

## Unemployment and discrimination in Cote D'Ivoire: A Gender Analysis

**Dr. Akaffou Koffi Kaudjis Agnes (Ms YAO)**  
*University Alassane Ouattara of Bouaké*

**Dr. Kouassi Patrick Franklin**  
*Ecole Supérieure Africaine des TIC*

### Abstract

Are Women really discriminated in the Côte d'Ivoire's labour market? Accordingly, different variables that may help better understanding women's discrimination among job seekers have been determined making use of data concerning 1.204 unemployed persons, on which both pre-discrimination and discrimination analyses are based. Pre-discrimination's determinants are assessed with the unemployed data. The vulnerability and un-employability rates are computed and unemployment duration econometric models are built. The results show that women are effectively discriminated. The nature of the constraints faced by women for finding jobs reveals the prevalence of pre-discrimination. The literature's survey refers to two economic theories, Human Capital and Market Segmentation that contribute to a better understanding of discrimination towards women. It comes out that the more significant variables for women entry on the job's market are those of market segmentation.

**Keywords:** gender, unemployment, pre-discrimination, human capital, market segmentation.

### Introduction

Job search is a test for every human being (Remillon D., 2006). It is a period full of uncertainties concerning research methods, promising sectors, as well as the future, financial means, etc. The longer this period, the more the confidence of the unemployed is eroded and its employability is affected. Job search methods are therefore not well known to all. This uncertainty is much more radical than assumed by job search models. There are difficulties in evaluating the unemployment test because there are selection barriers using CVs such as: the lack of recognized diplomas and the barrier of age. In addition, the job search methods used by the unemployed are of several kinds. They are classified into three main groups of procedures: market procedures, the use of institutional intermediaries and the social network. First, market procedures are spontaneous applications and classified. They involve direct contact with potential employers when submitting the application. Secondly, the use of institutional intermediaries concerns organizations specializing in labour market intervention, such as State structures, temporary employment agencies and recruitment agencies. To these, local institutions are added, whose primary vocation is not to act on the labour market. These are the municipalities, the consular organizations, the associations of the social field (local missions ...). Finally, the social

network is none other than the use of personal relationships (family, friends) and professional.

Theoretically, three approaches are used to deal with discrimination in the labour market. The first assumes that there is a "taste" for discriminating between economic actors, which is reflected in the "displeasure" behaviour of an individual in contact with another being part of one or other Groups of people. The second, called interest-based discrimination, introduces the notion of monetary gains that a discriminatory person expects. Finally, the latter, called statistical discrimination, presupposes an imperfect (or even insufficient) information environment on the economic qualities of workers. Thus, by referring to the differentiation of economic opportunities and remuneration among comparable individuals in terms of productivity, discrimination can have effects throughout a person's life cycle (Akaffou K., 2017). This explains the distinction between pre-discrimination and market discrimination.

According to the clear and operational definition of Arrow, the inclusion of discrimination as an economic fact induces three remarks. First, it must be identified by measurable factors in the labour market. Second, as a collective phenomenon, only systematic differences which do not vanish within large groups should be considered as market discrimination. Finally, any differential resulting from an average difference in productivity of groups is naturally imputed to pre-discrimination; as for differentials attributed, for example, to sex or race, to constant productivity, they can be attributed to market discrimination (Combarous F., 1994). Thus, using the data collected and by means of an econometric analysis, it focuses on the determinants of the pre-discrimination of women in Côte d'Ivoire, notably in Abidjan. Through factors common to most of the data collected for this paper, the reflections conducted are subdivided into two sections. The first deals with models related to job search. The second focuses on the determinants of women's discrimination in the Ivorian labour market. Before doing these, it appears important to deal with the problem statement and the methodology.

## 1. Problem statement

Discrimination is defined by the ILO in Convention No. 111 as "any distinction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, social origin ..." (BIT, 2003: 25). In practice, it consists of differentiating the elements of a set by means of one or more criteria, in order to apply a specific treatment to each subset thus constituted. Socially, it is the fact of differentiating a group of people from others and applying to it a specific treatment, without objective link with the criterion used to distinguish it.

The combination of policies and actions for women has resulted in a relative improvement in the situation of women, in relation to what was previously the case in Côte d'Ivoire. Women have greater access to education, training and participation in the labour market. Indeed, according to data from the National Institute of Statistics (INS) in 2002, their occupancy rate was 83.65% against 89.04% for men. However, major obstacles to women's access to employment persist despite progress in integrating them into the economic development of Côte d'Ivoire. Moreover, according to the

national report on the state and the future of the population in Côte d'Ivoire (page 121) : "Despite this strong will of the government and efforts to improve the socio-economic and legal status of Ivorian women, the question of gender equality is more and more preoccupant. Evils such as Sexual Violence, Domestic Violence, Women Trafficking, Reproductive Rights, Sexual Harassment, and Observed Property Rights continue to deteriorate the physical, psychological and social integrity of women ". Moreover, Levert [2011] notes that women are still underrepresented in several decision-making bodies such as ministerial posts, municipal councils, the national assembly ... Because of this dependence on social roles and Power between men and women, the gender issue is influenced by the social and cultural relationships that are reflected in varying economic, political, social and environmental opportunities. At the same time, women face difficulties in entering the labour market of the modern sector and are predominantly in precarious jobs, often generating low levels of income. Indeed, in 2005 women represent only 12.71% of modern workers. In addition, stresses the persistence of gender inequalities. This is a weakness in the extension and application of the legal and regulatory texts favourable to equality and equity between men and women in Côte d'Ivoire (DSRP, 2009).

The problem of discrimination against women in Côte d'Ivoire therefore remains relevant and can be approached in several ways. The present study general objective is to determine the factors that may explain the discrimination of women in search of employment in the Ivorian labour market. More specifically, this will be done through a threefold analysis: it will first relate the methodology, then do a survey of economic models of job search, and finally analyze the characteristics of jobseekers. Subsequently, and according to the results of this analysis, prospects for solutions will be proposed to the problem of discrimination of women in the labour market in Côte d'Ivoire. To this end, the assumptions underlying this study are twofold as a consequence of their pre-discrimination. According to the first, women are discriminated at the entrance to the labour market of the modern sector because of the weakness of their human capital. According to the latest, women and men have not the same strategies for searching job because of the segmentation of the labour market as a result of the traditional gender division of labour. Thus, to determine the factors explaining the discrimination of women in the Ivorian labour market, leads to the adoption of a methodology to achieve the objectives set.

## 2. Methodology

For the measurement of discrimination in the labour market, two approaches need to be assessed for an appropriate methodological choice in data collection. The first is that of discrimination tests and the second, the econometric approach. The first provides a systematic representation of discrimination in hiring, whether wage, ethnic, racial or gender<sup>1</sup>. They are often used as a measuring instrument in sociological studies, or as evidence in judicial proceedings. The principle is to form couples from two distinct groups, but with the same characteristics to apply for the same job in the labour market, with the exception of the characteristic identified as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Boumahdi and others [2000], Petit [2004]

a source of discrimination (gender, language, colour of Skin, country of origin, etc.). The type "testing" is not popularized in Côte d'Ivoire. Conversely, the econometric approach is an indirect measure of discrimination. It is the one chosen for the analysis of discrimination of women unemployment in the Côte d'Ivoire's labour market. It leads to the collection of data that can be analyzed statistically and econometrically. The data collected come from the Agency for the Study and Promotion of Employment (AGEPE), a public structure for the treatment of unemployment in Côte d'Ivoire. They are from a household employment survey in the city of Abidjan in May 2008. The choice of Abidjan is explained by the fact that, it is the city in which the modern sector is the most developed (about 90% of the companies in the modern sector). In addition, this sector is characterized, among other things, by a marginal occupied female population compared to all employed women, which may be partly due to discrimination against them. Moreover, it is the only sector that is governed by the Labour Code, the inter-branch collective agreement and the general status of civil servants and State employees. These texts take into account the concerns of the ILO conventions signed by the State of Côte d'Ivoire.

The persons surveyed come from 2,700 African-type households. The desire to better understand the characteristics of the active population led to the selection of the population aged from 14<sup>2</sup> to 59 years. The definitions used for the unemployed population are those of the ILO (they are persons of working age, unemployed, looking for work and immediately available for work). This exercise yielded a sample of 1,204 persons (599 men and 605 women). Indeed, the nature of the data collected makes it possible to distinguish several variables including those linked to pre-discrimination and market discrimination. It should be noted, however, that the latter make it possible to verify the different hypotheses of the study.

Three analytical methods are used to analyze the discrimination of women in the labour market in Côte d'Ivoire. They are: the comparative method, the descriptive method and the econometric method. The first is used throughout the analysis. It consists of the differentiation of the different characteristics and the results found by gender. The second, the descriptive method, concerns the construction and description of tables and / or graphs in order to show the influence or the impact of the variables concerned. It is a purely statistical analysis. As for the latter, it consists in the construction and analysis of econometric models. Therefore, "... labour market analysis plays a central role in gender research: the comparative situation of women and men in the labour market integrates and reflects To a large extent today, the totality of the male / female differences that are manifested in the various aspects of social life." (Sofer, 2005: 278).

The search for jobs presupposes the existence of a market where jobseekers and job-offers meet for exchanges. As a result, the review of job search models involves first making a typology of job seekers, then job search patterns, and an analysis of job search behaviours by means of Econometric analyzes. Indeed, jobseekers are people looking for work. They may both still be active and seek another to improve their welfare, or have lost their jobs and seek a new one, or be looking for a first job. But generally, the most numerous among them are the unemployed. For the job search,

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<sup>2</sup> In 1998, legal age for working was 14.

all do not have the same vision of the path to be followed and/or the means available to them, hence the interest in the typology of jobseekers, modes of job search and possible behaviours in the event of job search models. For this analysis factors that are a source of unemployment and vulnerability are those that play a role in the competitiveness of a given individual. At this level, it seems appropriate to mention two indices whose evolution makes it possible to measure sexual discrimination: the index of unemployability and the index of vulnerability (Duthil, 2004: 100). They are calculated as follows:

$$\text{Unemployability} = \frac{\text{Unemployed with at least one year of unemployment}}{\text{Total unemployment}}$$

$$\text{Vulnerability} = \frac{\text{Unemployed for less than one year}}{\text{Total employed labour force}}$$

Employability is the probability of getting out of unemployment by accessing a job and vulnerability, the likelihood of being unemployed for a given period. The calculation of these indicators (see Table 1) indicates a higher vulnerability of men and higher unemployment of women. In fact, although the values seem similar, the probability that men will be unemployed for a given period is 6.33% as against 5.78% for women. However, the index of women' unemployability is greater than that of men. It shows that women are more likely to be unemployed (80.17%) than men (75.46%). There is therefore a problem of discrimination against women entering the labour market since, although they have a lower rate of vulnerability to unemployment, they remain unemployed for a longer period of time. This reflects the national pattern of unemployment. According to the DSRP [2009], the female unemployment rate (19.8%) was higher than that of men (12.1%) in 2008. This observation, according to neoclassics, is the result of pre-discrimination before entering the labour market.

Table 1: Indices of vulnerability and unemployability

Indices	Men	Women	Total
<b>Vulnerability</b>			
Unemployed under one year	147	120	267
Total employed labour force	2,321	2,076	4,397
Rates (1)	6.33%	5.78%	6.07%
<b>Unemployability</b>			
At least one year of unemployment	452	485	937
Total unemployed population	599	605	1204
Rates (2)	75,46%	80,17%	77,82%

**Source: Calculations based on data from the 2008 AGEPE household survey**

Job search studies are mostly done taking into account the duration of unemployment, age and job search patterns. The same is true of the works of Bouabdallah and

others [2001], and Sabatier [2002]. The former developed a structural model of job search and the latter a model of prospecting with three states. These two types of econometric models focus on the relationship between unemployment duration and several other factors. These are models which have explained the variable duration of unemployment (dependent) and as explanatory variables (independent), the individual and socio-economic characteristics related in an econometric model of behaviour. These models may be simple or complex depending on the nature and quality of the data collected.

Furthermore, in a reflection on the construction of gender differences in firms, Cordero [1994], Beneria [1992] and specially Gadrey [1992] show through a survey that, managers or staff have an approach more subjective than rational about women' labour. Therefore, dealing with the relationship between unemployment and discrimination in the Ivorian' labour market, and even Abidjan, refers to the econometric analysis of the women's discrimination determinants. Also, this section highlights the characteristics of jobseekers through the econometric analysis of the pre-discrimination consequences. The latter is made possible by the results of estimates of gender-differentiated duration of unemployment models. These models, the estimates of which are given in tables 2 and 3, are as follows:

Dependent variable ó duration of unemployment measured in years;

Independent variables ó (in order) expected logarithm of the gain, logarithm of the acceptable minimal wage, age in years, number of years of schooling, marital status, type of education followed, reason for leaving school, nature of the unemployment, professional category, mode of subsistence, first mode of trying job, number of modes used, type of job sought, nature of the job sought, nature of the desired business, professional experience, first element of Contact, number of contact elements, dependence at age 14, and employment status of the person whose unemployed depended at age 14.

### Models of duration of men and women unemployment characteristics

Variances analysis	Men			Women		
	SS	Df	MS	SS	df	MS
Model	2501.5659	60	41.6927651	5687.59515	61	93.2392648
Residual	7799.56665	480	16.2490972	10741.8582	491	21.8775116
Total	10301.1326	540	19.0761714	16429.4533	552	29.7635024

Model characteristics	Men	Women
Number of observations	541	553
F (60, 480)	2.57	-
F (61, 491)	-	4.26
Prob > F	0.0000	0.0000
R carré	0.2428	0.3462
R carré ajusté	0.1482	0.2650

Root MSE	4.031	4.6773
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They are models of linear multiple regression with both qualitative and quantitative variables. The software used for the econometrical estimation is Stata 10. The duration of unemployment in the year was used as the variable to be explained, not its logarithm, because it has a normal distribution in contrast to the other. The regression coefficients R squared and R squared adjusted models estimated are less than 50%. However, the Fisher coefficient F is significant at the threshold of 1% whatever the model considered. Therefore, all independent variables can be considered as contributing to the change in the duration of unemployment. Their exploitation for econometric analysis is so possible. Thus, this analysis is made by distinguishing the contribution of human capital to the women' discrimination from that of job-seeking behaviour. Practical and theoretical considerations show that there is not a best universal criterion. Only the author objective and the nature of the data used are important (Lebarbier E. et Mary-Huard T., 2006: 50).

### Estimated model for men

Variables	Coefficient	Std err	t	Variables	Coefficient	Std err	t
lnrev	-.1403083	.660523	-0.21	relpers1	-1.103082	1.507667	-0.73
lnsal	.4397213	.6821688	0.64	direct1	-1.359319	1.575588	-0.86
age	.5833867*	.1429758	4.08	annonc1	-1.861401	1.706322	-1.09
age2	-.0060285*	.0021117	-2.85	concour1	-1.47446	1.54667	-0.95
anetude	.0305884	.1899241	0.16	autmoye1	-2.157556	1.69517	-1.27
anetud2	-.0057674	.0107712	-0.54	nombmoy	.2210424	.2695279	0.82
marciv	-2.583777	2.67445	-0.97	salarie	-2.148408	2.242513	-0.96
martrad	-1.832431	2.528369	-0.72	indepdt	-1.903942	2.318836	-0.82
unionlb	-1.651836	2.533847	-0.65	indtype	-1.485658	2.282787	-0.65
celibat	-1.491293	2.474076	-0.60	permtpl	1.687293**	1.015228	1.66
primaire	.9634639	.8619679	1.12	permtpar	2.313315**	1.285583	1.80
secgen	.6294831	.923221	0.68	tempor	.4247426	1.630786	0.26
sectechn	.2329461	1.197619	0.19	indifnat	1.705185	1.153146	1.48
super	-.1958917	1.039435	-0.19	admpub	1.679803	1.078163	1.56
finance	.0281315	.5861441	0.05	entpub	.9450153	1.269663	0.74
aprentis	.396477	.8261538	0.48	entpriv	1.736972**	1.029513	1.69
echececo	1.0573	.8207805	1.29	microent	.1112638	1.115745	0.10
finetude	-.4333734	.6933758	-0.63	indnatw	2.711677**	1.590437	1.70
autcause	.5209629	.7117552	0.73	ouiexpe	.3187269	1.832382	0.17
dejaw	-2.581039*	.5348124	-4.83	nonexpe	.5406056	1.811755	0.30
csuping	-.9688563	1.099682	-0.88	cv1	2.140734	2.653532	0.81
cmoyam	-1.404255	1.049717	-1.34	letmot1	2.171785	2.676864	0.81
empouv2	-.9918128	.9957443	-1.00	autelmt1	2.482356	2.586869	0.96

patppcpt	.5867502	1.013706	0.58	aucunel1	1.788344	2.576741	0.69
manapaid	1.460467	1.194583	1.22	nombele	-5.087634	.4042989	-1.26
pension	2.148101	1.779627	1.21	Father	-4.848735*	2.484939	-1.95
epargne	3.225409*	1.411984	2.28	mother	-4.584315**	2.496301	-1.84
tiers	2.896174*	1.100607	2.63	autmbfam	-5.483478*	2.555629	-2.15
autmoy	3.665662*	1.211508	3.03	autpers	-7.064393*	3.495769	-2.02
				ouiwpers	.4201243	1.682224	0.25
cons	-8.403197	7.116035	-1.18	nonwpers	.8045172	1.71759	0.47

Significant \* 5% ; \*\* 10%.

### Estimated model for women

Variables	Coefficient	Std err	t	Variables	Coefficient	Std err	t
lnrev	.5502471	.7408632	0.74	relpers1	.3340938	1.260954	0.26
lnsal	-.2397629	.7456253	-0.32	direct1	-.4551191	1.374988	-0.33
age	.4980595*	.1653939	3.01	serplac1	-.1065493	1.963075	-0.05
age2	-.0037805	.0026095	-1.45	concour1	.5094101	1.434188	0.36
anetude	-.1159853	.2163836	-0.54	autmoye1	.2372816	1.50313	0.16
anetud2	-.0146697	.0129071	-1.14	nombmoy	-.1033442	.3866329	-0.27
marciv	.5570587	1.54713	0.36	salarie	-1.902545	2.552619	-0.75
martrad	-.5589201	1.521497	-0.37	indepdt	-2.646485	2.571886	-1.03
unionlb	.4108031	1.562362	0.26	indtype	-.6972662	2.594443	-0.27
celibat	-.0101371	1.517539	-0.01	permtpl	.0095176	1.025936	0.01
primaire	.8925006	.8633626	1.03	permtpar	.6662041	1.22398	0.54
secgen	.8625048	1.016522	0.85	tempor	-.0500812	1.741678	-0.03
sectechn	-.0594751	1.425044	-0.04	indifnat	-.7423486	1.175799	-0.63
super	1.116526	1.27229	0.88	admpub	1.642901	3.666309	0.45
finance	-.1296716	.7053777	-0.18	entpub	.2537891	3.796896	0.07
aprentis	-.4750612	.9325741	-0.51	entpriv	-.1571873	3.625973	-0.04
grosmari	1.950258**	1.112148	1.75	microent	-.0035942	3.614215	-0.00
echececo	.8738301	.8240128	1.06	entasmen	1.718046	3.646435	0.47
finetude	-.7849555	1.015376	-0.77	indnatw	2.008833	3.637447	0.55
autcause	.2509153	.7603726	0.33	ouiexpe	-.089848	1.677166	-0.05
dejaw	-3.447354*	.520311	-6.63	nonexpe	-.3602742	1.659334	-0.22
csuping	-.6307621	1.314314	-0.48	cv1	7.444144*	3.107507	2.40
cmoyam	-2.060337**	1.172544	-1.76	letmot1	9.104565*	3.11266	2.93
empouv2	-1.040709	1.035703	-1.00	autelmt1	6.845178*	2.969513	2.31
patppcpt	-.1338748	.9997623	-0.13	aucunel1	5.961792*	2.955703	2.02
manapaid	.4595177	1.157835	0.40	nombele	-1.245837**	.6770747	-1.84
pension	3.109764	2.448603	1.27	Father	2.003341*	.642618	3.12
epargne	1.370064	2.410683	0.57	mother	3.253858*	.7539828	4.32



tiers	2.424337	2.136897	1.13	autpers	1.598241	1.948767	0.82
autmoy	3.07065	2.260782	1.36	ouiwpers	-0.3397674	1.383305	-0.25
_cons	-14.36551**	7.65958	-1.88	nonwpers	-0.535047	1.471392	-0.36

**Significant : \* 5% ; \*\* 10%.**

This section has thus made it possible to recall the economic models concerning the search for employment. These include the typology of jobseekers, strategies developed for job search, as well as the results of some studies on job search. The next section allows their empirical application through the analysis of the characteristics of job seekers.

### 3. Human capital and women' discrimination

The analysis of the characteristics for the unemployed is made by distinguishing the socio-demographic factors from those derived from the acquired human capital. These include the individual characteristics of job seekers, their social characteristics, education, training and other elements closely related to the process of human capital accumulation. Of course, some statistical values of the data collected can be used in this analysis.

#### 1. Individual characteristics

Socio-demographic factors include age, marital status, school drop-out, livelihood, the person who was in charge of the unemployed at the age of 14, and this person employment status. They are distinguished in individual and social characteristics. These variables, according to neoclassics, are exogenous in terms of the labour market. However, they can influence the employability of individuals in search of employment, as well as being a source of discrimination according to gender, by reference to the theory of human capital.

Firstly, the average age of women is relatively smaller (27,58 years) than that of men(28.32 years). Whatever the gender, the age group most represented is 14 to 34 years (more than 81%). This confirms that unemployment affects mostly young persons. All the age estimated coefficients are positive and those of the square of the age 'age2' are negative. Age is therefore positively related to the duration of unemployment, indicating that older people have longer periods of unemployment. But the estimated coefficient of men is the greatest. It shows that men have, on average, longer periods of unemployment compared to women. However, the negative sign of the coefficient of age squared indicates that the oldest have short periods of unemployment on average. For this modality, the coefficient of men is the smallest, indicating a longer duration of unemployment for older women compared to men. With this latter result, it can be deduced that women are, on average, at a disadvantage compared with men, for the age variable.

Secondly, concerning marital status, the singles are the most numerous (60% of women against 81.64% of men). But the proportion of women (37.68%) in marriage

exceeds twice that of men (17.86%). According to economic theory, marital status is one of the determinants of women's participation in the labour market (Cain G., 1979). Several technological, social and economic factors explained the increase in labour supply of married women. These include social events such as anti-discriminatory laws, development of child-care services, technological innovations in household appliances and the increase in the educational attainment of women. Moreover, the tertiarization of industrial labour and economic recessions have favoured their access to the labour market, in order to compensate the decline in the purchasing power of the household. On the econometric level, all the estimated coefficients of the men model are negative, indicating a negative link between the duration of unemployment and the marital status. Moreover, the coefficients of men decreased when the situation was changed from single to civil marriage. This indicates that civilly married men have on average shorter duration of unemployment and singles with longer periods of unemployment. For women, two coefficients are positive (civil marriage and common-law union) and two other negative (traditional marriage and single). This indicates that married women in civil and common-law relationships have longer periods of unemployment than others. Therefore, the comparison of the different coefficients by gender shows that for the marital status, those of the women are the highest. Thus, for marital status, women have, on average, longer lengths of unemployment compared to men.

Finally, more than 30% of the unemployed dropped out of school due to lack of funding. For the econometric estimates, all coefficients of men are positive except that of the end of studies. For women, three are positive and three others negative. It is noted that those who have finished their studies have on average shorter periods of unemployment. On the other hand, as a consequence of pre-discrimination, women who left school either for marriage or because they were pregnant had the longest periods of unemployment.

### **3.2. Social characteristics**

Social characteristics focus on the livelihoods of jobseekers and their dependents at the age of 14 years. Concerning the latter, it concerns the parental relationship or not with the unemployed and their status in relation to employment. The importance of such an analysis is explained by the definition of pre-discrimination. Generally in Côte d'Ivoire, traditional society considers that it is not useful for a girl to do long studies, since her companion (spouse or friend) has an obligation to provide for her essential needs. That is generally reflected in the low number of women in the modern sector labour market. The "exclusion" of women from the labour market is a more complex concept "since they often have the means to live in the home of a non-excluded man" (Hirata, 1996).

Firstly, about means of subsistence, more than 79% depend on a third person for their basic needs. At this level, some unemployed people who have already worked are entitled to the unemployment allocation. Econometrically, all livelihood modality coefficients are positive. This indicates that people with means to support their basic needs have longer periods of unemployment. But there is a big difference: men with

pension have shorter average duration of unemployment; the opposite is true for women because those with pensions have longer periods of unemployment. Overall, for livelihoods, women have shorter periods of unemployment.

Secondly, many of the unemployed were under the responsibility of their biological parents at the age of 14 years (84.46% of women for 92.16% of men). As a result, there are many more women (15.54%) than men (6.85%) who were raised by people other than their biological parents. According to the econometric estimates, all the coefficients of the men' model are negative and those of women are positive, indicating a greater duration of unemployment on average of the latter. This opposition in the relationship between the duration of unemployment and dependence at 14 years reinforces the thesis of the existence of pre-discrimination against women. In addition men and women, who had been dependent on other persons at 14 years, had the shortest duration of unemployment on average (the coefficients estimated were the smallest). However, if men who have been dependent on their fathers have longer periods of unemployment, for women this applies to those who have been dependent on their mothers. This shows that the education given by mothers is the primary cause of the pre-discrimination of women. In addition, since the father – mother duo appears to be responsible for a longer period of unemployment, it can be deduced that the education of biological parents is the primary factor in pre-discrimination. Finally, concerning the employment status of those responsible for the unemployed at the age of 14, we notice that, the majority of them, over 80%, were employed in the labour market. For women, all coefficients are negative contrary to those of men, all positive. It can therefore be assumed that the fact that the person responsible for the unemployed at the age of 14 worked reduced the rate of employability of women and accentuated that of men. This shows that there is a real pre-discrimination of women. Are the consequences of education and even human capital acquired by unemployed people, also different according to gender?

### **3.3. Contribution of acquired human capital**

The acquired human capital is all that the unemployed person has learned through schooling and experience in employment. The factors concerned are: the years of study, the type of education followed, the nature of unemployment, work experience and reserve wages. Education and training play a key role in the entry of individuals into the labour market. They condition the employability of jobseekers; because one of the decisive factors in the competitiveness of a company is the quality of the workforce.

#### **3.3.1 - Education and formation**

Firstly, concerning years of schooling, in the job-seeking population, the average number of years of schooling of men (9.92  $\approx$  10 years) is higher than that of women (7.61  $\approx$  8 years). But, according to Vimont [1995], the explosion of the number of graduates of higher education results in greater difficulties in entering the labour

force in the history of a country: unemployment is so increasing. Econometrically, the coefficient of men is positive for the year of study and negative for the squared of year of study ( $\text{anetud}^2$ ). This means that years of study are in the same direction as the duration of unemployment. However, the negative coefficient of the square of the year of study shows that men with the longest years of schooling have the shortest duration of unemployment. For women, all coefficients are negative, indicating that those with long years of education have the shortest duration of unemployment on average. The phenomenon observed for men can be attributed to a stagnation effect and, for women to an effect of new entry into the labour market. It can therefore be concluded that enrolment increases the employability of women compared to men.

Concerning the type of education, more than one third of men (38.90%) and women (34.55%) have completed general secondary education. There are a higher proportion of women (27.27%) in primary education compared to men (17.36%). On the econometric level, all the coefficients of men are positive except for the superior. This indicates that men from higher education have shorter periods of unemployment. At the female level, all coefficients are positive except for technical secondary. It can be inferred that women from technical secondary education have shorter periods of unemployment overall. Moreover, the female coefficient for higher education is the highest, indicating that, unlike men, women from higher education have longer average unemployment durations. This result is atypical and not in conformity with interpretations of the theory of human capital. However, as one of the consequences of pre-discrimination, women from higher education and general secondary education have a longer period of unemployment compared to men.

Finally, for the professional experience more than 40% of men (40.07%) and women (40.83%) reported having experience in the desired job. At this level, all the estimated coefficients of the male model are positive. This is not the case for women: their model has negative coefficients. This indicates that, compared to women, men have longer periods of unemployment. It is also noted that men with no work experience have longer unemployment durations than those who do. At the women's level, there is the opposite phenomenon, which is not in line with the interpretations of the theory of human capital: women without work experience have shorter duration of unemployment compared to those who have it. This fact is also one of the consequences of the pre-discrimination of women.

### 3.3.2. Nature of unemployment and reserve wages

The nature of unemployment, the expected earnings and the minimum reserve wage are other elements of human capital. In terms of employability, these different elements are very important. In terms of employability, a difference can be made between a person who has already worked and a person who is seeking a first job. The former has acquired professional experience which may be an advantage over the latter. However, this is not always verified insofar as applicants for first jobs have vocational training more adapted to the needs of the labour market. Moreover, first-job seekers represent more than 71% of the unemployed compared to those who have already worked (less than 27%). For the econometric analysis, the modality of persons

seeking a first job was not taken into account to avoid the problem of multicollinearity. It can be seen that all coefficients estimated for persons who have already worked are negative by gender. That of women is the smallest. This suggests that women who have ever worked have shorter periods of unemployment compared to men. They are therefore advantageous over men in terms of employability.

For the expected income, the pretensions of men are superior to those of women. Indeed, the average income expected by men is 207,760.5 FCFA compared to 154,892.9 FCFA for women. The estimated coefficient of men for the logarithm of expected earnings is less than zero in contrast to that of women. As a consequence of pre-discrimination, it can be deduced that the higher the expected gain of men, the shorter their duration of unemployment, comparatively to the women. Because, one of the interpretations of human capital theory, or even the job search theory, is that people with higher wage claims (a sign of high human capital) are more likely to enter in the labour market (high employability).

Concerning the minimum acceptable wage, among the unemployed the claims of men are higher than those of women. The average minimum acceptable wage for men is 161,669.1 FCFA compared to 120,446.4 FCFA for women. On the econometric level, the estimated coefficient of men for the log of the minimum reserve wage is greater than zero, unlike that of women. There is therefore a pre-discrimination of women. Thus, according to job search theory, people with the highest reserve wages last longer unemployed, waiting for a much more remunerative job.

#### **4. Job search and pre-discrimination of women**

The situation in unemployment and the strategies developed by the unemployed for job search, complement the econometric analysis of the characteristics of jobseekers. Their importance lies in the fact that they directly bring the jobseeker into contact with the realities of the labour market. As a result, they provide a better understanding of the problems of pre-discrimination and subsequently highlight some areas of potential market discrimination. Thus, analysing the contribution of job-seeking behaviour to the pre-discrimination of women refers to variables such as: the occupational category, the type of job sought, the nature of the job sought, the desired company, the job search mode and the contact elements used. These factors are grouped on the one hand into characteristics of the desired job and on the other hand into job-search strategies.

##### **4.1. Characteristics of the job sought**

The occupational category, the type of employment, the nature of the job and the company in which the unemployed person would like to enter provide information on the characteristics of the job sought. First, the type of job makes it possible to know whether the unemployed person is looking for paid employment or not, and the occupational category on his position in the job hierarchy. Secondly, the nature of employment is concerned with the permanent or non-permanent nature of the job sought. Finally, the type of business takes into account the nature of the business being

sought. What are the econometric characteristics of the unemployment duration of jobseekers according to the different modalities of the occupational category and type of job sought?

The men and women looking for work in 2008 are differently distributed according to the professional category. At the women's level, the largest number is those in the boss or own account category (33.06%). On the other hand, at the level of the men, the most numerous are the employees and workers (27.38%). In addition, the special case of senior managers and engineers can be noted. For this category, the proportion of women (8.26%) is almost half that of men (16.03%). This phenomenon is baptized, by many socio-economic actors, "glass ceiling" in the modern sector. It should be noted that the term "glass ceiling" was invented in the United States of America (USA) in the 1970s to describe invisible and artificial barriers arising from behavioural and organizational prejudices that prevent women from Access to the highest responsibilities (ILO, 2001). Moreover, the high representation of women in socio-professional categories that are much more relevant to the informal sector (boss and own account) can be interpreted as a greater exposure of women to poverty, unlike men. Moreover, the majority of the estimated coefficients are negative except for two groups of categories for men and one group for women. Almost all the coefficients of men are higher than those of women except for those in the executive and engineering category. This indicates that women in this category have, on average, longer periods of unemployment compared to men. Overall, the group with the smallest average duration of unemployment is that of middle managers and supervisors. Those with longer average lengths of unemployment are labourers, apprentices and family helpers. Thus, except for senior managers and engineers, the duration of unemployment for men is higher than for women in the occupational categories. Moreover, taking into account the phenomenon of "glass ceiling" cannot ignore the pre-discrimination of women compared to men.

In addition, more than half of the unemployed in 2008 are looking for paid work (55.21% of women and 62.27% of men). Indeed, while 22.48% of women are looking for self-employment (self-employment, projects to finance), only 16.03% of men are for self-employment. On the econometric level, all estimated coefficients are negative, indicating a shorter duration of unemployment according to the type of employment sought in general. Moreover, the average duration of unemployment among women is long compared to men for the search for salaried jobs and the indifference to the type. It is short compared to men for the search for independent job, commonly called self-employment or micro-enterprises. This result is one of the consequences of the pre-discrimination of women. Indeed, a majority of women in Côte d'Ivoire are moving towards jobs that do not require too much academic knowledge, as well as an initial high contribution to financing. These include sewing, and hairdressing. Overall, the duration of unemployment for men is lower than for women, for insertion into paid employment.

#### **4.2. Type of employment and company sought**

The characteristics of the nature for the job and the company sought can explain the pre-discrimination against women. First, the nature of the job sought involves

four modes: permanent full-time employment; Permanent part-time employment; Temporary employment; and indifference to the nature of employment. Among the job seekers, a greater majority of men (72.79%) than women (66.12%) are looking for permanent full-time employment. According to econometric estimation, all coefficients of men are positive. For women, two are positive and two negative. There is therefore a differentiation of the duration of unemployment by gender for the nature of the job sought, a consequence of pre-discrimination before entering the labour market. In addition, all coefficients of men are higher than those of women. This may be interpreted as a longer average duration of unemployment for men than for women for the nature of the job sought. On the other hand, it is found that all those seeking permanent part-time employment have the longest average duration of unemployment. This result implicitly refers to the existence of discrimination according to the segmentation in the nature of employment in the labour market. Concerning the nature of the business sought, the majority of jobseekers are interested in companies for the modern sector. At the women's level, 58.84% are interested in the modern sector and 26.94% micro-enterprises. At the men's level, there are 77.13% looking for jobs in the modern sector, only 16.69% would like to create micro-enterprises, or less than a quarter compared to women with a much higher proportion. On the econometric level, all the coefficients estimated for the nature of the firm in the male model are positive and superior to those of the women, thus indicating a greater duration of unemployment for men compared to Women's. For the latter, two of the coefficients are negative (private enterprise and microenterprise). This indicates a lower average duration of unemployment for women looking for these two types of firms. There is therefore a differentiation of the coefficients of average unemployment durations estimated by type of firm according to the gender. This differentiation, a consequence of the pre-discrimination of women, implicitly refers to the existence of discrimination on the labour market according to the segmentation of the nature of the enterprises.

### 4.3. Job Search Strategies

Neoclassical theory considers relative wage distortions as a cause of unemployment and inefficiency in the distribution of labour. This is the basis of models that partly attribute urban unemployment to the important difference between urban and rural wages. In addition, Harris and Todaro (Jatoba J., 1989) have developed a job search model where unemployment appears as a combination of voluntary and involuntary elements. They assume that individuals prefer unemployment and the prospect of high wages in the protected labour market sector to the certainty of low-wage employment in the unprotected labour market sector. Therefore, can we say that pre-discrimination distinguishes between job search strategies by gender? To answer this question is to deal with the various modes of job search and contact elements used for this purpose, because almost all of the unemployed have as prospecting area the city of Abidjan.

### ***4.3.1. Modes and intensity (number) of job search modes***

There are six types of job search: personal relationships; direct contact; offers; Placement services; civil service competition; and other modes not specified in the questionnaire. For econometric estimates, the first mode of job search and the number of modes used by each jobseeker were chosen. The analysis of job search methods is important for the analysis of economic discrimination, because it not only allows us to judge the impact of pre-discrimination on job search strategies by gender, but also allows us to identify the most effective way to find a job in terms of employability.

First, the majority of unemployed people, regardless of gender, search for a job by privileging personal relationships. This concerns 68.93% of women and 63.61% of men. The estimated coefficients of men model are negative and lower than those of women, three of which are negative and two positive. This can be interpreted as a shorter average duration of unemployment for men compared to women regardless of the mode of job search. At the level of women, those who prefer direct contact have shorter periods of unemployment and those who prefer the competitions have longer periods of unemployment. On the other hand, at the men level, those who use other modes of job search have the shortest duration of unemployment and those who adopt personal relationships have the longest. It can be inferred from this that the patterns of job search are differently used by gender, because of the pre-discrimination that modulates the way in which the labour market is perceived by gender. Overall, therefore, men have shorter duration of unemployment compared to women according to the mode of job search. It can be inferred that there is discrimination in the labour market, the nature of which influences job search strategies by gender.

Finally, concerning the intensity of job search modes, the type of job search most used by the unemployed in intensity is that of personal relationships (68.93% of women and 63.94% of men). Unlike women, two other modes account for more than a quarter of men respectively: competitions (27.71%) and direct contact (25.71%). Compared to men, this order is reversed for women because the intensity of use of direct contact comes in second position with 18.35% and competitions in third position with 14.21%. As a result, men have a higher average number of modes (1,457) compared to women (1,273). It is also noticed that public and private placement services are very little used by the unemployed (3.31% for women and 4.01% for men). Moreover, with respect to econometric estimates, the coefficients of the variable taking into account the number of modes of job search used are of opposite signs: that of men is positive and for women negative. This suggests that women using at least two modes of job search have shorter unemployment durations than men. Therefore, women have higher employability.

### ***4.3.2. Contact elements used and intensity of their use***

The contact elements most often used by job seekers are four in number. These are: the curriculum vitae (CV); the motivation letter; other unspecified elements; and no elements. The econometric coefficients for the first contact element used and the number of contact elements are estimated.

The order of use of contact elements differs completely according to gender. For



women, those using no element are the most numerous (46.12%), followed by those who use the CV (26.28%), the letter of motivation being in the last position (4.13%). For men, the order is reversed compared to women. The use of the CV comes first with a proportion of 42.90%, followed by no contact element for 28.88%, the letter of motivation being also in last position (6.18%). According to the econometric estimates, without distinction of sex, all the coefficients of the first contact element used are positive. The coefficients of the male model are all lower than those of women. Regardless of the contact element used, the average duration of unemployment among men is shorter compared to that of women. This indicates that there is discrimination in hiring women, especially in the modern sector labour market. This latter sector is based, in general, on the CV and the letter of motivation to measure the human capital acquired from the persons to be recruited.

Taking into account the intensity of use of the different contact elements retains the same order in women, with an improvement in the rate allocated to the letter of motivation (20.17%). Comparatively, at the level of men, the use of the letter of motivation (34,89%) is much more accentuated and comes in second position after the CV. As a result, the average number of uses of the different contact elements is relatively higher for men (1,382) compared to women (1,211). According to the econometric estimates, whatever the type, all the coefficients of the number of elements used are negative. This negative sign of the estimated coefficients is consistent with the results of the job search models: the use of at least two contact elements reduces the duration of unemployment. But the female coefficient is lower than that of men, indicating that women using multiple contact elements have, on average, shorter duration of unemployment compared to men.

Overall, as a result of certain authors (Silvera, 1996; Combarous, 1994; and Mankante, 1994), it can be observed that women are victims of pre-discrimination contrary to men. Indeed, the weight of the socio-cultural environment constitutes a major constraint to the effective integration of women in the development of their countries. It is reflected in the early training of women's preferences and attitudes in relation to their role in life. Women's labour supply (Terrell, 1992), is subordinated to the cost of substituting household tasks and societal and family attitudes about the role of women and their place on the labour market. This tends to limit the presence of women in the paid labour market as well as the amount of human capital that they agree to invest. In addition, it orients or distorts their career aspirations, as well as their choices in education and vocational training. Moreover, the econometric analysis of women' pre-discrimination, through the results of the models of duration of unemployment, reinforces the thesis of existence of pre-discrimination towards women and suggests the existence of market discrimination of women according to the Segmentation of the labour market.

## Conclusions

Analysis of the discrimination of women in the labour market in Côte d'Ivoire, particularly in Abidjan in 2008, reveals that women are effectively discriminated in comparison with men. But this discrimination, due to the nature of the factors that

constitute a constraint on women's access to employment, particularly modern, refers to the problem of pre-discrimination. Accordingly, the analysis of the characteristics of pre-discrimination was carried out through the use of survey data concerning the job-seeking population in the labour market. Two main economic theories that can better identify the problem of women's discrimination are indexed. They are the theory of human capital on the one hand, and the segmentation of the labour market on the other. For the determinants of pre-discrimination, the characteristics of the job-seeking population were analyzed through the calculation of vulnerability and unemployment indices as well as the construction of unemployment duration models.

For the analysis of the determinants of pre-discrimination, the index of employability of women is high compared to that of men despite a lower vulnerability to unemployment. According to the econometric analysis of the determinants of pre-discrimination in hiring women, this comes from several factors related to basic (socio-cultural) education, acquired human capital and labour market segmentation. It appears that women are more unemployed compared to men, because of their high age, their marital status, because they stopped studying because of pregnancy or to marry; to receive a pension or to have been dependent on their mother at the age of 14 years. In this regard, the econometric results index the education of biological parents as the main source of pre-discrimination for women. Moreover, if they worked, the rate of unemployability of women becomes smaller than that of men. Compared with men, higher-educated women, those with work experience, and those with higher earnings expectations and higher minimum wages, have longer unemployment durations than men. On the other hand, the analysis of job search strategies suggests market discrimination of women according to the segmentation of the labour market. Despite the fact that the majority of the unemployed are looking for paid employment, women in the top management and engineering categories and those seeking wage employment have higher unemployment durations than men for the nature of the desired company. As a result, job search strategies differ by gender. Women have a comparative advantage for direct contact and are disadvantaged for the contact element used. Thus, the characteristics of the unemployed population in 2008 make it possible to identify certain irregularities, at the basis of discrimination of women. Therefore, while recognizing the diversity of policies in favour of better economic and social integration of women, the root of the problem of discrimination against women goes back to basic education and mentalities, which are dependent on traditional and cultural perceptions of the role and place of women in society. Revisiting these different elements and redesigning them in a new mould where men and women will have the same chances of access to employment requires long-term work. However, the prompt implementation of certain resolutions resulting from the joint work of the ILO in Côte d'Ivoire and the Ministry of the Family and the Promotion of Women, The correction of certain dysfunctions and, in the long term, equal access to employment for women and men in the labour market in Côte d'Ivoire, particularly in the modern private sector. In this respect, the creation of the Directorate for Equality and Gender Promotion is significant. With adequate material, financial and human resources, it could appropriate all these recommendations. Indeed,

strategies have been developed and recommendations made to promote women's education and training, promote their hiring in the formal sector of the economy and break the "glass ceiling". Moreover, the new law on marriage adopted in November 2012, which is widely appreciated by both women and men, is an advance since it explicitly recognizes that a married woman participates in household expenses in the same way as her husband.

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