Gender identity and social change:
The experience of female migrants from the MENA region

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Abstract

Using the status of women from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, this paper presents empirical observations to analyse the effects of migration on gender roles. The region is globally well-know by unique gender characteristics such as patriarchy, a typical pattern of male breadwinner model and women's low employment level. The paper analyzes employment status of migrant women from the MENA region living in the multiethnic and multicultural setting of Australia where they often observe different gender characteristics including a high rate of women's employment. This contrast provides the opportunity to examine whether this new experience and observation change their employment status upon migration. Moreover, due to the fundamental role of religion in the MENA region, the paper explains the association between religion (Islamic affiliation) and women status. Finally, the paper discusses plausible explanations for the observed patterns on the employment status of women from the MENA region.

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Introduction and background

Generally speaking, scholars have given considerable attention to the issue of gender roles identified by the market employment participation of women. For instance, Davis (1984: 397) has termed 'a more important social revolution, a revolution in sex roles', which has been significantly reflected in the substantial increasing trend in female labour force participation during the past decades. The marked increase in women's participation in the labour market has also been asserted as 'one of the fundamental facts of gender relations in this century' (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2001: 430).

This paper gives specific attention to the effect of migration on gender roles identified by participation in the market employment. It focuses on the status of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region living in the multiethnic and multicultural context of Australia. The literature review evidently shows that the region monopolizes unique gender characteristics such as high fertility, low rates of education and waged work outside the home for women, patriarchy, male bread winner model (e.g. Omran and Roudi, 1993; Yasmeen, 2004; Foroutan, 2007, 2008a,c; also see Appendix 2), whereas gender roles in a country like Australia is identified by totally different characteristics such as a substantially high rate of participation in the market employment for women (see below). Accordingly, these two typical characteristics associated with gender roles in the origin and destination places provide the opportunity to investigate whether and how significantly migration may cause change in gender roles characterized by women's participation in the labour market. More specifically, this study provides empirical evidence as to whether 'new information and new opportunities produce pressure for change…' (Dharmalingam and Morgan 1996: 201) or 'migration of women does not necessarily initiate a change in their role and status' (Hugo 2000: 300). The paper specifically examines the work patterns of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

region and highlights their work differentials with both native-born and other female migrants in the multiethnic and multicultural context of Australia. Moreover, since religion plays a key role in the life and status of women in the MENA region, the paper also highlights the work differentials of these women in terms of religion.

The literature review reveals that people from the Middle East are one of the two main migrant groups in Australia whose labour force participation has been 'frequently observed … to be clustered at the end of the occupation spectrum' (Wooden 1994: 252)[1]. This has been particularly documented regarding Lebanese, who also make up a large proportion of the female migrants from the MENA region in this study (see below). According to the literature, this migrant group often experience settlement difficulties and their employment rate and socio-economic characteristics are lower than natives and most migrant groups (e.g. Young 1988; Khoo and Shu 1996; McDonald 2000a; Humphrey 2001; Betts and Healy 2006; Foroutan, 2008a, forthcoming). This has been predominantly associated with their main feature of migration on the arrival to Australia under humanitarian migration programs (McDonald 2000a; Foroutan 2008a, forthcoming).

Focusing on employment characteristics as a key indicator of migrants' settlement and success in the host country (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1996; Bouma, 1994) and using a relatively more recently available database (see below), the empirical observations of this study show whether female migrants from the MENA region are significantly different relative to others and provide a basis for the more plausible explanations. While acknowledging the matter of the selectivity of migration, the use of the multiethnic and multicultural context of Australia also gives a good opportunity to provide empirical evidence explaining more appropriately the competing effects of migration and religion on the employment status of female migrants from

the MENA region from a comparative perspective. Furthermore, the method used here is privileged for this study to reach these aims and objectives (see below), which also enables us to cope with the compositional characteristics caused by the main feature of migration discussed earlier.

Methodological considerations and terms definition

The findings of this study are based on the special tabulations from the 2001 Population and Housing Census of Australia. The tables are matrices of relevant variables cross-classified against each other. The matrix or cell data are converted to individual records in SPSS format. The age range, here, is limited to the main working ages (that is, 15-54 years[2]) since the study focuses on labour force participation.

This study uses logistic regression analysis. This statistical method is particularly advantageous for this study as it would be possible to examine the work patterns of the female migrants from the MENA region and to highlight their work differentials with the comparison groups while simultaneously controlling for other relevant determinants included in the analytical models. Moreover, logistic regression examines the effect of each factor while other characteristics considered in the analysis are held constant. This is also worthwhile noting that this method is privileged for this analysis since the determinants associated with the labour force participation of migrant groups (including duration of residence in the receiving country, ethnic origin, English proficiency and educational attainment) have been observed to be significantly correlated (e.g. Evans 1984; Wooden 1994; McAllister 1995; VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1996; VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999; Khoo and McDonald 2001, Foroutan 2008b).

The key dependent variable of this analysis is *women's work*, which includes the following two major components. *Employment status* refers to a situation in which women are either 'employed' or 'not employed'. *Occupational levels*, classified into high-level (professional and managerial occupations) and other occupations, refers to major groupings of jobs in which women have been employed. The focus group in this study are the female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The discussion below shows countries included in the MENA region in this study. The comparison groups of this study are native-born women and other female migrants including both female migrants from Developed Countries (predominantly from the United Kingdom and New Zealand) and other female migrants (largely from Asian countries). Table 2 and Appendix 1 provide more details about the definition and classification of characteristics included in this analysis.

Leading profile of the MENA female migrants: A comparison

The following discussion highlights the main demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the female migrants from the MENA region included in this study from a comparative perspective. As illustrated in Table 1, the population of female migrants from the MENA region included in this study makes up about four per cent of female migrants in Australia. They are largely Lebanese and Egyptian. Then, Syria, Israel, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Jordan and Kuwait account for the major source countries of the remaining 30 per cent (see Table 2). About one-third of female migrants from the MENA region are Muslims. It is also evident that relative to other female migrants and native-born women, female migrants from the MENA region contribute the lower level of human capital (educational attainment and English skill), which is considerably associated with the main feature of their migration, as discussed before. Moreover, the preliminary results of this study show that about 34 per cent of the female migrants from the MENA region are employed. The corresponding proportions for other female migrants and

native-born women are 60 and 66 per cent, respectively (see Table 3). It is, however, realized that this description of work characteristics could be resulted from the significantly different socio-demographic characteristics highlighted above. Instead, the remaining discussion below is based on the multivariate analysis, which highlights the work differentials while simultaneously controlling for these characteristics in the analysis.

The MENA female migrants' major work patterns

The following discussion highlights the multivariate results of this study with regard to the work differentials of the female migrants from the MENA region from a comparative perspective (see Figure 1). According to the results of this study, while the major determinants of female labour force participation considered in the analysis (including human capital, family factors, duration of residence in the destination country, religion and age composition) are held constant, the following major patterns can be made. First, in total, the employment level of the female migrants from the MENA region is significantly lower than native-born women: they are half as likely as native-born women to be employed. Second, the lower employment level of the female migrants from the MENA region remains still the case even when only migrant women are included in the analysis: the probability of being employed for female migrants from the MENA region is as half as that for non-MENA female migrants, that is, both female migrants from Developed Countries (who are largely from the United Kingdom and New Zealand) and Other Female Migrants (who are mainly Asians). As a result, these two observed patterns underline the fact that while the employment level of both female migrants from Developed Countries and Other Female Migrants is relatively similar to that of native-born women, the female migrants from the MENA region hold the lowest employment level in this study. These employment patterns are explained later since the following observations provide the opportunity to explain more appropriately the work pattern of the female migrants from the MENA region.

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Third, the results of the present analysis show significantly different occupational patterns: the female migrants from the MENA region are as likely as native-born women to work in the professional and managerial occupations. Four, the outcome is even more interesting when only female migrant are considered in the analysis: the female migrants from the MENA region are not only as likely as female migrants from Developed Countries to work in the professional and managerial occupations but also the likelihood of working in the professional and managerial occupations is somewhat greater for the female migrants from the MENA region than for Other Female Migrants who are mainly Asians. Accordingly, the observations highlighted above echo an interesting pattern. This suggests that while in terms of employment status (that is, whether 'employed' or 'not employed') the female migrants from the MENA region hold the lowest employment level, their occupational pattern is completely different, as highlighted above. These work patterns of the female migrants from the MENA region is explained using 'the filtering effect' in the next section.

Five, the results of this analysis also show that the employment status of the female migrants from the MENA region is significantly affected by religion: non-Muslims are more than twice as likely as Muslims to be employed. This pattern is analysed later using the two plausible explanations. Six, amongst employed female migrants from the MENA region, Muslims are somewhat more likely than non-Muslims to work in the professional and managerial occupations. These two patterns associated with the employment status and occupational levels of Muslim and non-Muslim female migrants from the MENA region can also be explained by the previously-mentioned 'filtering effect' that is discussed broadly later.

MENA female migrants' work differentials: Explanations

The following discussion provides plausible explanations for the observed work patterns of the female migrants from the MENA region and their differentials with other female migrants and native-born women as highlighted in the previous section. The discussion is based on two major approaches: discrimination explanation and cultural assimilation.

Disadvantage and discrimination explanation

According to this approach, the lower employment level of the female migrants from the MENA region highlighted above could be partly resulted from discrimination in the side of employers in the destination country. This can be particularly the case here since the most important determinants of female labour force participation (such as human capital, family factors, age composition, religion and length of residence in the receiving country) are held constant in the analysis. According to the discrimination approach, ascribed characteristics such as ethnicity, gender and race account for the key factors of disadvantage and discrimination (e.g. Evans 1984; Wooden 1994; Carr and Chen 2004). Accordingly, immigrants in the host society are more likely to be 'particularly vulnerable' (Evans and Kelley 1991: 722) and to be 'either through individual or structural discrimination, significantly disadvantaged' (Kelley and McAllister, 1984: 400). According to the discrimination approach, ethnic prejudice accounts for a main source of discrimination against ethnic minorities in the labour market of the host country regardless of holding 'comparable skills and experience' relative to 'majority workers' (Evans and Kelley 1991: 747). Moreover, it has been asserted that the labour force participation of female migrants is more likely 'to be negatively affected by the combination of their statuses as female and foreign-born' (Sorenson 1993: 19). Consequently, the lower employment level of the female migrants from the MENA region observed in this study may be in part associated with discrimination because they are both female and ethnic minority in the receiving country.

In particular, the discrimination hypothesis tends to provide a more appropriate explanation for the employment status of Muslim female migrants from the MENA region who have been found to hold an exceptionally lower employment level in this study. This possibility can be supported by the fact that under circumstances of the existence of discrimination in a society, religious identity has been documented as a main source to reinforce discrimination. It has been, for example, asserted that under such circumstances, prejudice resulting in discrimination is more likely to be experienced by 'those ethnic groups which remain culturally distinct' (Evans and Kelley, 1986: 189) and 'usually, … [by] persons who are visibly different' (Anker 1998: 18). This type of discrimination can apply to Muslim female migrants from the MENA region since they may prefer to maintain their religious identity including certain dress codes (such as headscarf or *hijab*) and Islamic names (such as *Ayesha, Fatima, Rahima* etc.) by which they would appear to be simply identified in the destination country. Furthermore, Muslim female migrants from the MENA region would be more likely to be a major target of discrimination due to holding a combination of ascribed characteristics (including gender, ethnicity and religion) that are identified as the major sources of discrimination. There are also a number of studies that support the possibility of disadvantage and discrimination experienced by the Australian Muslims (e.g. Collins 1988; Omar and Allen 1996; Adhikari 2001; Kabir and Evans 2002). More specifically, the results of a recent study showed that Muslim Lebanese in Australia (that is, the largest group of Muslim and non-Muslim female migrants from the MENA region) are 'disadvantaged compared to Lebanese Christians (and compared to all Australians, both migrant and native born)' (Betts and Healy 2006: 39).

It is, however, important to mention that the discrimination hypothesis can be investigated more appropriately when the main focus is on 'unemployment' as a single category for employment status[3] because it excludes those people who are not in the labour force for any reason related to

their own preference and values rather than to the practice of the labour market. It should also be stated that census data do not appear to have a capacity to reflect appropriately all aspects of the complicated issue of discrimination. For example, Kabir and Evans (2002: 82) on the basis of qualitative research and interviews in Australia explored that 'religion was a cause of discrimination for Muslims', whereas they could not find any evidence of discrimination against Australian Muslims using census data. Alternatively, the discussion below looks at the work differentials of the female migrants from the MENA region using a different approach.

Cultural assimilation explanation

The following discussion explains the work patterns of the female migrants from the MENA region observed in this study using cultural assimilation approach. As discussed before, the female migrants from the MENA region present two different patterns in the two stages of employment participation (that is, employment status and occupational levels): while the probability of being employed is significantly lower for the female migrants from the MENA region relative to native-born women, there is no significant difference between these two groups of women in terms of occupational levels since they share an almost equal occupational opportunity. These interesting work patterns may be partly explained using 'the filtering effect'. The filtering effect suggests that those female migrants from the MENA region who have overcome the employment obstructions including household-related difficulties (such as childcare or possible socio-cultural restrictions imposed on women by family and community affecting their work outside the home) are then likely to be selective of those who obtain employment in the high-level occupations (that is, the professional and managerial occupations). Moreover, the filtering effect tends to provide a more appropriate explanation for the employment participation of Muslim female migrants from the MENA region than that of non-Muslim female migrants from this region because, as discussed before, the probability of

working in the professional and managerial occupations is somewhat greater for Muslims from the MENA region than for non-Muslims from this region, whereas the former are substantially less likely than the latter to be employed. In the meantime, the equal occupational opportunity for the female migrants from the MENA region relative to native-born women and a slightly greater likelihood of working in the professional and managerial occupations for Muslim female migrants from the MENA region relative to non-Muslim female migrants from this region maybe partly used to cast doubt on the discrimination hypothesis discussed earlier against female migrants from the MENA region, either generally as a ethnic minority or specifically as a religious minority.

Moreover, in the frame of the cultural assimilation explanation it is important to mention that amongst all groups of women considered in the present analysis including native-born women, female migrants from Developed Countries (mainly from the United Kingdom and New Zealand), other female migrants (mostly from Asian countries) and the female migrants from the MENA region, the latter group holds an exceptionally low employment level. In fact, this group belongs to the region of origin (that is, the Middle East and North Africa) where 'women's participation in the formal labour force' has been observed to be 'exceptionally low by world standard[s]' (Omran and Roudi, 1993: 21) and patriarchy is often a prime element of cultural identity (Yasmeen, 2004). In this course, it is worthwhile adding that although 'new information and new opportunities produce pressure for change…' (Dharmalingam and Morgan 1996: 201) and 'women, especially educated women, often leave their origin to free themselves from traditional controls', it should also be taken into account that 'migration of women does not necessarily initiate a change in their role and status' (Hugo 2000: 297, 300). Therefore, the lower employment level of the female migrants from the MENA region observed in this analysis can be partly explained by the fact that the maintenance of patriarchal system and other socio-

cultural characteristics associated with traditional gender roles predominant in the origin country tends to stay still essential even upon migrating to a setting identified by noticeably different gender outcomes including a substantially high rate of female labour force participation (as shown earlier in Table 3, more than 65 per cent of Australian-born women are employed).

The cultural assimilation approach discussed here seems to be more suitable to explain the work patterns of Muslim female migrants from the MENA region than their non-Muslim counterparts. This partly lies in the fact that, according to the results highlighted above, the credit for holding a significantly lower employment level for the female migrants from the MENA region is mainly associated with the situation of Muslims from the region whose employment level is substantially lower than non-Muslims from this region. The author's other papers (Foroutan, 2008a,c) explain comprehensively the association between religion and the employment status of women, including female migrants from the MENA region.

Concluding remarks

In order to providing empirical evidence regarding the consequences of migration on gender roles, this paper has focused on the employment status of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region living in the multiethnic and multicultural context of Australia. The paper has examined the work patterns of this migrant group and highlighted their differentials with both native-born women and other female migrants, as comparison groups. In this study, the employment level of female migrants from the MENA region has been found to be significantly lower relative to the comparison groups. The paper has provided two plausible explanations for the observed pattern. The pattern has been partly explained as a consequence of disadvantage and discrimination. This could particularly apply to the outcome for female migrants from the MENA region in this study as the most important determinants of female labour force participation (such as education, English skill, age composition, family factors,

religion and length of residence in the receiving country) are held constant in the analysis. Further investigation, however, has shown that female migrants from the MENA region are almost as likely as the comparison groups to work in the professional and managerial occupations. This almost equal occupational opportunity may cast doubt on the disadvantage and discrimination hypothesis. Alternatively, the cultural assimilation has been argued to be a more plausible explanation to shed light on the observed work patterns of female migrants from the MENA region: despite migrating to a country identified by gender characteristics such a high level of women's labour force participation, the female migrants from the MENA region tend to remain committed to the socio-cultural characteristics of their own region of origin where the dominant values and views associated with gender roles (such as women's traditional roles in the household, patriarchy and male breadwinner pattern) result in an markedly low rate for women's participation in the formal labour force. In sum, the results of this empirical investigation suggest that although migration provides opportunities for change, this does not inevitably apply to all migrant groups, particularly those immigrants such as female migrants from the MENA region who experience a greater 'cultural distance' (Berry, 1992; Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2003; Foroutan, 2008b) between the origin and destination societies.

Endnotes:

[1] The other group includes migrants from Southern Europe (Wooden 1994).

[2] The use of this age range commencing from very young ages in the original database employed in this study results from the fact that the preliminary analysis revealed that a considerable proportion of working women from the MENA region (largely Lebanese) are in very young ages. Accordingly, they have also been included in the analysis in order to finding out an appropriate explanation for employment pattern of women from the MENA region in this study.

[3] As defined before in the paper, employment status in this analysis contains 'employed' and 'not employed'. It should be noted that in the original database used in this study, 'not in labour force' and 'unemployed' are combined into a single category (that is, 'not employed'). This classification has been developed in order to maximizing the number of cells that could be obtained from the census tabulations in the Super Table, which is particularly the case for very small-size populations such as female migrants from the MENA region (see Appendix 1 for more details of definition and classification).

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Table 1: Distribution of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the comparison groups aged 15-54 in Australia, 2001

Grouping by birthplace	Population	Percentage
Female migrant from MENA region	49,010	3.78
Migrant women from Developed Countries	631,623	48.78
Other migrant women	614,277	47.44
Native-born women	3,852,279	-
Not stated and inadequately described	220,195	-
Total	5,373,295	100.00

Source: Computed from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (also, see the section of 'Methodological consdiderations' in the paper).
Notes: (1) See Table 2 and Appendix 1 for classification and definition. (2) This table is obtained from a file, which is partly affected by the issue of confidentiality caused by a large number of cross tabulations and small numbers in the cells of Super Table.

Table 2: Population of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) aged 15-54 in Australia by individual country of birth, 2001

| Country of birth	%	Country of birth	%
Lebanon	54.16	Saudi Arabia	0.73
Egypt	17.06	United Arab Emirates	0.71
Syria	5.19	Morocco	0.65
Israel	4.16	Bahrain	0.53
Sudan	2.87	Algeria	0.50
Somalia	2.73	Yemen	0.26
Ethiopia	2.71	Tunisia	0.16
Jordan	2.26	Oman	0.15
Kuwait	1.86	Qatar	0.11
Eritrea	1.35	Not stated	0.08
Gaza Strip and West Bank	0.92	Total	100.00
Libya	0.85	Number	49,010

Source: See Table 1.

Table 3: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the comparison groups aged 15-54 in Australia, 2001

Characteristics	Female migrants from MENA region	Non-MENA migrant women	Native-born women
Age group			
15-24 years	14.9	14.8	26.0
25-34 years	25.7	22.5	26.7
35-44 years	32.1	31.6	25.6
45-54 years	27.3	31.1	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	49,010	1,245,900	3,852,279
Educational attainment			
High education	20.1	31.4	23.7
Middle education	60.0	58.0	67.8
Low education	16.7	7.5	3.0
Still at school	3.2	3.1	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	46,464	1,207,025	3,779,140
English competency			
Very well	53.2	75.7	99.3
Well	30.2	15.4	0.5
Not well	16.6	8.9	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	48,531	1,236,825	3,821,317
Employment status			
Employed	33.6	59.8	66.4
Not employed	64.9	39.5	33.0
Not stated	1.5	0.8	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	49,010	1,245,900	3,852,279

Source: See Table 1.

Notes: (1) This table excludes those women whose 'education', 'English proficiency' and 'country of birth' are 'not stated' or 'inadequately described'. (2) See Appendix No. 1 for definition and classification of characteristics included in this table. (3) Note 2 in Table 1 also applies to this table.

Figure 1: Likelihood of 'being employed' and of 'working in professional and managerial occupations' for female migrants women from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), from Developed Countries (DECO), other migrant women and native-born women aged 15-54 in Australia, 2001 (odds ratios)
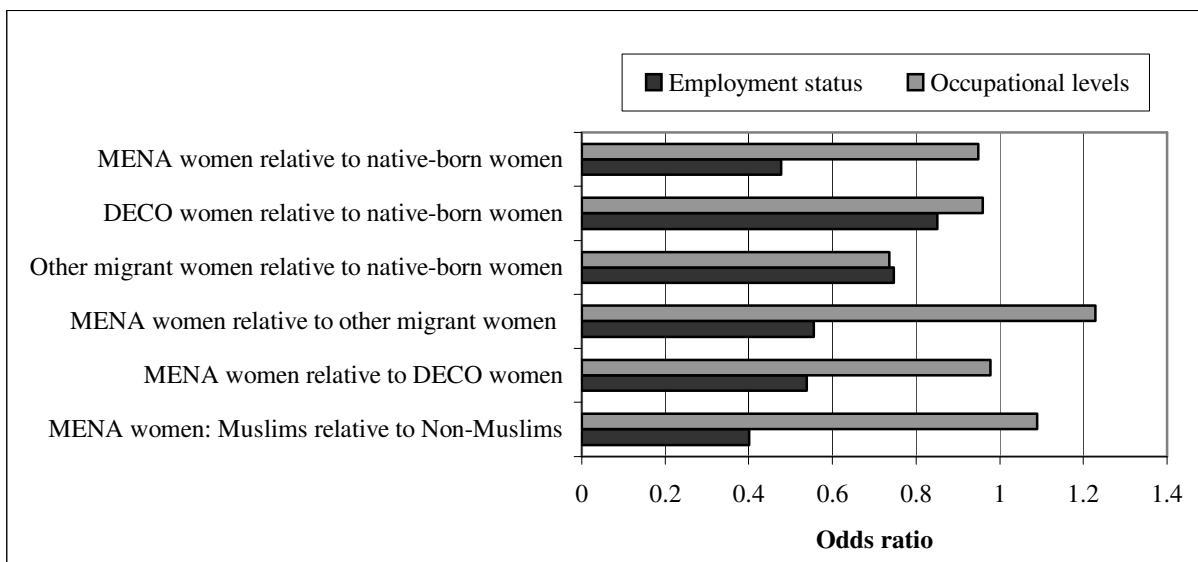
Source: See table 1.

Notes: (1) This figure is based on the results of logistic regression (see 'Methodological considerations' in the paper) highlighting the employment status and occupational levels of a group of women relative to the reference group. (2) For 'employment status', 'employed' is coded as 1 (one) and 'not employed' is coded as 0 (zero) and the numbers (odds ratios) show the likelihood of being 'employed' for a given group relative to the reference group. (3) For 'occupational levels' (including only employed women), professional and managerial occupations is coded as 1 (one) and other occupations is coded as 0 (zero) and the numbers (odds ratios) show the likelihood of being employed in professional and managerial occupations for a given group relative to the reference group. (4) See Table 2 and Appendix 1 for classification and definition of characteristics included in this figure. (5) Note 2 in Table 1 also applies to this table.

Appendix 1 Definition and classification of characteristics included in this study

Characteristics	Classification	Definition & categories included
Migration status	Female migrants from MENA region	Those migrant women whose country of birth is included in the Middle East and North Africa (see Table 2).
	Female migrants from Developed Countries (DECO)	Those migrant women whose country of birth is included in Developed Countries (mostly the United Kingdom and New Zealand).
	Other Female Migrants	Those migrant women whose country of birth is included neither in Developed Countries nor in the MENA region (They are largely from Asian countries such as China, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and India).
	Native-born women	Women whose country of birth was stated as Australia in the census (that is, Australian-born women).
Employment status	Employed	Employee, employer, own account worker, and contributing family worker.
	Not employed	Unemployed looking for full-time/ part-time work, not in labour force.
Religious affiliation	Muslim	Anyone whose religious affiliation was stated as Islam in the census.
	Non-Muslim	Anyone else who is not a Muslim as defined above.
Level of education	High education	Postgraduate degree, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate, Bachelor Degree, Advanced Diploma and Diploma level.
	Middle education	Year 9-12 or equivalent, Certificate level.
	Low education	Did not go to school, Year 8 or below.
English proficiency	Very well	Only speak English, Speak English very well.
	Well	Speak English well.
	Not well	Speak English not well.

Note: It is important to mention that the classification of these variables is based on the original database used in this study.

Appendix 2. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of selected MENA countries, 1980-2000

| Country | TFR [1] | | CPR [2] | Adult illiteracy for ages 15 + 1998 | | FLFP [3] |
	1980-85	1995-2000	2000	Males	Females	Latest years 1990s
Egypt	5.06	3.51	58.4	35	58	24
Lebanon	3.79	2.29	66.3	9	21	25.8
Morocco	5.10	3.00	53.6	40	66	34.5
Qatar	5.45	3.70	na	20	17	46.5
Saudi Arabia	7.28	5.09	28.1	17	36	na
Somalia	7.25	7.25	8.2	Na	na	na
Syria	7.38	3.82	50.2	13	42	19.5
Tunisia	4.90	2.32	67.9	21	42	27
World	3.58	2.83	na	18	32	na

Sources: International Labour Organisation (2001); Abbasi-Shavazi and Jones (2005); Hull (2005).
[1] Total Fertility Rate: the average number of children per woman during reproductive ages
[2] Contraceptive Prevalence Rate (total) among married women in reproductive ages (projected).
[3] Female Labour Force Participation aged 25-54 (%).