

**IN-DEPTH STUDIES FROM THE 1994 POPULATION AND HOUSING
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**Gender Issues, Population and Development
in Ethiopia**

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GENDER ISSUES, POPULATION, AND DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA

1. Introduction

Gender is a social construction and codification of differences between the sexes and social relationships between women and men. Historical, ideological, cultural, religious, ethnic and economic factors - that can be changed largely in the course of time - influence the society's look at gender by political, economic or cultural influences.

It is well known that women's status – depending by many aspects and many female roles – is a multi-dimensional concept and has a complex influence on the demographic behaviour (Oppong, 1983; Mason, 1984; Mahmud and Johnston, 1994).

Many developing countries exhibit considerable gender inequality in education, employment and health outcomes. For example there are large discrepancies in education between the sexes in South Asia and in Sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, employment opportunities and pay differ greatly by gender in most developing regions. When assessing the importance of these inequalities, one has to distinguish between intrinsic and instrumental concerns. If our concern is with aggregate well being, then we should view the important capabilities of longevity and education as critical constituent elements in well-being (Sen, 1999). Thus any reduced achievements for women in these capabilities is intrinsically problematic. Apart from the intrinsic problems of gender inequality, one may be concerned about instrumental effects of gender bias. Gender inequality may have adverse impacts on a number of valuable development goals.

First, gender inequality in education and access to resources may prevent a reduction of child mortality, of fertility, and an expansion of education on the next generation. To the extent that these linkages exist, gender bias in education may thus generate instrumental problems for development policy-makers as it compromises progress in other important development goals.

Secondly, it may be the case that gender inequalities reduce economic growth. This is an important issue to the extent that economic growth furthers the improvement in well being (Klasen, 1999).

It is generally true that women in economically developed countries are in a better condition than those in the less developed ones. Throughout the Third World, the position of women, relative to men, is lower on all of the main indicators such as level of literacy, years of schooling, nutritional status and level of income. The typical woman in the Third World has a triple burden of work in child rearing, in maintaining the home and in food production. Relative to men, women work much longer hours for a smaller income. Especially in predominantly agrarian

societies (like in Ethiopia), envisaged improvements in the livelihood of women are highly dependent on the efficiency of the economic performance of the country.

In the framework of the General Conferences held in Cairo (1994) and in Beijing (1995), and to the aim of making recommendations to remove all the obstacles to gender equalities, to sustainable development, and to demographic transition, the integration of gender issue into the general development plan and into the program of the country is an unavoidable step and needs to get proper attention by the Governments.

Development does not concern merely an increase of income and of welfare, but what is equally important is the social setting into which these desirable outcomes are obtained. Women's development, as currently defined by the majority of the development agencies, entails ensuring that women are equally the participants and beneficiaries in the development process.

The different roles, responsibilities and expectations of women and men in societies and cultures, affect their ability and initiative to participate in development projects, and consequently lead to a different project impact for women and men. These roles, which are learned, change overtime and vary widely within and between cultures.

Increasingly development programs are focusing on gender gaps, and aim to provide equality for women in all areas of social provision, especially in education, health care and opportunity for wage employment.

In particular gender inequalities concerning education may represent an obstacle to the improvement of the women's status ('*empowerment*') and, then, to the socio-demographic transition.

Data from the 1994 census, if analysed under a "gender" point of view, may help us to understand the relationship between gender and development. With this aim, we intend to study the differences of educational characteristics of urban population according to sex. Moreover, we will analyse the characteristics of households according to the sex of household head. These specific gender issues may be studied by ethnic groups and religion, so as to verify the existence of influence of cultural factors on gender educational and job opportunities.

Objectives - This study has the following specific objectives:

- i) To examine whether there is difference in educational participation of male and female population, with particular emphasis on urban Ethiopia;
- ii) To assess whether there are some differentials in educational levels and school progression of households members of male and female headed households;
- iii) To estimate trends in the educational level according to gender and cohort;

- iv) To evaluate the possibility of analysing the labour force participation of the more educated women living in Addis Ababa, in order to understand whether job inequalities by gender persist or drop out through the diffusion of education;

2. Population

Ethiopia has a total land area of 1,251,282 square kilometres, comprising of a central highland mass surrounded by lowlands. It is the seventh largest country in Africa.

According to the 1994 Ethiopian Population and Housing Census the population size of Ethiopia was 53.5 million, and estimates suggest that the Country has reached 63.5 millions by the year 2000. Urban - rural distribution of the population of Ethiopia indicate that the overwhelming majority of the population is living in rural areas. That is, at the time of the census, about 86.3 percent of the population reside in the rural areas of the country. The remaining 13.7 percent of the population lived in urban areas. The total population is estimated to grow at 2.92 percent per annum and the urban population, at an average of 4.38 percent per annum.

Ethiopia is the third most populous country in Africa. It is a land of Ethnic and cultural diversity with more than 100 Ethnic groups speaking over 100 languages and dialects. The religious composition of the population of Ethiopia indicates that 50.6 percent are Orthodox Christians, 32.8 percent Muslims, 10.2 percent Protestants and 4.6 percent followers of traditional religions and the remaining 1.8 percent is constituted by other religions.

The age structure of the population of Ethiopia, which is typical for a developing country, is characterised by much higher proportion at young ages and a low proportion at old ages, reflecting the prevailing higher fertility rate. The age distribution of the population shows that the population at young age group (<15 years) make up 45.4 percent of the total and those at old age groups (above 64 years) constitute 3.2 percent. The proportion of the population aged 15-64, constitute about 51.4 percent of the total population.

The Country has 10 Administrative Regions and the town of Addis Ababa, the capital city, which has the census counted population size of 2,112,737 of which 1,023,452 are males and 1,089,285 females.

In the following table some socio-demographic indicators are reported referring to Ethiopia in the Sub-Saharan African context. The data show clearly that the situation of Ethiopia in many aspects is worse than the average of the whole Region, specifically as it concerns survival and education.

Indicators	Ethiopia		Sub-Saharan Africa	
	1980	1998	1980	1998
Crude birth rate	48	45	47	40
Crude death rate	22	20	18	15
Total fertility rate	6.6	6.4	6.6	5.4
Infant mortality rate	155	104	115	92
Life expectancy at birth (total)	42	43	48	50
Life expectancy at birth (male)	40	42	46	49
Life expectancy at birth (female)	44	44	49	52
Adult illiteracy rate (% males 15+)	72	58	51	32
Adult illiteracy rate (% females 15+)	89	70	72	49
Births attended by skilled health staff (%)	-	8	-	38

Source: World Bank, see website www.genderstats.worldbank.org

3. Country gender profile in Ethiopia in the sub-Saharan context

In many developing countries, and among those in Ethiopia, gender issue has become an important area of concern in national and sub-national economic development. Understanding the concept of gender is essential to our understanding of how development processes affect men and women, girls and boys, in different ways. As we pointed out in the introduction, gender is a social construction and codification of differences between the sexes and social relationships between women and men. As Ethiopia strives to continue its steady rate of development planning, it is becoming increasingly apparent that economic growth, project efficiency and social justice are all calling for a new approach to the development planning which systematically includes women.

It is not easy to outline the gender profile of a Country, since there are several aspects that compose the general framework of the relationships between socio-economic and cultural roles of men and women. A further problem is due to the interactions among the factors constituting gender profile. For example, it is commonly verified that other factors as well as health services affect health. Primary education is particularly crucial and water supply may also be important. But it is important to understand that the provision of education is at least as important for the nation's health in the long run as the provision of health care. There is also a link between transport policy and health; the building of roads makes it easier to provide services, but it also increases the spread of diseases.

Forty years after the founding of Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the status of women in Africa and their access to decision-making structures, adequate health care, education, housing, work opportunities and so on, remain far behind that of men. This is in spite of evidence of the long-term positive effect on the development of countries when girls and women have

access to education and training, health care, housing, and adequate food and nutrition. For over a decade, especially through the Human Development Reports produced each year by UNDP, it has been made clear that development efforts have limited impact if they do not involve women as full partners and beneficiaries and if they do not reach men and women equally (ECA-CEA, 1999a; 1999b). As Africa moves into the twenty-first century, gender equality must be addressed as a priority issue.

Women and men have different access to, and control over, productive assets. Economic capacities and incentives are also strongly gender-differentiated in ways, which affect supply response, resource allocation within the household, labour productivity, and welfare. These gender-based differences have implications for the development of Sub-Saharan African economies, and directly limit growth.

Gender is also a critical mediating factor in distributing the benefits and costs of growth since, at the household level, both resources and decision-making about economic opportunities are not efficiently distributed. Within households, gender-based asymmetries in rights and obligations translate into differences in capacity to cope with economic change.

Most African women are still working in subsistence agriculture where they are in-charge of food production, processing and marketing. They are also responsible for the health and education of children together with all domestic roles. In addition, many women invest in business, marketing products at the local, national or even international level. Within the media, women's groups are organising themselves not only to defend their interests but also to improve some aspects of the individual life, in particular working conditions. The strategies they are adopting to change their status represent a positive and dynamic instrument to empower their status while still remaining integral parts of their community.

It is important to note also that women in Sub-Saharan Africa are systematically underrepresented in institutions at local and national levels, and have very little say in decision-making. Gender-based barriers limit women's participation and reinforce power gaps. As civil society emerges, women's organisations constitute an important resource for strengthening the social institutions for the market economy in Sub-Saharan Africa.

There are different dimensions to gender inequality and it is possible to consider four different types of measures: 1. Access and achievement in education (especially secondary); 2. Improvement in health (as measured by gender disaggregated life expectancy); 3. Indexes of legal and economic equality of women in society and in marriage; 4. Measures of women's empowerment (percentage of women in parliament, year when women earned the right to vote) (Dollar and Gatti, 1999).

It is then important to look at a broad range of indicators when considering the issue of women's status in society and gender differences. In the following pages we describe a synthetic picture of the relative situation of the sexes in Ethiopia, starting from the current official position of Government (with a brief reference to the recent history) represented by laws; then we intend to consider education, health and work, as indicators of the multidimensional concept of gender profile.

Women, as vital human resources for development, constitute about half (49.7 %) of the total population in Ethiopia, and account for a larger percentage of the agricultural labour force. As we have already pointed out for the whole Sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopian women are not only the principal food producers, but also bear primary responsibilities for the care and nutrition of the whole family. Work in the household is often considered as part of their duties.

Although there are gender based traditional divisions of labour in Ethiopia, women tend to work here longer hours and shoulder larger responsibilities than men do. An average day for a woman starts at dawn and continues through dusk. Apart from the burden of feeding the family, women have to care for babies, children and the elderly. Despite their contributions, they are often seen and considered as weak and invisible in development. Their role in the overall development endeavours of the country is either misunderstood or totally underestimated. They are minority in decision making process and had no voice in matters that even concern their households.

Ethiopian women are actively involved in all aspects of their society's life. The fact that women are both producers and procreators, as well as active participant in the social, political, and cultural activities of their communities has enabled them to play an all round role. The majority of women in Ethiopia are concentrated at the bottom of the ladder in terms of employment, education, income and status. Traditionally, women have always assumed a role that is subordinate to their male counterparts. But things seem to be changing these days for good, and now policy makers are considering women's rights.

Today more than any other time, the government is exerting the maximum effort to realise the equality of men and women. Ethiopia not only has signed international conventions related to the rights of women, but it is also taking positive and affirmative actions to facilitate legal grounds for their active involvement in various sectors. The establishment of Women's Affairs Bureau in the Prime Minister's Office, the incorporation of their issues in the country's policies and programs, ensuring of their rights in the constitution as well as the ratification of the family law are but some of the litmus papers that prove the government's willingness to the equality of women.

The government not only had issued a national policy to facilitate women's struggle for gender equality but had also encouraged their participation through various policy formulations in the overall development process.

3.1 International Conventions and laws

We want to mention some important Ethiopian laws and international conventions affecting the rights of women.

In 1955 Ethiopian women received the right to vote. The Convention on the Political Rights of Women (adopted 1952) was signed 31 March 1953, and ratified 21 January 1969. Then the Convention on the Consent to Marriage, Minimum age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages (adopted 1952) was signed on 31 March 1953 and was ratified on January 21 1969. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (adopted 1979) was signed on 8 July 1980, and ratified on 10 September 1981, but in some aspects Ethiopia shows a delay: the following conventions are still waiting ratification. The Convention Against Discrimination in Education was adopted in 1960 and the Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Equal Value was adopted in 1951, but both were neither signed nor ratified. The Convention Concerning Maternity Protection, adopted in 1952, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted in 1966, were neither signed nor ratified. Finally the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 1966) was neither signed nor ratified.

Laws are reflections of society's political and economic life and in Ethiopia women's equality in front of the law has undergone many changes depending on the prevailing system of government. For example, the civil laws decreed in Ethiopia in 1960 can be defined as discriminatory towards women; and that is true especially about the articles concerning citizenship, the family and the retirement benefits. However, in the last periods the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia took tangible measures, which push a step forward in the status of women and economic, social, cultural and political roles they have in the country.

To examine the "public and political" status of Ethiopian women, and to compose a detailed picture, we can consider information about the new constitution (1994), the contents of 1993 National policy on Ethiopian women and the Civil Code contents (Civil Code, 1960; Constitution of the F.D.R. of Ethiopia, 1995). Until 1993, when the National Policy on Ethiopian Women was introduced, there had not been a policy specifically related to the affairs of women. The policy was formulated on the basis of the belief that a co-ordinated effort was required to address gender

disparities in Ethiopia. In particular, disparities relating to working conditions in urban and rural setting and in both the formal and informal sectors, were considered, as were disparities relating to health, including harmful customs and practices, and education.

The objectives of the Policy are as follows:

- To facilitate conditions conducive to the speeding of equality between men and women so that women can participate in the political, social and economic life of their country on equal terms with men and ensuring that their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour or from performing public functions and being decision makers;
- To facilitate the necessary conditions whereby rural women can have access to basic social services and to ways and means of lightening their work-load;
- To eliminate prejudices as well as customary and other practices that are based on the idea of male supremacy and enabling women to hold public office and to participate in the decision –making process at all levels.

The policy outlines strategies for achieving these objectives, and, in addition, a Women’s Affairs Sector has been established, accountable at the national level to the Prime Minister and responsible for drawing up appropriate plans of action to facilitate conditions conducive to Policy implementation. The expectation is that the Policy will provide the means for ensuring that women have opportunities to participate in all facets of life and benefit from their contributions to society, on equal terms with men. The policy should, however, be implemented in conjunction with other national policies such as those for health and education, particularly since health status and levels of education have profound effects on the capacity of both women and men to participate in development activities.

The 1994 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia clearly articulated the status of women in the Ethiopian society. Some of the articles directly connected with efforts to reach equality of the sexes included in the constitution are stated as follows:

Article 35 - Rights of Women

1. Women shall, in the enjoyment of rights and protections provided for by this Constitution, have equal right with men.
2. Women have equal rights with men in marriage.
3. The historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women in Ethiopia are entitled to affirmative measures. The purpose of such measures shall be to provide special attention to women so as to enable them to compete and to participate, on the basis of equality with men, in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private institutions.
4. The State shall enforce the right of women to eliminate the influences of harmful customs. Laws, customs and practices that oppress or cause bodily or mental harm to women are prohibited.
5. (a) Women have the right to maternity leave with full pay. The duration of maternity

leave shall be determined by law taking into account the nature of the work, the health of the mother and the wellbeing of the child and family.

(b) Maternity leave may, in accordance with the provisions of law, include prenatal leave with full pay.

6. Women have right to full consultation in the formulation of national development policies, the designing and execution of projects, and particularly in the case of projects affecting the interests of women.

7. Women have the right to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property. In particular, they have equal rights with men with respect to use, transfer, administration and control of land. They shall also enjoy equal treatment in the inheritance of property.

8. Women shall have a right to equality in employment, promotion, pay and the transfer of pension entitlements.

9. To prevent harm arising from pregnancy and childbirth and in order to safeguard their health, women have the right of access to family planning, education, information and capacity.

Article 34 - Marital, Personal and Family Rights

- Men and Women, without any distinction as to race, nation, nationality or religion, who have attained marriageable age as defined by law, have the right to marry and found a family. They have equal rights while entering into, during marriage and at the time of divorce. Laws shall be enacted to ensure the protection of rights and interests of children at the time of divorce.

Article 42 Rights of Labour

- Women workers have the right to equal pay for equal work.

However, the Civil Code articles are in some respects in contradiction with the Constitution in relation for example to marriage and succession rights.

In Ethiopia, the legal age at marriage is 18 years for men and 15 years for women. Therefore, the law permits girls to marry before they attain the age of legal majority (18 years), which is inconsistent with the requirement of consent for marriage. Moreover, early marriage is common in Ethiopia: girls are often married before the age of 15 years, and marriages are usually arranged by parents in compliance with tradition, motivated to some extent by the desire to ensure girl's virginity at marriage. Especially in the Affar region, young girls continue to be married to much older men, but this practice is coming under greater scrutiny and criticism. (U.S. Department of State, 2000). In 1984 53.1 per cent of the female population aged 15-19 was already married (Ross, Mauldin and Green, 1992); after ten years the percentage revealed from census data is 31 per cent. In Addis Ababa singulate age at first marriage is currently 26.6 years and 31.80 for females and males respectively (see Table 22 in Annex).

Consequently data show the sharp decline in the propensity to early marriage. Female age at marriage is considered, for many decades, a measure of widely recognised demographic significance and one which is usually accepted as being highly affected by

educational attainment (Timur, 1977), and indicating the existence of alternative economic and occupational roles for women (Mauldin and Berelson, 1977).

One thing is clear: the impact of early marriage on girls – and to a lesser extent on boys – is wide-ranging. Within a rights perspective, three key concerns are the denial of childhood and adolescence, the curtailment of personal freedom and the lack of opportunity to develop a full sense of selfhood as well as the denial of psychosocial and emotional well-being, reproductive health and educational opportunity. Early marriage also has implications for the well being of families and for society as a whole. Where girls are uneducated and ill prepared for their roles as mothers and contributors to society, there are costs to be borne at every level, from the individual household to the nation as a whole (Unicef, 2001).

3.2. Education

Among the strategic sectors previously mentioned, the first and perhaps the most important is represented by education.¹

Ever-growing numbers of women want to control their own fertility when they acquire more control over their life, when their status is rising and when gender and power relations permit for more autonomy in a social, political and economic sense. During the past few years, much effort has been put into finding statistical correlation between lower fertility and other aspects of development, such as education, health care and higher age at marriage. No doubt, this research has contributed substantially to the understanding of processes of change. The problem with statistics, however, is that they tell little about the “hows” and “whys” behind the facts (United Nations, 1996). In recent years, the gender gap in education has become an issue on the international agenda. For the developing world as a whole, the female literacy rate is currently lower than the male one. The gap has narrowed in the recent years, but much progress remains to be made. One of the most constant statistical correlations is that between women’s education and

¹ Up to 1994 the structure of the education system comprised six years of primary education, two years of junior secondary education and four years of senior secondary. A new structure has been developed which is in the process of being introduced. The new structure is as follows (See Transitional Government of Ethiopia, 1994: 14):

- III kindergarten for children aged 4 - 6;
- IV 8 years of primary education divided into two cycles of basic education (grades 1-4) and general education (grades 5-8);
- V general secondary education, grades 9-10;
- VI senior secondary education, grades 11-12;
- VII a technical and vocational stream, grades 11-12;
- VIII higher education of 1-2 years for diploma and 3-5 years for undergraduate study.

smaller families. For this reason also, more attention is paid to this aspect of women's position.

Also better health for infants and children is a well-known factor in fertility behavior. The more confidence parent can have in the survival of their children, the more they tend to have a lower number of desired children and the more they tend to control their fertility.

Women's education has been one of the most thoroughly studied determinants of women status related with demographic behaviour such as reproductive and contraceptive choices (Castro Martin, 1995; Cochrane, 1979; Cleland and Rodriguez, 1988). Because of the deepness of the research on this topic, the research area is still far from being exhausted.

For example, several causal links seem plausible in light of existing empirical evidence, but we have a meagre knowledge about their relative importance. The differences in education effects across settings also deserve further exploration because the individual woman's education is likely to be determined by resources and attitudes in her family of origin as well as society's needs for and ability to finance education and the general attitudes towards women's schooling.

These aggregate factors, which may well differ across the country, are of course also determinants of men's and other women's education. Three main reasons have been identified to explain why parents might invest more in the education and health of boys than of girls. First, it may be that the return from girls' schooling may be lower than that for boys. This is only possible if the labour of males and females are imperfect substitutes in some activities. In this case, different amounts of education for girls and boys could be an efficient economic choice. A second possibility is that the social returns to educating of boys and girls are the same, but that parents expect more direct benefits from investing in sons if for example sons typically provide for parents in their old age while daughters tend to leave and become part a different household economic unit. Third, parents may simply have a preference for educating boys over girls. A low investment in girls' education would then reflect the underlying population preference (Dollar and Gatti, 1999).

Another, and not so widely recognised challenge, is to find out whether education at the aggregate level has any effect on a woman's fertility above and beyond that of her own education. A part from the impact of individual education, it is important to analyse the possible effect of 'mass education' (Caldwell 1980; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1987; Jejeebhoy 1995).

The spread of education, concerning in particular female population, is an issue of extraordinary importance in the less developed countries. The World Fertility Surveys (WFS), carried out in the late '70s, and the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) programme, which began in the next decade, showed the causal relationship existing between higher levels of education on one side and larger use of modern contraception and lower fertility on the other side.

Also causal relations exist between mass education and higher infant survival. All of these aspects may represent the dimensions of the socio-demographic transition and therefore they must be included in a research project, such as the one in object, having in mind both a scientific proposal and an operative one.

As in the most of developing countries, the link existing in Ethiopia between the status of women and education is characterised by the following topics: education implies literacy, knowledge and exposure to new ideas. Moreover, it can also provide access to better employment opportunities. As already introduced, in the process of modernisation, gender inequalities, also concerning education, may represent an obstacle to the socio-demographic transition (Women's Affairs Office and National Office of Population, 1998).

A brief description of historical context of education in Ethiopia considering gender differences can help us to better understand the current situation.

The traditional beginnings of education in Ethiopia were in the hands of the church and the mosque. In areas where there was concentration of Muslim population, particularly in the eastern and western half of country, Quranic schools were the sole source of education. The attendants of such schools were mainly boys and adult males. Similarly in central and northern highlands, the schools in the Ethiopian Orthodox churches were the mainstay of literate culture.

The children of the clergy and aristocracy, mainly boys, were taught to read, write and recite biblical texts (Atsede Wondimagegnehu and Kebede Tiku, 1988).

The main purpose of church and Quranic education was the preparation of boys for serving churches, monasteries and mosques as priests and other religious functionaries. These schools also indirectly promoted cultural and secular studies through which few individual males usually, were able to achieve semblance of commercial, legal or administrative expertise. However, girls were generally discouraged from enrolling in such schools because it was believed that their function as housewives did not require such kind of education.

As early as the sixteenth century, the rudiments of modern education started to trickle into the country along with the coming of missionaries and establishment of missions in different parts of the country. Roman catholic and Protestant missions opened schools in the central and northern parts of the country, providing access to a very few boys and much fewer girls.

In spite of the strong opposition, by the nobility and the church, Emperor Menelik II took the first steps to make modern education the programme of the Ethiopian government by opening the elementary and secondary schools in the capital city. The students were all male who were provided with free boarding and lodging facilities.

This action further initiated the opening of more government schools in different regions of the country. In spite of such genuine efforts however, the education of women remained in poor state for many years to come. This was because the over all social structure in the country accorded low status to women. In other words, women were expected to be absolutely obedient to their elders and to their husbands and to undertake the seemingly low responsibilities of child rearing, home management and training of daughters in the various household chores, as a result of which no tangible rationale was established for educating women.

The provision of modern education for women therefore did not begin until the opening in Addis Ababa in 1931 of “Empress Mennen School for Girls”. Such realities were, in a way, a reflection and reconfirmation of the continuing conservatism of the society in general and of the parents in particular with respect to the education of women. Gradually with the increase of the number of government schools opened in the country, there was a faster growth in the enrolment of girls. This was a major and practical step in the application of the principle of equality of opportunity in education for both boys and girls.

Currently, despite modest progress towards gender parity reached in the school system, Ethiopia’s school enrolment ratios remain among the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa.

One can think of many factors to have influenced the demand for schooling, not least the prolonged civil unrest in the country, widespread urban unemployment and increasing poverty, combined with a high rate of population growth. A declining economy and lack of employment would mean reduced perceived benefits from schooling. Other factors included the vulnerability of school children to military conscription. It is also widely believed that the school curricula were “irrelevant”, though this is a complex area of analysis. Rural communities in many parts of the country are isolated, and often there are considerable distances from the nearest school. An important factor is likely to be the lack of availability and/or high cost of post-primary places: parents perceive that primary education alone is insufficient, and see primary school as a means to progressing to secondary education. Thus, a combination of a number of different reasons can explain low enrolments, and, with the return in most parts of the country of civil order, the demand for schooling may rise, particularly in urban areas (Ministry of Finance of FDR of Ethiopia, 1997).

As we have already said, in Ethiopia access to education facilities is still inadequate, and girls and boys have not achieved equal opportunities (Zewdie Abegaz, 1994; Unesco, 1997). The literacy level of Ethiopia is very low. We’ll see in the following pages analysing in detail the gender difference in school enrolment, that was in 1994 around 77 percent of the Ethiopian people have never attended school. Among the population aged 10 years and over, only 23

percent are literate. Among women aged 10 years and above, only 16.9 percent and among males 29.8 percent are estimated to be literate. Literacy rate among the urban population is found to be 68.6 percent. In both urban and rural areas literacy rate of males is higher than among the females. In urban areas, 77.4 percent of the males and 60.6 percent of the females and in rural areas 21.3 percent of the males and 8.6 percent of the females are literate.

Children enrolled in primary school, according to NER represent 12.2% of the total; among girls the NER is 11.5% and among boys the figure reaches 12.9% (see Table 3. for figures²). Girls perform worse than boys in school, repeat grades more often and drop out in greater numbers. Female enrolment at the College and University level has been declining since 1984. Constraints and barriers to female education include fluctuating domestic labour demands (girls are used more during cropping season and in times of family illness) while historical cultural preferences to educate boys are rooted in the idea that sons are providers during old age.

An investigation of the enrolment figures in the period 1990-1994 shows that most schools experienced fluctuations in the number of students registered (Ministry of Finance, 1997, cit.). Some of the variation may be due to demographic changes, as the number of school-aged children increases or decreases depending upon birth and child mortality rates in the past. Generally, we may discern increasing or decreasing trends in enrolment for each of the schools, however, indicating expansion or contraction in demand for education in the area served by each school.

The data of the Survey carried out in 1994-95 (and described below) suggest the following considerations. The school directors were asked what factors might prevent children in their area from attending school: the most commonly cited reason why children are not sent to school was poverty. In general, even in countries with a relatively small gender gap, there might be large inequalities. In many of the countries with a very small female disadvantage (or even with a small female advantage) the gaps between outcomes for the rich and the poor can be very large. Moreover, in some countries wealth and gender interact to create a very large female disadvantage among the poorest in society (Filmer, 1999).

Cultural factors, such as religion and the prevalence of early marriage, were also considered important; other factors were represented by the prevalence of health problems, the distance children must travel to attend school, the value of child labour in farming and the fact that parents do not appreciate the value of education, particularly in light of a perceived lack of job opportunities for graduates. Some suggestions to help increase participation included building schools nearer to

² The indicators are defined in the following way: GER in primary education is defined as the ratio of students in primary education divided by the total number of children aged 7-12 years (percent); NER in primary education is defined as the ratio of students in primary education aged 7-12 divided by the total number of children aged 7-12 years (percent). The same for the other grades.

the villages and protecting girls from being harassed on the way to school, talking to parents to explain the importance of schooling, creating employment opportunities for graduates, and providing free school supplies as well as free tuition.

To examine the level and determinants of participation in formal education in rural Ethiopia (Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, and the Southern Ethiopia People's Region), information from a survey of rural households is used.

The distance which children must travel to school is shown to be a possible deterrent to enrolment. This is partly due to the opportunity cost of children's time. For girls, greater distances also mean greater likelihood of harassment on the journey to school and the possibility of abduction for marriage. Schools need to be built in the villages where many households are located. Alternatively, it may be possible to organise escorts for girls who must travel very far to go to school. Where it is not feasible to build schools in the villages, particularly at the secondary level, it may be possible to provide bus services from points along the main road into town. This would reduce travel time and make it safer for women to travel.

Data show that there is discrimination against girls. It may be that female labour is more valuable to the household than male labour. However, it is more likely that households do not wish to invest in the education of girls, since they are expected to marry and not to provide returns to the household in the future. The evidence of the Survey confirms that parents are primarily concerned with the immediate private returns to schooling and do not take into account the social benefits of female education, such as improvements in child nutrition and health status, lower fertility, and greater investment in children's schooling. Explaining these benefits to parents may change attitudes towards girls schooling. Since most of the social benefits will accrue to their own grandchildren, it is likely that parents will be receptive to these ideas.

Alternatively, schooling for girls may be constrained by cultural forces. It is possible that religious beliefs or cultural norms may create a situation where girls are discriminated against, not because parents do not wish to send their daughters to school per se, but because they do not like them to attend classes with boys. When parents were asked if they prefer to send their daughters to a girls-only school, over three-quarters of respondents replied in the affirmative. The provision of single sex classes (perhaps using currently available school resources on a shift system) might encourage greater female participation, at least in certain parts of the country.

Finally, the decision to send girls to school may be more sensitive to household income than the decision to enrol boys. For each level of schooling, expenditure on education is more responsive to changes in income for girls than for boys and as households become richer, they will be more likely

to send their daughters to school. Policies, which create economic development in rural areas, may also help to expand female enrolment.

Another important issue is constituted by the preferences in the studies according to gender. In education, girls and boys follow different paths also in the choice of subjects of the studies whether at high school, university or other institute of higher education. There are fields such as agriculture, forestry and fishing, science and engineering totally dominated by men and others, generally liberal arts, social science and education, where women's enrolment has increased to the point that in many regions is higher than men's.

Another major factor that influence women and men educational differentials is represented by high dropout rates among girls. As we have already pointed out, several factors are responsible for the high incidence of dropout among girl-students: reluctance of parents to send girls to distant schools, lack of financial resources, etc. However, in countries where adolescent child bearing is very common, one major reason for dropout is pregnancy (Ministry of Finance, 1997).

In conclusion, there are economic (opportunity cost) and cultural factors, where families do not want to send their daughters to school because the investment in teaching girls who will marry and leave the household does not pay off. They also fear abduction, which is common in the rural areas if schools are very distant. There are negative cultural attitudes towards the education of girls, and mothers frequently sends their daughters, rather than their sons, on errands, so that the girl cannot get enough time to study or do her homework.

The education of the family through non-formal education (literacy programs) will increase the interest of parents to send their daughters to school. However, the economic condition of the community, particularly the income of the family, has in essence a big contribution to increasing the chance of girls to go to school. To this effect, certain measures, such as the improvement of equity in resource allocation, provision of priority on support and advancement of female education staff at all levels, increasing community support for female professionals, for educators and other members of the community, are vital.

3.3 Health and nutrition.

The second strategic sector regards population, health and nutrition.

Health outcomes in Ethiopia are poor, as we have already pointed out in Table 1, where many indicators are reported.

Less than one third of the country receives health services. World Bank estimates (1990) suggest there was one doctor per 78,770 Ethiopians and one nurse per 5,390 (1984). Morbidity rates are 257 per 1,000. Malnutrition and disease, largely attributed to unsafe water and poor sanitation, partly account for these high rates. Sanitation facilities, including pit latrines, are available to 1% of the dispersed rural population, and to 4% of the rural village population. A problem that is considered very important for the future of Ethiopian population both for health and economic behaviour is represented by water supply (Hinrichsen, Robey et al., 1998).

Many people die from easily treatable conditions; nutritional outcomes are exceptionally poor; and mortality is increasing from the AIDS epidemic. Most health facilities reach only a minority of their intended population and the structures inherited from the past are unsatisfactory for the improvement of health. Since 1992, a process of reforming public health policy has been developing. Policy can change in two ways; either the same agents take new decisions, or different agents become responsible. The Ethiopian reform has elements of both these processes. The central government has redefined its objectives, strongly criticising the priorities implicit in existing structures; it has also decentralised responsibility for selecting and achieving objectives. The new objectives defined by the centre are attractive; it is important to see how far they are actually causing changed behaviour in the public sector and how far mechanisms can be devised to achieve them.

Government involvement in the health sector is justified for various reasons, including limited information in health markets, failure of insurance markets, and distributional concerns. Since both public and private sectors are involved, decisions have to be taken about public provision, public financing and the control of the private sector (Ministry of Finance, 1997, p. 7). According to United Nations estimates (2000) life expectancy at birth is 42 for females and males in the period 1995-2000, and even if different sources (see, for example, World Bank 2000 and United Nations Statistics Division, in web site: <http://www.un.org/depts/unsd>) report a small difference favourable to women, these figures suggest that females are disadvantaged in comparison with men because, generally, life expectancy at birth is much higher for females both in developed and in developing countries.

As it concerns reproductive and contraceptive behaviour, according to the preliminary results of the 2000 Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey, fertility has declined over the last decade from 6.4 children per woman in 1990 (CSA, 1993) to 5.9 children per women in 2000. The Ethiopian family planning program is considered very weak (Ross and Mauldin, 1996), but knowledge of family planning is relatively high in Ethiopia, with four in five women (82 percent) in the reproductive age group having heard of a method. Although contraceptive use remains

relatively low in Ethiopia, there has been an increase over the last decade. In 1981 the estimated rate of contraceptive prevalence was 2.0 per cent, the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa (Azefor, 1988); the current use of contraception has increased from 4 percent among all women in the reproductive age group in 1990 (CSA, 1993) to 6 percent in 2000.

The data deriving from 2000 Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey show that under five mortality for the most recent period (0-4 years before the survey i.e. 1996-2000) is 166 death per 1,000 live births. This means that one in six children born in Ethiopia dies before the fifth birthday. Infant mortality is 97 death per 1,000 births and neonatal deaths are nearly at about 48 deaths per 1,000 live births. Overall, more than one in two Ethiopian children under age five are stunted and more than one in four are severely stunted. Eleven percent of Ethiopian children are moderately wasted and just over 1 percent is severely wasted. Forty-seven percent of Ethiopian children are underweight, with 16 percent classified as severely under weight.

Coming back to gender differences, according to United Nations (2000) and World Bank (2000) estimates, we can show that, at least by these indicators, females do not seem disadvantaged with respect to males. In fact infant mortality rates (1995-2000) rise to 109 and 121 for girls and boys respectively. Referring to the trend of adult mortality in the period 1980-1995, we see that the female probability of dying between the ages 15 and 60 has decreased from 401 to 352 %, while the male probability has reduced from 491 to 442. The decline is higher for women (around 13%) than for men (10%). On the other side, Ethiopian women present one of the lowest proportion of pregnant women receiving prenatal care in the African context: 20% in 1996 versus the proportion of 95% for Kenya, 54% for Sudan, and 87 for Uganda (U.N. 2000). In the same direction we find data regarding the percentage of deliveries attended by skilled health operators: only 8% versus 45%, 86% and 38% for the countries above mentioned. Strictly correlated with the low status of women in Ethiopia, with the high level of fertility and the bad conditions of the health situation of the country, is the very high level of estimated maternal mortality ratio that arises to 14 deaths of mothers per 1,000 live births (UNSD, cit.). The extremely high maternal mortality rate is due in part to food taboos for pregnant women, early marriage, and birth complications (U.S. Department of State, 2000).

3.4. Economic activity

Equally important is the third strategic sector, economic activity. Data from recent household Surveys from Bangladesh, Indonesia, South Africa and Ethiopia show that women bring far fewer assets into marriage (Quinsumbing and Maluccio, 1999). In Ethiopia, total assets, including land and livestock, brought into a marriage by husbands averaged 4200 Birr in 1997, while wives

brought just under 1000 Birr. These asymmetries in asset ownership persist throughout the lifecycle, closely mirroring those at the time of marriage and beginning a cycle of dependence and dominance that all too often lead to domestic abuse.

This aspect of gender profile is the most difficult to define in the context of development, most of all because of the presence of women's unpaid work, common in rural areas throughout Africa, in particular in Ethiopia (Donahoe, 1999). Women's employment is considered an important factor in enhancing their status. Working women, particularly who earn cash incomes, are presumed to have greater control over household decisions, increased awareness of the world outside the home, and, consequently, more control over reproductive decisions. Paid work also provides alternative satisfactions for women, which may compete with bearing and rearing children and may promote contraceptive use (Hogan, Berhanu and Hailemariam, 1999).

The challenges of economic development were to rethink assumptions, make information available on gender for economic policy analysis, and ensure that research kept the policy formulation process informed. At the macro-level, accounting for and evaluating women's unpaid work was another poverty reduction strategy. Despite the technical difficulties of measuring women's unpaid work in reproductive activities, for instance, this challenge has to be resolved because the time taken in such tasks by millions of women, particularly in rural areas throughout Africa, is a constraint on agricultural production. The information generated about budgeting women's time and its impact on the formal economy is a requirement for sound macroeconomic management.

In the 1994 population and housing census, information on economic activity status was collected for all persons aged ten years and over. The information on economic activity was collected from sample households and covered one fifth of the total households. The question on economic activity referred to those members of households aged ten years and over. The approaches used in the collection of data on economic activity status in the urban and rural areas were different. The current status approach was employed in the urban areas while the usual status approach was used in the rural areas i.e. in urban areas all persons aged ten years and over who were productively engaged for at least one day during the seven day reference period were classified as economically active. Therefore caution should be taken in applying the results of the comparative analysis part for some of the economic activity status variables by urban and rural residence. Let's remember the definition: the economically active population include all persons ten year and over who were employed or unemployed in the reference period.

Among the population aged 10 and over, more than 25 millions or 72.4 percent were reported to be economically active and around 10 millions economically inactive: males 81.9 percent and females 62.8.

Rural women in Ethiopia are involved in various areas of food production, contributing their labour to coffee and other cash crops, and spend considerable time grinding grain and cooking «*engera*» (highland bread). Women spend much time on water collection and on collecting fuel wood. Caring for animals, cutting grass, processing dairy products, poultry keeping and marketing of animal products are among the major activities women are performing in relation to livestock production. As in the most of the African countries, however, employment may not necessarily lead to women's empowerment. First, employment in the informal sector is often disregarded, and thus does not contribute to women's power. Second, the crucial issue for women's empowerment is not whether a woman earns money, but rather who controls the money she earns (Desai 1994; Hogan, Berhanu and Hailemariam, 1999).

As it concerns environment, the role of women on sustainability is very important: it was confirmed in various studies that women actively participate in forestation and soil conservation programmes (National Office of Population, 1999).

From the 1994 Census, among the economically active rural population women constitute 43 percent; in the urban context the figure reaches 41 percent. Women are poorly represented in the formal public sector and they are more represented among the less educated and unskilled labourers. In fact, among government employees only 27.3 percent are women. Women are grossly underrepresented in professional and technical categories. For instance, the proportion of urban women in "professional" category is 16 percent and in "technicians and associate professionals" category is 28 percent. Only 14 percent of the "legislators" "senior officials" and "managers" are females. It can be observed from the data that women are mainly engaged in the informal sector (for example personal household services); many women have entered the informal sector mainly due to lack of other opportunities. This situation is related obviously to inadequate schooling and skill training. Other barriers are health problems and husbands refusal to allow their wives to work. Although the past decade has shown a relative increase in female participation in managerial and skilled jobs, legislation passed to guarantee equal pay for equal work does not address the issues for the many women who work as day labourers, part-timers or piece workers.

Often one of the preliminary requisites to get a formal job is the access to credit. Women's access to formal credit is limited to household heads having land allocations.

4. Urban and rural Ethiopia: main gender differences according to 1994 census results.

The considerations above outlined show that social, economic and political structures of the country have not provided females with equal opportunities for education and remunerative employment and access to production resources. Their participation in decision making process is practically not existing, so leaving women restricted to the domestic roles, childbearing and childrearing. While it is accepted that the term gender relates to the socially constructed roles ascribed to men and women, the emphasis in the various sections of this study is to analyse the 1994 census data under a gender point of view. This may help us to understand the relationship between gender and development. Within this aim, we intend to study the differences of educational and working characteristics of population according to sex.

4.1. Educational gender differences

As we have already pointed out, education implies literacy, knowledge, and exposure to new ideas and can provide access to improved employment opportunities (Kishor and Neitzel, 1996; Sen *et al.*, 1994). It may have influence on the health of individuals and of their families and on their participation in community life.

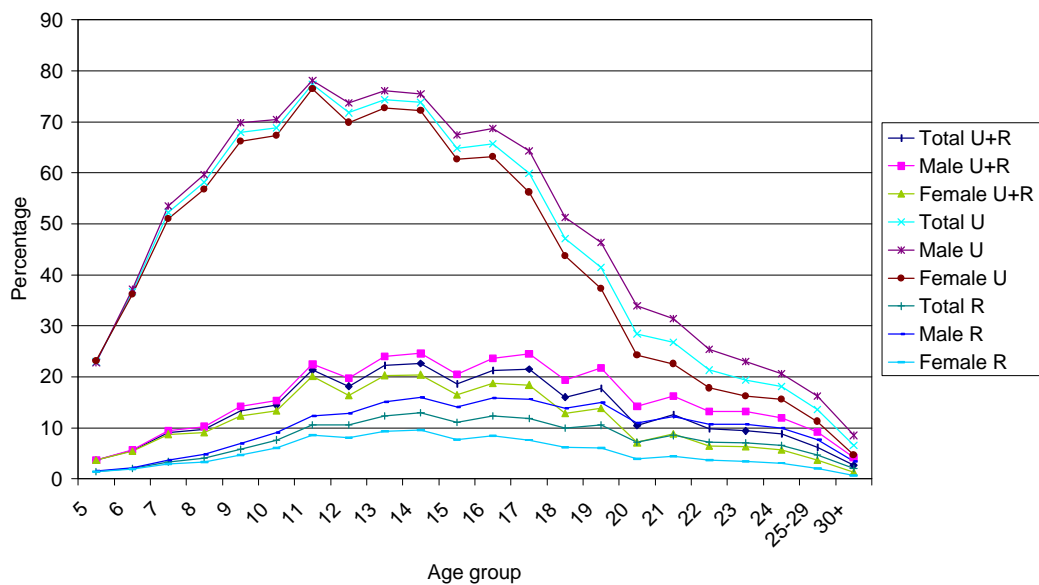
Table 1 - Percentage Distribution Of Population Aged 5 Years And Over By Status Of School Attendance, Sex , Urban and Rural, Ethiopia: 1994

Urban/Rural		Status of School Attendance			
		Attending Now	Attended in the past	Never Attended	Not Stated
Country	Total	9.59	12.53	77.44	0.44
	Male	11.43	16.11	72.07	0.39
	Female	7.74	8.91	82.86	0.49
Urban	Total	33.73	34.28	31.37	0.62
	Male	35.93	39.12	24.42	0.52
	Female	31.71	29.85	37.73	0.71
Rural	Total	5.55	8.89	85.16	0.41
	Male	7.55	12.48	79.60	0.37
	Female	3.49	5.20	90.85	0.45

To discuss the educational characteristics of the population of Ethiopia and to single out eventually gender differences, we can use two type of data collected in the 1994 Population and Housing Census: school attendance and educational attainment. According to the census every person aged 5 years and over was asked on the status of school attendance i.e. attending now, attended in the past and never attended. The percentage distribution is given in Table 1.

School attendance in Ethiopia both in the past and at present is very low. As we have already said, three-quarters (77.4 percent) of the population of Ethiopia had no formal education. The current and past school attendance is relatively higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. Of the urban population (aged 5 or more) 31.4 percent had never attended school; in the rural areas, however, the majority (85.2 percent) of the population never attended any formal education. The data show that school attendance during the census enumeration and in the past is higher for boys compared to girls. As we will see in the following pages, this is true for all the regions in the country.

Fig. 1 - Percent of Population Aged 5 Years and Over Currently Attending School by Age, Sex, Urban and Rural, Ethiopia: 1994.



Source: Our tabulation on Census data. The figures in Table 1 of Annex

The percentage distribution of the population aged 5 years and over who are attending school at the time of the census classified by single age is presented in Figure 1 and reported in Annex, Table 1. The data reveal that the level of participation to school system at age seven (the age at

which education officially begins) is only 9.1 percent, that is 90 percent of the children are out of the school system. In the urban and rural areas participation to school system at age seven is 52.3 percent and 3.3 percent, respectively. In general, enrolment is higher for males than for females in almost all ages. The difference between male and female enrolment is found to be more pronounced as age advances. For example, at age 10 among the boys of urban areas 70.4 percent are currently attending school, versus 67.3 percent among girls; at age 15 the rate is 67.4% and 62.6% respectively for males and females, while at age 20 it is about 34% and 24.3 percent, respectively.

In conclusion, the higher value of schooling participation proportion is found at age 11-14 in urban areas (over 70 percent) both for males and females. In the rural areas males present values reaching 15 percent at 11-12 years while females remain always under 10 percent.

If we look at the composition according to sex, age group and grade completed (Table 2), we see that there are some differences in the composition of literate female and male people. For instance, even if, as we have already pointed out, in all age groups the percentage of literate persons are relatively lower for females, among literate the proportions according to the level reached shows that females present a favourable pattern according to the grade completed.

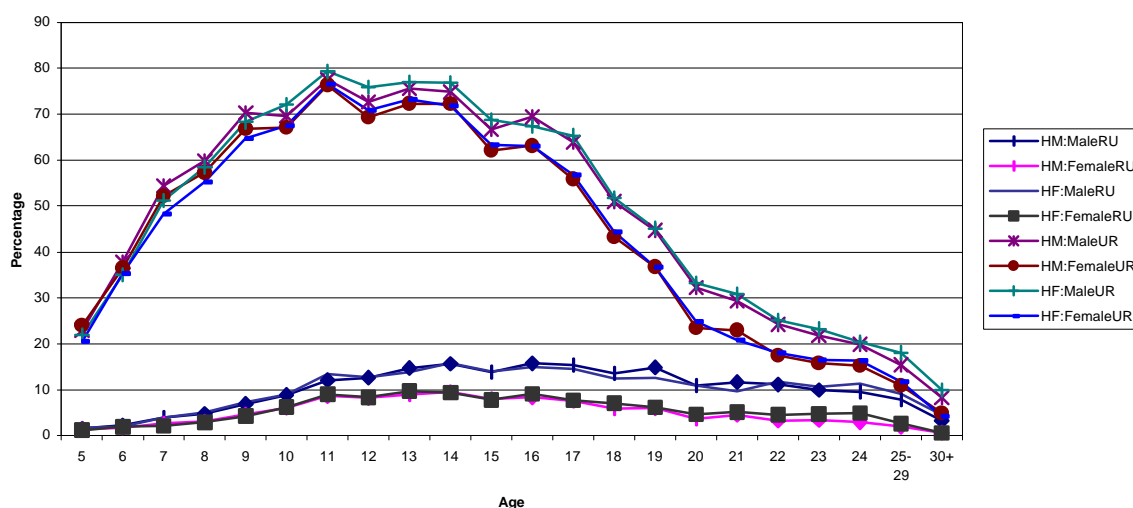
Table .2 - Grade completed by age and sex for conventional households. Percentage according to grade completed on total literate. Ethiopia, Urban+Rural

	Grade completed						Non Reg.	Total	%literate
	1-3	4-6	7-8	9-12	12+				
All ages M+F	25.1	26.9	13.1	15.9	2.6	16.3	100.0	23	
Males	24.6	26.9	12.5	15.6	3.0	17.4	100.0	30	
Females	26.1	26.9	14.1	16.5	2.0	14.5	100.0	17	
10-14 M+F	51.8	33.0	8.0	0.9		6.3	100.0	20	
Males	51.8	33.0	8.0	0.9		6.3	100.0	22	
Females	52.5	31.7	7.3	0.9		7.6	100.0	18	
15-19 M+F	26.1	30.3	19.8	16.8	0.2	6.8	100.0	30	
Males	28.3	30.9	17.7	15.0	0.2	7.9	100.0	33	
Females	23.2	29.5	22.4	19.1	0.3	5.5	100.0	27	
20-24 M+F	17.2	26.2	16.6	27.7	2.6	9.8	100.0	34	
Males	17.9	27.5	16.4	25.9	2.7	9.7	100.0	42	
Females	16.3	24.2	16.8	30.4	2.4	9.9	100.0	27	
25-29 M+F	16.5	25.1	14.0	24.4	4.6	15.5	100.0	32	
Males	15.8	26.3	15.0	24.3	4.6	14.0	100.0	45	
Females	17.9	22.9	12.1	24.4	4.5	18.3	100.0	21	

Source. Our tabulation on individual census data

The distribution according to the sex of the head of the household does not seem to discriminate among the children, both in urban and in rural population (Tables 2-4 in Annex), while the relationship with the head is a little more important (Tables 5-7 in Annex). In fact the female spouses of the head of the household present a level of education lower than that of the daughters, and show the increase in the cohort schooling enrolment. If we consider the current school attendance of the younger population (Tables 8-10 in Annex), we can see that the percentages are always higher among males compared to females whatever the sex of the head of the household may be. In general, the fact that the head of the family is a woman does not represent an obstacle to the school attendance, but if we compare males and females in the same age group, we can observe that – at least in the younger ages in urban Ethiopia – females are in a worse situation when the head of the family is a woman, but the differences are very small (Tables 9 and 10 in Annex and Figure 2).

Figure 2 - Schooling enrolment, according to the sex of the household head and the age and sex of members.



This situation is more evident after primary education³. Another indicator concerning educational characteristics in Ethiopia is represented by gross and net enrolment ratios (GER and NER respectively). The indicators are defined in the following way: GER in primary education is defined as the ratio of students in primary education divided by the total number of children aged 7-12 years (percent); NER in primary education is defined as the ratio of students in primary education aged 7-12 divided by the total number of children aged 7-12 years (percent). The same for the other grades (see also note 2, chapter 3.2.2). The levels of these indicators are presented in Table 3 for all levels of school.

The gross enrolment ratio for the country is very low. Only about 25 pupils per 100 population aged 7-12 are enrolled in primary schools. About 22 pupils per 100 population aged 13-14, and about 11 pupils per 100 population aged 15-18 are enrolled in junior and senior secondary schools, respectively. The net enrolment ratio for primary, junior secondary and senior secondary levels are 12.2, 5.0 and 5.1 respectively.

Table 3 - Gross and net enrolment ratios (%) by age group and levels of school

Urban/Rural Sex	Age = 7-12 (in primary)		Age =13-14 (in junior)		Age = 15-18 (in senior)	
	GER	NER	GER	NER	GER	NER
<i>Urban +Rural</i>						
Both sexes	25.1	12.2	21.7	5.0	11.3	5.1
Males	28.7	12.9	23.5	4.9	12.7	5.1
Females	21.3	11.5	19.9	5.2	9.9	5.2
<i>Urban</i>						
Both sexes	95.3	59.2	88.0	25.7	53.7	27.0
Males	96.7	60.3	90.2	26.0	62.0	28.8
Females	93.9	58.3	86.0	25.4	46.8	25.5
<i>Rural</i>						
Both sexes	15.7	5.9	9.2	1.1	3.0	0.9
Males	20.0	6.9	12.1	1.2	4.3	1.0
Females	11.0	4.8	6.0	0.9	1.7	0.7

Source: Table 3.5, The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results at Country Level, Volume I, Statistical Report p. 172-173

It is believed that the availability of schools in urban areas is better than in rural areas. This creates better opportunity for schooling of children of urban dwellers than their counterparts in rural areas. As a result, enrolment ratios for urban areas are observed to exceed that of the rural in all the levels. Thus, the gross enrolment ratios are 95.3 percent against 15.7 percent at primary level, 88.0 percent as opposed to only 9.2 percent at junior secondary level and 53.7 percent

³ See note 1 for the definition.

verses 3.1 percent at senior secondary level. The net enrolment ratios for urban areas are 59.2 percent for primary 25.7 percent for junior secondary and 27.0 percent for senior secondary. The corresponding figures for the rural areas are 5.9 percent 1.1 percent and 0.9 percent for primary, junior secondary and senior secondary levels, respectively.

As it concerns enrolment ratios, males are favoured and ratios are always higher than for females. Also in the urban context, if we look at senior level, GER is equal to 62 percent for males and lower than 47 percent for females. But in this situation, girls are particularly disadvantaged in the rural area, where GER for females is near half of that referred to males, that have, nevertheless, very small values. In the urban context, more developed in relation to educational enrolment, the differences are lower. Then, these preliminary data confirm the above outlined relation between development, poverty and education: female enrolment rates seem to be lower in the worst contextual situation.

The relationship between education and economic activity by sex is reported in Tables 11-17 in Annex. The detailed tabulation of the Census data shows that people involved in the work market present in average a lower level of education. The interpretation may be the following: people with a higher level of education are prevalently students while people working have left school at young ages or never entered school.

4.2. Literacy

Literacy is a vital skill by which individuals can expect to fulfil the social, economic and political demands of life and to cope with basic routines of mainstream contemporary society. It is a critical factor in improving conditions of life as it ensures access to knowledge.

As other indicators concerning education, the literacy rate in Ethiopia is very low. Table 4 reveals that close to one fourth (23.4 percent) of the country's population stated that they are literate. This rate is lower than values for some of the developing countries such as Mali (32 percent), Chad (29.8 percent) and the Sudan (27.1 percent) for 1990 (UNESCO 1993).

The data in the table show that the proportion of literate population gradually increases up to age 29 years and thereafter it declines steadily. This pattern holds true for male population. Regarding female literate population the peak is observed in the age group 20-24 years (27.2 percent). In all age groups higher proportion of male literate population than female is observed and the difference is more glaring as age increases.

The table also displays that the proportion of illiterate population increases as age advances. In all age groups, higher proportion for males than for females is observed in this category.

Table 4 - Percentage of population aged 10 years and older by literacy status, age group and sex for Ethiopia, 1994 Census

Age group	Literate			
	Total	Males	Females	Females/Males
10-14	20.3	21.8	18.6	85.32
15-19	30.6	33.9	27.1	79.94
20-24	34.8	42.9	27.2	63.40
25-29	32.3	45.3	21.1	46.58
30-34	25.3	39.2	13.4	34.18
35-39	22.6	35.3	11.5	32.58
40-44	16.4	25.8	7.1	27.52
45-49	16.5	24.8	7.0	28.23
50-54	11.3	18.4	4.3	23.37
55-59	12.0	18.2	4.3	23.63
60-64	8.0	13.0	2.6	20.00
65 & above	6.6	10.4	1.7	16.35
Total	23.4	30.0	17.0	56.67

Source: Our tabulation on individual Census data.

5. Regional, ethnic and religious differences in gender indicators

Some indicators published by CSA (1998) and estimated using indirect methods applied on 1994 Census data, are reported in the following tables.

In Table 5, together with the values of the adjusted TFR by Region, we have presented the values of life expectancy and of infant mortality rate by sex. These indicators show clearly both gender differences and geographical heterogeneity in the demographic and social context. In particular, some regions (Affar and Somali for example) are characterised by the greatest gaps in the mortality figures, so to outline an unfavourable female situation both referring to the Ethiopian average and in comparison with the male situation.

The data included in Table 5 show a great heterogeneity among the regions in the main demographic indicators. Let's have a look at fertility level: a value of TFR at the generation replacement level, approaching towards the characteristic of the western societies, is found in Addis Ababa (2.09 in the urban context), while high levels of fertility, over 6.5 children per woman as the national average, are found in Tigray, Amahra, Oromiya, Somalia and Southern Nations. Most of these regions are also characterised by a higher mortality level measured by life expectancy at birth and infant mortality rates. It is worthwhile to note that these figures are different from the above mentioned because they derive from Census estimates and not from DHS Survey or other demographic international sources (the TFR values presented in the Table

were taken from the Census Report and refer to levels that were adjusted for underreporting of births).

Table 5 - Regional demographic indicators, 1994 Census

	Total population		e ₀			i _{q 0} (‰)			TFR		
		(%)	M	F	F/M	M	F	F/M	Total	Urb.	Rur.
Tigray	3,136,267	5.9	48.2	51.1	1.06	134	111	0.83	6.95	5.38	7.28
Affar	1,060,573	2.0	53.1	47.0	0.89	107	133	1.24	6.39	4.47	6.61
Amhara	13,834,297	26.0	49.6	52.2	1.05	126	106	0.84	6.76	5.40	6.94
Oromiya	18,732,525	34.8	49.2	51.7	1.05	128	108	0.84	7.26	6.10	7.42
Somali	3,198,514	5.9	56.2	52.9	0.94	90	102	1.13	6.73	5.84	6.89
Benishangul-Gumuz	460,459	0.9	46.3	47.3	1.02	145	131	0.90	6.46	5.46	6.56
Southern Nations *	10,377,028	19.5	47.6	49.7	1.04	138	118	0.86	7.16	6.42	7.22
Gambella	181,862	0.3	53.8	54.5	1.01	103	94	0.91	4.72	4.19	4.82
Harari	131,139	0.2	51.8	50.9	0.98	114	112	0.98	4.68	3.40	6.98
Addis Ababa	2,112,737	4.0	56.6	60.3	1.07	87	69	0.79	2.14	2.09	7.40
Dire Dawa **	251,864	0.5	50.3	52.0	1.03	122	107	0.88	4.95	4.28	6.89
Country-total	53,477,265	100.0	49.8	51.8	1.04	125	108	0.86	6.74	4.50	7.19

*= Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples; **=Dire Dawa Provisional Administration

Source: CSA, 1998, vol. I and II, Analytical Report.

According to Census estimates, a great variability is also evident in the infant mortality levels both from a geographical point of view and from a gender perspective. In particular, we can note that nomadic people (Affar and Somali) present a marked female disadvantage in the survival model during the first period of life.

As we have already underlined for the whole country, also in the various regions school attendance is higher for boys compared to girls, and the rural context is characterised systematically by a very high proportion of females that never attended school (Table 6).

The highest proportion of those who had never attended school is found in Affar and Somali Regions. In rural areas of Somali Region 92.7 percent of the males and 97 percent of the females had never attended school. In rural areas of Affar Region 95.3 percent of the males and 97.6 percent of the females had never gone to school. Most of the inhabitants of these two regions are followers of the Muslim faith and have nomadic life styles. The non-sedentary life style they lead is least conducive for formal education. As can be expected, the mainly urban regions of Addis Ababa, Harari, and Dire Dawa have the highest proportion who ever attended school.

Table 6 - Schooling indicators by sex and region, 1994 Census.

	Primary enrolled age 7-12 NER (%)			Literate population % among aged 10 years and over			Never attended school (% population aged 5 years and over)					
	M	F	F/M	M	F	F/M	Urban			Rural		
	M	F	F/M	M	F	F/M	M	F	F/M	M	F	F/M
Tigray	18.4	19.4	1.05	27.8	13.6	0.48	30.5	48.6	1.59	79.0	91.3	1.16
Affar	3.1	3.3	1.06	8.7	5.4	0.62	38.9	54.9	1.41	95.3	97.6	1.02
Amhara	8.3	8.8	1.06	23.5	12.1	0.51	28.5	45.6	1.60	82.3	92.3	1.12
Oromiya	11.9	9.6	0.81	29.3	15.6	0.53	25.4	39.0	1.54	78.2	90.0	1.15
Somali	2.6	2.1	0.81	10.8	4.6	0.43	64.5	79.8	1.24	92.7	97.0	1.05
Benishangul-Gumuz	14.0	9.0	0.6	24.9	10.5	0.42	27.6	46.0	1.67	78.8	91.0	1.15
Southern Nations *	15.0	10.0	0.67	33.9	15.2	0.45	27.2	41.8	1.54	72.5	88.2	1.22
Gambella	24.0	18.2	0.76	38.6	19.5	0.51	22.4	43.0	1.92	70.9	85.2	1.20
Harari	38.2	37.6	0.98	59.1	49.4	0.84	11.8	23.0	1.95	80.2	87.1	1.09
Addis Ababa	73.6	71.8	0.98	89.1	76.4	0.86	10.5	20.2	1.93	57.3	69.7	1.22
Dire Dawa **	36.4	35.4	0.97	57.4	45.7	0.80	21.1	36.1	1.71	91.5	95.5	1.04
Country-total	12.9	11.5	0.89	29.8	16.9	0.57	24.4	37.7	1.55	79.6	90.9	1.14

*= Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples; **=Dire Dawa Provisional Administration

For the primary level, gross enrolment ratio is lower than the national average in Somali and Affar regions, while Addis Ababa (where the urban population represents the main component), Harari and Dawa present percentages over 50 for both males and females (Table 7). In the higher school levels, the rank of the regions is very similar, with Affar and Somali regions that present very low levels of enrolment once again showing GER and NER values particularly low for females.

In conclusion, current school attendance is lowest in the two mainly nomadic regions of Somali and Affar. The GER in elementary schools in Somali Region is 8.3 for males and 4.8 for females. The corresponding figures in Affar Region are 7.2 for males and 6.8 for females. At such low rates of GER, it can be assumed that the current situation is going to continue for some years to come. Among the mainly rural regions, Tigray and Gambella show high levels of GER at elementary schools. It can be concluded that these two regions have better prospects for higher educational attainment in the coming future.

In a country characterised by a multiethnic composition of the population we can imagine a strong correlation between geographical and ethnic differences.

Table 7 - Gross enrolment ratio (GER) and net enrolment ratio (NER), junior and senior secondary school by sex, for regions. Ages 7-12, 13-14 and 15-18

Region of residence	Primary (age 7-12)				Junior sec. (age 13-14)				Senior sec. (age 15-18)			
	GER		NER		GER		NER		GER		NER	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Tigray	60.6	44.3	18.4	19.4	17.5	13.9	2.6	2.2	9.1	6.1	3.2	2.5
Affar	7.2	6.8	3.1	3.3	7.7	7.8	1.5	1.7	3.4	2.6	1.2	1.4
Amhara	17.0	15.1	8.3	8.8	15.7	15.8	3.3	4.0	8.4	7.2	3.2	3.6
Oromiya	25.8	17.4	11.9	9.6	22.5	17.1	4.3	4.4	11.3	7.8	4.2	4.1
Somali	8.3	4.8	2.6	2.1	4.1	2.6	0.5	0.2	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.4
Benishangul-Gumuz	33.8	16.6	14.0	9.0	16.9	9.1	2.7	1.9	6.5	3.6	1.4	1.4
Southern Nations*	37.6	21.5	15.0	10.0	28.8	15.1	4.0	3.1	12.2	5.9	3.7	2.7
Gambella	58.8	42.5	24.0	18.2	52.0	21.0	4.7	4.5	20.6	5.7	4.4	1.3
Harari	59.0	60.3	38.2	37.6	82.8	74.7	21.4	20.2	76.0	63.3	25.6	27.5
Addis Ababa	108.3	112.7	73.6	71.8	104.9	104.2	35.6	33.7	68.6	56.9	38.0	33.6
Dire Dawa **	58.7	56.4	36.4	35.4	59.6	61.9	15.6	16.0	52.9	36.7	18.7	17.3
Country total	28.7	21.3	12.9	11.5	23.5	19.9	4.9	5.2	12.7	9.9	5.1	5.2

Source: CSA, 1999; * see Table 6; ** see Table 6

In fact ethnic identity of a person is traced through his/her ethnic origin. Far from being limited to small sections of the Ethiopian society, we incorporate from all over the country the 28 major ethnic groups (i.e. ethnic groups with 150,000 or more persons). The percentage distribution of population by educational status and ethnic groups is presented in Table 8.

Among the 28 major ethnic groups in the country, there exist very wide differences in the proportion who are literate, and those who have secondary education. In the rural areas, the Kembata, Hadiya, and Welayita, report relatively higher proportions of males who are literate, and also those who have secondary education. These ethnic groups also report better educational performance among their females. Very low rural literacy rates are observed among the Affar, Agew-Kamir and Somali. In the rural areas, there is a very wide discrimination of females on the proportion who are literate. In the total rural part of the country, there are only 40 literate females for every 100 such males. There are very wide variations on these rates among the different ethnic groups. The highest level of discrepancy is observed among the Agew-Kamir, Gumuz and Konso, who have only 10 literate women for every 100 literate men. The difference between males and females becomes stronger at higher grades of education.

Table 8 - Ethnic Group by grade completed for total country

Ethnic group	URBAN						RURAL					
	Literate		F/M	Grade 9+		F/M	Literate		F/M	Grade 9+		F/M
	M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F	
Affar	48.5	23.3	0.48	13.6	4.2	0.31	3.2	0.6	0.20	0.1	0.0	*
Agew-awingi	71.5	45.9	0.64	26.8	11.2	0.42	17.6	5.0	0.28	1.4	0.4	0.28
Agew-kamyr	58.9	29.9	0.51	15.3	5.0	0.33	6.4	0.6	0.09	0.0	0.1	*
Amhara	83.3	66.6	0.80	35.3	21.8	0.62	21.5	9.2	0.43	1.5	0.6	0.41
Arri	43.7	33.0	0.76	10.6	4.4	0.41	12.4	1.9	0.15	0.4	0.0	*
Bench	68.3	35.3	0.52	18.0	3.0	0.17	19.3	4.6	0.24	0.8	0.1	0.15
Gedeo	64.6	42.2	0.65	16.0	4.9	0.31	34.2	9.9	0.29	1.6	0.2	0.14
Gumuz	52.6	54.9	1.04	6.4	3.6	0.57	10.2	1.2	0.12	0.2	0.0	*
Sebatbet	82.5	64.6	0.78	23.1	15.4	0.67	35.1	11.2	0.32	3.7	0.7	0.19
Sodo	87.6	71.7	0.82	33.5	22.9	0.68	35.2	12.2	0.35	3.0	0.9	0.31
Silti	79.6	64.7	0.81	19.7	14.3	0.73	24.1	7.3	0.30	1.3	0.2	0.17
Hadiya	79.2	63.0	0.79	29.1	15.6	0.53	42.5	21.1	0.50	5.0	1.2	0.24
Jebelawi	69.3	45.0	0.65	20.2	5.2	0.26	12.4	3.7	0.30	0.0	0.0	*
Kefa	76.9	55.2	0.72	21.4	8.4	0.39	26.9	9.4	0.35	1.2	0.2	0.15
Kimant	79.5	62.8	0.79	30.9	19.5	0.63	17.8	14.8	0.83	1.0	1.9	1.97
Kembata	76.0	62.8	0.83	28.4	17.0	0.60	50.4	29.7	0.59	7.7	2.1	0.28
Alaba	66.3	46.5	0.70	19.8	4.4	0.22	11.3	3.3	0.29	0.3	0.0	*
Konso	50.8	21.5	0.42	14.6	3.0	0.20	11.5	1.4	0.12	0.6	0.1	0.17
Koyra	70.1	55.0	0.78	21.4	6.3	0.29	30.7	12.3	0.40	1.0	0.2	0.19
Oromo	76.9	58.4	0.76	27.7	13.7	0.49	21.5	8.2	0.38	1.9	0.4	0.21
Sidama	75.3	57.4	0.76	30.9	14.5	0.47	30.1	8.7	0.29	2.4	0.3	0.11
Somali	33.8	15.4	0.46	7.3	1.5	0.21	6.6	2.1	0.32	0.4	0.1	0.24
Tigreway	80.1	58.6	0.73	26.0	15.2	0.58	21.4	7.2	0.34	0.6	0.3	0.48
Welayita	71.4	51.3	0.72	24.2	10.0	0.42	37.4	15.6	0.42	4.8	0.8	0.17
Gamo	70.9	55.6	0.78	19.9	10.7	0.54	21.1	7.3	0.35	1.8	0.4	0.20
Gofa	69.1	46.9	0.68	20.2	5.7	0.28	21.3	8.4	0.40	0.9	0.0	*
Kullo	74.5	56.6	0.76	20.5	8.2	0.40	30.9	10.4	0.34	2.1	0.4	0.20
Yemsa	84.7	71.7	0.85	35.7	13.3	0.37	27.3	13.1	0.48	1.9	0.3	0.17
Total	77.4	60.6	0.78	28.9	17.4	0.60	21.9	8.6	0.39	1.7	0.5	0.27

* values not computed because of small number of cases

In the urban areas, levels of literacy are much higher for all ethnic groups, and the bias against women less strong. However, there are still only 80 literate females in the urban part of the country for every 100 such men. The gender bias among those who have secondary education is stronger. There are only 60 females who have secondary education in the urban part of the country for every 100 men at such level. Among some ethnic groups like the Bench, Alaba, Konso and Somali the rate falls to 20 females for every 100 males.

In order to verify the existence of influence of cultural factors and beliefs on gender educational and job opportunities, an attempt is made to present statistical data on education by religion and ethnic groups. We can observe that these cultural factors affect the population composition according to the educational level (Tables 18-21 in Annex) both in urban and in rural context. The differences – that present high heterogeneity by ethnic group – are deeper for females than for males.

Information regarding religious affiliation of every member of a household was asked in the 1994 Population and Housing Census. Religion is another important socio-cultural characteristics of a population. In the Census every member of the household was asked about his/her religious affiliation and classified as one of the following: Orthodox Christian, Protestant Christian, Catholic Christian, Muslim, or followers of Traditional religion.

Distribution of population by educational status and religion for the whole country is given in Table 9. Examination of educational data by religious composition in urban and rural areas reveals considerable variation. The Protestant and the Catholic groups are observed to have higher rates of literacy.

Table 9 – Proportions of population according to sex, residence, educational grade completed and religion, Ethiopia, 1994

Religion	URBAN						RURAL					
	Literate			Grade 9+			Literate			Grade 9+		
	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M
Orthodox	82.6	64.9	0.79	32.7	19.2	0.59	23.8	9.5	0.40	1.9	0.6	0.32
Protestant	85.1	73.3	0.86	41.4	28.8	0.70	38.2	16.0	0.42	4.4	1.0	0.23
Catholic	85.8	75.7	0.88	46.7	36.8	0.79	35.9	17.3	0.48	4.4	1.4	0.32
Muslim	61.7	42.4	0.69	15.2	7.4	0.49	15.0	5.7	0.38	0.8	0.1	0.16
Traditional	47.8	22.5	0.47	13.2	3.2	0.24	14.1	3.4	0.24	0.7	0.1	0.14

In the urban areas out of the catholic population 85.8 percent of males and 75.7 percent of females were literate, while among the Protestants 85.1 percent of males and 73.3 percent of females were literate. The values for the rural areas were 38.2 percent of males and 16 percent of females being literate among Protestants, followed by 35.9 percent of males and 17.3 percent of females among Catholics. Catholics also have a relatively higher proportion who have secondary education. For example in the urban areas 46.7 percent of Catholic males and 36.8 percent of females have such education.

The lowest level of educational attainment is observed for those who follow traditional religion. Muslims have better levels of educational attainment compared to the traditional religion followers. In both rural and urban areas, persons who follow Orthodox Christianity are observed to be at a higher educational level compared to the Muslim.

The data in the table indicates that females have lower educational attainment compared to the males in all religious groups. Such discrepancies are least marked in the urban areas, and particularly among Catholics and Protestants; for example for 100 males who are literate, there are 90 literate females in both religions. Next to Catholics and Protestants, Orthodox Christian believers show lower differences (for 100 literate urban males there are 80 literate females). The

proportion of literate population among Muslims in the urban areas shows that for 100 literate males there are 70 females.

In the rural areas the proportion of literate population is highest among Catholics compared to other religions. Even though the Catholics also show the lowest level of discrepancy among males and females, there are only 50 literate females for every 100 literate males. Persons who are followers of other religions have lower levels of literacy in the rural areas, and are more discriminatory against the women. For example there are only 20 literate women for every 100 literate men among the traditional religion followers, while among Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Protestants there are 40 literate women for every 100 literate men.

The discrepancies between males and females are higher in the rural areas among those who have attended secondary education. In particular, this discrepancy is highest among traditional religion followers who have only 10 women for every 100 men with secondary education. Among Muslims and Protestants also, there are only 20 women with secondary education for every 100 such men.

6. Urban context and gender differences: education and labour force participation in Addis Ababa

6.1. A descriptive approach

Addis Ababa being the capital city of Ethiopia has a population of 2,112,737 out of which aged ten years and over was found to be 1,710,999 persons in October 1994 among which, 1,690,944 were residing in the urban areas, while the remaining small number of the population (20,055) were rural residents. Out of the six zones of Addis Ababa only two zones have rural part and hence rural population.

The differences in the level of education between urban and rural context may be appreciated if we compare the situation of the capital city and the rural areas (Table 10). The data show a difference between the urban and rural context also in Addis Ababa. Gender differences, that are marked in the rural area referred to the country total, are lower in the rural population of Addis Ababa. This means that in Addis Ababa the cultural influence of urban context attenuates the gender gaps. For this reason and in consideration of the fact that rural population in Addis Ababa represents a minority group, in the following analysis we do not consider separately the urban and the rural context.

Table 10 – Addis Ababa and Country total: gross enrolment ratio (GER) and net enrolment ratio (NER)*, junior and senior secondary school by sex, and urban or rural residence. Ages 7-12, 13-14 and 15-18.*

Residence	Primary (age 7-12)				Junior secondary (age 13-14)				Senior secondary (age 15-18)			
	GER		NER		GER		NER		GER		NER	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Country total												
Urban	96.7	94.0	60.3	58.3	90.2	86.0	26.0	25.4	62.0	46.8	28.8	25.5
Rural	20.0	11.0	6.9	4.8	12.1	6.0	1.3	0.9	4.3	1.7	1.0	0.7
Total	28.7	21.3	12.9	11.5	23.5	19.9	4.9	5.2	12.7	9.9	5.1	5.2
Addis Ababa												
Urban	109.5	113.9	74.5	72.6	105.8	105.1	36.0	34.0	69.2	57.2	38.3	33.9
Rural	41.1	34.8	19.9	19.8	37.9	28.4	7.9	7.6	18.9	13.7	7.6	6.4
Total	108.3	112.7	73.6	71.8	104.9	104.2	35.6	33.7	68.6	56.9	38.0	33.6

For the definition of indicators, see previous tables.

Source: CSA, 1999

The literacy rate in Addis Ababa is around 89.3 percent among males, and 76.5 percent among females. The proportion of the population who have attained educational levels of grade 9 and over constitute 39.8 percent among males, and 27.6 percent among females, while those who have educational levels of beyond grade 12 constitute 9.4 percent among males, and 4.5 percent among females.

Table 11 - Addis Ababa population (percent) by sex, level of education and religion

	Literate			Grade 9 and above			Above grade 12		
	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M
Orthodox	89.8	76.8	0.85	41.2	27.5	0.67	9.6	4.3	0.45
Protestant	94.7	89.7	0.95	57.3	47.9	0.84	20.5	12.3	0.60
Catholic	96.7	91.4	0.94	64.8	56.5	0.87	24.2	14.5	0.60
Muslim	84.3	67.5	0.80	26.1	17.8	0.68	4.4	2.1	0.47
Total	89.3	76.5	0.86	39.8	27.6	0.69	9.4	4.5	0.48

As in the whole country, the females are observed to have lower levels of educational attainment compared to the males. This difference is observed to increase at higher levels of education. For every 10 literate male there are 9 literate females, while for every 10 males with education of grade nine or higher there are only 7 females. Moreover, among those with education of beyond grade 12, there are only 5 females for every 10 such males.

Table 11 also presents the comparison of the educational levels of males and females in the different religious groups. The religious groups considered are Orthodox Christian, Protestant, Catholic and Muslim. Traditional Religion followers are very few in the city, and these have been excluded from the table. The Muslim population has the lowest level of literacy and even lower proportions at higher grades. Only 84.3 percent of Muslim males and 67.5 percent of Muslim

females are able to read and write, while 4.4 percent of the males and 2.1 percent of the females have education beyond grade 12. Catholics and Protestants have higher level of literacy, and higher proportions at higher grades. For example the proportion of Catholic and Protestant females who have attained grades above 12 is more than five times that of the Muslims.

Gender bias in education exists among the followers of all the religious groups. For example, among the Muslims there are 8 literate females for every 10 literate males; and 5 females have attained education beyond grade 12 for every such males. Similar discrepancies are observed among the males and the females who follow Orthodox Christianity. There are only 4 female Orthodox Christians who have education of grades above 12 for every 10 such males. Even among the Catholics and Protestants, gender bias continues to exist, and is stronger at higher grades of education.

If we look at educational gender differences according to the major ethnic groups (Table 12), it was observed that the Tigraway and the Amara have higher levels of literacy among both the males and the females, and these groups have also the highest proportions of people who have education beyond grade 12. Among the males, the Silti and Sebatbet are observed to have lower literacy rates, and also lower proportions that have higher education. Among the females, the Sebatbet, the Silti and the Oromo are observed to have lower educational attainment.

Table 12 – Addis Ababa population (percent) by sex, level of education and major ethnic groups

	Literate			Grade 9 and above			Above grade 12		
	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	F/M
Amara	92.3	79.6	0.86	46.4	31.5	0.68	11.6	5.3	0.46
Sebatbet	84.5	66.7	0.79	24.2	16.3	0.67	3.9	1.9	0.48
Sodo	91.1	75.7	0.83	38.0	26.6	0.70	8.0	4.7	0.59
Silti	83.2	71.6	0.86	21.8	17.7	0.81	3.1	2.2	0.71
Oromo	86.4	71.2	0.82	37.1	21.0	0.57	8.2	2.6	0.32
Tigraway	94.2	81.7	0.87	45.2	32.0	0.71	11.5	5.4	0.47
Others	83.0	76.1	0.92	36.7	30.0	0.82	9.9	5.9	0.60
Total	89.3	76.5	0.86	39.8	27.6	0.69	9.4	4.5	0.48

Gender differences in education are observed among all ethnic groups. The strongest bias is observed among the Oromo. Among the Oromo of Addis Ababa, there are only 3 females who have education beyond grade 12 for every 10 men with such education. Also among those who have education of grades 9 and above, there are 6 Oromo females for every 10 Oromo males with similar education. The Silti (who are Muslims and are highly uneducated) are observed to have lower difference in educational attainment between males and females. For example, there are 7 Silti women who have education of beyond grade 12 for every 10 such men. There are also 8 Silti

women who have attained education of grade 9 and above for every 10 men with similar education.

The second dimension of gender differences and of status of women that we consider in this analysis is represented by work and by participation to the economic activity.

The extent of the participation of the population in economic activity is measured using the economic activity rate or the economic participation rate. The economic activity rate or the participation rate is computed as the percentage of the economically active population over the total of the active plus the inactive population.

Among the population aged ten years and over, 53.1 percent were reported to be economically active and 46.9 percent economically inactive. The distribution of the economically active population by sex shows that among the male population aged ten years and over, 65.2 percent were economically active, while in the case of females it was 41.9 percent.

The work of women contributes substantially to the well being of families, communities and nation and needs to be recognised in policies for credit, income and family security. However, much of the work of women is done within the household and is inadequately measured, even when it is economic.

Economic activity rates of women and men by age group and sex in Addis Ababa is presented below (Table 13). The balance between the active and inactive females was reversed, and more inactive females were reported than active ones. This could happen because, unlike the rural areas, where the housewives are usually engaged in some form of agricultural activities during the years, in the urban part, apart from those engaged in some regular job, most wives stay at home.

The table revealed that in all age groups the activity rates for women are lower than the correspondent rates for men. We can find that the only exception is represented by age 10-14, where the rate for girls is higher, that is 9.4 percent for females against 9.2 percent for males. Overall activity rate for females reaches its peak at an early age (20 – 24 age group), compared to that of males (35 – 39 age group). The proportion of females engaged in the urban labour market probably declines in the higher ages due to the effect of marriage and motherhood.

Table 13 – Economic activity rate by age group and sex, Addis Ababa, Census 1994.

Age group	Males	Females	F/M
10 – 14	9.2	9.4	1.02
15 – 19	38.6	37.6	0.97
20 – 24	80.5	67.7	0.84
25 – 29	93.0	65.5	0.70
30 – 34	95.4	57.1	0.60
35 – 39	96.0	47.5	0.49
40 – 44	95.7	41.6	0.43
45 – 49	93.0	35.2	0.38
50 – 54	83.3	26.9	0.32
55 – 59	64.9	21.2	0.33
60 – 64	60.6	17.0	0.28
65+	44.0	11.7	0.27
All ages	65.2	42	0.64

If we look at the distribution of the economically inactive persons by level of education, we see that as a general feature, the percent inactive persons were observed to diminish as the level of education increases. As can be seen from the Table 14, 38.4 percent of the inactive persons have completed grade 1-6. The corresponding figure accounts for about 43 percent for males and 36 percent for females.

Table 14. – Economically inactive population by level of education and sex, Addis Ababa, Census 1994.

Educational Attainment	Males	Females	Total	F/M
Illiterate	7.2	24.3	18.2	3.38
Non-regular	2.4	5.5	4.4	2.29
Grades 1 – 6	42.5	36.1	38.4	0.85
Grades 7 – 8	21.0	16.8	18.3	0.80
Grades 9- 11	17.6	12.2	14.1	0.69
Grade 12 completed	4.9	3.9	4.3	0.79
Beyond grade 12	4.3	1.0	2.2	0.23
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

A significant proportion (18.3 percent) of the inactive persons have completed grade 7-8. The table also revealed that 24 percent of females and 7.2 percent of males of the inactive persons were illiterate. Of all the inactive persons, those who completed grades 1-6 constituted the majority followed by those who are illiterate. It is interesting to note that a high proportion of

inactive population has got primary grade of schooling; among females, this percentage reaches 36.1.

In the whole country, about 51 percent of the economically active population were unpaid family workers and 39.5 percent were self-employed. The major contributors for the self employed category were the males (51.3 percent) and for the unpaid family workers the females (69.6 percent).

If we look at the distribution of economically active population in Addis Ababa (Table 15), 35 percent of the economically active population were government employees, about 30 percent private employees and about 25 percent self employed.

Table 15 – Economically active population by sex and employment status, Addis Ababa, Census 1994.

Employment Status	Males	Females	Total	F/M
Employer	2.2	1.5	1.9	0.68
Self employed	27.9	20.0	25.1	0.72
Government employee	36.4	32.4	35.0	0.89
Private employee	25.5	37.3	29.8	1.46
Member of co-operative	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.50
Unpaid family worker	1.9	2.6	2.1	1.36
Others	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.80
Not stated	4.7	5.2	4.9	1.11
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Similar patterns were observed for the urban areas of Addis Ababa. On the other hand, in the rural areas, unpaid family workers form the highest proportion (about 37 percent) followed by self employed (30.1 percent) and private employees (14.1 percent) (CSA, 1995). The distribution by sex revealed about 37 percent of the females being private employees and about 32 percent government employees. The major contributions for the self employed category were males (28 percent) and for the unpaid family workers the females (about 3 percent).

Generally, for rural areas of Addis Ababa, female's employment in government and private organisation was negligible. On the other hand, females engaged in unpaid family work are more compared to males.

6.2. Gender and household headship in Addis Ababa

To complete the picture of demographic and social situation in Addis Ababa, it is interesting to outline a brief description of families; in particular, we want to analyse the characteristics of the heads of the families by a gender point of view. The investigation of households according to

the sex of the household head is motivated by three common assumptions arising from the understanding of the role of household heads and from relevant research on gender differences in access to resources. The first two assumptions are that the household head is mainly responsible for the economic well-being of the household, and that women relative to men are disadvantaged in accessing society's economic resources and opportunities. Together these two assumptions imply that although the household head must ensure the economic sustainability of the household irrespective of his or her sex, the means available to do so are not gender neutral. The third assumption arises from research that suggests that the gender of the household head affects both the manner in which household resources are utilised and disbursed within the household, and the manner in which households are networked for exchange of resources with other households (Kishor and Neitzel, 1996). In conclusion, it may be assumed that in developing countries female-headed household have a larger probability to be sources of socio-economic deprivation.

The data included in Table 16 show both the proportion of the heads among the male and female population in the different age groups, and the sex distribution of the heads of the households belonging to the age groups.

According Census data, in the different age groups the proportions of women classified as "head of the family" are higher starting from 40 years and, after 50 years, become half of the women.

Table 16 - *Indicators relating to the heads of the households. Percentages of headship in the age groups by sex; sex distribution of the heads in the age groups, Addis Ababa, Census 1994.*

Age	% of headship in the age group		Number of families*	Sex distribution of the family heads in the age group			
	Males	Females		Males	Females	Total	F/M
10-19	1.2	0.6	5,402	62.0	38.0	100.0	61.3
20-29	17.6	8.6	62,075	64.8	35.2	100.0	54.3
30-39	58.3	25.8	113,281	67.8	32.2	100.0	47.5
40-49	82.7	39.0	104,247	72.8	27.2	100.0	37.4
50-59	87.9	50.6	65,102	66.5	33.5	100.0	50.4
60+	83.3	52.8	58,518	58.7	41.3	100.0	70.4
N. of cases	273,949	134,676	408,625				49.2

* Equal to the number of heads of the families. Source: our tabulation on Census data.

In Addis Ababa around one family in three has a female head of the household; in total, 134,676 families present this situation. This proportion is found also in most of the ages. The highest percentages are found when the head of the household is in the age group 60 and over

where the percentage of female-headed households is highest, and the sex ratio rises to 70.4. The trend is due to the different death probability according to sex (and to the consequent strong presence of widowed women, see Table 17) and it is due to a higher age at marriage for men (as we have already introduced, the estimated figures are respectively 31.8 and 26.6 for males and females, see Table 22 in Annex). Probably migration too may influence the distribution, but we cannot measure the eventual impact.

Table 17 - Heads of Households according to the sex, age and marital status.

(a) Males

Age	Never married	Currently married	Divorced	Widowed	Not reported	total	Number of cases	Percent
10-14	92.7	5.0	-	2.3	-	100.0	219	0.1
15-19	93.7	5.1	0.3	-	0.8	100.0	3,131	1.1
20-24	69.5	28.8	1.2	0.2	0.4	100.0	12,245	4.5
25-29	41.3	55.7	2.4	0.4	0.3	100.0	27,964	10.2
30-34	21.9	74.6	2.8	0.5	0.1	100.0	33,833	12.4
35-39	12.1	83.1	3.5	1.1	0.1	100.0	43,008	15.7
40-44	5.0	89.0	3.8	2.0	0.2	100.0	40,337	14.7
45-49	3.3	90.3	4.0	2.3	0.1	100.0	35,598	13.0
50-54	2.3	89.6	4.6	3.4	0.2	100.0	25,804	9.4
55-59	1.2	89.8	4.7	4.2	0.1	100.0	17,460	6.4
60-64	1.6	87.5	4.8	6.0	0.1	100.0	13,291	4.9
65+	1.6	79.5	5.8	12.8	0.3	100.0	21,059	7.7
Total	14.7	78.7	3.7	2.7	0.2	100.0		100.0
Number of cases	40,336	215,473	10,114	7,532	494		273,944	

(b) Females

Age	Never married	Currently married	Divorced	Widowed	Not reported	total	Number of cases	Percent
10-14	100.0	-	-	-	-	100.0	117	0.1
15-19	77.3	14.5	6.4	1.8	-	100.0	1,935	1.4
20-24	56.1	24.3	14.9	4.3	0.5	100.0	7,841	5.8
25-29	36.0	30.8	23.2	9.6	0.4	100.0	14,025	10.4
30-34	14.0	34.8	29.6	21.1	0.5	100.0	14,908	11.1
35-39	5.4	31.5	32.2	30.7	0.2	100.0	21,532	16.0
40-44	3.0	25.1	33.0	38.6	0.4	100.0	14,960	11.1
45-49	1.7	19.9	31.7	46.1	0.5	100.0	13,352	9.9
50-54	1.8	14.6	30.4	52.7	0.5	100.0	12,648	9.4
55-59	1.2	11.8	29.1	57.5	0.3	100.0	9,190	6.8
60-64	1.5	10.6	29.2	58.5	0.3	100.0	9,095	6.8
65+	1.5	6.8	21.9	69.1	0.7	100.0	15,073	11.2
Total	11.6	22.1	27.9	37.9	0.4	100.0		100.0
Number of cases	15,684	29,806	37,532	51,081	573		134,676	

Source: our tabulation on Census data.

In total, only 2.7 per cent of male heads of the families is represented by widowed, when for women this category reaches nearly 40 per cent; but it is possible to find the most important difference in the oldest age groups with a strong presence of widowed (above 50%) among

women aged 50 years or more.

As for the other differential aspects previously described (education, for example), religion seems to have a sort of relationship with the characteristics of the household as it concerns the sex of the head. From the following Table 18 we see that there is a difference in the distribution by religion in the two groups of households identified by the sex of the head.

Table 18 - Heads of the families in Addis Ababa by sex and religion

Religion	Male	Female
Orthodox	81.9	88.6
Protestant	3.9	3.0
Catholic	0.7	0.7
Muslim	12.9	7.1
Traditional	-	-
Others	0.6	0.5
Not known	0.1	-
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	273,944	134,676

Source: our tabulation on Census data.

When the analysis is carried out considering also the level of education, we can conclude that the lower level that we find in the groups of female heads of the families is in part due to the different age structure (Table 19), and in part probably related to the low grade of well-being of these families. Among females, the percentage of the illiterate ones is double in comparison with that presented by male heads of the household, and the presence of the high educated ones diminish sharply as age increases.

Table 19 - Heads of families by sex and grade of education. Addis Ababa, census 1994

Grade of education*	Male	Female	Total
<i>Illiterate</i>	15.6	44.9	25.3
<i>Primary education</i>			
grades 1-4	12.8	12.9	12.7
grades 5-8	25.5	14.7	22.0
<i>General secondary education,</i> grades 9-10	6.9	3.7	5.8
<i>Senior secondary education,</i> grades 11-12	17.1	8.9	14.4
<i>Higher education</i>			
One-Year	4.0	2.1	4.1
More than one	10.1	2.4	7.6
<i>Other</i>	8.0	10.4	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N. Of Cases	273,944	134,676	408,620

*Classified as indicated in note 1

The worse situation in which probably live the members of the female-headed families is suggested also by the low levels of economic activity rates that characterise the women head of households (Table 23 in Annex). Starting from 40-49 years, activity rates indeed decrease under the threshold of 50 percent for women heads of the household.

On the other hand, among the heads of the households that were working at the time of the Census, the situation of women seems not to be worse compared with that of men: the structure by employment status (Table 24 in Annex) shows a variety of categories, and suggests a good introduction in work of those women. As we pointed out referring to the whole country, in Addis Ababa school attendance of females is lower compared to that of males, if we consider percentages in the same age groups. In this reality also the difference among the sex is more evident when the family is headed by a woman (Table 25 of the Annex) and this suggests a worse situation of these families.

6.3. Schooling and working in Addis Ababa: the role of gender in the determinants of socio-economic behaviours

To determine the factors that may influence school attendance and entry into the labour market in Ethiopia, we perform some models concerning individuals living in Addis-Ababa.

In particular, to study the determinants of school attendance, we have chosen people aged 10-24, while the reference group for outlining factors of work is represented by people aged 15-49.

As it concerns schooling, the hypothesis we want to verify is that – net of influence of other individual characteristics – gender may still represent a factor that we can assume as discriminant of school attendance.

We have considered current school attendance (at the time of Census) as a dichotomy dependent variable⁴ in a logistic regression model; the explanatory variables are sex, marital status, religion and age⁵. We did not include residence in the model, because, as we have already introduced, the percentage of rural population in Addis Ababa is very low and does not always represent the real residential situation.

The results (reported in Tables 20) confirm our hypothesis, that is – all other things being equal – sex discriminates behaviour with respect to school attendance and females have a lower probability to go to school, in comparison with their male counterparts, of around 13-14%.

⁴ Current school attendance: 1= yes, is attending; 0= no, is not attending.

⁵ Sex: 1=female; 0= male; Marital status: 1= never married, 0= ever married; Religion 1= not Islamic; 0= Islamic; Age: in years (10...24).

Even if we exclude age, that represents only a control variable in the model, we see that marital status and religion can explain different propensity to enrolment. To marry younger and being Muslim represents a restraint to go on in the schooling career. Marital status in particular, as we could expect, shows a main role in the model of school attendance, and the odds ratio (3.5) reveals a strong effect.

Table 20 – Logistic model of school attendance, people living in Addis Ababa and aged 10-24, 1994 Census

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Reference category</i>	<i>Beta Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Exp (Beta)</i>
Marital Status	<i>Ever married</i>	1.2572	0.0132	3.5156
Sex	<i>Male</i>	-0.1331	0.0052	0.8753
Religion	<i>Islamic</i>	0.7661	0.0076	2.1514
Age	<i>Age at census</i>	-0.3216	0.0008	0.7250
Intercept		3.9606	0.0206	

With the aim of verifying this aspect, we have built another model where the dependent variable measures the propensity to be enrolled in the highest levels of schooling (grade 9 and over). The results (Table 21) confirm that school is strongly influenced by sex and marital status; the socio-cultural context represented by Islamic religion confirms its important role in determining the “risk” not only to frequent the school, but also to attend a high grade of schooling.

We have also included, near the main effects of these variables, also the interaction term that results positive and significant. This result means that to be female and never married diminishes the negative impact of being female.

Table 21 – Logistic model of schooling grade attending⁶, people living in Addis Ababa and aged 10-24, 1994 Census

<i>Variable^o</i>	<i>Beta Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Exp (Beta)</i>
Marital Status	1.4677	0.0571	4.3393
Sex	-0.5087	0.0663	0.6013
Religion	0.4730	0.0145	1.6048
Age	0.4980	0.0015	1.6129
Sex*Marital status	0.2660	0.0668	1.3047
Intercept	-10.5653	0.0659	

^oFor the reference categories, see Table 20.

When our attention is moved to work participation, we must remember that in developing countries this phenomenon presents several aspects and statistical data may be influenced by these characteristics. Referring to developing countries, an open question, as we introduced

⁶ Nine or higher grade school attending: 1= yes, is attending; 0= no, is not attending.

previously, is represented by the definition of women’s work, and by the underestimate regarding female participation to income production processes. Statistics on work ignore unpaid domestic labour, subsistence production, family farm work and informal-generating activities (Donahoe, 1999). Since the most commonly measure of work at the national and international level is represented by labour force participation, much of the work typically done by women worldwide is excluded.

For Ethiopia too this problem is very important, and data included in the above Table 13, regarding the population in Addis Ababa aged ten years and over, show lower rates of economic activity for females, but the more interesting information regard the fast decline in the rates for women aged 30 years and over.

Referring to information on economic activity in relation to population aged 15-49, we want to verify our hypothesis, that being female depresses the propensity to work, or to participate in the economic activity. To outline factors impacting on the economic activity, we have performed a third logistic model where, as we have already pointed out, the group analysed is represented by people living in urban Addis Ababa and aged 15-49 (to pick up gender differences in reproductive ages).

The results (Table 22) are not surprising: sex is a very important determinant of economic activity. Women have a lower “probability” (equal to 42% of men) to participate in the work market. Also marital status represents an influencing factor because never married people work, in average, 2 times than ever-married ones.

We have included in the model also a variable measuring the higher grade of schooling attained: a higher level, even if positively significant on economic activity, does not result so important to determine the “risk” of working.

Table 22 – Logistic model of economic activity, people living in Addis Ababa and aged 15-49, 1994Census

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Beta Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Exp (Beta)</i>
Age	0.0808	0.0007	1.0842
Sex °	-0.8632	0.0089	0.4218
Marital status °	0.7222	0.0126	2.0590
Education: Literacy	0.0491	0.0133	1.0503
Intercept	-1.5780	0.0291	

°For the reference categories, see Table 20;

On the other hand, the results of an analysis carried out combining cross-section-data and panel data based on three surveys conducted in 1990, 1994 and 1997, reveal that education seems to have a substantial effect on allocation. Men without primary education are more likely to be out of the labour force. Presumably this means that those who are young and have completed

primary education are still in school, while those older with only primary education may have dropped out of the work. For women, who have lower education levels on average than men, primary education helps them to enter into the public sector relative to men. Secondary education has larger effect on entering the public sector both for men and women. It has, however, an even larger marginal effect on being unemployed (Krishnan, Selassien and Dercon, 1998).

If we consider the level of education (grade completed) instead of literacy (Table 23), we have the confirm of the importance of this aspect of the social life. A higher level of education, as we expected, increases work opportunities; the importance of age is confirmed, but marital status and gender seem to have an impact on working opportunities different from that shown in the model including school attendance. In fact, the difference between sexes seems to be lower, and the odd referred to marital status results lower in the last model (1.8935 versus 2.0590 in Table 22).

Table 23 – Logistic model of economic activity, people living in Addis Ababa and aged 15-49, 1994Census

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Beta Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Exp (Beta)</i>
Age	0.0846	0.0008	1.0883
Sex °	-0.7975	0.0090	0.4504
Marital status °	0.6384	0.0130	1.8935
Education: grade completed*	0.3485	0.0090	1.4170
Intercept	-1.7479	0.0267	

°For the reference categories, see Table 20; * Reference category = low level, i.e. under 9 (note 1).

To better isolate the factors affecting economic activity for the females, we have included in the model also religion (in the hypothesis that Islamic women may be more influenced by traditional values than other women) and number of children, to verify if exists, also in urban Ethiopia, a negative relationship between fertility and work status of women (Mason, 1985).

Let's now consider in particular women in reproductive ages to analyse with a more detail work and female status. The pattern of female working is characterised by the high presence of not paid work. Data of Table 24 clearly show the wide diffusion of unpaid family work among women living in Addis Ababa during the fecund ages. In particular the proportion is very high in the ages after 30, the same ages characterised by a low level of education.

Table 24 - Not working women living in Addis Ababa by reason of not working and age (in the reproductive period), 1994 Census

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	total	N. of cases
Unemployed*	24.0	51.2	20.8	10.0	32.3	150,162
Student	67.3	13.5	0.8	0.3	27.5	127,883
Unpaid family worker	6.1	31.6	74.6	83.6	36.7	170,591
Disabled	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.4	2,033
Pensioner	0.2	0.7	1.5	4.0	1.0	4,772
Prostitute	0.4	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.7	3,312
Others	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	3,006
Not response	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.7	3,342
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number of cases	153312	176513	85805	49471		465,101

*= Unemployed with or without experience and "had work".

In fact, among the women included in the ages 30-34 and 35-39 the higher proportion is represented by those that present a low level of education (around 40 per cent); in the last class of age the proportion is still high and always over 35 per cent, but the higher proportion is represented by illiterate women.

Among working women (Table 25), the higher proportion is represented by government employees and self-employed, but in this group also unpaid family workers are represented.

Table 25 - Working women living in Addis Ababa by condition of employment status and age (in the reproductive period), 1994 Census

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	total	N. of cases
Employer	1.0	1.1	1.4	2.3	1.3	2,715
Self employed	12.4	15.4	19.2	30.5	17.8	37,839
Government employee	3.6	31.6	52.3	43.9	34.4	73,143
Private employee	72.3	40.6	20.7	16.4	37.2	78,986
Member of co-operative	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	515
Unpaid family worker	3.4	2.4	1.4	1.7	2.2	4,647
Other	0.3	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.9	1,823
Not response	6.9	7.7	3.9	3.8	6.0	12,762
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number of cases	34,832	91,041	61,289	25,268		212,430

In Table 26 we report the results of the model where only female population living in Addis Ababa is considered. As dependent variable we consider economic activity while among the independent variables age is the control one and marital status, grade of schooling,⁷ religion and parity (children ever born) are the explanatory variables. In this case, the level of education is considered subdivided into four categories, to better find the link and the causal relationship with female economic activity.

⁷ See Table 26 in Annex to understand the negative relationship between fertility and level of education.

Table 26 – Logistic model of economic activity, women living in Addis Ababa and aged 15-49, 1994 Census.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Beta Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Exp (Beta)</i>
Age	0.0817	0.0012	1.0852
Marital status °	0.5883	0.0177	1.8010
Religion °	0.0022	0.0200	1.0022
Children ever born	-0.2739	0.0041	0.7604
<i>Education: grade completed *</i>			
Illiterate	0.3973	0.0168	1.4879
Secondary	0.4946	0.0139	1.6399
Higher	1.6008	0.0322	4.9569
Intercept	-2.2266	0.0370	

°For the reference categories see Table 20; *Reference category: primary

Marital status has the higher impact: never married women present a higher probability to participate in the work market. Religion is not significant even if not Islamic women show a higher propensity to work, all other variables included in the model being equal. What has also been observed is the negative relationship between work participation and fertility: the higher the number of children born, the lower the propensity to work. It is interesting also to observe the impact that the grade of education seems to affect work: all the categories considered have a positive effect compared with that of primary level: illiterate women have a risk of working over 40% higher compared with that of women with a primary level of education; in the same way, a secondary level is associated with an odds ratio equal to 1.6; the risk of working in relation with the higher level of education is five times higher with respect to the reference category.

These results can better detail the first observations suggested by the data included in Table 14, that show a high proportion of women with primary educational attainment among economically inactive women living in Addis Ababa.

7. Concluding remarks

Many developing countries exhibit considerable gender inequality in education, employment, and health outcomes. For example, girls and women in South Asia and China suffer from elevated mortality rates which have been referred to as the ‘missing women’ by Amartya Sen and others (Sen, 1989; Klasen, 1994). In addition, there are large discrepancies in education between the sexes in South Asia and in Sub-Saharan Africa and this is true also for Ethiopia. Finally, employment opportunities and pay differ greatly by gender in most developing regions. This holds also for Ethiopian population, as we have showed in the previous pages.

When assessing the importance of these gender inequalities, one has to distinguish between intrinsic and instrumental concerns. If our concern is with aggregate well being as measured by, for example, Sen's notion of "capabilities" (Sen, 1999), then we should view the important capabilities of longevity and education as critical constituent elements in well-being. From this point of view, the case of Ethiopia is emblematic as it concerns education; health and survival are very low for both men and women. The level of life expectancy, almost equal for the two sexes, reveals notwithstanding a sort of disadvantage for females that, nevertheless, does not seem to be confirmed by nutrition data in infant ages and in the declared conditions of health according to the data of 1998 Health and Nutrition Survey (1999a).

Gender equity may be considered as a development goal in its own right (apart from its beneficial impact on other development goals) as has been recognised, for example, in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which has been signed and ratified by a majority of developing countries.

Gender inequality may have adverse impacts on a number of valuable development goals. First, gender inequality in education and access to resources may prevent a reduction of child mortality, of fertility, and an expansion of education of the next generation. Moreover, higher education permits a better performance into the labor market that, once again, may represent a factor of a lower number of desired children. In fact, fertility estimates according to the Population Census carried out in Ethiopia in 1994 show that TFR equals 4.8 for women who had non-formal education, while the level of TFR is 2.0 for more educated women. As it concerns the relationship between work status and fertility, women involved in white-collars occupations present, on average, 1.8 children per woman, while blue-collar women have a TFR equal to 3.0, and women not economically active have 4.5 children per woman (CSA, 1999c).

To the extent that these linkages exist, gender bias in education may thus generate instrumental problems for development policy-makers as it compromises progress in other important development goals. Secondly, it may be the case that gender inequality reduces economic growth. This is an important issue to the extent that economic growth furthers the improvement in well being (or at least enables the improvement in well being). That economic growth, on average, furthers well being (measured through indicators such as longevity, literacy, and reduced poverty) has been demonstrated many times, although not all types of growth do so to the same extent. Thus policies that further economic growth (and do not harm other important development goals) should be of great interest to policy-makers all over the world.

In our work we have analysed gender differences in education and, in some extent, in work market participation in Ethiopia. Obviously gender education and labour differences are

interrelated. The lower level of female schooling enrolment causes the lower status of women in the labour market, reducing professional opportunities. According to the 1999 National Labour Force Survey (1999), of over 14 millions employed men, 4.8 millions were unpaid family workers; for females, the figures were 6.9 millions unpaid family workers for 10 millions employed, indicating that women have twice as much chance to be in this category (CSA, 1999b).

Even if the Ethiopian Constitution provides for the equality of women, these provisions are often not applied in practice. The Law considers men and women equal, but tradition and cultural factors place the husband as head of the household, breadwinner and decision-maker.

The Constitution defines the age of consent at marriage as 15 for females and 18 for males. Nevertheless, early childhood marriage is common in rural areas, with girls as young as age 9 being party to arranged marriages.

Discrimination is most acute in rural areas, where 85 percent of the population lives. In urban areas, women have fewer employment opportunities than men do, and the jobs available do not provide equal pay for equal work.

To enhance further the status of women, the Government formally adopted a "National Program of Action". The program seeks to expand women's access to health care, and to educate women concerning maternal health.

From a principle point of view, in Ethiopian laws and in governmental socio-economic programs formal education is viewed as fundamental to individual modernity and to the psychological will to adopt contraceptives. Education is considered an important instrument to improve women's ability to resist subjugation and to acquire greater power in decision making. Education provides women with a wider array of general information and greater access to modern, effective contraceptive methods. Concomitantly, it reduces the potential gain in status and respect associated with high fertility throughout the society.

Women's employment is considered an important factor in enhancing their status. Working women, particularly who earn cash incomes, are presumed to have greater control over household decisions, increased awareness of the world outside the home, and, consequently, more control over reproductive decisions. Paid work also provides alternative satisfactions for women, which may compete with bearing and rearing children and may promote contraceptive use.

In front of the principles listed above, the Ethiopian situation is still at a very critical stage in the whole population and only in the younger generations Census data show an improvement in women status, improvement witnessed by a lower gap in schooling enrolment, even if the secondary level seem still precluded to most of the girls.

Regression models where the dependent variable measures the propensity to be enrolled in the

highest levels of schooling, confirm that school is strongly influenced by sex and marital status; the socio-cultural context represented by Islamic religion confirms its important role in determining the “risk” not only to frequent the school, but also to attend a high grade of schooling.

Economic activity also seems to be influenced strongly by sex: analyzing the population in Addis Ababa aged ten years and over, we see lower rates of economic activity for females, but the more interesting information regard the fast decline in the rates for women aged 30 years and over.

In relation to the population aged 15-49, we have verified the hypothesis that being female depresses the propensity to work, or to participate to the economic activity. The results of regression models are not surprising: sex is a very important determinant of economic activity. Women have a lower “probability” to participate to work market. The negative relationship between fertility and work status is also verified: as number of children increases, the “propensity” to economic activity diminishes.

In conclusion, the more important question concerning population and development in developing countries by a gender point of view is summarized in this way: to what extent gender inequality, particularly gender inequality in education and employment, has a negative impact on demographic behavior, conditioning demographic transition from an old-type regime to a modernized one characterized by a low level of mortality and fertility and to what extent this relation affects growth and development. It appears that gender inequality in education does impede economic growth. It does so directly through distorting incentives and indirectly through its impact on investment and population growth (Klasen, 1999).

Gender inequality in education has large and significant effects on fertility and child mortality. Since reduced fertility and child mortality (and, conversely, expanded longevity) are among the most important constituent elements of well-being (Sen, 1999), these findings may be at least as relevant for the well-being of people in developing countries as the findings regarding economic growth (which is just one means to generate greater well-being). In fact, it appears that promoting gender equity in education and employment may be one of those few policies that have been termed “win-win” strategies. Gender equity would further economic prosperity and efficiency, promote other critical human development goals such as lower mortality and fertility, and it would be intrinsically valuable as well (Klasen, 1999).