

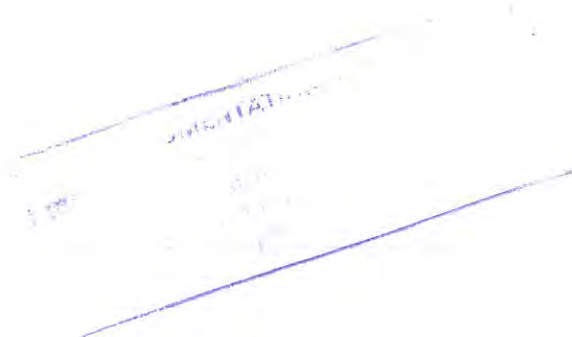
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIALS IN FAMILY
FORMATION AND DISSOLUTION IN AND
AROUND DEBREZEIT**

MEGERSA GOBENA

JUNE, 1999



**RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIALS IN FAMILY FORMATION
AND DISSOLUTION IN AND AROUND DEBREZEIT**

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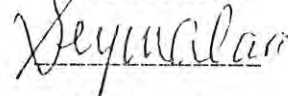
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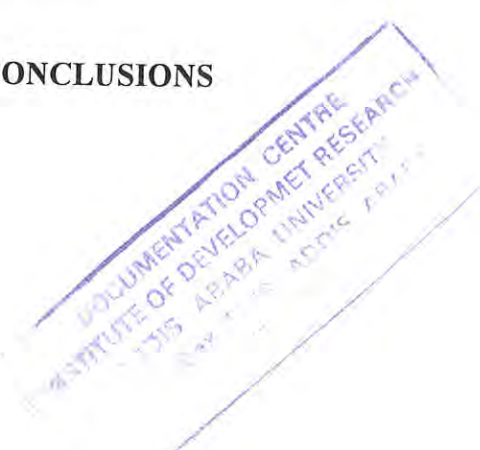
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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to fill the gap in the knowledge on differences between rural and urban areas regarding family formation and family dissolution. The analysis is based on primary data collected from Debrezeit and the surrounding rural areas in April 1999.

The analysis is framed in such a way that rural-urban place of residence is assumed to exert its influence on the two dependent variables through its influence on the explanatory variables. The two dependent variables are family formation and family dissolution, the indicators of which are age at first marriage and stability of first marriages, respectively.

The methods of analysis used include the univariate, bivariate, and the multivariate techniques. In addition, A. J. Coale's model nuptiality indices were used to estimate and compare first marriage frequencies, the speed or tempo of first marriages, and the proportion that ultimately marries in Debrezeit and the rural areas surrounding it.

The results of analyses reveal that urban girls marry at an average age of 17.71 years while their rural counterparts marry at an average age of 15.59 years. A look at the trend in age at first marriage in the last three to four decades shows that mean age at first marriage increased by about one and a half years among the rural respondents while it did so by about two years among the urban respondents. Singulate mean age at marriage is found to be positively associated with level of education both among the rural and the urban respondents.

The indices of Coale's model nuptiality computed for this study indicate that rural females start and finish marrying for the first time earlier than their urban counterparts.

Consistent with the univariate and the bivariate analyses, the analysis of variance shows that mean age at first marriage varied significantly by level of education, the way first marriages were arranged, migration status, and stability of parental unions before first marriages of the respondents. Similarly, the results of multiple classification analysis show that illiterates, those who had their first marriages arranged by their families, those who were abducted, other ethnic groups than the Oromos, rural respondents, those who were not courted before their first marriages, migrants, those unemployed before their first marriages, and those whose parents were in marital union married earlier than the grand mean age of marriage.

Results of the logistic regression analysis indicate that place of residence, courtship before first marriage, husband's education level and age at first marriage, current age, migration status, age at first marriage, and CEB in first marriage were selected from among other explanatory variables by the backward stepwise method to have significant relationship with stability of first marriages.

It is recommended that governmental and other concerned bodies design methods through which the variables which are found to significantly influence age at first marriage and stability of those marriages may be influenced so that ages at first marriages and stability of first marriages will be brought to desirable levels.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem and Significance of the Study

The family has been and continues to be the most basic unit of society throughout the ages. Although the ceremonies and the timing of its formation differ from one place to another and from one point in time to another, the importance attached to the formation of the family is still strong. This is mainly because of the fact that the society carries out most of its important functions through the family. These functions can be broadly grouped into the economic, social, reproductive, and personal or psychological functions.

The economic functions of the family mainly include the production, consumption and transmission of assets. These functions differ from time to time and from one type of culture to another depending largely on whether the family is the extended or the nuclear type. In the extended family system the economic functions of the family are based on the familial mode of production and concerns the interests of a larger kin group while this is not the case in the modern industrial nuclear family system. In this latter case, the economic functions change and the economic interest is limited to those of the nuclear family members.

The socialization functions of the family also change with changes in family systems. For instance, occupational training for the members of a family is the responsibility of the family in the extended family systems while this becomes the responsibility of the larger society in the nuclear family systems. The point at which this responsibility shifts from the family to the

society cannot be clearly delineated since the extended and the nuclear family systems can coexist for a long period of time.

The nature of the family system also determines the reproduction function of the family. In the extended family systems the need for a large number of people for manpower and the struggle against high infant mortality encourage high fertility. In the nuclear family system, on the other hand, the industrial or urban mode of production and the relatively low infant mortality discourage high fertility.

Similarly, the extent and nature of the personal or psychological functions of the family also vary according to the family system. The family is the only socially acceptable means for sexual gratification in the extended system while this may not be the case in the nuclear family systems.

Despite all these functions, studies dealing specifically with family formation and the causes for its dissolution have been relatively rare until the last two decades (Sweet and Bumpass, 1990). The problem of shortage of such studies has been worse in countries of the 'Third World' than in those categorized as the 'Developed World'. Lack or absence of raw material in the form of data has been one of the major reasons for the absence. The problem is still much worse in Ethiopia.

In recent years national censuses and periodical sample surveys in the developing countries have increased the number of questions they allocate for the subject of marriage or family formation and dissolution in their questionnaires. But still the attention nuptiality is given in comparison with the other demographic variables such as fertility and mortality has been very little.

Most of the recent studies conducted on nuptiality within the context of demography have been aimed at discovering the role it plays as a proximate determinant of fertility (UN, 1988). As mentioned in the above few paragraphs, however, reproduction is only one of the functions of the family.

Family formation in Ethiopia is early and universal. Females marry earlier than males. Results of the 1984 National Population and housing Census of Ethiopia indicated that only 11.6 percent of girls remain single in the 20-24 age group while about 47 percent of males in the same age group were single at that time (CSA, 1991).

The ways in which families dissolve are also of equal importance in the study of family formation and dissolution. Family dissolution in Ethiopia is at a high level. And the trend in marital instability has been on the increase particularly for first marriages (Abeje, 1995). The National Family and Fertility Survey of Ethiopia conducted in 1990 indicated that out of the 4,330,425 rural and 577,167 urban ever married women covered by the survey 26.1 percent and 40 percent, respectively, reported that their first marriages were dissolved by divorce (CSA, 1993).

1.2 Definition of Concepts and Analytical Framework for the Study

Together with the presentation and discussion of the analytical framework a few concepts need operational definitions.

Arrangement norms: these are norms which regulate the matching or choice of spouses. The matching of spouses is either arranged by the couples' families or is made by the free choice of the spouses themselves.

Courtship norms: these norms define the rules which govern the relationship between partners to a marital union before their marriage.

Family dissolution: is a condition in which partners of a marital union cease to live together as husband and wife. There are three ways commonly known in which families dissolve. One is divorce. In this case a legal body (a court in an urban setting or a group of elder men in rural areas where there are no court services) is needed to pronounce the union dissolved. The second way is separation. Here there is no court procedure. The partners to the union simply cease to live together. The third way in which a union dissolves is widowhood. This is the death of one party to the union. A union can also be said to have dissolved when both partners die.

Family formation: A family is said to be formed when a couple starts living together as husband and wife. In Ethiopia this event can start in a number of ways which range from individual private agreement of the couple to expensive marriage ceremonies. In an urban setting, there

usually is the precedence of a legal contract arranged by a municipality. And some times the couple (more frequently in recent years) start living together without any legal contract and may sign the legal contract afterwards These are commonly known as consensual marital unions. In the rural areas the signing of contractual agreements is facilitated by a group of elderly men.

In other parts of Africa marriage is a process rather than an event. In some countries of west Africa sexual intercourse and child bearing can start before the couple starts living together. And the couple may never come to live together but continue to be husband and wife (van de Walle and Meekers, 1994).

Family Nucleation: is the process through which new or young families become more and more autonomous away from the traditional extended family systems where they would have otherwise been under the autonomy of the extended families.

Migration: is the movement of an individual across a political boundary which results in a stay of at least six months.

Parental marital stability: is the state of the marriage of a respondent's parents before she married for the first time, that is whether her father and mother were still in marital union or not before she got married.

Prevalence norms: these norms govern the choice of an individual to marry or to remain single.

Many societies have strong prevalence norms that an individual has little or no freedom to stay single after the common ages of first marriages.

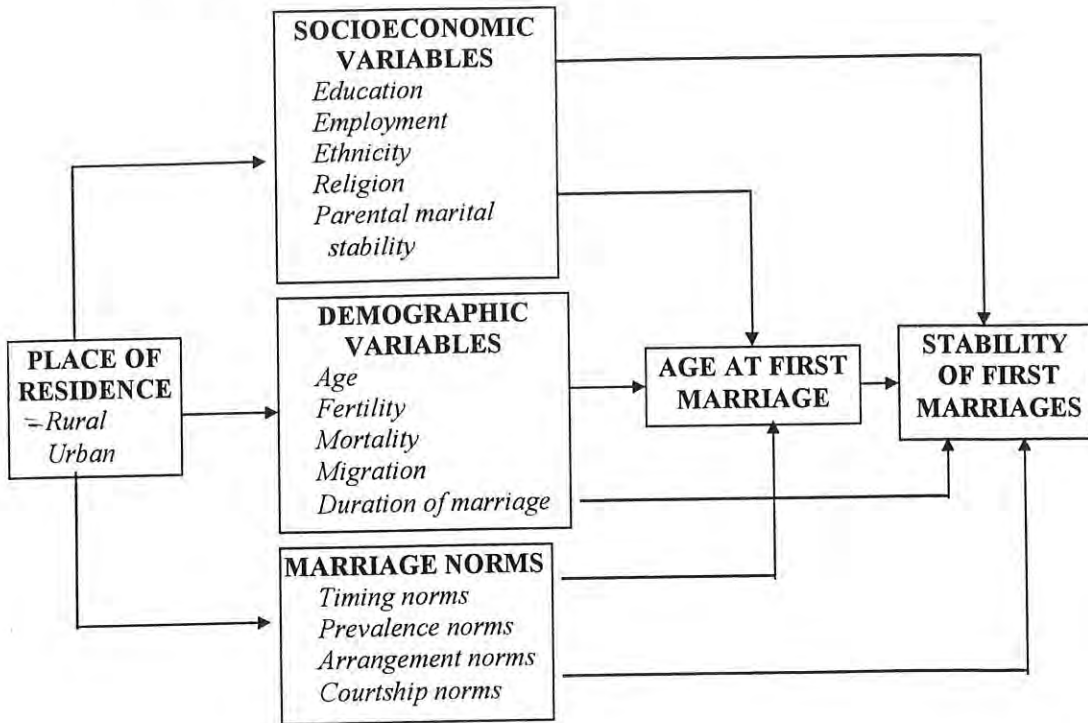
The extended family: is a family type in which more than one nuclear families live under one authority. The families may or may not live in one household.

The nuclear family: is a family whose members are the husband, the wife and their children. It is a term used to differentiate generations of families living together in the form of the extended family. In the traditional extended family systems nuclear families live with the extended family and the modern autonomous nuclear families live in independent dwelling units.

Timing norms: these are norms which define the rules which govern the age at, or a range of ages in, which a girl may get married for the first time.

The following analytical framework is used as a guiding tool in this study.

Figure 1.2 Analytical Framework for the Study



In the analytical framework the variables which affect family formation and dissolution are categorized into three: socioeconomic variables, demographic variables and marriage norms. The variables in the three categories are thought to have direct influence on the two dependent variables (family formation and dissolution, whose indicators are age at first marriage and stability of first marriages). Rural-urban place of residence is supposed to exert its influence on the dependent variables indirectly through its influence on each of or combination of the independent variables in the three categories.

The three categories of the independent variables are assumed to strongly influence the dependent variables and are in turn strongly influenced by rural-urban place of residence. The first dependent variable, age at first marriage, also affects the other dependent variable, that is, stability of first marriages.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to investigate rural-urban differentials in family formation and dissolution in and around Debrezeit. Along with this general objective the study also tries to achieve the following specific objectives.

1. To describe the marital status of the population in Debrezeit and the surrounding rural areas.
2. To examine the factors which lead to differences in age at first marriage between the rural and urban areas.
3. To describe and compare the timing and speed or tempo of first marriages and the proportion that ultimately marries in the two residential areas.
4. To compare first marriage stability of the urban and the rural areas.
5. To make some policy- relevant recommendations in relation to family formation and dissolution.

1.4 Review of the Literature

The interest in the study of family formation and dissolution from a demographic perspective has been growing ever since the realization that the use of the individual as the appropriate unit of analysis for the study of such events as births, deaths, migration, marriages and divorces is insufficient. The insufficiency arises from the fact that the above events in most cases happen within the context of the family, or at least related to the family. This premise points to the need

for placing the family in the center of analyses dealing with the determinants of these demographic components, their reciprocal influences on one another, and the consequences of their interaction (Matthiessen, 1981).

Much of the studies conducted on family formation and dissolution have dealt greatly with the determinants or background variables. These variables can be grouped into two broad categories: socioeconomic and demographic. This review of the relevant literature on family formation and dissolution is presented in accordance with this categorization.

Socioeconomic Variables

Most of the variables in this group are background characteristics of individuals which are known to or are supposed to influence the decision to marry or not to marry, the age at which to marry for the first time, the decision to separate, divorce, and also the decision to remarry or not. The following variables are the most commonly encountered in the literature on family formation and dissolution.

Education

Education is often said to raise the age at which marriage takes place for the first time through the large number of years needed to complete schooling. There appears to be a consensus on the fact that education, particularly post secondary education, is positively associated with age at first marriage (Bumpass and Call, 1989).

The direction of association between education and marriage is debatable. In some societies where the age at first marriage norm is strictly followed, marriage can lead to the discontinuation of the learning process. Or, even in the absence of such norms, education can be discontinued for marriage and then resumed after marriage.

The World Fertility Survey conducted by the United Nations in 38 countries of the world indicates that the singulate mean age at first marriage of women who had attended school for seven years was nearly four years higher than that of women with no schooling or education whatsoever. This finding was diluted by the concomitant finding from the same study that the mean age at first marriage varied widely within groups with the same level of education. For instance, girls with no schooling married at the age of 15 in Cameroon and at the age of 21 in the Sudan. Similar variation is observed among women in the group with seven or more years of schooling. Women of this education level exhibit a difference of six years between Pakistan and Bangladesh (UN, 1988).

The variation in mean age at first marriage among women at similar levels of education and who live in different parts of the world is an indication of the fact that the relationship between education and age at first marriage is not direct. There are intermediate factors such as marriage norms, job opportunities, and the like, which manipulate this relationship. In some societies time spent in schools may be further elongated by additional time in the labor force before marriage. And some societies have marriage norms which require high age at first marriage irrespective of the level of education a girl achieves.

In Ethiopia also the singulate mean age at first marriage varies from place to place irrespective of the level of education . It ranges from 15 years in Gojjam to 18 years in Walaga (CSA, 1990). The explanation for such a difference has to be sought elsewhere besides or in addition to education. This, however, should not be interpreted as meaning that education can not influence age at marriage. Rather education can create a sufficient condition to delay marriages but it may not necessarily delay marriage by itself.

The effect of education on marital stability is also debatable. Some studies suggest that the more educated a woman is, more will be her chance of staying in marriage. Other studies come up with different and even contradictory arguments. They raise the fact that an educated woman has a better job opportunity than an uneducated one and can afford to stay on her own. In other words, the former is in a relatively better position to afford a divorce.

Job Opportunity

In the literature on the relationship between job opportunity and marriage one frequently comes across a number of hypotheses that postulate that individuals with a good actual or prospective standard of living marry sooner than those individuals with less actual or prospective standard of living. Other studies hypothesize that economic fluctuations have little or no effect on the marriage prospects of people at the two extremes of the economic scale (UN, 1988).

The influence exerted on age at first marriage by the economy can be directly through lacking or having the necessary income base for establishing one's own family or indirectly through

education which needs a long time of training for obtaining better paying jobs. But the question of training and employment applies only to the urban industrialized areas. In a rural farming society the relationship between economic status and age at marriage is not so clear if it exists at all.

In a rural setting, the cost of wedding ceremonies and the living expenses of new couples in the immediate few years can be and usually is covered by the couples' families, often the patriarchal families. But conditions of harvest and the grain market do affect the economic status of the families. The point here is that the micro economic situations of households or communities can and do affect the timing and prevalence of marriages in a number of non-individualistic ways. Marriages can be postponed due to bad harvests or natural disasters such as drought.

A study made by the United Nations (the World Fertility Survey) indicates that while the timing of marriage varies among countries found at similar levels of economic development, the countries found in the upper half of the scale of development have, on the average, higher singulate mean age at first marriage than those in the lower half. Yet, still some countries at the highest level of economic development have lower ages at first marriage than some of the least developed countries (UN, 1988).

The above points are clear indicators of how the cultural setting controls the influence of the economy on the timing and prevalence of marriages. Thus, cross-country, or more specifically, cross-cultural comparison of the relationship between the economy and marriage may not yield acceptable results.

Studies concentrating on individual job opportunity (income) and the propensity to marry have documented the negative association between the two variables (White, 1981). This association appears to work through two ways. One is that most women with better paying jobs usually take large number of years in schools or other training processes and, thus, delay the time at which they marry. The other way is through the fact that girls with better paying jobs can afford to stay single. This is based on the assumption that marriages take place with the idea of utility maximization (UN, 1988). In other words, both partners decide to marry if they both increase their benefits relative to staying single.

The effect of the economy as a determinant of the stability of marriages is also not well documented. But the fact that crises like famine do lead to spectacular declines in marriage rates and the stability of existing unions is noted. In China, for example, first marriage rates declined by 20 percent between 1956 and 1959. Then they recovered by 61 percent in 1962 after the famine (Caldwel and Srinivasan, 1984). In Ethiopia also famine has lead to a large increase in mean age at first marriage and to a high proportion of women in childbearing ages living out of wedlock in northern Ethiopia (Markos, 1997). Markos further states that in the study area, northern Ethiopia, half of the ever married women were married more than once. Among zones in that part of the country Wollo exhibited the highest marital instability.

Other studies indicate that persons with higher level of income have more stable marriages than those with lower income. A study conducted in Addis Ababa in 1991 indicated that 93 percent of the first marriages of the study group (higher income group) remained intact (Yacob, 1991).

Ethnic Background

The influence of ethnicity as a variable determining the time and prevalence of marriages and also the stability of marital unions may not be direct as that of education and the economy. Being of any ethnic origin by itself does not lead to early or late marriage and marital stability or instability. The reason behind the fact that different ethnic groups have different marriage times and rate of stability is that they have different elements of culture. It is common knowledge that some cultures value early and universal marriage while others allow late marriages and celibacy. In Ethiopia, where ethnic diversity is well recognized, differences in patterns of marriage among ethnic groups have been documented in many studies whose main interests are different from nuptiality. The Oromos have higher age of entry into first marriages than other ethnic groups for whom age at marriage has been documented (CSA, 1993; Markos, 1997). The 1994 Census of Ethiopia indicates that the singulate mean age at marriage for females in most zones of the Oromiya administrative region is higher than that for most zones of the Amhara administrative region. The difference ranges from as high as 18.1 years in Walaga to as low as 14.6 years in Gojjam. The reasons behind such differences are deep rooted in the cultures of the ethnic groups. One such reason can be the difference in the mechanisms used to control premarital sex and premarital birth. In Walaga, where the mean age at marriage is higher, the norms which control premarital sex and birth may be stronger than those in Gojjam.

Differences in stability of marriages among the various ethnic groups has also been observed. In some parts of Ethiopia marriages can easily be dissolved while in others dissolution, particularly by divorce, is frowned at. Among the Borena of southern Ethiopia, for example, marriage can

simply be thought of as indissoluble (Asmerom, 1973). According to Asmerom, marriages are contracted for economic as well as political reasons and, thus, the relationship between husbands and wives tends to be distant and respectful. And there have not been procedures, legal or otherwise, to facilitate the separation of a married couple.

Residence

The wide gap between rural and urban places of residence in age at first marriage has been observed in many studies of nuptiality (Abeje, 1995; CSA, 1993; McCarthy, 1982). Urban women have higher mean age at first marriage than their rural counterparts. The reason for this is definitely not living in urban or rural places per se. It is rather because the determinants of age at first marriage operate through factors associated with places of living. Urban women have better access to education, modern birth control methods, and employment opportunities in the modern sector than rural women. And these factors are known to delay marriages. In the rural areas early marriage and high fertility are encouraged. The elements of modernization work against the norms of early marriage and high fertility in the urban areas.

Social problems associated with delayed marriages in a rural setting such as premarital sex and illegitimate births are the basic factors which force parents to see to it that their daughters marry early before they become sexually active. This is not much of a problem in the urban areas where there are preventive and curative measures against unwanted conceptions.

In the rural areas marriages are arranged to take place earlier in life. This is done with the intention of producing the largest possible number of children specially male heirs (Mitchell, 1970).

Despite the large difference between the two living places in age at first marriage in most countries of the developing world, the ultimate proportion which eventually marries is equal, that is, almost all marry by the age of 50. Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Pacific show little or no difference in the proportion that ultimately marries (McCarthy, 1982).

In Ethiopia also there is no difference between rural and urban areas in the proportion that ultimately marries (CSA, 1993). In 1990 the proportion of women aged 45-49 years that never married was only 0.4 percent both in the urban and the rural areas. In other words, by age 49 almost all (99.6 percent) women were married for the first time. What is significant in the difference between the two areas is the tempo or speed of marriage. In the 1990 national sample survey conducted by the CSA it was found out that more than 40 percent of rural women had already been married before age 20 while only 10 percent of their urban counterparts married before that age. In the 20-24 age group only 12.2 percent remained single among rural women while half of urban women in that age group were yet to marry (CSA, 1993).

The stability of marriages is correlated with the pattern of age of entry in to unions. It is often said that most marriages dissolve in the first few years of their formation. The World Fertility Survey conducted in 27 countries of the world concludes that the probability of marriage dissolution in the first five years was found to be twice as high as that in the next five years in

almost all countries surveyed (Smith, et al., 1984). In 1990 in Ethiopia rural first marriages were more stable than urban first marriages. 47.3 percent of urban first marriages and 28.9 percent of rural first marriages dissolved through divorce or separation (CSA, 1993). This is consistent with the general observation that urban marriages are less stable than rural marriages.

The reasons behind such differentials are not thoroughly investigated. Status of women can be one such reason. Rural women are less educated and economically less privileged than their urban counterparts. This makes them totally or partially dependent on their husbands and, consequently, dissolution not affordable to them. Urban women, on the other hand, are relatively better and can afford divorce or separation.

The social contexts in which marriages are formed and perform their functions in the two places are different and this difference can also contribute to the difference in the rates at which marriages dissolve. Rural areas are characterized by extended family systems in which marriages are arranged by parents or the kin group. The functions of marriage go beyond the interests of the immediate couple and the stability of such marriages to a large extent depends on the influence of the kin group even to the extent of going against the interests of the couple (Caldwel and Caldwell 1987). Thus, marital unions are more stable as a result of social pressure from the kin group in the rural than urban areas.

In the urban areas, on the other hand, the nuclear or conjugal family is the most common type of family. The decision making process is in the hands of the couple and not in those of the kin group (UN, 1988). This is an indicator of the fact that there is freedom of choice of partner to

marriage. The functions and responsibilities of the conjugal family are to the conjugal unit and not to any other group. Thus, it is tempting to hypothesize that the freedom of choice which brought the union into existence may also bring its demise.

Demographic Variables

Age at Marriage

Most of the literature on nuptiality has been devoted to the study of age at marriage. Age at first marriage in the developing part of the world, sub-Saharan Africa in particular, has been persistently lower than that in the developed part of the world. Some of the lowest singulate mean age at marriage are found in Africa. And the concept of legal age at first marriage is of very recent origin in many parts of the continent (UN, 1988).

The lower age at first marriage in sub-Saharan Africa is associated with the ways in which marriages are arranged. In societies where families arrange the marriages of their daughters, and girls have little or no say in the issue, age at marriage is usually lower. The girls are not left to mature to the age at which they can choose their future husbands.

In some places in Ethiopia, especially northern Ethiopia, early ages at marriages confer family prestige. When a girl marries at the age of 12 or so it means that her family is honorable-whereas if she marries at ages later than that, it may mean that her family is of lower social status (Markos, 1997). Markos divided his study population into the three zones of North Shawa, Wollo, and Tigray. He calculated reported mean age at marriage for five-year age groups. In North Shawa the reported mean age at marriage ranges between 12.84 years for the 65-69 age

group to 14.83 years for the 15-19 age group. The corresponding figures for Wollo and Tigray are very similar. These data indicate that the emphasis put on early marriage is still persisting in these parts of the country.

In the southern part of the country, on the other hand, girls marry at relatively later ages and the average age gap between brides and grooms is mostly less than a year. The reported mean age at marriage for the urban subsample is 17.2 years and for the rural subsample it is 16.2 years. For the total sample it is 16.6 years. (DTRC, 1998).

Although it is not easy to be sure about the future course of age at first marriage in African societies, the study of the variable remains very important at least from the interest of fertility study and the AIDS pandemic. It is believed that fertility declines more as a result of the rise in age at first marriage than the controlling of fertility within marriage. The study of sexuality, particularly how first sexual activity starts, is very much relevant in a continent like Africa where the utmost emergency of the pandemic AIDS is being felt (van de Walle and Meekers, 1994).

Age at first marriage has been frequently cited as one of the most important factors determining the stability of marriages. It has been hypothesized that early age at marriage leads to the dissolution of marriages mostly through divorce and, when the husband is much older than the wife at the time of marriage, through widowhood. In Ethiopia, in 1990, 47.3 percent of those women who married at ages less than 15 years had their first marriages dissolved either by divorce or separation (CSA, 1993). This same source indicated that 25.3 percent of those women who married at ages between 15 and 17 years had their first marriages dissolved by separation or

divorce. The trend continues with 18.7 and 14.6 percent of women who married at ages ranging from 18 to 19 and 22 to 24, respectively, having their first marriages end in divorce or separation. This clearly shows a positive correlation between age at first marriage and marital stability up to the age groups mentioned. Whether the positive relationship holds for all ages of marriage has not been mentioned.

In the literature on nuptiality, there is also what is known as nuptiality transition which is a variant of the demographic transition theory. The transition in this case is from high nuptiality in the period before 1500 (with high fertility) through low nuptiality between 1600 and 1940 (with high or low nuptiality depending on when contraceptive became more effective) to high nuptiality once again after the 1950's (with low fertility). The return to high nuptiality is said to be because of the sophistication in birth control methods and the lesser or no cause for the postponement of marriages. The countries of the developing world appear to be at the first stage in the process of nuptiality transition. The above scheme of nuptiality transition in the west world shows a declining age at first marriage as well as celibacy. It is not clear whether demographic or non-demographic factors are at work in bringing back the era of high nuptiality (Heeren, 1974).

Type of Marriage

Multiple forms or types of marriage which have been changing over time have existed in African societies (Mann, 1994). Polygyny has been a common phenomenon in many parts of Africa. It is one feature of Islamic and the native religions of the continent. In Ethiopia both monogamous and polygamous forms of marriage have been in existence. Monogamy is the rule

among the followers of Christianity while polygyny is practiced among the Muslims and followers of the native religions. Marriages in Ethiopia are formed in either of three ways: traditional or customary, civil, and religious. These can alternatively be called the cultural, the national and the religious, respectively.

In 1990 about 14.3 percent of all currently married women in the Ethiopia were in polygyneous unions (CSA, 1993). The same study indicated that there was a tendency for Polygyny to increase with age. The percentage increased from 4.6 for those under 20 years of age to 20.7 for those aged 40-44 years. This can be an indication of the fact that husbands marry young wives when their first wives get older. The latter statement can be justified from practical observations.

In terms of rural and urban places of residence polygyny is still common in the urban areas of Ethiopia but less prevalent than that in the rural areas (CSA, 1993). In the year the National Family and Fertility Survey was conducted, that is, 1990, 15.2 percent and 6.8 percent of rural and urban marriages, respectively, were polygyneous. The capital city, Addis Ababa, also had 4 percent of its marriages in polygyny. This is perhaps due to the abundance of Gurage communities among whom polygyny is common.

Polygyny is taking a new form in some parts of Africa, particularly West Africa. The practice of sexual relations outside marriage, in which a man contracts a legal marriage with a woman and forms extra-legal domestic and sexual unions with other women is becoming common practice in many African towns and cities (Mann, 1994). According to Mann, this type of polygyny expanded because it gave an attractive alternative to an increasing number of elite men and non-

elite women. The relationship gave the elite men a way out of the legal prohibition against polygyny which bound them to one woman. It also offered the non-elite women the possibility of access to opportunities and resources which would have otherwise been inaccessible.

The relationship between marital instability and type of marriage is complicated by other confounding factors such as age at marriage, order of marriage and others. Second and third wives in polygyneous unions are usually much younger than their husbands and often less privileged than first wives. When divorce or separation occurs in a polygyneous union, therefore, it is not easy to partition the effect of the type of the union and that of the individual factors such as age at marriage, economic opportunity, education and others. Many studies have documented that polygyneous unions are more prone to dissolution than monogamous ones (CSA, 1993).

In the national survey mentioned above it was found that in the urban areas higher percentage of women in polygyneous unions had their first marriages dissolved than those in monogamous unions. The result for the rural areas was an inverse of this. In other words, polygamous unions were more stable than monogamous ones. It is difficult to explain that kind of difference between the two residential areas. One possible explanation is that urban wives find it difficult to tolerate polygamous marriages while their rural counterparts may tolerate it because of the cultural conditions in which they are brought up and which teaches them to do so.

Duration of Marriage and Children

It is indicated by many studies that the majority of the dissolution of marital unions occur in the first few years of marriage (Abeje, 1995). This is often attributed to the fact that the new players of the new roles (in the change from individual to the status of husband or wife) find it difficult to properly adjust to the new environment. Divorce or separation is then employed as escape route from the tension that follows marriage.

According to Abeje (1995), instability of first marriages decreases as duration of marriage increases. This is mainly due to the reason that selectively durable marriages survive the high rates of divorce or separation and subsequently less number of divorces or separations occur. But this apparently linear relationship changes to a curvilinear one after the ages of 40 or 50. Here the downward curve turns up when the role of widowhood becomes intensive.

Migration

The relationship between migration and age at first marriage works in both directions depending on whether the move or the formation of a union occurs first. When marriage comes first, migration is often discouraged due to the discomfort that migration brings with it. On the other hand, if migration occurs before marriage, it will usually have a positive effect on age at first marriage, assuming of course that the migrant is of marriageable age.

The gender aspect of migration, rural to urban migration in particular, has been such that males dominate in all streams of migration. An exception at the regional level has been the Latin American continent, where females predominate in the moves from rural to urban areas. In Ethiopia also, females outnumber males in rural to urban migration as opposed to the other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This appears to be the cause of the low sex ratios in the urban areas and the high sex ratios in the rural areas of the country.

The large proportion of females is always pointed out as an exceptional feature when the population structure of Ethiopian towns is compared to that of the other African towns (Bjeren, 1985). According to Bjeren, this is usually explained by the large number of divorced women flocking to the urban areas. Bjeren compared ethnic groups by sex ratio in the town of Shashemene and found out that there was a surplus of women only among the Amhara ethnic group. The author further noted that the reason for such differential would be the presence of a much higher proportion of divorced women among the Amhara ethnic group than other such groups. The 1994 National Census of Ethiopia also shows that the sex ratio of migrants to Debrezeit town, the study area for this paper, was in favor of females.

Table 1.4.2 Migration Status of Residents of Debrezeit by Sex and Area of Previous Residence.

Sex	All persons	Migration status			Area of previous residence		
		Non-migrants	Migrants	Not Stated	Urban	Rural	Not Stated
Both	73 226	41 973	30 881	372	15 599	15 260	22
Males	34 921	19 775	14 920	226	8 046	6 861	13
Females	38 305	22 198	15 9610	146	7 553	8 399	9
Sex ratio	0.9117	0.8908	0.9347	1.5479	1.0653	0.8169	1.4444

Source: CSA, 1996.

It can be seen from the above table that the sex ratio for all persons indicates that for every 100 females there were only 91 males. For the non-migrant population, on the other hand, the ratio was even smaller. There were 89 males for every 100 females. For all migrants the ratio was 93 while for those who came from the rural areas it was much smaller, about 82 males for 100 females. For those migrants who came from other urban areas the sex ratio was 106.53, which means that there were more than 6 extra males for every 100 females. These figures show that more females than males migrate to Debrezeit town from the rural areas while there are more males in the migration stream from other urban areas.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 The Study Area

The area selected for this study is the town of Debrezeit and the rural areas ten to fifteen kilometers away from it. The town is situated at about fifty kilometers to the east of the capital city (Addis Ababa), on the main road to Nazareth. It is the administrative town of Ada'a Chuqala warada (district) in the East Shawa zone of the Oromiya administrative region.

The rural population of the warada is homogeneous in its socioeconomic characteristics. The great majority is engaged in traditional agricultural activities. The rural areas within ten to fifteen kilometers from Debrezeit are administered under six farmers associations (FAs). The size of these farmers associations is about four times that of the previous FAs. This is due to the merging up of four or so previous farmers associations.

The town of Debrezeit, on the other hand, is heterogeneous in terms of the socioeconomic characteristics of its population. There are various religious, ethnic, occupational, educational, income, etc. groups. The town is administered under fifteen urban dwellers' associations or kebeles with varying population sizes and number of living houses.

2.2 Data Collection

2.2.1 The Sampling Design

The units of analysis for the study are individual ever married women. The proper way of locating these individuals is by selecting households randomly from kebeles or farmers associations roasters. In the urban area the household roasters were well prepared and updated every time new households are formed. These roasters were used as a sampling frame for the urban subsample. In the rural areas, on the other hand, there were no organized registers or roasters and it was difficult to know the number of households in each farmers association. Thus, total registration of the households in the names of the household heads had to be made in order to prepare the sampling frame.

In accordance with the tradition in DTRC and to make the total sample size reasonably large to the extent that the available financial and time resources allow, it was decided to include 1000 ever married women in the sample. As the study is a comparative one and the rural population of the study area is homogeneous, it was also decided to take equal number of respondents, 500 for each rural and urban subsample.

With a reasonable assumption that there is one ever married woman in one household, 500 households were selected from the town. After these 500 households were divided among the fifteen kebeles in proportion to their sizes, the households to be visited in each kebele were selected using probability sampling techniques.

The reason behind including all the urban kebeles in the sampling universe is the heterogeneity of the urban population. A similar procedure was followed in the rural subsample.

2.2.2 The Data Collection Instrument

The questionnaire, which consisted mostly of structured questions, was prepared to collect socioeconomic and demographic information on the respondents and other household members. It has three parts. Part one sought information on age, sex, level of education, marital status, and type of relationship to head of the household for all members of the household. Part two consists of questions regarding respondents' education, religion, ethnicity, migration history, work status and the like. The third, which is the main part of the questionnaire, consists of detailed questions on the various aspects of family formation and dissolution. Age at first marriage, age at first menstruation, arrangement of marriages, place of residence after marriage, number of children born in each successive marriage and their survival status, husbands' socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, age at successive marriages, and reasons for dissolution of marriages are the major items in this part.

The questionnaire was originally prepared in the English language but was later translated into Amharic for ease of understanding by the data collectors. The translated version was tested in the field in a pilot survey conducted in both the urban and the rural areas to assess the content, clarity, and logical flow of the questions and the time needed on average to fill out a single questionnaire. Depending on the results of the pilot survey the instrument was finalized after corrections and reorganizations.

✓ In addition to the questionnaire a focus group discussion with the local elderly people was conducted while the data collection activity was in progress. The need for the focus group discussion arises from the fact that some important points in peoples' opinions can not be exhaustively captured by the questions in the questionnaire. Consistent with expectation the group discussion proved to be instrumental in supplementing the structured questions.

2.2.3 The Field Work

Before the actual field work started intensive training was given to the enumerators and supervisors, who were selected on the basis of their grade on the ESLCE examination and knowledge of Afan Oromo and Amharic languages. Eight enumerators and two supervisors were selected from a large number of applicants and were trained on all aspects of the instrument. Particular emphasis was given to their clear understanding of the content of each question, how to translate them into Afan Oromo for the rural respondents, how to approach and talk to the household heads or other adults when they fill the household roster, how to select eligible respondents, and how to pose the questions and record the answers.

Four enumerators and the two supervisors were assigned to the urban area. The two supervisors were instructed to follow the enumerators and edit each questionnaire immediately after completion so that corrections could be made promptly. The remaining four enumerators were assigned to the rural areas and were supervised by the researcher himself. Conditions in the rural areas were more difficult and close supervision by the researcher was a necessity.

Among the problems encountered in the field was difficulty in locating the selected households in the rural areas as the houses had no serial numbers. This difficulty was solved by seeking cooperation from the kebele officials who, most kindly, assigned some members of the kebele administration to assist in locating the households. Needless to say, it may be mentioned in passing that respondents usually cooperate in responding to questions when they see people from the kebele administration. Rural respondents are particularly reluctant to speak to strangers.

Locating the household heads and the respondents was also difficult as they had been working in the crop fields. This difficulty was solved by making a second and, in some cases, a third visit. Respondents who were in second or third marriages were reluctant to answer questions related to their previous marriages in front of their current husbands. Thus, in such cases the interview session had to be quitted and later visits had to be made to interview the respondents in private.

Some respondents, particularly the old, illiterate and those who live in the rural areas do not like to answer questions related to the loss of children through death. There is a saying in the local language which, when translated into English, means “you do not sing about dead children”. It is part of an effort to forget about the dead. They, however, complied after careful persuasion.

2.3 Data Quality

All the basic methods of demographic data collection (censuses, sample surveys, and vital registration systems) have drawbacks to one extent or another. The magnitude of the errors committed in each of these methods varies from one place to another and from one time to

another. More errors occur in the data collection processes of the developing countries than that of the developed ones and in earlier times in the history of data collection than in recent times (Kpedekpo, 1982). And, according to the same author, these errors can be summarized into two main categories: errors of coverage and errors of content.

Errors of coverage occur either when certain part of the population is not enumerated at all or when it is enumerated more than once. Content errors occur when certain information is reported differently from what it really is. A good example is age data. Two main types of errors are usually observed in age reporting. These are age heaping and age shifting.

Age heaping is also called digital preference. It is the act of reporting ages as ending in some digits, mostly 0 and 5. These errors are common in societies with no practice of birth and death registration. The act is not preferring one digit to another but telling ages in digits which are 'meaningful' than others. The reason behind this is as follows. A person is either an infant, a child, a boy, a young man, an adult, or an old man. The average age for a child is usually 5 years. A boy is aged 10 or 15 while a young man is aged 20, 25 or 30 years. An adult is aged 35, 40, 45 or 50 years. And an old man is 70 or so years of age. This is why people report ages in the above digits depending on whether the person is a child, a boy/a girl, a young man, or an old man. Specifically, a boy aged 13 years is usually reported as 10 or 15 years old to make a 'meaningful' report.

In the survey at hand it is the content error rather than coverage error that is a problem of concern. Regarding coverage the response rate was 98.5 percent. Content error is specially

severe with age data. In the study area respondents ranged from those who could not give the slightest hint to their own age and who left it to the enumerators to make their own guesses to those who can tell their exact date of birth. The majority lie between these two extremes. Some techniques were employed to check the internal consistency of the data. These methods include computing new variables by adding or subtracting original variables to or from each other and using the newly computed variables to check the consistency of the original variables. Very minimal and negligible inconsistencies were found in the age data of the respondents.

2.4 Methods of Data Analysis

After the data were carefully edited and coded and the variables were defined accordingly, it was entered into the computer using the SPSS/PC⁺ DE program. It was then cleaned by running frequencies and other methods. The methods employed for the analysis of the data range from descriptive uni-variate technique to the multivariate techniques. In other words, they included constructing frequency tables, cross-tabulation of two or more variables, analysis of variance, multiple classification analysis, and the logistic regression model.

Ansely J. Coale's Nuptiality Model of 1971 is also used to compare estimated proportions ever married and first marriage frequencies for the rural and the urban sub-groups using the three parameters of nuptiality. These parameters are: a_0 , k , and c . A_0 is the earliest age at which a substantial proportion of the women marry, that is, the timing of marriage. K is the tempo or speed at which marriages occur. And c is the proportion that ultimately marries and which is the measure of the prevalence of marriage.

This model is particularly instrumental in describing and presenting differentials in family formation between the urban and the rural areas.

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2.5 Limitations of the Study

The most severe limitation in sample surveys arises from errors in age data. The fact that age is the most important variable in demographic analysis makes the problem even worse. In the analysis at hand evaluation of age data shows that there are digital preferences in age reporting. With a reasonable assumption that the errors in age data will cross each other out, the data has been used for the analysis.

Another important limitation to the study at hand arises from the fact that the study is based on data collected from a cross-section of the population at a given point in time. This shows that the analysis will be based on the assumption that in a population where the variables of interest are stable or nearly so for a reasonably long period of time, a cross-section of the population can represent a true cohort for which analysis through comparison over time would have otherwise been more scientific.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY POPULATION

3.1 Population of Ada'a Warada

3.1.1 Demographic Characteristics

The following discussion of the characteristics of the population of the warada is based on results of the 1994 National Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia.

The total population of Ada'a Chuqala warada was 234, 614 in 1994. The number of females was 116, 426 while that of males was 118, 188. This yields a sex ratio of 101.51. There were slightly more males than females in the total warada. The age structure of the warada's population, like any other population group in the country, shows an abundance of children than any other age group. In other words, the population is young. The age structure of the population is such that the size increases up to the age group 10-14 and then it starts to decrease. The abundance of children in comparison to infants appears to be due to the high rate of mortality at infancy.

Thirty four percent of the warada's population lives in the urban areas. In relative terms the warada is among the most urbanized in East Shawa zone. The sex ratio for the urban areas was 90.8 and for the rural areas it was 107.6. In the urban areas there were about nine males less for every 100 females while there were about eight extra males for every 100 females in the rural areas. This is consistent with urban and rural sex ratios in other parts of the country.

The reason also has to be more female out migration from the rural areas or more female in migration to the urban areas than males.

The total fertility rate for the zone was 4.5 children per woman. This makes the zone one with the least TFR next to East Hararge zone. Total fertility rate for Debrezeit was also among the lowest for all towns in the country. It was 2.2 children per woman.

The indices of mortality (infant mortality rate, child mortality rate, and the expectation of life at birth) altogether put the zone among those in the worst conditions. This is perhaps due to the chronic presence of malaria in the area.

3.1.2 Socioeconomic Characteristics

There are a number of ethnic groups in Ada'a Chuqala warada with various population sizes and rural- urban distribution. Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups are the two largest ethnic groups in the area.

Table 3.1.2.1 Population Distribution of Ada'a Chuqala Warada by Ethnic Composition

Ethnic Group	Population size in	
	the Warada	Debrezeit
Oromo	163 386	28 909
Amhara	55 940	31 446
Gurage	8 479	7 594
Tigraway	3 051	2 735
Others	3698	2 688
Total	234554	73372

Source: CSA, 1996.

The single largest religious group in the warada is Orthodox Christian. This holds true both for the rural and urban areas.

Table 3.1.2.2 Population Distribution of Ada'a Chuqala warada by Religious Affiliation

Place	Religion						
	Orthodox	Protestant	Catholic	Muslim	Native	Others	Not stated
Tot. warada	147 475	867	25	95	6021	29	171
Debrezeit	64 475	5 088	426	2952	116	208	107

Source: CSA, 1996.

About forty two percent of the warada's population was classified as literate in the results of the 1994 census. More than eighty percent of the rural population was illiterate while about twenty percent of the urban population was classified as illiterate. Gender wise, males were more literate than females both in the rural and urban areas. Close to ninety percent of males and a little over three-fourth of females were literate in Debrezeit town.

At the zone level the rural population is more economically active than the urban population. 75.8 percent of the rural population aged ten years and above was reported to be economically active while the corresponding figure for the urban areas in the zone was 47.54 percent. In both the rural and the urban areas females were less economically active than males.

The unemployment rate for the town of Debrezeit was 36.32 percent while the zone rate of unemployment was 24.27 percent. Similar to educational achievement females have higher rate of unemployment than males.

Perhaps one reason for the high rate of unemployment in Debrezeit is that a large proportion of the working age population of the town is ex-military service men who are currently out of formal employment.

3.2 The Total Sample and the Respondents

Of the total 985 households (with 5407 household members) included in the total sample half (493) are rural households while the other half (492) are from the urban areas. The total members of the rural households are 2799 and that of the urban households are 2608. These make the average household size for both areas 5.68 and 5.3, respectively. This shows that the difference between the two areas in average household size is not large. The sex ratio in the town was much lower than the one in the rural areas. There were 82 males for every 100 females in the former while there were 100.4 males for every 100 females in the latter.

3.2.1 Current Marital Status and Family Types

Of the 493 respondents in the rural areas 72 percent are currently married while 19 percent are widowed, and the remaining 9 percent are divorced or separated. Among those currently in marriage six percent are in polygyneous unions. Seventeen percent of the respondents are in their second or third marriage orders.

A look at the distribution of the respondents by place of living in the first few years after their first marriages shows that 63.3 percent lived together with families of their husbands while 33.5

percent lived in separate households with their husbands. This is an indicator of the degree to which families are being nucleated. The extended family is still the dominant family form in the rural areas.

Forty percent of the rural respondents reported that they married before their menstrual cycle had started. And of those who answered that their parents were not living together 74 percent said that the reason for the dissolution of their parents' unions was death of either one or both of their parents. These points are preliminary indicators of the large gap in age at first marriage between the brides and the grooms.

Table 3.2.1 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Current Marital Status and Place of Residence

Place of residence	Current marital status			Total
	Married	Widowed	Divorced or Separated	
Rural	72	19	9	100
Urban	66	18	16	100

Of the 492 urban respondents 66 percent are currently in marriage, 18 percent are widowed, and 16 percent are divorced or separated. The proportion that is divorced or separated in the urban sample is twice as much as the proportion divorced or separated in rural sample. Contrary to expectation divorce or separation is second to widowhood in the role it plays in dissolving families in the urban areas. This probably is due to the fact that most of the urban respondents are migrants (59.3 percent), the majority of whom (79.1 percent) are rural to urban migrants. And it is well established in the literature that most female rural to urban migrants are often widowed, or divorced, or separated. As expected polygyny is less common in the town than in the rural areas. But still four percent of all marriages are polygyneous at the time of the survey.

Twenty percent of the urban respondents reported that their current or last marriages (for those who were not in wedlock at the time of the survey) were not their first marriages. This proportion is higher than the proportion which reported likewise in the rural areas. It is also consistent with the fact that 34 percent of the urban respondents were out of wedlock while only 28 percent of their rural counterparts were out of wedlock at the time of the survey.

Three-fourths of the respondents lived in separate households with their spouses after their first marriages. Only 17.7 percent lived with their husbands' families. In comparison to the rural areas, families in the urban areas appear to be much more nucleated.

Only 69 percent of the urban respondents married out from intact parental families while the corresponding proportion for the rural areas was about 82 percent. Instability of marriages among the older generations also appears to have been similar to the current pattern, that is, there has been more marital instability in the urban area than there has been in the rural areas.

85.5 percent of those whose parental marriages had dissolved before they got married said that the reason for the dissolution was death of either or both parents. This is quite a large proportion compared to that of the rural respondents (74 percent). It is often the case that widowhood becomes the main cause for dissolution of marital unions in situations where there is a substantial age difference between the husband and the wife. And such a difference is expected to be higher in the rural areas. But the above figures showed it to be otherwise.

The reason for this again most probably is that respondents who migrated from the rural areas took their experience to the urban area with them.

Early age at first marriage is often cited as one main cause of family dissolution in the rural areas and migration of divorced and widowed women to the urban areas. Another indicator of marriages being earlier in the rural than urban areas is the fact that 36 percent of the rural and 24 percent of the urban respondents married before their menstrual cycle had begun.

3.2.2 Demographic Characteristics

As an indicator of fertility differential between the urban and the rural areas the total number of children ever born shows that only 1.6 percent of the urban respondents had more than ten children whereas about 8 percent of the rural respondents had more than ten children in their first marriages. These figures are indicators of the fact that rural women have higher fertility than their urban counterparts.

Forty eight and seventy four percent of rural and urban respondents, respectively, said that all of their children in first marriages are still alive at the time of the survey. This also is another indicator that children of urban respondents have much better chance of survival than those of the rural respondents.

In the rural areas almost eighty percent of the respondents are non-migrants, 97 percent of whom had never left their place of birth for at least six months. Even most of those who claimed to have

migrated are those who crossed the neighboring kebele borders when they got married. In the town of Debrezeit 59 percent of the respondents came from somewhere else. They came practically from all parts of the country.

The intensity of migration decreases as the place of origin gets far and far away. More than half of the migrants came from outside the administrative region. 27.1 percent of them came from the Amhara region while 10.3 and 9.6 percent came from Addis Ababa and the Southern Nations, respectively. It is also found out that 84 percent of the migrants in Debrezeit came from outside the warada. And 79 percent of all migrants to the town are rural to urban migrants.

3.2.3 Socioeconomic Characteristics

The illiteracy rate in the rural areas is 63.5 percent. About seventeen percent are at the read and write level; 12 percent left school between grades one and six; about four percent from junior secondary and close to five percent from higher secondary classes. The literacy rate in general is found to be better than what the CSA reported for the total rural areas in the warada.

In the town, on the other hand, 34 percent are illiterate; 17 percent can read and write; 16.7 percent left school from the primary classes; 10 percent from junior secondary; 19.7 from senior secondary; and 2.6 from above secondary classes. In relative terms, there are substantial number of respondents who went beyond the high school level. The rate of literacy is close to twice as much as the one in the rural areas.

Table 3.2.3 Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education Attained And Place of Residence

Place of Residence	Level of Education						Total
	Illiterate	Read and Write	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Above Secondary	
Rural	63.5	16.6	12.0	3.6	4.3	0.0	100
Urban	33.9	17.1	16.7	10.0	19.7	2.6	100

The regular economic activity of the 493 rural respondents is such that 83.56 percent said that they are engaged in productive activities, the majority (94.7) in agriculture, and the remaining 16 percent said they do not work outside the house. 5.3 percent of those who said that they have work are engaged in trade and petty trade activities. Among the urban respondents 19 percent are regularly employed. 41 percent of those who are employed work in petty trading activities; 35 percent are office workers; 12 percent are large scale traders and another 12 percent are teachers.

The great majority of the respondents both in the rural areas and in Debrezeit (94.3 and 90 percent, respectively,) are followers of the Orthodox Christian religion while the rest are partitioned among Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, and native religions. Among the rural respondents the Oromo ethnic group accounts for 80 percent followed by the Amharas (19 percent). In the urban area the above two groups account for 86 percent of all the respondents, each sharing 44.3 and 41.7 percent, respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIFFERENTIALS IN FAMILY FORMATION

4.1 Proportion Ever Married

As shown in table 4.1 no males or females were reported to have married before the age of 15 years. Marriage below that age is a rare event among the new generations. This finding is based on data gathered at one point in time from a cross section of a population and, thus, the chance of coming across those who are married and whose ages are below 15 years is very small.

Table 4.1 Proportion Ever Married by Age Groups and Place of Residence

Age Group	Residence								
	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
15-19	1.4	13.8	6.6	0.0	2.8	1.5	0.7	7.5	4.0
20-24	12.0	46.8	29.3	4.1	22.4	14.1	8.0	33.3	21.2
25-29	50.6	65.2	58.0	17.0	50.3	35.9	31.7	55.9	44.8
30-34	71.9	90.3	81.5	60.8	78.2	69.7	65.6	83.6	74.9
35-39	89.4	95.5	93.0	76.0	93.4	87.2	82.5	94.3	89.8
40-44	97.2	96.8	96.9	94.7	96.0	95.5	95.7	96.4	96.1
45-49	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	29.4	47.1	38.2	31.1	40.7	31.1	30.3	43.6	37.3

The table shows that among the urban respondents no male is reported to have married before the age of twenty and still the proportion ever married in the 20-24 age group is about four percent. In the rural sample, on the other hand, a few marriages do occur among males aged 15 to 19 years and then the rate speeds up in the next age group. Rural males marry earlier than their urban counterparts. By age 39 close to 90 percent of rural males have already been married whereas only about three quarters of urban males marry by that age.

Although the latter lag behind the former in the rate at which they marry, their common feature is that by age 49 all males in both areas have already been married at least for the first time.

Comparison of the female groups by place of residence shows that there is even larger difference in the rate at which they marry than that between the male groups. Although both groups start to marry at about age 15, only less than three percent of urban females get married in the 15-19 age group while close to five times that number among rural females marry in the same age group. The speed at which females marry is much faster in the rural areas than that in the urban area. More than 90 percent of the rural females have already been married before age 35 while the corresponding figure for the urban respondents is 78. But, interestingly enough, urban females catch up with the rural ones in the 40-44 age group and all women in both places of residence will be married before the age of 50 years.

As it has been noted in the literature the process of marriage in the rural areas is early and universal. But a little modification is required before this statement is repeated for the urban areas. Marriage in the urban areas is also universal but relatively late.

Male and female comparison in the proportion ever married shows that both in the urban and the rural areas males lag behind females in the speed at which they marry. The lag is more pronounced in the urban than in the rural areas particularly in the 25 to 29 age group. More than half of rural men in this age group were married and only 17 percent of urban males in the same age group were married.

In other words, rural males aged 25 to 29 years lag behind their females by 14.6 percentage points while urban males of the same age lag behind their females by 33.3 percentage points.

At this point it is tempting to ask this question: whom are the remaining 83 percent of urban males aged 25 to 29 years going to marry since more than half of females in the same age group have already been married? The answer definitely is that they will marry from among females in the lower age groups. Perhaps this is one cause for the persistent difference in age at first marriage between males and females.

4.2 Mean Age at First Marriage for Females

The reported mean age at first marriage for the rural respondents is less than that of the urban respondents by 1.22 years. This appears to be small in light of the expected large gap between the two areas in mean age at first marriage.

Table 4.2.1 Mean age at First Marriage by Place of Residence

Place of Residence	Migration status		
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Both
Rural	15.59 (3.0) *	15.88 (3.3)	15.65 (3.0)
Urban	17.71 (4.0)	16.28 (4.0)	16.87 (4.0)
Total	16.32 (3.5)	16.18 (3.8)	16.27 (3.6)

* Figures in parentheses are standard deviations of the means.

When migration is taken in to account there is no remarkable difference between migrants and non-migrants in mean age at first marriage in the rural areas. In the urban area, however, there is a difference of about one and a half years between migrants and non-migrants in the mean age at

which they marry for the first time. The migrants marry earlier than the non-migrants. Migrants in Debrezeit are mostly of rural origin whose mean age at first marriage is lower than that of the urban born.

The trend in mean age at first marriage for the females does not show a remarkable increase. For the rural sample it increased by about one and a half years in the last 30 or 40 years. Table 4.2.2 shows this trend over time.

Table 4.2.2 Trends in Mean Age at First Marriage by Place of Residence

Age Group	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Urban	Total	Difference between Rural and Urban
Less than 25	16.19 (2.8)*	17.73(2.3)	16.65 (2.7)	1.54
25-34	16.19 (3.1)	17.82 (3.9)	17.05 (3.6)	1.63
35-44	15.37 (3.0)	16.79 (4.2)	16.17 (3.8)	1.42
45-54	15.71 (2.6)	16.44 (4.2)	16.12 (4.0)	0.73
55+	14.68 (2.3)	15.76 (4.0)	15.23 (3.3)	1.08
Total	15.65 (3.0)	16.87 (4.0)	16.27 (3.6)	1.22

* Figures in parentheses are standard deviations of the means.

In the urban areas the young generation marries at age 17.73 or at about 18 years on the average and the old generation married at the age of 15.76 years. This indicates that the mean age at first marriage among urban females has increased by about two years in the last 30 or 40 years. As it can be observed from table 4.2.2 there is no remarkable difference between the rural and the urban areas in the trend in mean age at first marriages over the last three to four decades. From the above paragraphs it is clear that the increase in mean age at first marriage has been larger in the urban area than in the rural areas. One possible explanation for this difference appears to be the fact that the urban people respond to agents of change faster than the rural people.

Another important point worth mentioning here is that the mean age at first marriage for females in both the rural and the urban areas is below what it is expected to be at the present time. This

can be attributed to the relatively large number of older women (whose mean age at marriage is smaller) in the sample. The figures for the younger generations are reasonably large enough.

4.3 Singulate Mean Age at Marriage

In cross-sectional surveys like this one mean age at first marriage is estimated using an indirect method. It is approximated by the indirect method from data on marital status by age. The result of such an approximation has been called the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) by John Hajnal in 1953. SMAM is an estimate of the mean number of years lived by a group of women before their first marriages.

The basic assumption involved in the calculation of SMAM is that the change in proportion single from a given age to the next is a measure of the proportion of a birth cohort married for the first time at that age (Shryock and Siegal, 1976). With an unlikely assumption that no woman dies between her fifteenth and fifty fifth birthdays the question is how to calculate the mean age at marriage of women marrying before they reach the age of fifty years.

According to Shryock and Siegal, (1976) and Kpedekpo, (1982), the steps involved in the calculation of the singulate mean age at first marriage are the following:

1. Sum the percentages single through age group 45-49 and multiply the sum by 5;
2. Add 1500 to the result of step one;
3. Average the percentages for age groups 45-49 and 50-54.
4. Multiply the result of (3) by 50;

5. Subtract the result of (4) from (2);
6. Subtract the result of (3) from 100;
7. Divide the result of (5) by the result of (6).

Calculation by employing these steps results in an estimate of the average number of years lived in the single state by those who marry before the age of 50.

The considerations underlying the steps involved in the computations are the following. The number of years lived in the single state by the entire cohort between the ages of fifteen and fifty is the sum of the proportions single multiplied by five (the grouping in to five years makes multiplication by five a requirement). The addition of 1500 (15 years times 100 percent proportion single) to the result in step one is to consider the 15 years lived by the cohort before the fifteenth birthday. And the number of years lived between the ages of 15 and 50 by those who did not marry by the age of 50 has to be subtracted from the total which will be divided by the number of women to get the singulate mean age at first marriage.

Table 4.3 Female Singulate Mean Age at Marriage by Place of Residence and Level of Education

Level of Education	Place of Residence		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Illiterate	21.65	24.27	22.36
Primary	23.17	23.71	23.25
Secondary	24.52	24.70	27.53
Above secondary	--	26.77	28.57
Total	23.56	26.77	25.30

It appears that the singulate mean age at marriage has been increasing in the country. As table 4.3 indicates SMAM is above 20 years for all categories. Even among the rural females the

minimum is 21.65 years. Classification by level of education shows that among rural females those who left school from higher secondary classes stay for three more years in the single state (before marriage) than those without any education. Similar pattern is observed among urban females. Here large difference is observed between those in the illiterate category and those with above secondary level of education. The latter stay in the single state for about two and half additional years compared to the former.

4.4 First Marriage Frequencies

The need for computation of first marriage frequencies originated from an interest in comparing the structure of nuptiality in different populations. Such a comparison is also possible using proportions ever married. But there are irregularities in proportions ever married which make comparison awkward. First marriage frequencies, on the other hand, make comparison of nuptiality of different populations more sensitive and meaningful. This is because first marriage frequencies are calculated through cumulating of proportions ever married. Cumulating diminishes the influence of small differences and irregularities in proportions ever married.

The idea of comparing the nuptiality structure of different populations originated from the works of A. J. Coale in 1971. His work was based on data from European populations: Netherlands (1859), Sweden (1859), Norway (1876), Denmark (1890 and 1911), and Belgium (1846 and 1910). When Coale examined the rising curves of proportions of women ever married by single years of age, he discovered that in those populations the curves were essentially the same in structure, differing only in the age at which marriages began, the rate at which marriages

increased, and the ultimate proportion ever married. In other words, the curves differed in origin, horizontal scale, and vertical scale, but with the same functional form.

With a reasonable assumption that nuptiality has been stable or nearly so in the study areas in the past few decades, estimated proportions ever married and first marriage frequencies have been computed for the rural and urban subsamples.

First marriage frequencies are defined as the number of first marriages in an age interval divided by the number of women in that age interval (irrespective of marital status). It follows that the cumulating of first marriage frequencies from the earliest age of marriage to a given age is the proportion ever married at that age. As a result, the existence of a common pattern of proportions ever married by age in different populations implies that there is a common pattern of first marriage frequencies in those populations (Coale, 1971). Coale concluded from this that, like proportions ever married, first marriage frequency curves for different populations should differ only in origin, horizontal scale, and total area (vertical scale).

To estimate and compare proportions ever married and average first marriage frequencies, one needs to compute Coale's parameters of nuptiality. These parameters are: a_0 , c , and k . A_0 is the earliest age at which a significant number of first marriages occur; c is the ultimate proportion ever married when first marriages have stopped occurring. k is the time scale of nuptiality which can be short or long depending on the speed at which nuptiality progresses. This time scale for a given nuptiality schedule can be expressed as the time scale of the standard (which is turn of the century Swedish population) times k . In other words, if, for the standard schedule, the interval

between the origin and the mode of the curve is x years, for another schedule the interval will be xk years (Coale, 1971).

There are two methods for estimating these parameters of nuptiality schedules. The first method is by using data on singulate mean age at first marriage. In this method a_0 can be selected after consideration of the marriage timing norms of a given population. For example, a_0 can be taken to be 16 in a population where the age of 16 is recommended by law, religion, or custom as the earliest age at marriage. C , the ultimate proportion ever married, is obtained from the proportion single at the last age group such that $c = 1 - \text{proportion single in the 50-54 age group}$. K is obtained from its relationship with SMAM such that $\text{SMAM} = a_0 + 11.37k$ which implies that $k = (\text{SMAM} - a_0) \div 11.37$. This relationship was established by John Hajnal in 1953.

The second method involves using ratios of proportions ever married in the adjacent age groups such that proportion ever married in the 15-19 age group divided by proportion ever married in the 20-24 age group gives R_1 ; proportion ever married in the 20-24 age group divided by proportion ever married in the 25-29 age group gives R_2 ; and so on. Different combinations of the R s will be used to estimate the values of a_0 , c and k . The recommended procedure is to combine R_2 with R_1 if R_1 is greater than $(1 - R_3)$ and R_2 with R_3 if $(1 - R_3)$ is greater than R_1 (Coale, 1971).

Since the alternative methods produce very similar results, the first method is employed here. A_0 is reasonably assumed to be 15 years for the rural subsample and 17 years for the urban subsample.

Table 4.4.1 Estimated Proportions Ever Married and Average First Marriage Frequencies in Age Intervals 15-19, 20-24 etc. among Rural Respondents ($a_0 = 15$ $c = 0.968$ $k = 0.753$)

(1)	(2)	(3)*	(4)	(5)
a	$(a-a_0) \div k = x_a$	$G_a(x_a)$	$CG_a(x_a)$	Differences in column (4) divided by 5.0
20	6.64	0.2381	0.2305	0.0461
25	13.28	0.6932	0.6710	0.0881
30	19.92	0.8977	0.8690	0.0396
35	26.56	0.9669	0.9359	0.0134
40	33.20	0.9918	0.9601	0.0048
45	39.84	0.9997	0.9677	0.0015
50	46.48	1.0000	0.9680	0.0001

* Interpolated from standard schedule of proportions Ever married (Coale, 1971).

Table 4.4.2 Estimated Proportions Ever Married and Average First Marriage Frequencies in Age Intervals 15-19, 20-24 etc. among Urban Respondents ($a_0 = 17$ $c = 0.960$ $k = 0.859$)

(1)	(2)	(3)*	(4)	(5)
a	$(a-a_0) \div k = x_a$	$G_a(x_a)$	$CG_a(x_a)$	Differences in column (4) divided by 5.0
20	3.49	0.0532	0.0511	0.0102
25	9.31	0.4443	0.4266	0.0751
30	15.13	0.7721	0.7412	0.0629
35	20.95	0.9144	0.8778	0.0273
40	26.77	0.9677	0.9290	0.0102
45	32.60	0.9905	0.9509	0.0044
50	38.42	0.9988	0.9589	0.0016

* Interpolated from standard schedule of proportions Ever married (Coale, 1971).

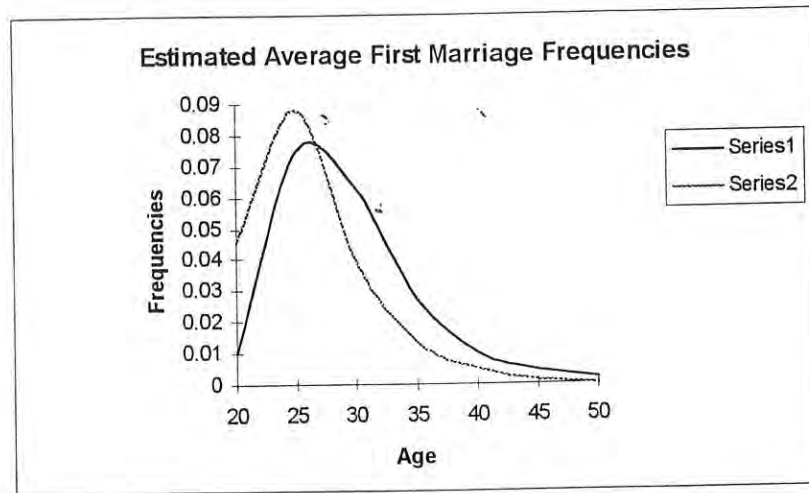
In tables 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 each column is described as follows. Column one is age in the observed population. The second column is the corresponding age on the standard scale after the relation between the observed and the standard populations is established through the parameter k. Here it has to be noted that age on the standard scale is not ordinary chronological age but the 35 or so years (from 15 to 50) in which first marriages occur are standardized to make comparison easier.

Column three is the proportion ever married interpolated from the standard schedule of proportions ever married.

The fourth column yields the estimated proportions ever married at the ages in the first column of the table. This is obtained by multiplying the results of column two by c, which is the ultimate proportion ever married. The last column yields the estimated average first marriage frequencies for the age intervals 20-24, 25-29 etc. The figures are obtained through division by 5 of the differences between consecutive rows in column four. Division of the differences is required because the figures in column four are obtained by cumulating estimated proportions ever married for five-year age intervals.

Figure 4.4 is a pictorial presentation of data in tables 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. Comparison of the two curves (series 1 and series 2) shows that rural females start marrying earlier and finish it faster than their urban counterparts. At age 20 the rate of first marriages in the rural and urban areas is 46.1 and 10.2 per 1000, respectively. In the former the rate is as high as 88.1 per 1000 in the 25-29 age group whereas in the later it never passes the 75.1 per 1000 limit. This is an indication that marriages are more frequent in that age group in the rural than the urban areas. Another feature of the first marriage frequency curves is that there are no first marriages after age 45 in the rural areas while a substantial number of first marriages still occur after age 45 and before age 50 in the urban areas.

Fig. 4.4 Estimated Average First Marriage Frequencies



Series 1 urban females Series 2 rural females

4.5 Ideal Age at First Marriage

In the total sample the reported ideal age at first marriage for girls suggested by generations of women ranges between 17.81 and 17.86 years. The average for the total is 18.54 years. The difference in mean age at first marriage suggested by the young and the old generations is small, i.e., only 1.23 years (19.04 minus 17.81). It appears that all respondents agree that girls marry for the first time after 18 years. There appears no difference among all generations in their opinions that the minimum age at marriage for girls be about 18 years and above.

Table 4.5 Ideal Age at First Marriage for Boys and Girls by Place of Residence

Age group	Residence					
	Rural		Urban		Both	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than 25	23.99	17.02	26.06	20.06	24.57	17.86
25-34	24.12	17.40	27.64	20.46	26.00	19.04
35-44	23.32	17.15	28.08	20.62	25.91	19.04
45-54	23.22	16.92	26.83	19.73	25.04	18.34
55 and above	22.82	16.27	25.82	19.41	24.30	17.81
Total	23.50	16.98	27.17	20.15	25.31	18.54

The consensus seems to hold both in the rural and urban areas. There is almost no difference among the rural respondents in the ideal age at marriage they suggested for girls. Among the urban respondents, too, the difference between the young and the old generations regarding the ideal age at first marriage they suggested is not more than a year.

As opposed to differences by generation rural-urban difference is found to be large. In the urban area 20.15 is suggested by the respondents as an ideal age at first marriage for girls while in the rural areas 16.98 is suggested as such an age. The difference between the two suggestions is more than three years.

For males, on the other hand, 25.31 is suggested by the entire sample; 27.17 is suggested by the urban sample; and 23.50 is suggested by the rural respondents. The difference between rural and urban respondents is rather remarkable. There is a difference of more than three and half years. Here again both the young and the old generations agree that males marry at about 23.5 years in the rural areas, 27.17 years in the urban area and 25.31 in the entire population. As it can be seen from table 4.5, large differences in opinions regarding ideal age at first marriage for both sexes is observed between rural and urban respondents rather than among generations.

4.6 Differentials in Age at First Marriage by Individual Variables

4.6.1 Migration and Time at First Marriage

Analysis of the relationship between time of first marriage and migration indicated that 48.7 percent or close to half of the migrants married before migration. This can be one possible explanation for the age at marriage of migrants being lower than that of the non-migrants. 28.6 percent of the migrants married after they migrated while the remaining 22.7 percent moved at the same time as they married. For this last group it can be said that marriage was the cause for their migration.

Table 4.6.1 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Time at Migration and Time at First Marriage and by Place of Residence

Time of Migration relative to Time of Marriage	Current Place of Residence		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Migration before marriage	24	30.1	28.6
Migration at marriage	30	20.2	22.7
Migration after marriage	46	49.7	48.7
Total	100	100	100

Breakdown by rural-urban place of residence also shows similar pattern with the above statements except that marriage is more a reason for migration in the rural areas (30 percent) than it is in the urban areas (20.2 percent). It can also be seen from the above table that more people migrate in the urban than in the rural areas both before and after their first marriages.

4.6.2 Ethnic Background and Religion

Comparison of respondents in terms of ethnic origin gives reliable results only for the Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups since these two groups account for more than 90 percent of the total

sample. And there is no substantial difference in mean age at marriage between these two ethnic groups either. This finding is somewhat contradictory to results from other studies that indicate that the Amharas have lower mean age at marriage than the Oromos. One possible explanation is that one of the two groups adopted the other's norm of age at marriage in the long time they have been living together.

Among the religious groups Protestants have higher mean age at first marriage (17.05 years) than both the Orthodox Christians (16.27) and the Muslims (14.30) in the total sample. This pattern persists in both the urban and the rural subsamples. The Muslims are long known to have very low mean age at marriage and the present finding is consistent with this. The reason behind the Protestants having higher mean age at marriage than the followers of Orthodox Christianity can be said to be the fact that the majority of the former are from the younger generations whose mean age at marriage is higher than the older generations for non-religious reasons. In other words, being a Protestant by itself is not directly correlated with marrying early or lately.

4.6.3 Employment Status Before Marriage

The most significant differential so far in mean age at first marriage among any sub groups of the sample is observed between employment groups. In both the urban and the rural areas those who were gainfully employed before first marriage have a remarkably higher mean age at first marriage than those who were not gainfully employed before first marriage.

Table 4.6.3 Mean Age at First Marriage by Employment Status Before First Marriage and Place of Residence

Employment Status Before First Marriage	Place of Residence		
	Rural	Urban	Both
Employed	18.74	18.93	18.89
Unemployed	15.51	16.56	16.02
Total	15.65	16.87	16.27

The difference between the two groups is larger in the rural areas (3.2 years) than in the urban area (2.4 years). Here it is possible to hypothesize that although there is a substantial difference between the employed and the unemployed in age at first marriage in the urban area, this difference is small relative to the rural areas because the two environments operate in quite different ways. In the urban area people marry late whether they are employed or not because of non-employment factors such as education. In the rural areas, on the other hand, the norms governing the timing of marriages require that people marry at early ages. And those with employment opportunity are those with some or enough education and modernity orientation that they are able to resist the norms of early marriage and postpone the time at which they marry.

4.7 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA)

4.7.1 Results of ANOVA

Consistent with the uni-variate and bi-variate analysis, ANOVA shows that mean age at first marriage varied by level of education, by the way first marriage were arranged, by employment status before first marriage, by migration status, and by stability of parental union before own first marriage. Among the six variables interred in to the analysis of variance courtship and employment status before first marriage are found to be insignificant. The others show high significance in the difference among their categories.

Two-way and higher order interactions between each of the independent variables are very insignificant and in most cases they do not exist. A test for the significance of the effect of the two way interaction is obtained by comparing the interaction mean square with the residual mean square. Specifically, the F statistic, which is obtained by dividing mean square of interaction to mean square of residual ($430.96/309.104=1.394$), is compared with the tabulated F-distribution with the degrees of freedom of the interaction in the numerator and the degrees of freedom of the residual in the denominator. In the SPSS output the F-values are given in the penultimate column of the ANOVA table and the last column gives the P-value, the probability of obtaining a value of F higher than that observed under the null hypothesis that the interactions are zero in the population.

Table 4.7.1 Analysis of Variance of Age at First Marriage

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance
Main Effects	8625.64	8	1078.20	3.488	0.001
(1) Education level	1195.59	1	1195.59	3.868	0.050
(2) Arrangement of first marriage	3754.64	3	1251.545	4.049	0.007
(3) Courtship before first marriage	86.85	1	86.85	0.281	0.596
(4) Employment before first marriage	7.30	1	7.30	0.024	0.878
(5) Migration status	1195.81	1	1195.81	3.869	0.050
(6) Stability of Parental union before first marriage	2269.26	1	2269.26	7.34	0.007
2-way Interaction	10774.03	25	430.961	1.394	0.095
Explained	19399.665	33	587.869	1.902	0.002
Residual	253465.61	820	309.104		
Total	272865.85	853	319.889		

Table 4.7.1 shows that the difference among educational groups in age at first marriage is highly significant at $p \leq 0.05$. Arrangement of first marriages, migration status, and stability of parental union before first marriage are also significant. In other words, respondents

differ in the mean age at which they married for the first time according to whether their first marriages were arranged by their families or relatives, or by themselves, or whether they were abducted; according to whether they are migrants or not; and according to whether their parents were living together or not before the respondents themselves got married. The significance of the differences among respondents means that the differences are not due to chance but it is due to the presence of a statistically significant difference and this statement holds true, with 95 percent confidence, for the population from which the sample was selected.

4.7.2 Results of MCA

Unlike analysis of variance, which shows the overall effect of the independent variables or the predictors, MCA (multiple classification analysis) gives the net effect of each predictor. In addition to controlling for the simultaneous effects of the other independent variables when it computes the effect of a single predictor, it also computes the R-squared value which is a measure of the proportion of variation in the dependent variable which is explained by variations in the explanatory variables. MCA is a method which finds the best fitting additive structure.

In the analysis at hand eight variables were included. Place of residence and ethnicity were added to those used in the analysis of variance. As shown in table 4.7.2 both the adjusted and unadjusted effects of each predictor are given.

In all cases the values of the adjusted and the unadjusted effects are not equal. The difference between the adjusted and the unadjusted effects varies from one predictor to another indicating the degree to which a given predictor interacts with one or more of the rest of the independent variables. It can be seen in table 4.7.2 that the difference in the unadjusted and the adjusted

effects of education is 0.20 while the corresponding figure for ethnicity is 0.01. This shows that education interacts more strongly with the other variables than the ethnic background of an individual.

In this multiple classification analysis, the grand mean of the dependent variable, that is, age at first marriage, is found to be 16.266 years for the total sample. As can be seen from results of MCA presented in table 4.7.2 the deviations of the means for educational categories from the overall or the grand mean show an increasing trend in age at first marriage as the level of education increases from illiteracy to the above secondary level. Specifically, respondents with no education married at a mean age less than 16.266 by 0.39 or at a mean age of 15.876 years. Those who can read and write married at 16.146 years, those who left school from the primary classes married at 16.316 years, those from junior secondary classes married at 16.666 years, those from secondary classes married at 17.526 years and so on.

The interpretation of the results for the other predictors is similar. In general terms, arrangement of first marriage and employment status before first marriage are the variables with categories which show the largest deviations from the grand mean. Respondents whose first marriages were arranged by themselves (freely chosen their spouses), married one and a quarter of a year later than the mean age of 16.266 years while those whose first marriages were arranged by their families or relatives and those who were abducted married 0.34 and 0.06 of a year earlier than the overall mean of first marriage, respectively. Respondents who were gainfully employed before first marriage married 1.20 years later and those who were not employed before first marriage married 0.11 of a year earlier than the grand mean age of first marriage.

Table 4.7.2 Multiple Classification Analysis of Age at First Marriage

Grand Mean = 16.266 Variable + category	Number	Unadjusted Deviation	Eta	Adjusted for Independents Dev'n	Beta
Education					
Illiterate	450	-0.86		-0.39	
Read & write	157	-0.48		-0.12	
Primary	140	-0.01		0.05	
Jun. secondary	66	1.46		0.40	
Sen. secondary	117	2.74		1.26	
Above secondary	13	3.50	0.35	1.20	0.15
Arrangement of first marriage					
Family and/ or relatives	691	-0.68		-0.34	
Self	193	2.62		1.25	
Abducted	59	-0.55	0.37	-0.06	0.18
Ethnicity					
Oromo	567	-0.14		0.12	
Amhara	300	0.24		-0.14	
Others	76	0.08	0.05	-0.32	0.04
Place of residence					
Rural	464	-0.62		-0.25	
urban	479	0.60	0.17	0.24	0.07
Courtship before first marriage					
Courted	196	2.49		0.79	
Not courted	747	-0.65	0.35	-0.21	0.11
Migration status					
Non-migrants	563	0.06		0.19	
Migrants	380	-0.08	0.02	-0.27	0.06
Employment before first marriages					
Employed	80	2.62		1.20	
Unemployed	863	-0.24	0.22	-0.11	0.10
Stability of parental union before first marriage					
Parents in union	718	-0.12		-0.08	
Parents not in union	225	0.38	0.06	0.24	0.04
Multiple R-Squared					0.193
Multiple R					0.440

Similarly, urban respondents, those courted before their first marriages, non-migrants, those whose parental unions had dissolved before their own first marriages, and Oromos have higher mean age at first marriage than the grand mean age at first marriage.

The multiple R-squared value of 0.193 indicates that more than 19 percent of the variation in age at first marriage is explained by variation in the predictors discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

Both the analysis of variance and multiple classification analysis are conducted for the rural and urban subsamples separately to see whether the results for each subsample are similar to the total or not. In both subsamples, analysis of variance shows that differences in mean age at first marriage according to level of education and arrangement of first marriage retain their significance while stability of parental union before first marriage loses its significance. Differences according to employment status before first marriage, on the other hand, become highly significant in both areas.

One area of difference between the rural and the urban subsamples is that migration loses its significance in the rural subsample while it retains its significance in the urban subsample. This can be attributed to the abundance of migrants among urban respondents.

Regarding multiple classification analysis, the trend of the variation in mean age at first marriage among categories of the predictors and the proportion of this variation accounted for by these predictors in both the urban and the rural subsamples are similar to those observed in the total sample.

The multiple R-squared values for the urban and rural subsamples are 0.189 and 0.174, respectively.

One area of difference is that, consistent with its significance, the explanatory power of migration increases in the urban subsample. Another area of remarkable difference is that education appears to have more explanatory power in the urban area. The increase in age at first marriage with an increase in the level of education is more steady there.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENTIALS IN DISSOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

5.1 Current Marital Status and Stability of First Marriages

Stability of first marriages is found to be positively associated with age at first marriage in both the urban and the rural areas. In both areas those who are currently in union married at higher ages than those who are currently widowed and divorced or separated. In the case of the widows it can be said that most of them are old women whose mean age at first marriage is known to be the lowest among the various age groups of the respondents.

Table 5.1 Mean Age at Marriage by Current Marital Status, Stability of First Marriages and Place of Residence

Place of Residence	Current Marital Status				Still in First Marriage?		
	Married	Widowed	Div. or Sep.	Total	Yes	No	Total
Rural	15.84	14.88	15.60	15.65	16.05	15.04	15.65
Urban	17.10	16.66	16.10	16.87	17.91	15.64	16.87
Both	16.45	15.78	15.91	16.27	16.94	15.37	16.27

It is also evident from the table that in the total sample those respondents who are still in their first marriages married about 1.6 years later than those who are not in their first marriages. The differences in mean age at first marriage between those who are currently in their first marriage and those who are not are 2.27 years in the urban and 1.01 years in the rural areas. The reason behind such a difference can be attributed to the presence of large proportion of migrants among the urban respondents whose mean age at first marriage is lower and whose first marriages are less stable than those of the non-migrants.

5.2 Stability of First Marriages by Background variables

In the analysis that follows urban respondents are categorized into migrants and non-migrants. This is done to make sure that those respondents who were born and brought up in an urban setting are compared with those born and brought up in the rural areas. Rural to urban migrants have to be avoided from the comparison since their former rural life history is different from that of the urbanites.

5.2.1 Education, Ethnicity, Employment and Courtship before First marriage

As table 5.2.1 indicates there is very strong linear association between stability of first marriage and level of education achieved in both the urban and the rural areas. As the level of education increases, the proportion of respondents who are still in their first marriages increases. The linear relationship is stronger in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In other words, the rate at which the proportion still in first marriages increases with an increase in the level of education is higher in the urban than in the rural areas. This can be seen from the fact that only thirty percent of the non-migrant urban respondents with no education are still in their first marriages while the corresponding figure for the rural respondents with no education is more than fifty-five percent. The proportion still in first marriages rises by about thirty-six percentage points from the illiterate to the primary and junior secondary education levels in the urban sub-sample (for the non-migrants) while in the rural areas the corresponding rise is only by about twelve percentage points.

There is no significant difference in the durability of first marriages between the ethnic groups included in the survey. Meaningful comparison is possible only between the Oromos and the Amharas because of their relatively large sizes in the sample. In the rural subsample 60.2 and 55.4 percent of Oromos and Amaharas, respectively, are still in their first marriages. But this is not found to be significant by the Chi-square test. Thus the observed difference between the two ethnic groups has to be attributed to random or sampling fluctuations

Table 5.2.1 Stability of First Marriages by Background Characteristics of Respondents

Background Characteristics (Variables)	Place of Residence					
	Rural		Urban			
	% in 1 st mar	No.†	Non-Migrants		Migrants	
% in 1 st mar			No.	% in 1 st mar	No.	
Education	**		****		****	
Illiterate	55.3	313	29.5	61	30.2	106
Read & write	62.2	82	64.7	34	26.0	50
Prim & J. second	67.5	77	65.4	52	65.8	79
Second & above	81.0	21	88.7	53	77.2	57
Ethnicity					**	
Oromo	60.2	394	60.4	111	46.8	94
Amhara	55.4	92	58.9	73	43.4	145
Tigre	100	2	40.0	5	60.0	15
Gurage	60	5	81.8	11	65.8	38
Employment before 1st marriage			*		*	
Employed	63.2	19	82.8	29	69.7	33
Unemployed	59.3	474	56.7	171	45.6	259
Courtship before 1st marriage	*		****		****	
Courted	72.2	54	83.1	77	83.8	68
Not courted	57.9	439	45.9	122	37.5	224

* (P ≤ 0.01) ** (P ≤ 0.05) *** (P ≤ 0.005) **** (P ≤ 0.001)

† No. is number of respondents.

he association between first marriage stability and employment status before first marriage is found to be significant in the urban and not in the rural areas.

Here employment includes one's own gainful work. It is known that rural females do engage in agricultural activities but this form of employment is not known to have any impact on stability of first marriages. Employment in an urban setting, on the other hand, is associated with some form of schooling which in turn needs additional number of years in schools. In addition, formal or informal employment in the urban areas also entails acquisition of modern ideas which in turn influence the conditions of marriage. The fact that formal employment requires some education which in turn requires additional number of years in schools and consequently higher age at first marriage appears to be the reason behind the significant difference between the employed and the unemployed in the stability of their first marriages in the urban areas.

Courtship is another interesting variable in the analysis of the differences in stability of first marriages. In both the rural and the urban areas this variable is found to be associated with a significant difference between those courted and those not courted in the stability of their first marriages. The difference is much more significant in the urban than in the rural areas. This seems to be the result of the fact that courtship is more an urban phenomenon than it is a rural one. And those who were courted before first marriages are often those who choose their future husbands by themselves and who marry at relatively latter ages than those who were not courted before their first marriages.

5.2.2 Arrangement of First Marriages and Husbands' Age and Education Level at First Marriage

Husbands' age at the time of the first marriage of respondents is also correlated with stability of first marriages of the respondents and the association is significant in the urban areas while it is only marginally significant in the rural areas.

The association between husband's education level at the time of marriage and stability of first marriages is also significant in the urban areas and not in the rural areas. As husbands' level of education increases stability of first marriages also increases in the urban areas while this is not the case in the rural areas where it may or may not increase with an increase in the level of education. It is also possible to say that education of husbands has weaker relationship with stability of first marriages in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

Close to sixty percent of the rural respondents whose first marriages were arranged by their families or relatives are still in their first marriages while the corresponding proportion among the urban respondents is 49.1 percent for non-migrants and 40 percent for migrants. This can be a good indicator that rural girls tolerate marriages arranged by their families despite personal inconvenience whereas their urban counterparts seem to find it difficult to tolerate marriages arranged as such. Among the urban respondents non-migrants have better first marriage stability than the migrants. The Chi-square test of the significance of this type of relationship also shows that it is significant for non-migrants in the urban areas and not so for the migrants.

Table 5.2.2 Stability of First Marriages by Respondents' Place of Residence, Migration Status and Husbands' Background Characteristics

Variable	Residence					
	Rural		Urban			
			Non-Migrants		Migrants	
	% in 1 st mar	No.†	% in 1 st mar	No.	% in 1 st mar	No.
Husband's age at 1st marriage	**		*		**	
Less than 20 years	46.9	49	55.6	18	34.2	38
20 to 29 years	66.1	301	59.7	124	54	174
30 to 39 years	68.8	64	76.3	38	57.1	49
40 to 49 years	64.3	14	85.7	7	50	6
50 years & above	66.7	6	100	2	100	2
Husband's education level			****		****	
Illiterate	44.9	276	31.4	51	23.2	99
Read & write	66.3	86	50.0	34	43.8	48
Prim & J. secondary	85.0	107	65.3	49	49.1	57
Second. & above	95.5	22	84.8	66	78.4	88
First marriage arranged by			*			
Family/relatives	58.3	400	49.1	116	40.0	205
Self	76.2	21	80.0	65	79.4	63
Self/family/relatives	73.1	26	66.7	12	61.5	13
Abducted	54.3	46	57.1	7	9.1	11

* (P ≤ 0.01) ** (P ≤ 0.05) *** (P ≤ 0.005) **** (P ≤ 0.001)

† No. is number of respondents.

5.3 Stability of First Marriages by Demographic Variables

The relationship between current age of the respondents and stability of first marriages is found to be linear, negative and highly significant in the rural areas. The linearity shows that as age increases the stability of first marriages decreases. As indicated in table 5.3.1 the proportion of the rural respondents who are still in their first marriages decreased from 87 percent for those aged 15 to 19 years to 42 percent for those aged 50 years and above. In the urban area the proportion of respondents still in their first marriages goes up from 46.2 percent for those aged 15-19 to 89.5 percent for those aged 25-29 years.

It then decreases to 35.2 percent for those aged 50 years and above for the non-migrants. For the migrants in the urban sample the corresponding proportions for the same age groups increased from 66.7 percent to 70.0 percent and then decreased to 23.2 percents for the same age groups.

In the rural sub-sample the linearity continues regularly while this is not the case in the urban subsample. In other words, the proportion still in first marriages decreases from the highest for the youngest age group to the lowest for the oldest age group in the rural subsample. But in the urban subsample the corresponding proportions show an increasing trend from low to the highest up to the 25-29 age group and then decrease to the lowest for the 50 years and above age group in both the migrant and non-migrant categories. This irregularity in the linearity of the relationship indicates that first marriages of rural respondents aged less than 20 years is more stable than their urban counterparts. This is for both the migrants (66.7 percent in the 15-19 age group) and the non-migrants (46.2 percent in the same age group). The situation appears to be better for the migrants whose majority came from the rural areas. In other words, first marriages of the young generation are less stable in the urban than they are in the rural areas. They are also less stable than those of the older generations. An interesting question is appealing here. Why do rural young girls stay in marriage while their urban counterparts walk out of it? One possible answer is that rural girls are unaware of or have little alternatives to staying in unions whereas urban girls live in an atmosphere where they can easily get out of a union which they find unsuitable and where divorce or separation is not regarded as a tragedy.

Table 5.3.1 Stability of First Marriages by Demographic Variables and Place of Residence

Variable	Residence					
	Rural		Urban			
	% in 1 st mar	No.†	Non-Migrants		Migrants	
% in 1 st mar			No.	% in 1 st mar	No.	
Age	****		***		****	
15-19	87.0	60	46.2	26	66.7	51
20-24	81.5	65	80.0	5	61.5	13
25-29	71.9	57	89.5	19	70.0	30
30-34	54.7	53	80.6	36	50.0	30
35-39	60.0	23	64	25	63.8	47
40-44	60.3	58	78.3	23	36.8	38
45-49	54.5	44	54.5	11
50 and above	42.0	131	35.2	54	23.2	82
Age at first marriage	***		****		****	
Below 15	51.0	151	40.5	37	28.7	101
15-19	62.6	257	61.2	98	57.5	127
20-24	75.0	52	76.1	46	68.9	45
25 and above	50.0	4	78.6	14	45.5	11
CEB in first marriage	****		**		****	
0	34.0	53	30.4	23	16.2	37
1	42.4	66	63.3	49	17.1	41
2	64.8	71	63.9	36	48.0	50
3-5	61.5	109	60.7	56	59.8	97
6-9	68.3	120	70.0	30	71.7	60
10 and above	70.3	74	83.3	6	42.9	7
No. Died in 1 st marriage						
0	63.0	303	60.0	165	52.8	231
1	51.4	74	62.5	16	23.5	34
2-4	57.1	91	61.1	18	38.1	21
5-9	48.0	25	100	1	50.0	6

* (P ≤ 0.01) ** (P ≤ 0.05) *** (P ≤ 0.005) **** (P ≤ 0.001)

† No. is number of respondents.

Age at first marriage is another important variable which has a very strong relationship with stability of first marriages both in the urban and the rural areas. As indicated in table 5.3.1 about half of the rural respondents who married before the age of 15 are not in their first marriages while the corresponding proportions for the non-migrants and the migrants in the urban sample are 40.5 and 28.7 percent, respectively. The situation is particularly severe for the migrants.

And it is possible to say that early age at first marriage is a major cause of rural to urban migration in the population studied.

Still another variable of even more significance in its relationship with stability of first marriages is number of children ever born in first marriages. The significance of the linear association is so high that it is indistinguishable from 0 at five decimal places. Among the rural respondents only 34 percent of those who had not borne a child are still in their first marriages. In the urban sample the corresponding proportions for the non-migrants and the migrants are 30.4 and 16.2 percent, respectively. The situation of the migrants is such that only six of the thirty-seven respondents are still in their first marriages. It can be said that they migrated before they had time to bear children or the fact that they could not bear children was the cause for their migration to the urban areas.

Although it is not possible to decide, with the analysis at hand, whether bearing children makes a marriage stable or a stable marriage provides enough time for bearing children, table 5.3.1 shows that as the number of children ever born in first marriages increases, the stability of first marriages also increases significantly. In the rural areas 70.3 percent of those who have more than ten children are still in their first marriages. In the urban sample 83.3 percent of the non-migrants who have a similar number of children are still in their first marriages. The case of migrants is different as a result of the complex relationship between migration and stability of marriages.

The number of children who died in first marriages is found to have no significant relationship with stability of first marriages. Death of children is not found to increase or decrease the chance of dissolution of a union.

5.4 Results of Logistic Regression Analysis

Among the variables selected by the backward stepwise logistic regression analysis place of residence, courtship before first marriage, husband's age at first marriage and husband's education level are found to be significant.

Table 5.4.1 Logistic Regression Analysis by Background Variables

Variable	Parameters			
	β	S. E	Wald	Exp (β)
Residence				
(Rural)*				
Urban	0.5322	0.0840	40.1225	1.7026****
Courtship before 1st marriage				
Courted	-0.9165	0.2336	15.3970	0.3999****
(Not courted)				
Husband's age at 1st marriage				
Less than 20 years	0.2738	0.2870	1.7191	1.3150
(20 to 29 years)				
30 to 39	0.7270	0.0.2570	8.0010	2.0688***
40 to 49 years	0.1112	0.2453	0.2054	1.1176
50 years and above	0.0426	0.3876	0.0121	1.0435
Education level				
(Illiterate)				
Read and write	-0.2063	2.7022	0.0580	0.8136
Primary and J. secondary	-1.0851	2.7041	0.1610	0.3379
Secondary	-1.5141	2.7036	0.3136	0.2200
Above secondary	-2.2110	2.7071	0.6671	0.1096
Constant	-0.0962	2.7085	0.0013	
N				892
Model Chi-square				166.082****
Improvement				-1.712
-2 Loglikelihood				1030.570
Goodness of fit				886.364

* ($P \leq 0.01$) ** ($P \leq 0.05$) *** ($P \leq 0.005$) **** ($P \leq 0.001$)
 * (Categories in parentheses are reference groups.)

The exponential beta value of 1.7 for place of residence indicates that the chance an urban first marriage being dissolved is 1.7 times that of a rural first marriage.

In other words the probability of dissolution of an urban first marriage is 70 percent higher than that of a rural first marriage. Similarly, the probability of first marriage of a respondent who was courted before her first marriage is less than that of a respondent who was not courted before her first marriage by 60 percent. The association between place of residence of a respondent and the probability of dissolution of her first marriage and that between courtship before first marriage and the same probability of dissolution is found to be highly significant at the 99.99 level of confidence.

Analysis of the association between husband's age at first marriage and the probability of dissolution of first marriages shows that first marriages of those respondents who were married to husbands aged below 20 or above 29 years have higher chance of dissolution as compared to that of those married to husbands aged 20 to 29 years. The probability of dissolution of a first marriage of a respondent whose husband was aged below 20 years at the time of her first marriage is 1.3 times that of a respondent whose husband was aged between 20 and 29 years at the time of her first marriage. And the probability of dissolution of first marriages of those respondents whose husbands were aged 30 to 39 at first marriage is twice as much as that of those whose husbands were aged between 20 and 29 years at first marriage.

Education level is also another variable on which the probability of dissolution of first marriages can be estimated. As table 5.4.1 indicates the probability of dissolution of first marriages

decreases as level of education increases. The chance of dissolution of first marriage of a respondent who can read and write is less than that of a respondent who is illiterate by about 20 percent. Similarly, first marriage of a respondent whose education level is above grade 12 has a chance of dissolution which is less by 89 percent as compared to that of an illiterate respondent.

Table 5.4.2 Logistic Regression Analysis by Demographic Variables

Variable	Parameters			
	β	S. E	Wald	Exp (β)
Age				
15-19 years	-3.2052	0.6186	26.8421	0.0406****
20-24 years	-2.0578	0.3714	30.6953	0.1277****
25-29 years	-1.3899	0.3282	17.9300	0.2491****
30-34 years	-0.0120	0.3090	0.0015	0.9881
(35-39 years)				
40-44 years	-0.2590	0.3063	0.7152	0.9718
45-49 years	0.5272	0.3278	2.5860	1.6942
50 years and above	1.0554	0.2664	15.6965	2.8732****
Migration Status				
(Non-migrants)				
Migrants	0.1574	0.0842	3.4910	1.1704
Age at first marriage				
Below 19 years	0.9593	0.1694	32.0831	2.6098****
(20-24 years)				
25 years and above	0.3350	0.1528	4.8100	1.3980**
CEB in first marriage				
(no child)				
1 child	2.0487	0.2580	63.0474	0.77581****
2 children	1.7119	0.2267	57.0081	0.55397****
3-5 children	0.3824	0.2006	3.6313	0.14657
6-9 children	-0.3520	0.1519	4.8771	0.07033**
10 children and above	-1.5032	0.1874	64.3695	0.02224****
Constant****	-0.7023	0.2018	12.1047	
N				942
Model Chi-square				337.739****
Improvement				337.739****
-2 Loglikelihood				949.024
Goodness of fit				1001.534

* ($P \leq 0.01$) ** ($P \leq 0.05$) *** ($P \leq 0.005$) **** ($P \leq 0.001$)

In the analysis regarding the relationship between current age and stability of first marriages the 35-39 age group is taken as a reference category as it is found on the midway among all age

groups. Compared to those respondents whose ages lie within this reference category those aged below that category have less probability of dissolution of their first marriages.

Those aged 15-19 years have about 95 percent less chance; those aged 20-24 have about 86 percent less chance; and those aged 25-29 years have about 75 percent less chance of dissolution of their first marriages compared to those in the reference category.

The probabilities of dissolution of first marriages of those respondents whose current ages lie in the categories immediately below and immediately above the reference category are almost equal to that of those taken as reference. Thereafter, as age increases, the probability of dissolution of first marriages increases. First marriages of those aged 45-49 years have about 70 percent more probability of dissolution compared to that of those in the reference group. And that of those aged 50 years and above is 2.87 times higher.

Migration categories show that the probability of dissolution of first marriages of migrants is about 17 percent higher than that of first marriages of the non-migrants.

Age at first marriage is another variable whose association with stability of first marriages shows that the probability of dissolution of first marriages of those who married at ages below 20 or above 25 is higher compared to that of those who married at ages between 20 and 25. Particularly those respondents who married at ages below 19 have 2.6 times more chance of dissolution of their first marriages compared to the reference group.

Number of children ever born in first marriage is also found to have a negative relationship with stability of first marriages. Compared to those with no children, the probability of dissolution of first marriages of those who have one child in their first marriages is about 20 percent less and that of those whose CEB (number of children ever born) in first marriage is two is about 45 percent less. The probability continues to decrease and finally those whose CEB in first marriage is ten and above have more than 75 percent less chance of dissolution of their first marriages compared to those in the reference group.

Two sets of logistic regression analyses were made separately for the urban and the rural subsamples. The results of analysis on the demographic set of variables is very similar to that obtained for the total sample. In both subsamples age is found to have negative association with stability of first marriages. The probability of dissolution of first marriages of those whose ages are below the reference category (35-39 years) is less and that of those aged above the reference category is high compared to the probability of dissolution of first marriages of those in the reference category.

Those respondents who married at ages below and above the reference category (20-24 years) have higher chance of dissolution of their first marriages compared to those in the reference category. Analysis on children ever born also shows that as number of children ever born in first marriages increases, the probability of dissolution of first marriages decreases.

One area of difference between the rural and the urban subsamples in the results of the logistic regression analysis is that such variables as employment before first marriage, courtship before

first marriage, and migration status lose their significance in the rural subsample and become highly significant in the urban subsample. This appears to be due to the fact that those variables are more characteristics of the urban than they are of the rural population.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study is an attempt at describing differences between rural and urban people regarding family formation and family dissolution. The main indicator used in the analysis of family formation is age at first marriage. And the major indicator used in the analysis of family dissolution is stability of first marriages. The analysis is confined to first marriage history both in the case of family formation and family dissolution. This is mainly because histories of higher order marriages are often complicated and are not suitable for comparison purposes. In addition, analyses based on first marriage histories can more than suffice the interests of the present study.

The interest in looking at rural-urban differentials in family formation and dissolution developed out of the realization that the determinants of or the factors which influence the ages at which marriages take place for the first time and the stability of those marriages operate in different ways and to different degrees in the two areas. A given determinant may be so important in one place and at the same time be irrelevant in another place. Level of education may have no relevance to age at marriage in a place where there is no formal education. Age at first marriage may vary among people due to other variables (factors) and not due to education since there would be no variation among people with regard to education. In all cases, rural-urban place of residence influences the age at which people marry for the first time and the stability of those marriages indirectly through its influence on the determinants of family formation and family dissolution.

The analytical frame work for this study is presented in such a way that the determinants or individual variables are categorized into three broad groups. The first category is labeled socioeconomic and includes education, employment, ethnicity, religion, and stability of parental marital unions. The other category is called demographic and contains variables such as age, fertility, mortality, migration, and duration of marriage. The last category, which is a group of marriage norms, includes timing norms, prevalence norms, arrangement or matching norms, and courtship norms.

These groups of variables, also called the independent variables, are assumed to be affected or influenced by place of residence and in turn they are assumed to influence or affect the two variables of interest, called the dependent variables. These are age at first marriage and stability of first marriages. In the analysis on stability of first marriages, the other dependent variable, that is, age at first marriage, becomes one of the major independent or explanatory variables which influence or affect first marriage stability.

The paper is organized into six chapters. These are: introduction, methodology, background characteristics of the study population, differentials in family formation, differentials in family dissolution, and summary and conclusions.

In order to give light to the ways in which the explanatory variables and the explained or predicted variables interact, the relevant literature is reviewed and presented in the introductory part. Together with this, the significance of the study, definition of major concepts, and the

analytical framework for the study are presented and discussed. Objectives of the study are also part of the introductory chapter.

The chapter on methodology describes the study area; the data collection process which includes the sampling design, the data collection instrument, and the field work; the quality of data; the methods of data analysis; and the limitations of the study.

Description of the study area (chapter III) shows that the majority of the population of Ada'a Chuqala warada (66 percent) lives in the rural areas. The dominant ethnic groups in the rural areas are the Oromos and Amharas in this order of magnitude. Except a few Gurages there are no other ethnic groups in these areas. This makes ethnic comparison regarding age at marriage and stability of marriages possible only between the Oromos and the Amharas. The rural population is homogeneous in the major aspects of life such as economic activity, education, religion, etc.

Of the 79, 769 urban population of the warada, about 92 percent lives in Debrezeit town. This makes Debrezeit the only major urban center in Ada'a warada. As opposed to the rural areas, various ethnic groups live in the town. This is one of the reasons behind the town being much heterogeneous in various aspects.

The indices of literacy show that more than eighty percent of the rural population could not read or write in 1994 while the proportion with such a problem in the urban areas was less than twenty percent.

Gender wise males are more literate than females both in the rural and the urban areas. Urban females are far more literate than their rural counterparts. More than 75 percent of females in Debrezeit are literate while the corresponding figure for the rural females is less than 10 percent.

Distribution of respondents by current marital status shows that 72 percent of the 493 rural respondents and 66 percent of the 492 urban respondents are currently married. Since all the respondents are ever married women, these figures indicate that 34 percent of urban and 28 percent of rural females are out of wedlock due to widowhood or divorce and/or separation. Proportions widowed in both areas are similar but proportion divorced or separated is twice as much in the urban as in the rural.

82 percent of the rural respondents married out from intact parental unions while 69 percent did so among the urban respondents. This is an indication that the difference in stability of marriages between the rural and the urban areas also persists in the older generations.

Regarding type of marriages six percent of marriages in the rural and four percent of marriages in the urban areas are polygynous. 20 percent of the urban respondents and 17 percent of the rural respondents have married for the second or third time.

A look at the distribution of respondents by place or condition of living in the first few years after marriage shows that 63.3 percent of rural and 17.7 percent of urban respondents lived in the same households with the parents or families of their husbands. These figures indicate the extent to which young families are being nucleated.

The process of nucleation in the rural areas appears to be far behind the similar process in the urban areas.

In order to make comparison between the rural and the urban respondents regarding their marriage histories meaningful, respondents in both areas are categorized into migrants and non migrants. In other words, histories of rural respondents have to be compared with those of non-migrant urbanites. In the rural areas about 80 percent of the respondents said they never left their place of birth. Even most of those who claimed to have migrated are those who crossed neighboring kebele borders when they got married. In Debrezeit, on the other hand, about 60 percent of the respondents came from outside the town. More than half of the migrants came from outside the region. And 79 percent of migrants to the town are rural to urban migrants.

The indicators of family formation are treated in chapter four. These are proportions ever married, mean age at first marriage, singulate mean age at marriage, first marriage frequencies, and ideal age at first marriage.

In both areas no males or females are reported to have married before the age of 15 years. But since the analysis is based on data gathered at one point in time from a cross section of the population, the chance of coming across those whose ages at the time of the survey was below 15 and who were married is very small.

While few males in the rural areas marry between the ages of 15 and 19 years, no urban male is reported to have married before the age of 20 years.

Rural males marry earlier and faster than their urban counterparts but by age 49 all males in both areas will be married at least for the first time.

Comparison of the female groups shows that both groups start marrying for the first time at about age 15; less than three percent of urban females marry before age 20 while the corresponding proportion among rural females is five times as large; by age 35 more than 90 percent of rural females marry while only 78 percent of urban females get married before that age, and after that age the latter catch-up with the former and by age 45 almost all of the females in both groups will have been married. This makes it possible to say that marriages are early and universal in the rural areas while it is also universal but relatively late in the urban areas.

The difference in mean age at first marriage between the rural and the urban females is found to be 1.22 years. The latter marry 1.22 years later than the former. But when migration is taken into account the difference becomes 2.12 years. This means that, on the average, non-migrant urbanites marry more than two years later than non-migrant rural females.

A look at the trend in mean age at first marriage for females does not show a steady increase. The difference in mean age at first marriage between the oldest and the youngest generations is larger in the urban than it is in the rural areas. The figures are 2.06 and 1.51, respectively. One possible explanation for this appears to be the fact that urban people respond to agents of change faster than rural people.

It appears that the singulate mean age at marriage has increased in the country. It is found to be above 20 years for both the rural and the urban subsamples. Categorization by level of education shows that among rural females those who left school from higher secondary classes stay for three more years in the single state than those without any education. A similar pattern is observed among urban females. Here, large difference is observed between those in the illiterate category and those with above secondary level of education. The latter stay in the single state for about two and half additional years compared to the former.

Comparison of first marriage frequencies of the rural and the urban respondents shows that rural females start marrying earlier and finish it faster than their urban counterparts. At age 20 the rate of first marriages in the rural and the urban areas is found to be 46.1 and 10.2 per 1000, respectively. In the former the rate is as high as 88.1 per 1000 in the 25-29 age group whereas it is 75.1 per 1000 in the latter. It is also found out that there are no first marriages after age 45 in the rural areas while a few marriages do occur in the urban areas.

Regarding ideal age at first marriage it appears that all respondents agree that girls marry for the first time after 18 years. There is little or no difference among all generations in their opinions that the minimum age at first marriage for girls be about 18 years. As opposed to differences by generation in suggestions for ideal age at first marriage for girls, the rural-urban difference is large. Rural respondents suggested 16.98 years while the urban respondents suggested 20.15 years. For males, rural respondents suggested 23.5 while urban respondents suggested 27.17 years. The difference between the two is rather remarkable.

Analysis of age at first marriage by background variables shows that migrants marry earlier than non-migrants in the urban areas while there is no significant difference between the two groups in the rural areas. Migration is more a result of marriage in the urban than it is in the rural areas.

Comparison of ages at first marriage by ethnic background shows that there is no significant difference between the two dominant ethnic groups (Oromo and Amhara) in the study area. Although this finding is contradictory to other findings which state that the Amharas have lower mean age at first marriage than the Oromos, it is possible that the two groups adopted each other's norm of age at marriage in the long time they have been living together.

Among the religious groups Protestants have higher mean age at first marriage than both the Orthodox and the Muslims. The reason behind this may be the fact that followers of the Protestant religions are mostly from the younger generations and from urban areas.

Those who were gainfully employed before first marriages have higher mean age at first marriage than those who were not gainfully employed before first marriage both in the urban and in the rural areas.

Consistent with the uni-variate and bi-variate analyses, the analysis of variance shows that mean age at first marriage varied by level of education, the way first marriages were arranged, courtship before first marriage, employment status before first marriage, migration status, and by stability of parental union before first marriages of the respondents.

Except courtship and employment status before first marriages, the other variables show high significance in their explanatory power.

The multiple classification analysis also shows that respondents with no education, whose first marriages were arranged by their families and those who were abducted, other ethnic groups than the Oromos, rural respondents, those who were not courted before first marriage, migrants, those unemployed before first marriage, and those whose parents were living together (in union) married earlier than the grand mean of marriage (16.266). On the other hand, those respondents who were literate, who chose their own spouses, Oromos, urbanites, those courted before first marriage, non-migrants, those employed before first marriage, and those whose parents were not in union married at ages later than grand mean of marriage.

The multiple R-squared value of 0.193 indicates that more than 9 percent of the variation in age at first marriage is explained by variation in the predictors or explanatory variables.

In the analysis on stability of first marriages the bi-variate analysis shows that level of education, age at first marriage, husband's age at first marriage, husband's level of education, arrangement of first marriages, employment and courtship before first marriages, current age and CEB in first marriage have significant association with stability of first marriages.

Results of the logistic regression analysis indicate that place of residence, courtship before first marriage, husband's age at first marriage, education level, current age, migration status, age at first marriage and CEB in first marriage are selected by the backward stepwise method to have significant relationship with stability of first marriages.

One area of difference between the rural and the urban subsamples in the results of the logistic regression analysis is that such variables as employment before first marriage, courtship before first marriage, and migration lose their significance in the rural subsample and become highly significant in the urban subsample.

One possible reason for this may be that these variables characterize urban people more than they do the rural people.

Finally, based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are forwarded.

1. Among the variables that determine age at first marriage education is one with the strongest influence. Governmental or public attention given to the expansion of educational services will have large part in raising age at first marriage.
2. Urban areas have higher age at first marriage than the rural areas. This is found to be mainly because of better education, free choice of spouses, better employment opportunities and the like. Ways have to be designed in which these opportunities will be available to the rural people.
3. Instability of first marriages is found to be high both in the urban and the rural areas although it is worse in the former. Mechanisms have to be sought for influencing the determinants

which lead to first marriage instabilities.

4. The models used in this study indicate that the variables analyzed here explain only about 19 percent of the variation in age at first marriage. This implies that the remaining 80 percent is explained by variables which are not treated here. Thus, further studies on these variables are recommended.

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APPENDIX

HOUSEHOLD AND INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRES

IDENTIFICATION

1. QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER _____
2. RURAL/ URBAN _____
3. FARMERS' ASSOCIATION/ KEBELE _____
4. HOUSE NUMBER (URBAN) _____
5. NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD _____
6. NAME OF RESPONDENT _____
7. LINE NO. OF RESPONDENT _____

INTERVIEWER'S VISITS

	(1)	(2)	(3)
DATE	_____	_____	_____
INTERVIEWER'S NAME	_____	_____	_____
RESULT *	_____	_____	_____
SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE	_____	_____	_____

FINAL VISIT

DAY _____ MONTH _____ YEAR _____ RESULT _____

- * RESULT CODES:
- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. COMPLETED | 4. POSTPONED |
| 2. NO COMPETENT RESPONDENT AT HOME | 5. REFUSED |
| 3. ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD ABSENT | 6. PARTIALLY COMPLETED |

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN _____
TIME INTERVIEW ENDED _____
INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE _____
INTERVIEWER'S NAME _____
SUPERVISOR'S NAME _____

SECTION ONE: HOUSEHOLD ROASTER

Interviewer: Ask the head of the household to tell you the name, relationship to the household head, sex, age, marital and educational status of the usual residents of the household.

ln* (1)	Names of usual residents (2)	Relation ship to hh** (3)	Sex 1 = male 2 = female (4)		Age in completed years (5)	Ever been married? 1 = Yes 2 = No (6)		Education Level Grade (7) (8)		Eligibility *** (9)
01			1	2		1	2			
02			1	2		1	2			
03			1	2		1	2			
04			1	2		1	2			
05			1	2		1	2			
06			1	2		1	2			
07			1	2		1	2			
08			1	2		1	2			
09			1	2		1	2			
10			1	2		1	2			
11			1	2		1	2			
12			1	2		1	2			
13			1	2		1	2			
14			1	2		1	2			
15			1	2		1	2			

* Line number of persons who usually live in the household starting with head of the household.

** Head of the household

*** Circle line number of all women aged 15 years and above.

CODES FOR COLUMN 3

Relationship to head of the household

01= Head	07= Parent-in-law
02= Wife or husband	08= Brother or sister
03= Son or daughter	09= Co-wife
04= Son-in-law or daughter-in-law	10= Other relative
05= Grand child	11= Adopted/ step child
06= Parent	12= Not related
	98= Don't know

CODES FOR COLUMNS 7 & 8

Education level

1= Illiterate
 2= Read and write
 3= Primary
 4= J. secondary
 5= Secondary
 6= Higher
 7= Don't know

Grade

00= Less than 1 year completed
 98= Don't know

SECTION TWO: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

QN.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP TO
201	How old are you ?	_____ (years old)	
202	In what month and year were you born ?	_____ (Year) _____ (Month)	
203	What is your highest level of education ?	1..... Illiterate 2..... Read & write 3..... Primary 4..... J. secondary 5..... Secondary 6..... Higher 7..... Don't know	
204	What grade did you attend at that level ?	_____ (Grade)	
205	Are you still in school ? (For those aged less than 25 years)	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 207
206	How did you leave school ?	1..... Could not afford fee 2..... Got married 3..... Got pregnant 4..... Family needed help 5..... Completed high school 6..... Graduated 7..... Failed 8..... Other (specify)	
207	What is your religion ?	1..... Orthodox Christian 2..... Protestant Christian 3..... Catholic 4..... Jehovah 5..... Moslem 6..... Traditional 7..... Other (specify)	
208	What is your ethnicity ?	1..... Oromo 2..... Amhara 3..... Tigre 4..... Gurage 5..... Other (specify)	
209	Is this your place of birth?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 213
210	Have you ever lived outside this district for more than six months ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 217

211	For how many times have you changed residence (in which you lived continuously for more than six months ?)	1..... Only once 2..... Two to three times 3..... Three to five times 4..... More than five times 5..... Not changed	
212	Where was the last place you lived in before you came back here ?	_____ Region _____ Zone _____ District _____ Town _____ Farmers' Association	
213	Where were you born ?	_____ Region _____ Zone _____ District _____ Town	
214	Where was your place of residence when your age was between five & twelve years?	_____ Region _____ Zone _____ District _____ Town _____ Farmers' Association	
215	When did you come here ?	_____ (Month) _____ (Year) _____ (Years ago)	
216	For how long have you been living here ?	_____ (Months) _____ (Years)	
217	Aside from your own house work, are you currently employed ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 221
218	As you know, some women take up jobs for which they are paid in cash or in kind. Other sell things, have a small business or work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other gainful work ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 221
219	Have you done any gainful work in the last 12 months ? (for rural areas)	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 221 → 301
220	Have you done any gainful work in the last seven days ? (for urban areas)	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 301
221	What is your occupation, that is, what kind of work do you mainly do ?	_____ _____	

222	Do you (your family) have farm land ? (For rural women)	1..... Yes 2..... No	
223	Do you work on the farm ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 301
224	Do you do this work for your family, for someone else, or for your self ? (Circle all that apply)	For family-----1 For someone else-----2 For self-----3 Other (specify) _____	
225	How often do you work ?	1..... Throughout the year 2..... Seasonally 3..... Once in a while 4..... Other (specify)	
226	Are you paid in cash or in kind for your work?	1..... Yes 2..... No	→ 301
227	How much do you usually earn for this work?	1 _____ Per hour 2 _____ Per day 3 _____ Per week 4 _____ Per month 5 _____ Other (specify)	

SECTION THREE: MARRIAGE HISTORY

QN.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP TO
301	Have you ever been married ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	
302	Were you employed or had any other gainful work before you married for the first time ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	304
303	What was your occupation?	1..... Farmer 2..... Trader 3..... Teacher 4..... Gov. employee 5..... Daily laborer 6..... Other (specify)	
304	Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, or separated ?	1..... Married 2..... Widowed 3..... Divorced 4..... Separated	307
305	Does your husband have any other wife besides yourself ?	1..... Yes 2..... No 3..... Don't know	
306	Is this your first marriage ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	
307	What was the first household you lived in after marrying your first husband ?	1..... Husband's family's hh 2..... My family's hh 3..... Set up new household 4..... Other (specify)	
308	In what month and year did you marry for the first time ? PROBE: If don't know month, in what season? If don't know year, how many years ago ?	_____ Month, or _____ Season _____ Year, or _____ Years ago	
309	How old were you when you married for the first time ?	_____ years _____ Don't know	
310	Had your menstrual cycle started at the time you got married for the first time?	1..... Yes 2..... No	

311	How often did you see your parents or other relatives during the year after your first marriage?	1..... Very frequently 2..... Frequently 3..... Less frequently 4..... Not at all 5..... Other (specify)	
312	When you married for the first time, were your parents living together ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	314
313	What was the reason for their separation ?	1..... Death of one spouse 2..... Divorce 3..... Separation 4..... Other (specify)	
314	Before you married, did you and your first husband have the same mother tongue ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	316
315	Whose language did/ do you speak in your house then/ now ?	1..... Husband's 2..... Mine 3..... Both 4..... Other (specify)	
316	Before you married, did you and your first husband have the same religion ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	318
317	Whose religion did/ do you practice then/ now?	1..... Husband's 2..... Mine 3..... Both 4..... None 5..... Other (specify)	
318	When you first married, was your husband from the same town or PA as you ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	
319	Before you married your first husband, have you and he been seeing each other ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	322
320	How often have you been seeing each other?	1..... Everyday 2..... 2 or 3 days a week 3..... Once a week 4..... Once a month 5..... Once in a while 6..... Other (specify)	
321	How soon did you marry after the first date with your first husband ?	_____ Months _____ Years	

322	Do most of your natal family live nearby or far away?	1..... Very nearby 2..... Somewhat near 3..... Somewhat far 4..... Very far away	
323	INTERVIEWER: Check 206. Is respondent in her first marriage?	1..... Yes 2..... No	331
324	When did your first marriage end? Month, or Season Year, or Years ago	
325	Did you have any children by your first husband?	1..... Yes 2..... No	329
326	How many children did you have by your first husband ? (Number)	
327	Are all of them alive ?	1..... Yes 2..... No	329
328	How many died before you and your first husband divorced or separated ? (Number)	
329	Have you been married ever since your first marriage dissolved?	1..... Yes 2..... No	331
330	How many times have you been married (including your current marriage) since the dissolution of your first marriage? (Number of times)	

331 INTERVIEWER: fill the following table carefully by asking the following question. Now I would like some information about your previous and current husbands' age and educational background.

MAR-RIAGE ORDER	YOUR & YOUR HUSBAND'S AGE WHEN YOU MARRIED		HUSBAND'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION						
			Illiterate	Read & write	Primary	J. secondary	Secondary	Higher	Don't know
First	Your own	Your husband							
Second									
Third									
CURRENT									

332 INTERVIEWER: fill the following table by asking the respondent the following questions. I also like some more information on your previous and current husbands' socioeconomic characteristics.

MARRIAGE ORDER	HUSBAND'S SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS					What was your rank in each of the marriages?			
	Was/ is your husband employed ? *	What was/ is his religion ?	What was/ is his ethnicity ?	Number of other wives					Rank (1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , etc.)
				0	1	2	3	4	
First									
Second									
Third									
Fourth									
Current									

* Employment includes one's own gainful work.

333 Now I would like to know about the reasons for the dissolution of your previous marriages.

MARRIAGE ORDER	REASONS FOR DISSOLUTION			
	SEPARATION	DEATH OF HUSBAND	DIVORCE	OTHERS (SPECIFY)
FIRST				
SECOND				
THIRD				
FOURTH				

334 Now I like to have some information about how each of your marriages was arranged.

MARRIAGE ORDER	WHO ARRANGED EACH OF YOUR MARRIAGES ?				
	Parents and/or relatives	Self	Self with help of parents and/or relatives	I was abducted.	Other (specify)
First					
Second					
Third					
Current					

335 Now I like to have some information about the number and survival status of children born in each of your marriages as well as whether you or your family received dowry.

MARRIAGE ORDER	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND THEIR SURVIVAL STATUS			DID YOU OR YOUR FAMILY RECEIVE DOWRY?	
	Ever born within the marriage	Surviving	Died when the marriage was intact	Yes	No
First					
Second					
Third					
Fourth					
Current					

336 Who were members of the household you lived in during each of your marriages ?

MARRIAGE ORDER	MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD				
	The couple & children	The in-laws	Husband's other wives	Husband's children	Other relatives
First					
Second					
Third					
Fourth					
Current					

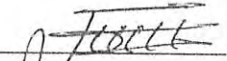
337 Now I would like to get some information about your employment status during each of your marriages.

MARRIAGE ORDER	EMPLOYMENT STATUS INCLUDING OWN GAINFUL WORK	
	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED
First		
Second		
Third		
Fourth		
Current		

338	What prevented you from marrying for the second time ?	1.....Not interested 2.....Didn't find right husband 3.....Concern for children 4.....Other (specify)	
339	Are you intending to marry in the future ?	1.....Yes 2.....No	
340	In your opinion, what is the ideal age for a girl to marry ?	_____ (Age in years)	
341	In your opinion, what is the ideal age for a boy to marry ?	_____ (Age in years)	

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Megersa Gobena Bogino

Signature 

Advisor Professor Syoum Gebresellasi

Signature 