they do not have a partner to support them. However, single women tend not to live alone and they are usually supported within their parents' family. Table 3-6 indicates that gender gaps in hours worked are indeed often smaller for single individuals compared to married ones (more so in Mali than in Cameroon). This translates into smaller gaps in monthly earnings for single individuals.

Domestic chores accruing to women are expected to increase with the number of dependent children. This could contribute to higher gender gaps in both hours worked and monthly earnings for individuals with higher numbers of dependent children.¹⁰ Gaps in monthly earnings are indeed found to increase with the number of dependent children. This pattern appears to be more consistent for Cameroon than for Mali (Table 3-7).

Finally, gender differences in earnings and hours worked by status in employment are presented in Table 3-8. Gender gaps in monthly earnings are found to be much bigger for self-employed than for wage workers for both countries: 44.7 per cent in Cameroon and 52.0 per cent in Mali for self-employed workers, and 12.5 per cent in Cameroon and -9.1 per cent in Mali for wage workers. High gender earning gaps in self-employment work have been observed before in francophone West African cities (Nordman et al. 2011). The authors propose two explanations for the concentration of women in low-productivity activities. First, women's

10 Given that households in Mali often bring together more than one nuclear family, it is not possible to link every child with his or her own mother and father. Hence, the number of dependent children aged less than 10 years is defined at the household level and associated with each adult member of the household.

exclusion from property by customary patriarchal norms and rules creates obstacles to access to formal credit, which results in lack of capital. Second, women need to stay close to home due to traditional gendered responsibilities in terms of childcare.

Concerning hours worked, we find that the gender gap is smaller for wage workers, which is consistent with the fact that the heterogeneity in hours worked is smaller for wage workers as weekly hours are, to a certain extent, defined by labour laws.

Finally, gender gaps in hourly wages are found to be negative in both countries for wage workers, indicating that female median hourly wages are higher than male median hourly wages. This result is surprising at first

3.2.2

Other working conditions

Job stability is a key dimension of non-monetary working conditions. In Mali, about half of the jobs (49 per cent) are permanent both for women and men (Figure 3-8). As they are less involved in agriculture, women are slightly more likely than men to be engaged in permanent jobs. At the aggregate level, Cameroon performs better as three workers out of four benefit from permanent jobs, with no gender difference in this respect. Among temporary jobs, the great majority is occasional seasonal due to the farming cycle (more than 85 % of temporary jobs in both countries). The rest is occasional, on a task or daily basis. In Cameroon, the share of women in seasonal temporary jobs is higher than that of men while it is the contrary in Mali. This is consistent with the higher share of women than men in the primary sector in Cameroon and the opposite pattern in Mali (Figure 3-1).

The presence of labour unions in firms is expected to have a positive impact on working conditions for insiders, for both unionized workers and workers in unionized firms, depending on the national legislation. In Mali, only 8 per cent of the labour force belong to a unionized enterprise (Table 3-11), and nearly half of them (49 per cent) are unionized themselves. In

Cameroon, the situation is very similar, with 5 per cent in unionized firms, among which 41 per cent are members. All in all, the share of unionized workers is marginal: 4 per cent in Mali and 2 per cent in Cameroon. In this general context, women are three times less likely than men to be members of trade unions. These gaps are the result of cumulative factors: women work more rarely in unionized firms, and when they belong to this kind of firm they are less unionized. The same cumulative factors are at play when one disaggregates by institutional sectors. Women are more concentrated in sectors where union presence is structurally low (Figure 3-7 and Table 3-11), and in each sector they are less often union members than men whatever the institutional status (Table 3-11).

The public sector is by far the sector where unions are the more developed, with 30 per cent in Cameroon and more than two thirds of the employees in Mali in structures with a labour union. The private formal sector follows with 19 per cent of unionized firms in Cameroon and 25 per cent in Mali. At the end of the institutional spectrum, the primary sector and the informal sector register less than 5 per cent of unionized firms each in both countries.

TABLE 3-1**Share of informal employment by institutional sector (%)**

	Cameroon		Mali	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Public sector	42.0	49.0	68.2	68.1
Formal private sector	86.0	100.0	92.2	92.4
Primary sector	98.5	99.7	99.5	99.9
Informal sector	92.2	96.3	98.7	99.2
Total	91.1	96.0	97.3	98.5

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-2.**Percentage of unpaid working individuals by age group**

	Cameroon		Mali	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
15-24	49.4	62.3	73.1	57.7
25-34	6.3	27.4	35.5	42.7
35-44	2.5	19.9	23.8	48.8
45-54	1.9	12.6	24.9	42.6
55-64	3.0	18.5	29.4	47.2
65+	2.4	6.9	33.0	25.0

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-3
Gender gaps at work

	Cameroon	Mali
Monthly earnings (FCFA)		
Men	51,000	39,000
Women	31,000	15,000
Gap (%)	39.2	61.5
Monthly hours		
Men	208.0	208.0
Women	173.3	130.0
Gap (%)	16.7	37.5
Hourly earnings (FCFA)		
Men	280.2	219.8
Women	211.5	128.2
Gap (%)	24.5	41.7

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-4
Gender gaps by age group (%)

	Monthly earnings		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
15-24	27.8	40.0	25.0	28.6	10.9	16.4
25-34	41.8	57.1	16.7	37.5	18.7	39.1
35-44	49.0	37.5	16.7	27.1	39.1	20.9
45-54	46.5	62.5	4.8	22.2	27.7	50.6
55-64	25.1	50.9	14.3	19.0	28.0	36.8
65+	31.4	95.5	16.7	85.0	21.6	73.5

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-5
Gender gaps by educational level

	Monthly earnings (FCFA)		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings (FCFA)	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
None						
Men	35,431	30,000	195.0	208.0	189.6	188.4
Women	22,026	12,000	156.0	130.0	157.6	103.0
Gap (%)	37.8	60.0	20.0	37.5	16.9	45.3
Primary						
Men	46,000	32,000	208.0	208.0	238.8	197.8
Women	29,599	20,000	156.0	130.0	201.6	201.9
Gap (%)	35.7	37.5	25.0	37.5	15.6	-2.1
Secondary						
Men	67,419	98,000	208.0	173.3	351.9	721.2
Women	41,000	74,148	177.7	151.7	261.5	480.8
Gap (%)	39.2	24.3	14.6	12.5	25.7	33.3

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-6
Gender gaps by marital status (%)

	Monthly earnings		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
Single	27.5	20.0	12.5	0.0	12.5	10.0
Married monogamous	45.8	62.5	7.0	33.3	20.4	31.4
Married polygamous	55.0	65.0	20.0	33.3	43.9	49.5
Widowed	25.0	68.6	20.0	42.9	2.6	35.7
Divorced/separated	17.7	66.7	4.8	10.0	36.8	66.7
Unmarried couple	61.1	0.0	16.7	0.0	45.7	0.0

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-7
Gender gaps by number of dependent children (%)

	Monthly earnings		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
None	39.1	62.5	16.7	14.6	19.8	37.5
1	49.2	42.9	9.1	25.5	33.4	25.0
2	37.6	62.5	16.7	27.1	8.1	37.8
3	49.0	57.1	20.5	27.1	19.5	29.5
4	53.4	58.1	16.7	34.8	39.7	49.0
5 to 10	40.6	76.1	12.5	41.7	40.0	58.8
More than 10	8.0	40.0	0.0	44.4	15.0	-33.3

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-8
Gender gaps by employment status

	Monthly earnings (FCFA)		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings (FCFA)	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
Wage workers						
Men	58,276	55,000	208	173	280	404
Women	51,000	60,000	195	156	293	449
Gap (%)	12.5	-9.1	6.3	10.0	-4.6	-11.1
Self-employed						
Men	50,000	31,239	182	208	277	188
Women	27,655	15,000	156	130	198	115
Gap (%)	44.7	52.0	14.3	37.5	28.6	38.8

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-9**Gender gaps by income quintile (%)**

	Monthly earnings		Monthly hours		Hourly earnings	
	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali	Cameroon	Mali
Q1	23.5	61.0	4.8	27.1	21.1	70.1
Q2	29.1	50.0	25.0	42.9	10.8	1.9
Q3	36.1	60.0	20.8	33.3	17.5	40.0
Q4	40.2	51.2	16.7	27.1	28.7	42.9
Q5	35.0	60.0	16.7	23.9	21.4	44.4

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older, excluding unpaid workers.

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-10**Percentage of secondary educated workers by employment status**

	Cameroon	Mali
Men		
Wage workers	66.6	37.5
Self-employed	35.7	4.2
All	47.2	9.9
Women		
Wage workers	86.9	49.5
Self-employed	28.7	3.0
All	39.2	7.1

Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older (excluding unpaid workers).

Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

TABLE 3-11

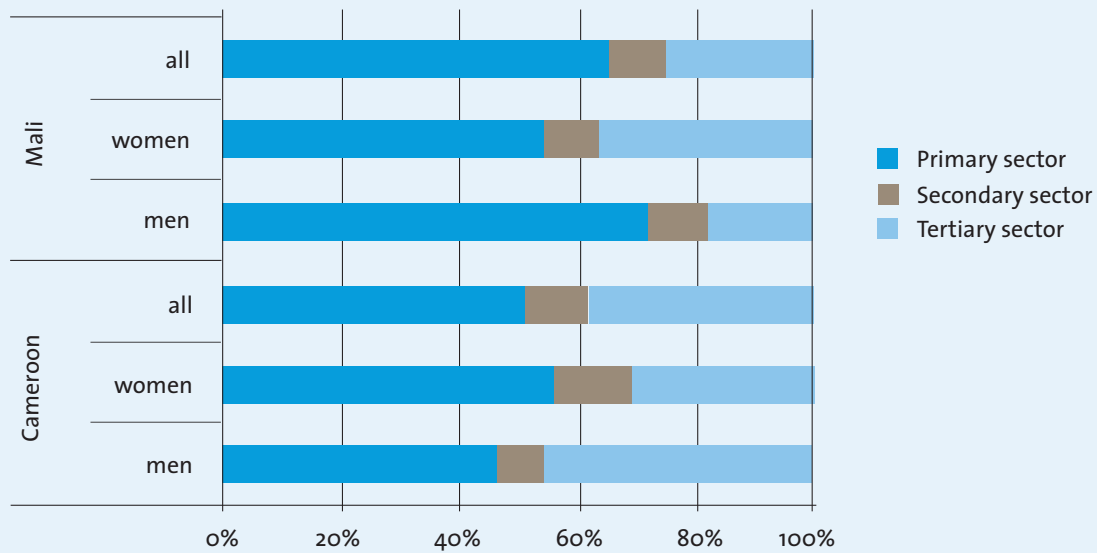
Presence of union and union membership by institutional sector (%)

	Cameroon				Mali		
	All	Men	Women		All	Men	Women
Presence of a union							
Public sector	29.6	29.4	30.2		68.0	68.2	67.4
Formal private sector	18.5	22.4	9.2		25.2	30.3	9.4
Primary sector	0.7	1.4	0.1		4.5	5.8	1.7
Informal sector	3.4	5.6	1.1		4.7	9.4	1.8
Total	5.4	8.1	2.4		8.2	11.1	3.6
Membership if presence							
Public sector	39.6	47.1	25.8		70.8	73.8	62.3
Formal private sector	38.5	41.9	19.1		72.0	71.8	73.9
Primary sector	59.6	57.5	87.2		42.3	55.2	17.8
Informal sector	44.4	46.1	36.0		23.8	30.9	12.2
Total	41.4	45.5	26.9		49.2	58.3	26.9
Union membership among all workers							
Public sector	11.7	13.8	7.8		48.2	50.3	42.0
Formal private sector	7.1	9.4	1.8		18.1	21.7	6.9
Primary sector	0.4	0.8	0.1		1.9	3.2	0.3
Informal sector	1.5	2.6	0.4		1.1	2.9	0.2
Total	2.2	3.7	0.7		4.1	6.5	1.0

Sample: Employed individual aged 15 years and older.

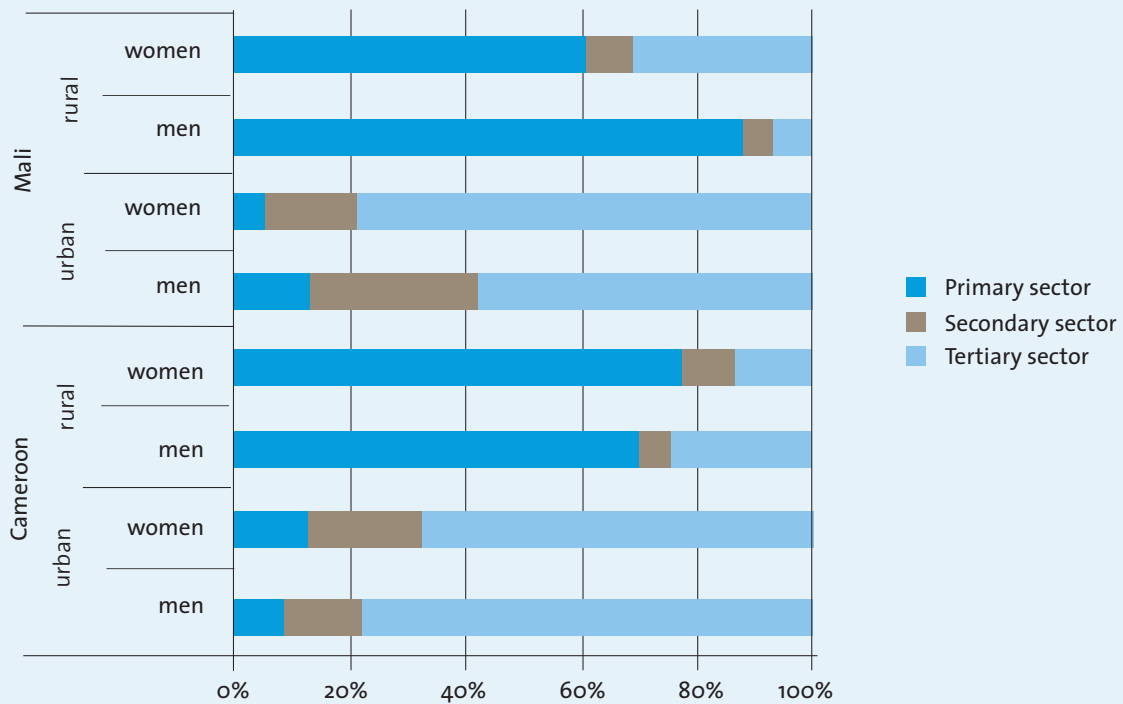
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-1
Jobs structure by sector



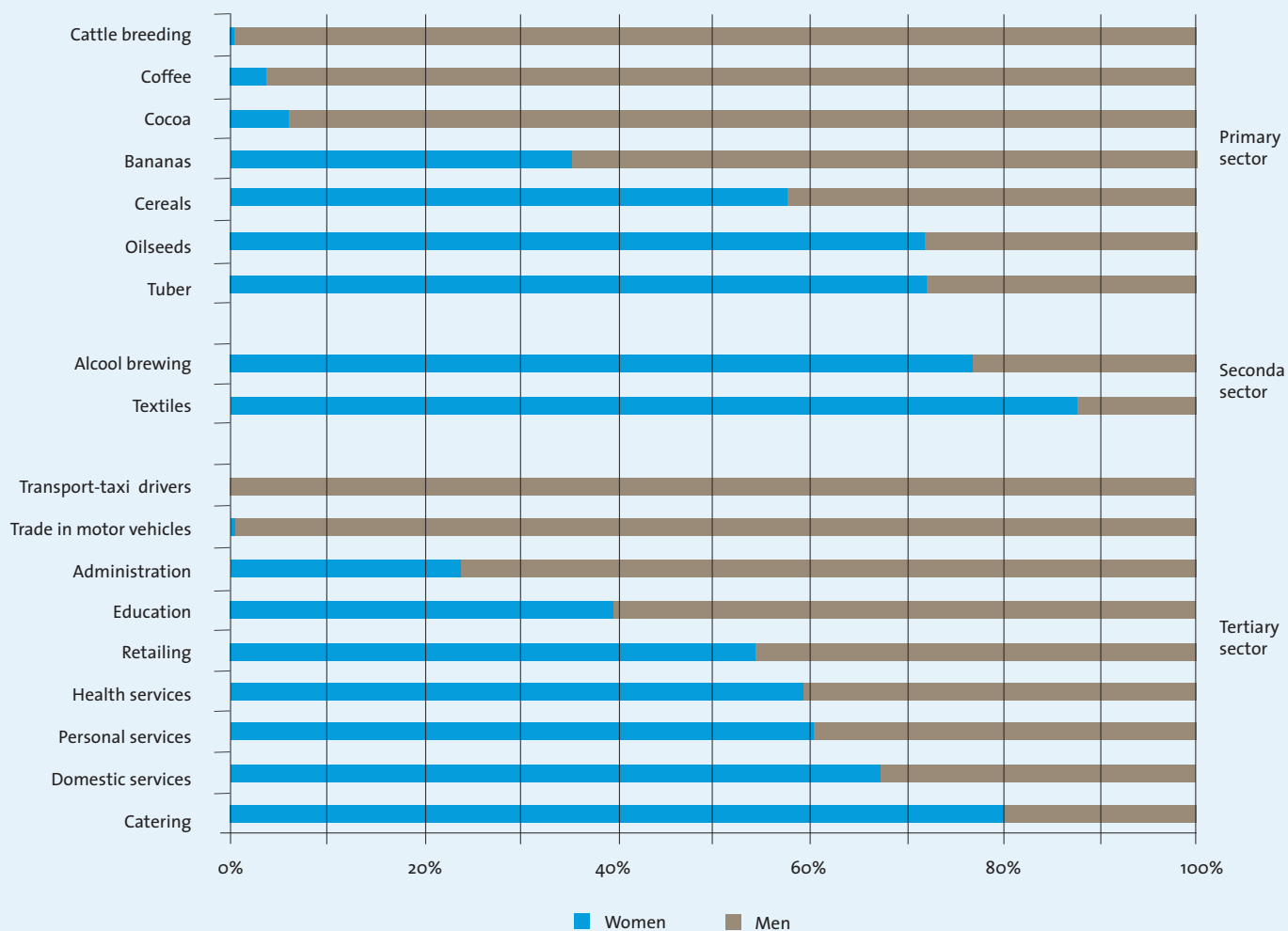
Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-2
Jobs structure by sector and area of residence



Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older.
Source: Data from EESI 2010 and EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

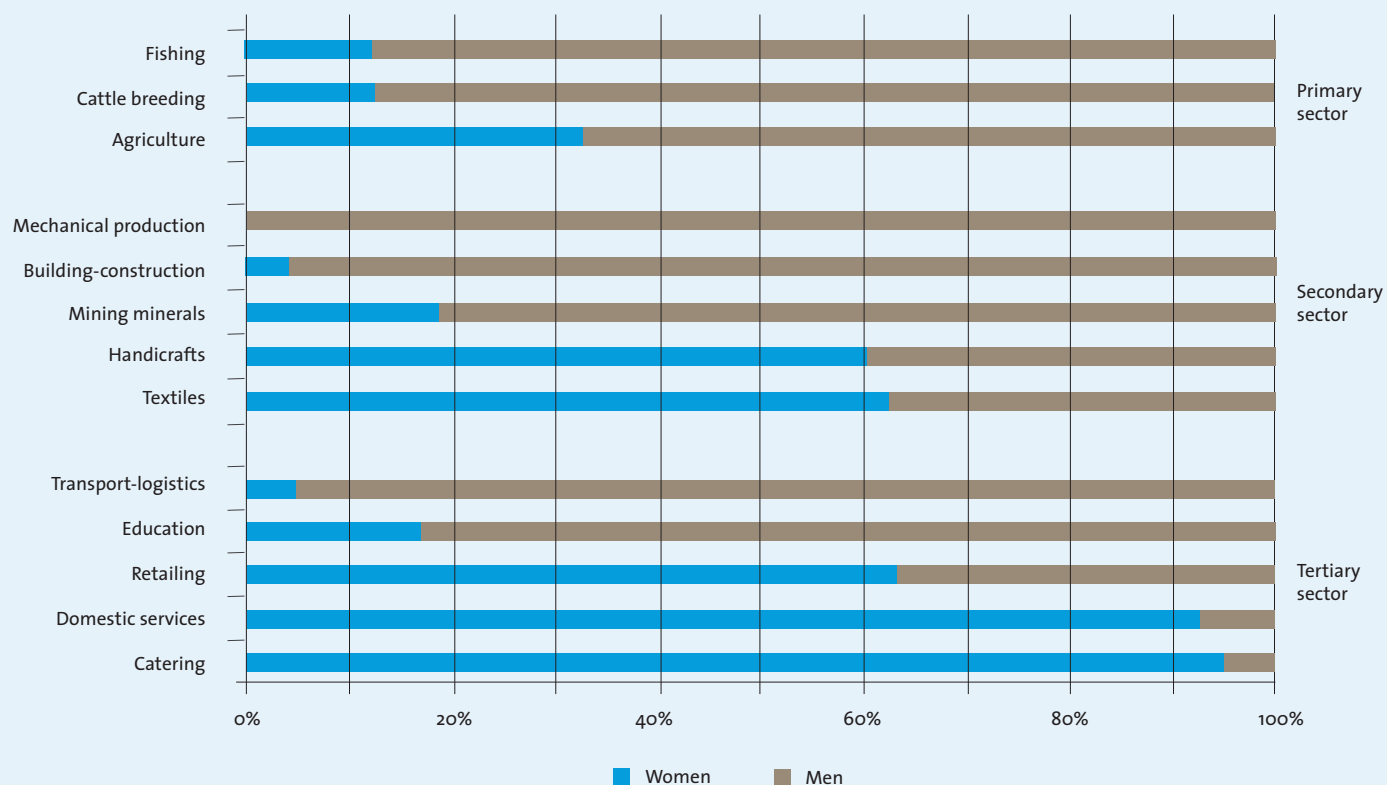
FIGURE 3-3
Some examples of gender distribution by occupation in Cameroon



Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.

Source: Data from EESI 2010, authors' calculations.

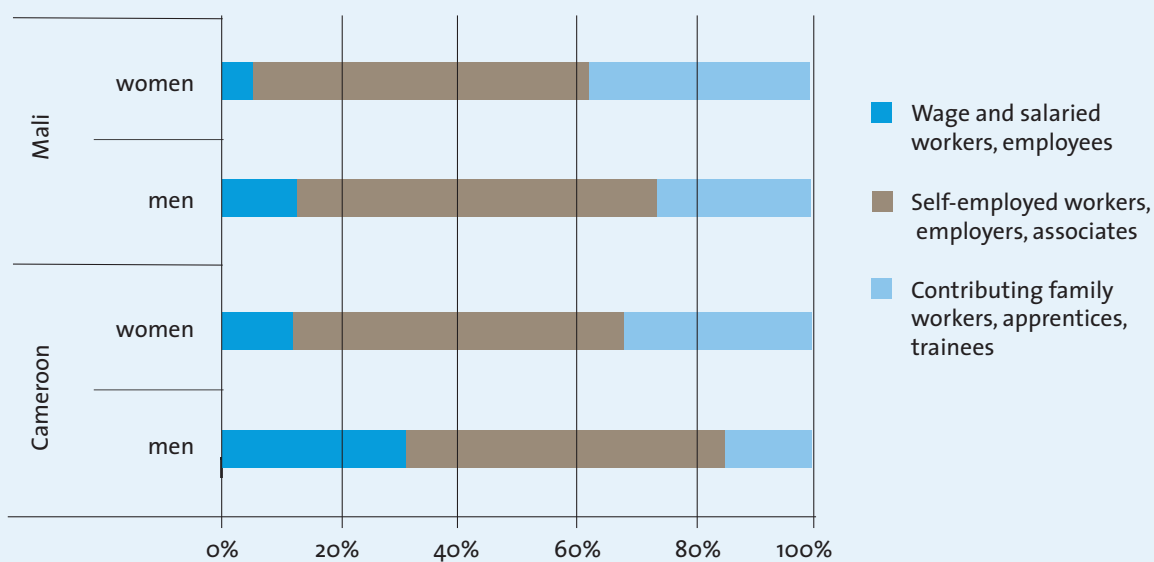
FIGURE 3-4
Some examples of gender distribution by occupation in Mali



Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.

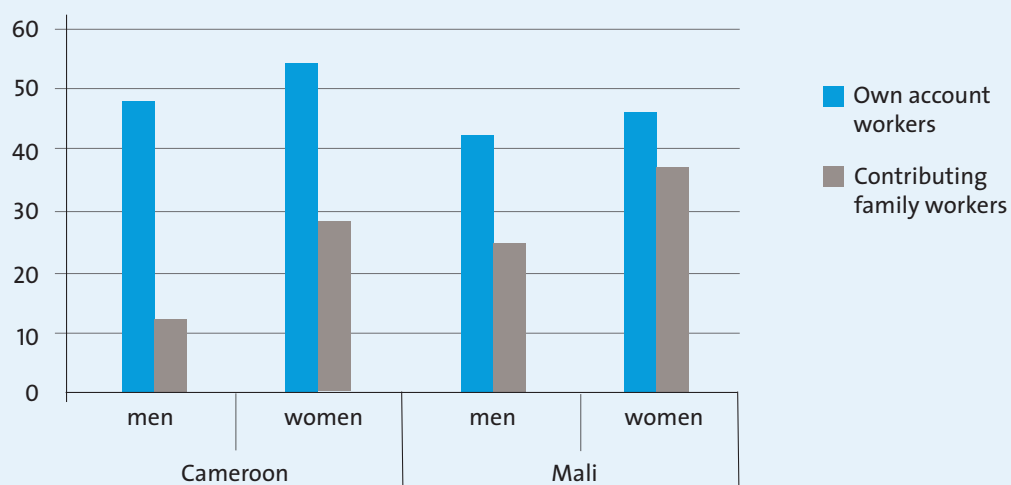
Source: Data from EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-5
Employment status



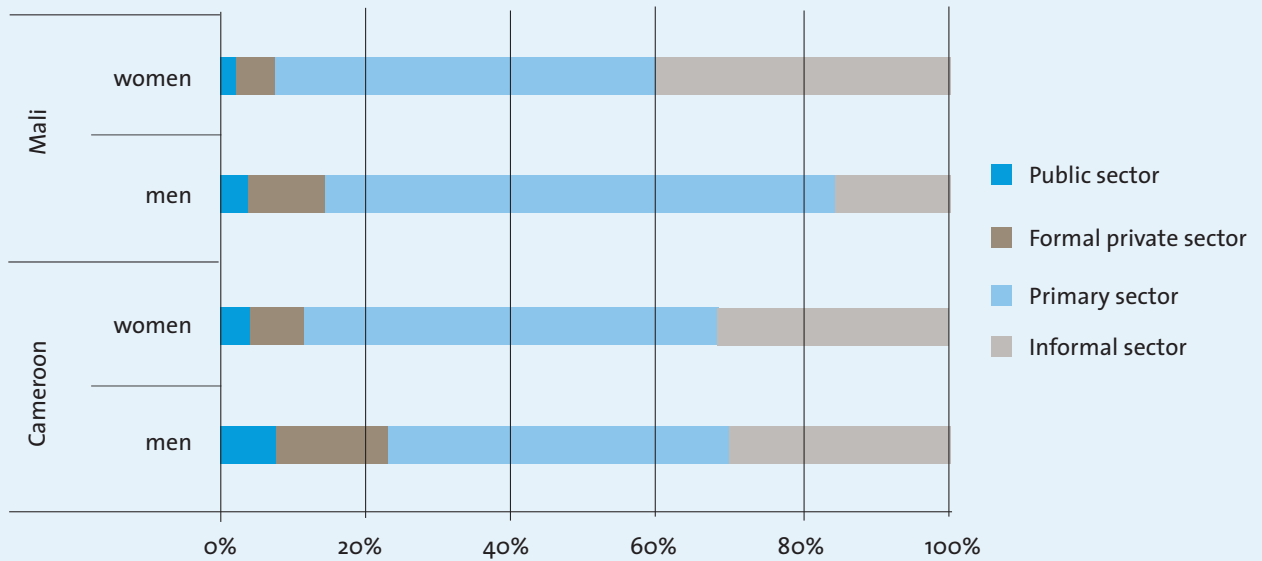
Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.
Source: Data from EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-6
Vulnerable employment (%)



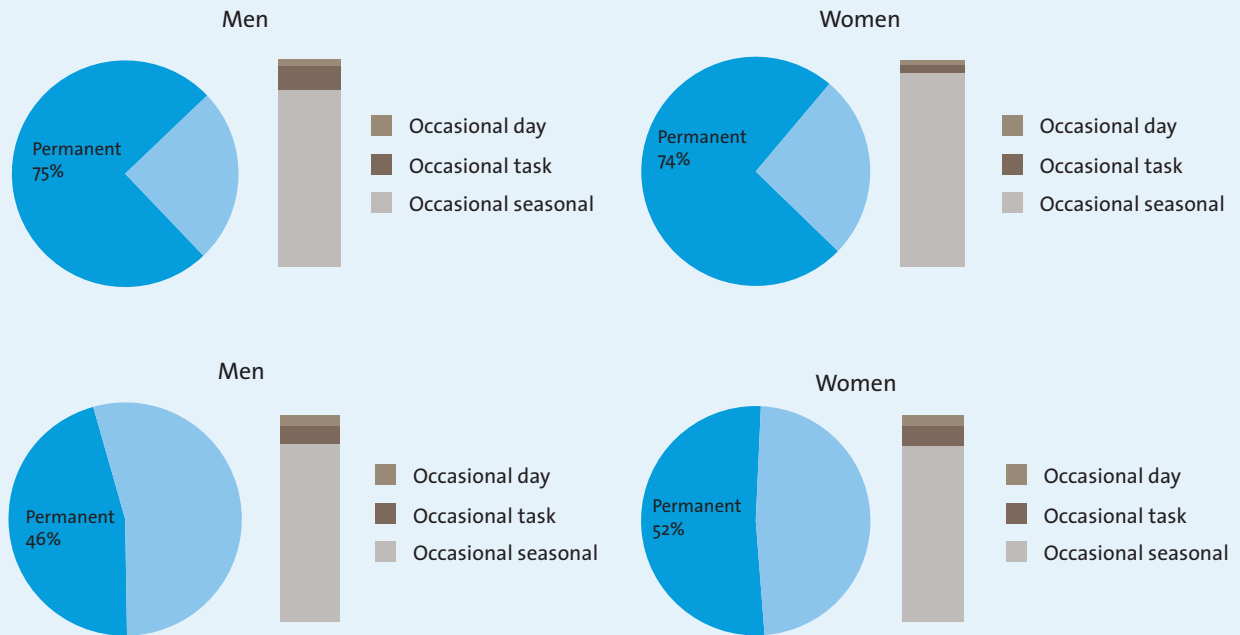
Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.
Source: Data from EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-7
Employment by institutional sector



Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.
Source: Data from EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

FIGURE 3-8
Structure by type of employment: temporary versus permanent jobs



Sample: Employed individuals aged 15 years and older by occupation.
Source: Data from EPAM 2010, authors' calculations.

4.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Using micro data from recent labour force surveys collected in Cameroon and Mali, this paper explores gender differentials in labour market outcomes. The analysis covers key areas most relevant to the understanding of gender differences in labour market outcomes, including occupational segregation, informality, part-time work and gender wage gaps.

A number of robust stylized facts emerge from the analysis.

- While women's participation to the labour market is relatively high in Africa compared to other regions of the world, the examples of Cameroon and Mali – with rates of 72 per cent and 52 per cent respectively in 2010 – suggest it varies significantly within the continent. The differential between the two countries is consistent with the differential in education levels: indeed, women are much more educated in Cameroon than in Mali.
- Unemployment rates are significantly higher for women than for men in both countries and appear to increase sharply with education. Indeed, unemployment rates reach 25 per cent in Cameroon and 30 per cent in Mali for females who have reached higher education. Not surprisingly, unemployment rates also appear to be much higher in urban areas.
- Noticeable differences can be observed in the sectoral employment patterns of women and men. Some are common to the two countries; others are country specific. In Mali, for example, men are over-represented in the primary sector while employed women are more likely than men to work in the tertiary sector.
- As regards status of employment, men are more likely than women to be salaried workers while women are more often unpaid family workers. In both countries, informal employment is the norm for both sexes.

- Gender gaps in monthly earnings were found to be much bigger for self-employed than for wage workers in 2010 for both countries. This stylized feature seems to hold more broadly in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, high gender earning gaps in self-employment have been observed in francophone West African cities by the authors. Two explanations may be suggested for the concentration of women in low-return activities: their exclusion from property by customary patriarchal norms and rules, which creates obstacle to access to formal credit and results in lack of capital; and the need for them to stay close to home, related to traditional gendered responsibilities in terms of childcare.

Finally, the comparative analysis of Cameroon and Mali suggests that education is an important driver of the reduction of the gender gap in participation. Indeed, participation rates are much higher for women in Cameroon, where both women and men have much higher levels of education. The higher participation of women could indeed stem from not only better opportunities for women but also a higher acceptance of women's work from society as a whole. Despite higher levels of participation in Cameroon, the structure of employment of women differs significantly from that of men in both countries. It also appears to be the case that higher participation goes together with lower earnings gaps.

Although education of both women and men is likely to play an important role, social norms in general deserve to be studied more thoroughly in order to understand remaining differences and their evolution in a context of rising education levels.

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APPENDIX 1

THE 1-2-3 SURVEY: A TOOL FOR ANALYSING LABOUR MARKETS IN AFRICA

The 1-2-3 survey is based on the survey grafting principle. It is a system of three nested surveys targeting different statistical populations: individuals, production units and households. The first phase is a survey of household and individual employment, unemployment and working conditions (Phase 1: augmented LFS). This phase documents and analyses labour market functioning and serves as a filter for the second phase, where a representative sample of the informal production units (IPUs) is surveyed. In the second phase (Phase 2: informal sector survey), the survey seeks to measure the main economic and productive characteristics of the production units (production, value-added, investment and financing), the main business development problems encountered and the kind of support informal sector entrepreneurs want from the public authorities. Lastly, in the third phase, a specific survey on income and expenditure is carried out on a subsample of households selected from Phase 1 to estimate the weight of the formal and informal sectors in household consumption by product and household type (Phase 3: survey on consumption, formal and informal sectors demand and poverty). Phase 3 also estimates household standards of living and monetary poverty based on income or expenditure.

The originality of this setup (in terms of both its sampling and its questionnaires) is such that it is worth giving a more detailed presentation of Phase 1, which

is the empirical support in this analysis and boasts certain characteristics worth pointing out.

Phase 1 is specially designed to measure the informal sector and informal employment. A series of questions put to each of the individuals in the labour force identifies those who are in the informal sector. The questions cover all the criteria contained in the international definition, i.e., the number of people employed in the business, the different types of registration (depending on national legislation) and the type of accounts (solely for self-employed workers). This makes the operational definition of the informal sector extremely flexible, as it can vary depending on the aim of each study. Hence, we are able to provide a measurement of informal sector employment and its characteristics on a basis that is comparable and in line with the ILO's international recommendations on the subject (ILO 1993). As a result, the informal sector is consistently defined as all unincorporated enterprises (household businesses) that are not registered or do not keep formal book accounts.

Phase 1 is also a suitable instrument for the measurement of informal employment (corresponding to non-protected jobs) as defined by the ILO (2003). In addition to employment in the informal sector, the questionnaire also measures informal employment in the formal sector using a set of questions on job protection: type of employment contract, payslip and different types of benefit (depending on the national

situation). Here again, the Phase 1 questionnaire allows for a certain amount of flexibility in terms of the informality criteria to be selected in keeping with international recommendations.

The focus on informal employment and the informal sector obviously does not rule out other, more general indicators of the labour market such as those on work, unemployment and underemployment. Phase

1 collects a wide range of information, permitting an in-depth analysis of informality on the labour market: earnings and returns to human capital (education and experience), on-the-job training, discrimination (gender and ethnic), labour market segmentation, migration, intergenerational mobility, job quality (hours worked, income, bonuses, social security, etc.), job satisfaction, interaction and neighbourhood effects, etc.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INDICATORS AND DEFINITIONS

Dependent children: children under 10 years old

Employed: persons who worked (for self or for pay) during the reference period or were temporarily absent from work during the reference period

Employment rate: defined as the ratio of the employed to the working-age population, expressed as a percentage

Employee: worker who holds the type of job defined as a paid employment job

Inactive: persons who are neither employed nor unemployed

Inactivity rate: defined as the proportion of the working-age population that is not in the labour force, expressed as a percentage

Informal sector: encompasses units of production that are not registered with the relevant fiscal authorities (i.e., existence of a taxpayer number in Cameroon and Mali). The criteria of the type of account was not considered for comparability between the two countries insofar as questions on accountability were only asked to own-account workers and employers in Cameroon.

Informal employment: defined as jobs not subject to social protection. More specifically, informal employment comprises: own-account workers and employers who work in the informal sector; contributing family workers, irrespective of whether they work in formal or informal sector enterprises; and employees holding

informal jobs (i.e. not benefiting from social protection), whether employed by formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises or as paid domestic workers by households.

Labour force: persons who are employed or unemployed

Labour force participation rate: defined as the ratio of the labour force to the working-age population, expressed as a percentage

Permanent workers: workers whose main job is permanent or of unlimited duration, characterized by the continuity of the activity over the year without interruption

Primary sector: includes agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining

Reference period: the reference period is one week

Secondary sector: includes construction and the manufacturing industries (e.g., metal working and smelting, automobile production, textile production, chemical and engineering industries, energy utilities, engineering, construction, etc.)

Temporary workers: workers whose main job is of a limited duration or with interruptions over the year. It comprises occasional, casual and seasonal workers.

Tertiary sector: includes the service-producing industries (e.g., retail and wholesale sales, transportation

and distribution, restaurants, clerical services, tourism, insurance, banking, education, health care, etc.)

Unemployed: persons who did not work during the reference period, are available to work (in less than 15 days) and actively sought work during the reference period

Unemployment rate: defined as the proportion of a country's labour force that is not employed

Young children: children under 5 years old

Working-age population: persons aged 15 years and older

Working poor: employed person living in a household living below the poverty line

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