ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

VALUE OF CHILDREN, PERCEIVED COST AND FERTILITY BEHAVIOR IN MULO - SULULTA DISTRICT OF OROMIA

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JUNE, 1999

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by
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Value of Children, Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavior in Mulo-Sululta District OF Oromia

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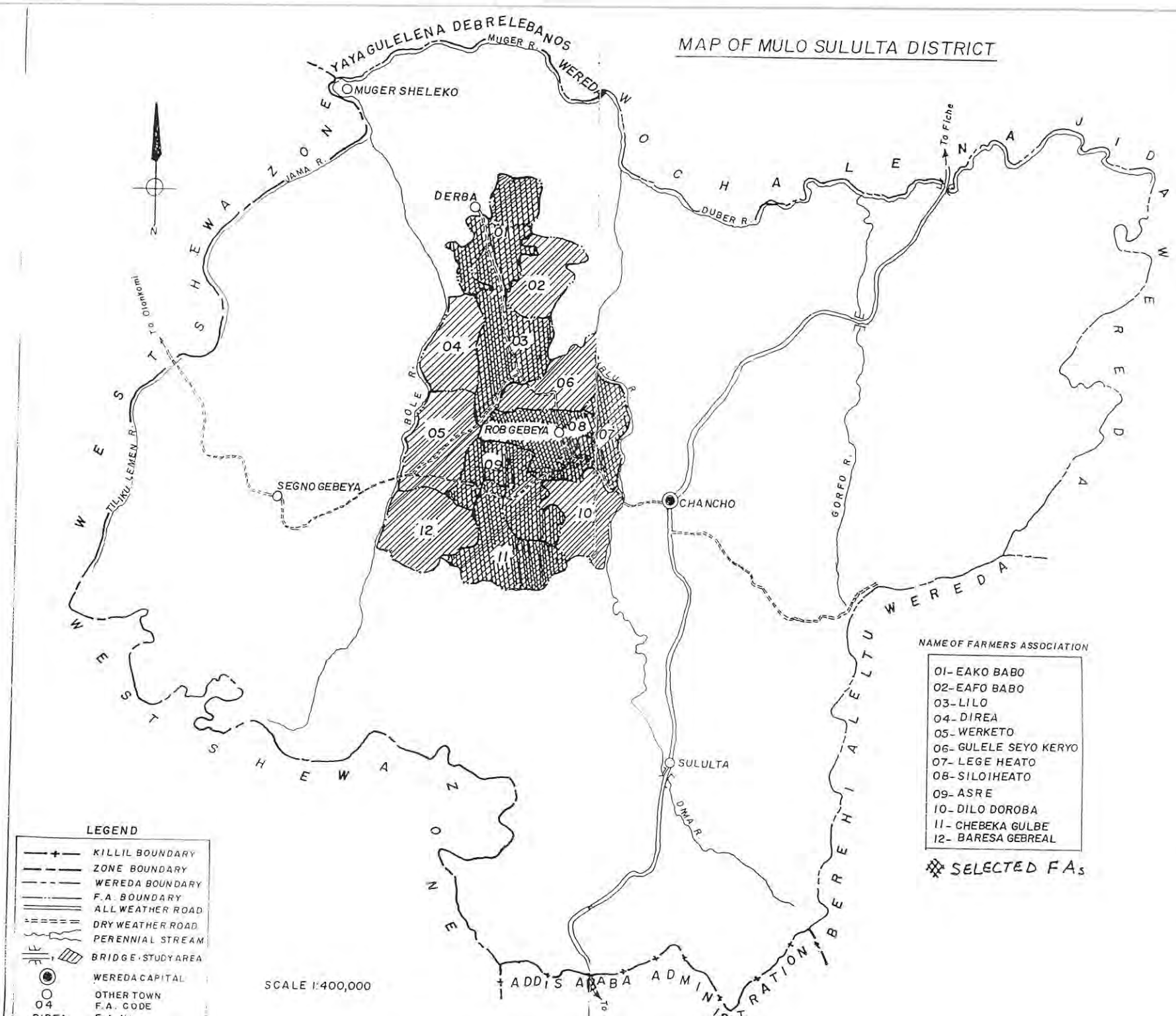
MAP OF MULO SULULTA DISTRICT
YAYA GULELENA DEBRELEBANOS
MUGER R.
WEREDA
MUGER SHELEKO
WEST SHEWA ZONE
JAMA R.
To Ololkomi
TILIKU LEMEN R.
DERBA
01
02
03
04
05
06
07
08
09
10
11
12
BOLE R.
ROB GEBEYA
SEGNO GEBEYA
CHANCHO
SULULTA
DUBER R.
To Fiche
NAJIDA WEREDA
GORFO R.
DIMA R.
BERE HI ALELTU WEREDA
ADDIS ABABA ADMINISTRATION
To
SCALE 1:400,000
LEGEND
KILLIL BOUNDARY
ZONE BOUNDARY
WEREDA BOUNDARY
F.A. BOUNDARY
ALL WEATHER ROAD
DRY WEATHER ROAD
PERENNIAL STREAM
BRIDGE · STUDY AREA
WEREDA CAPITAL
OTHER TOWN
04 F.A. CODE
NAME OF FARMERS ASSOCIATION
01- EAKO BABO
02- EAFO BABO
03- LILO
04- DIREA
05- WERKETO
06- GULELE SEYO KERYO
07- LEGE HEATO
08- SILOIHEATO
09- ASRE
10- DILO DOROBA
11- CHEBEKA GULBE
12- BARESA GEBREAL
SELECTED FAs

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ABSTRACT

The study explores the relationship between the value of children and fertility behavior in Mulo-Sululta, a district bounding Addis Ababa in the north. Using survey questionnaire, a primary data were collected from 982 currently married couples having at least one living child in April 1998. This survey was complemented by focus group discussions with knowledgeable local people of different socioeconomic background in both rural and urban areas.

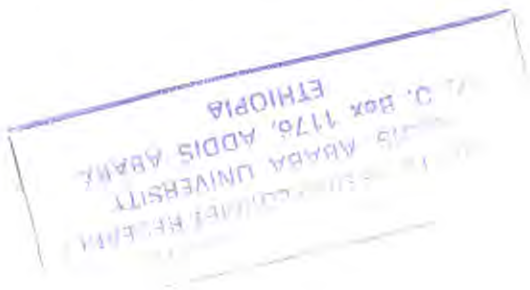
Using a multistage sampling design, first, the district was divided into rural and urban. From the rural areas, twelve farmer associations were purposely selected out of which six were randomly taken for the study. But only one urban center fulfilling urban criteria was included in this study. Then eligible respondents were identified and interviewed in both rural and urban areas.

To explore the relation between fertility desires and socioeconomic and demographic factors at individual level, univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques were used. For this, mean, cross-tabulations, ANOVA and MCA were employed.

The bivariate analytical results show that age, number of living children, household income and educational level has negatively correlated to number of additional children desired. Males more than females and rural respondents more than urban were found desiring for more mean number of

additional children. In addition to these, actual and expected labor assistance as well as old age security motives were found to be important motivating factors for having more children. The multivariate analysis also show the same result except those younger couples below the age of 25 were found desiring fewer number of additional children than those aged 25-34.

Finally, the study concludes by suggesting some policy relevant intervention areas in relation to value of children and fertility relationship. The need for in-depth study in the same area was also recommended.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Rationale

The value of children to the society in general and to parents in particular is incalculable. The human species perpetuates itself through children; cultural, religious and national groups transmit their values and traditions through children; families maintain their lineage through children; and individuals pass on their genetic and social heritage through children (Arnold *et al.*, 1975). Because of these intrinsic characteristics and roles of children in the society, Bulatao (1975) put that; a society without children is a society headed for extinction.

The contribution that children make to the social, economic and psychological well-being of their parents is commonly cited as a reason why parents in the Third-World settings so often have larger families (Clay, 1993) than those in the Western World. As in any other developing regions, the high value of children in many African societies has been attributed to the traditional pro-natalist belief systems that stress the importance of lineage (Caldwell, 1987), economic advantages of children in terms of labor supply and old-age support (Boserup, 1985), reproductive competition between co-wives in polygynous unions (Borgerhoff, Mulder, 1989, 1992).

In developing nations, in general and Sub-Sahara Africa in particular, the population growth rate is significantly high and there is a mismatch between economic growth and

population growth. This rapidly growing population has created strain on the environment as well as on the socioeconomic development of the African society.

Ethiopia is one of the Sub Sahara African countries with large family size and low contraceptive prevalence rate- about 11 percent (FDRE/MOH, 1998). Its population is among the rapidly growing ones, growing at an annual rate of 3 percent (NOP, 1993). At this rate, the population will definitely pose an increasing strain on the limited resources of the country under the present levels of technology. The population growth trend showed an increase over time, from annual growth rate of less than one percent at the beginning of this century to about two percent in mid 1950s and three percent in 1984 (CSA, 1991). T333he 1994 Population and Housing Census report showed that the TFR has declined from 7.7 percent in 1984 (CSA, 1991) to 6.74 percent in 1994 (CSA, 1998). The apparently falling trend of TFR may not bring an immediate significant change in the total population growth rate. The current population growth rate, for sometimes, is expected to remain at around the current growth rate because of the inherent momentum of population growth.

In rural areas where about 86.3 percent (CSA, 1998) of the total population resides, the phenomenon of rapid population growth is more prominent. As existing literature indicates, in rural areas where the overwhelming majority of the population is dependent on subsistence farming, uncontrolled population growth can contribute to the deterioration of the limited natural resources and therefore can be a hindrance to the overall progress of the society.

In relation to the current situation of Ethiopia, that is, land resource scarcity, food security and general ecological degradation, Markos (1997) has explicitly stated that the rapidly growing population will continue to pose the greatest challenges to the country's development problem. Therefore, how the food production sector will respond to these challenges is a puzzle that continues to preoccupy development policy designers.

Currently, the social and economic as well as environmental consequences of fast growing population has been the concern of national and international policy makers and population researchers. As a result, there is a growing need for the study on determinants of fertility behavior and possible means of its control in Less Developed Countries (UN, 1979).

In order to deal with such development problems, research should be made focusing on the understanding of the means policy-makers can use for bringing about changes that lead to fertility reduction. One way of addressing this issue may be by investigating the socioeconomic, cultural and demographic factors that play a great role in influencing fertility behavior as well as identifying ways and means of introducing modern intervention techniques (family planning services) to bring about the initiation of fertility transition in the country. In this connection, studies on the determinants of the value of children becomes vital and timely.

So far, many fertility related researches have been conducted in the country. In this regard, the CSA had undertaken some studies (e.g., the FFS of 1990, the two censuses of 1984 and 1994, etc.). There were also several other micro-level fertility related

studies conducted in the country (mainly on urban areas) by many demographic researchers. Some of these are Abdulahi, 1989; Assefa, 1990; Betemariam, 1991; Eshetu, 1994; Tilaye, 1995; etc. But very few studies have been made in relation to value of children and fertility relationship as one hypothesized reason for the prevalence of sustained high levels of fertility in the country.

In relation to this, Yohannes (1994) and Tekabe (1996) have made studies, especially on the economic value of children and did not explore the extent to which the socio-cultural norms and values that parents attach to children affect fertility behavior. It is believed that proper understanding of the actual and perceived value of children among couples of different generation (older and younger) as well as examining urban-rural differentials in the value of children will definitely indicate a point at which a fertility reduction measure should be taken by policy makers and family planners.

Therefore, this study will attempt to fill the gap mainly by investigating the economic and socio-cultural values of children and fertility interrelationship in Oromia's Salale Zone (Mulo-Sululta District) by collecting and analyzing primary data.

The output of this micro-level study can be used by government and non-governmental organizations involved in the expansion of family planning services. In addition to this, can serve as a stepping stone for future interested researchers to undertake a large-scale study on the value of children and fertility interrelationships.

1.2. Review of Related Literature

1.2.1. On General Theories of Fertility

In all societies, childbearing and rearing are universal social acts. But these are not uniformly practiced in all societies. Human fertility varies both among and within societies. In this connection, Bardwick (1975) has noted that, a desire for a child is neither a definite nor as persistent as one would expect. It varies not only from one individual to the next, but also with the individual from one phase of life to another and shows the influence of collective attitudes on individual motives.

There is a growing body of consensus that a better understanding of the perceived and actual benefits and costs of children is essential for understanding cross-cultural differences in reproductive behavior. Approaches to studying these benefits and costs, as they apply to reproductive behavior vary with sociological, demographic, economic, and psychological frameworks used to interpret the value of children. Demographers and sociologists treat value of children primarily at the macro-level as it relates to the demographic transition at the core of which is the idea that the value of children changes over time (Kasarda, 1986).

In his study of the value of children, Bulatao et al., (1975) noted that an organizing perspective for the study of the effects of the value of children on fertility may be derived from the theory of demographic transition. Changes in the value of children are among the factors assumed to underlie the fertility decline that is part of the transition.

The cost-benefit approach is used by many researchers to investigate the value of children and its impact on fertility (Fawcett, 1975; Arnold et al, 1975). They assumed the perceived costs and benefits of children as a major motivational force in reproduction, and with the interaction of situational barriers and facilitators that affect family size preferences and fertility. From the point of view of cost and benefit, theoretically, one would expect that the demand for children would be greater in areas where the advantages associated with them are higher and the disadvantages lower.

The value of children is broadly divided into economic and non-economic factors. Here, what should be noted is that, the economic and non-economic values do not only mean the economic and non-economic benefits that parents derive from children. But they also include the costs that parents incur during childbearing and child rearing.

In the interpretation of the economic theory of fertility, Leibenstein (1957) has conceptualized the economic values (benefits) of children along two dimensions: children as productive agents and as sources of financial security in old age and emergencies. Children's economic value is more important in developing countries, particularly in an agrarian settings. In such areas, children provide benefit during childhood by assisting in the household chores or on the farm in rural areas (Cain, 1977; Caldwell, 1976).

In relation to land holding and fertility, existing literature indicates that the size of operational holdings is thought to have a positive influence on fertility, because households with larger holdings require more labor and are able to utilize family labor more effectively, and this supports continued high fertility (World Bank, 1984).

Contrary to this, Cain (1986) suggested that land ownership exerts a negative long-term effect on fertility; because of the income returns to equity and the consequent increase in old age security. In a more elaborated way, Rosenzweig and Evenson (1977), reported that land holdings, land productivity and child wage have a negative effect on child quality; while the same have positive relation with demand for children and child labor force participation. This is because they are positively associated with the economic contribution of children and thereby reduce the net cost of children.

Studying the economic activities of children in a village of Bangladesh, Cain (1977) pointed out that from the perspective of parents in many parts of the developing world, high fertility and large number of surviving children may be economically "rational' propositions. This implies that the economic roles and contributions of children during the period when they are members of the household and their output is entirely controlled by parents is very high. These perceived high benefits are the main motivations for the prevalence of persistent high fertility.

With changing life style, especially due to urbanization, increased parents' education, and awareness of modern life style, child work loses importance. In urban areas, children are mostly engaged in schooling and constitute an economic cost rather than an asset for the families. In addition, child work (even in household chores) is negligible. When these socioeconomic and cultural contexts are compared, the main difference appears to be a shift from an emphasis on the material value of the child for the family to the emphasis on the needs of the child (Woodhead, 1991 as cited in Pritchett, 1994) - a shift from the utilitarian (economic) value to psychological value of the child.

In a study conducted in Ethiopia, Tekabe (1996) found that the major determinant of demand for children was child labor. Tekabe further showed that rural households in Ethiopia are supply constrained regarding their demand for children (demand is governed by supply). In the same study, it was stated that anticipated and actual benefits and cost of children explain the economic rationale for rural Ethiopia's higher demand for children.

Children are also perceived as a form of investment. In most developing countries, children begin working around the homestead at very young ages. Along with this, children are viewed as a form of human capital (most importantly, the poor man's capital), and investment in children is contrasted with other investments drawing upon the parent's time (Bulatao, 1975).

Children's costs and benefits are not the same in all societies. For poor parents, the economic costs of children are low whereas the economic benefits are high (World Bank, 1984). This may be one of the main reasons for high fertility in developing countries. Caldwell (1976) contends that in primitive and traditional societies where the intergenerational wealth flow is from children to parents, economic rationality dictates high fertility. Based on a study of village in Bangladesh, Cain (1977, 1980) hypothesized that the benefits derived by parents from children is so important to them that from the perspective of parents 'high fertility and large numbers of surviving children are economically rational propositions'. This does not necessarily mean that children are always economically beneficial in all societies of the developing countries. For instance, in some cultures where the dowry system exists, girls are considered to be more of an economic burden (World Bank, 1984). But where a bride wealth (price) is

expected, girls are considered as an economic asset. The reverse of the above situation is true for boys.

1.2.2. Old Age Security

Old-age security is usually considered as one of the major motivational force for having many children. It has been noted that children imply social strength for the kin group and such strength may imply economic benefit where strength in numbers equals strength in physical security. The father can live without worrying for possible problems during the old age, if he has many children (Caldwell, 1982). The Old-Age Security hypothesis of human fertility suggests that in societies where aged are dependent on their adult sons and daughters for support, fertility will remain high in order to guarantee enough surviving children to meet this need (Clay et al, 1993).

Research in many different regions of the world has shown that the fertility of parents who believe that children provide old age support is in fact high. In the study conducted in Southern Nigeria, Fapohunda and Todaro (1985) found that parents who expected to receive old-age support from their children were less likely to be 'demographic innovators' and to have smaller families. Similarly, De Vos (1987) found that in the Philippines and Taiwan, fertility preferences of parents with high expectations for future support were higher than those parents who expected little old-age support from their children.

In relation to old-age security as a motive for high fertility, Nugent (1985) also cited that children's loyalty influences the number of children desired by parents for old age security. Where there is loyalty, one or two children may meet old-age security needs,

but where loyalty is low, an unlimited number of children may be desired by parents in order to meet even minimal needs in their old age.

With regard to old-age security motive of fertility in Ethiopia, Tekabe (1996) noted that insurance in the form of social security is available only for urban residents and especially for government and some other formal sector employees. It is virtually non-existent in rural areas where having children is the only strategy for attaining old age support.

From their study in Rwanda, Clay *et al* (1993) noted that parents in the Third-World settings often maintain high level of childbearing in order to improve their own social and economic well-being. It was mentioned that, where a formal system of social security and wide-scale old age pension system are almost non-existent, and where upward social mobility is severely restricted, bearing more children is, indeed, a sensible strategy for survival. On the other hand, Cain (1982) found that even in circumstances where lifetime economic value of a child is very low or even negative, there can still be a strong demand for children if their perceived or actual value in specified adverse situation is high and not substitutable.

Cain further noted that children can be considered economically important in two ways: 1) they create new opportunities for households or at least for patriarchs, that is, children are instrumental to family strategies of gain; 2) they are essential in preventing loss, that is, children are instrumental for family strategy of survival. This means that children can have a special value in averting the ill effects of periods of crises, i.e., they represent an insurance against risk. Old age is one of the times during which the

probability of facing a crisis is increased and therefore represents a special category of high-risk situation in anticipation of which one may hypothesize a demand for children.

In the study made on the Value of Children in Sub-Saharan Africa, Meekers and Calves (1995), emphasized that old age security is not solely monetary support, but it often takes the form of closeness, immediate care and assistance with domestic tasks and caring for one's parents when they are sick (physical assistance is needed). Emphasizing the physical presence of children, especially sons, Cain (1982) argued that when senility, illness, environmental strikes occur, the only dependable form of assistance is provided by the vertical lineage, in particular by mature sons. Thus, childbearing is imperative to minimize the risks related to death and disaster. In other studies, it was argued that the old age security motive of demand for children is ambiguous. It is hypothesized (and evidenced in some areas) that it is the manipulative behavior of parents that matters than the mere possession of children (John Hoddinot as cited in Tekabe, 1996).

1.2.3 Non-Economic Benefits of Children

Apart from old age security motive for children, it is a commonly held opinion that parents increase their fertility because they see children as a means for raising both physical security and political influences. The importance of house and family name may persist high fertility even when individuals want fewer children (Cain, 1985).

Individuals not only use children for labor and depend on them for caring and assistance later in life, they also gain the only reward status in the kinship system through having children and thereby becoming parents (Pritchett, 1994; Arnold *et al*, 1975). In relation

to this, it was suggested that becoming parent is one of life's great psychological transitions, signifying a shift in emotional allegiances and marking entry into a new life time role, parenthood (Fawcett, 1986).

Arnold *et al* (1975) listed emotional benefits, self-enrichment and development, maintenance of family name, family cohesiveness and continuation of the kin as non-economic values of children. The non-economic benefits of children also involve the psychic satisfaction and pleasure that parents derive from them (Kasarada, 1986).

According to Caldwell (1976), the causes for high fertility in rural areas lie primarily in the economic and psychological benefits that come to the old and male members of the kin and the family. Of the psychological benefits, parents' perceived need to preserve the continuity of the patrilineal (patriarchal) descendent group is the 'crux of the problem of persistent high fertility" (Cain 1985). In some societies, children may also serve important religious and traditional functions (Kasarda *et al*, 1986). Children also guarantee the lineage or as a means for transmitting the family name and traditions (Arnold *et al*, 1975).

1.2.4 Costs of Children

Childbearing and rearing could not be done without incurring any cost. The economic costs of children can be direct and indirect. The direct economic costs involve the money that parents spent in bearing and rearing children - for food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care, etc. And the indirect economic costs of children involve opportunity costs (opportunities forgone in order to bear and rear a child) as well as loss of personal leisure and comfort. The opportunity cost concept is not however so

important in the economies where roles of worker and mother are compatible as a result of the easily available mother surrogates (Mabogunje and Arowolo, 1978), like grown up children, mother-in-laws, and close relatives.

The presence of parental surrogates in the extended family alleviates problems of incompatibility between childcare and work, and thereby lowers the opportunity costs of children (Fapohunda and Todaro, 1988). With regard to costs, urbanization and modernization meant that the direct economic costs of children increased, whether for housing in dense urban areas or food that increasingly had to be purchased or compulsory education (Pritchett, 1994). In this respect, it has been said that with changing lifestyles, especially with urbanization and increased parental education, child work loses importance. This change is seen in both less child work and also in less importance attributed to it by parents (Kagiticibasi, 1996).

Children can also bring non-economic costs to their parents. These are emotional costs such as the responsibility of parenthood, health problems of children, noise disorder and nuisance, concern over children's future successes and happiness (Arnold, *et, al* 1975). Along with these, the time and effort of rearing children that do not compete with parents economic activity can also be included (Espenshade, 1972).

Western research has shown a negative empirical relationship between women's wages or employment and fertility. Yet, Third-World studies have shown that a working mother's opportunity cost is not a loss of home production time but instead, a loss of personal leisure (Fapohunda and Todaro, 1988). In addition, the cost of schooling is low and mainly financed by the government. This minimizes the cost of children. In

conformity to this, Pritchett (1994) noted that in subsistence economies, the direct economic costs of children tend to be camouflaged by a lack of accounting system. He further stated that the direct non-economic costs of offspring are minimized by the availability of a wider kinship to help with child rearing

1.2.5. Father Versus Mother Valuation of Children

It is commonly believed that the role of male and female in fertility and the way they value children is different under different socioeconomic conditions. In this connection, Ben-Porath (1978) argues that if spouses are viewed as separate individuals in a contract, their reproductive attitudes will be expected to differ since men and women have different motivations for childbearing. This means differences in men and women's attitude toward children reflect differences in their expectation from children under different conditions, which may depend on the substitutes for children available to them.

In an environment in which women have few means of leading an independent life (economically or otherwise), the need for children as security in old age can be very clearly positive (Cain, 1982). This brings us to the demand for children as what Cain calls 'insurance against risk'.

Not only this, children have other values to women, especially in poverty stricken rural areas. In such cases, it was stated that women face special risks and having children is the only way to mitigate risks and uncertainties. Thus their motives for producing many children are even stronger than those of their husbands. Risk aversion remains a plausible motivation for early child bearing for women. (Cain, 1985). By having children early, women can anchor themselves in their marital lineage, where their

security is otherwise unsecured (Borgerhoff 1989). This means in agrarian societies, a childless woman may be abandoned or divorced and has no right to her husband's property.

Fapohunda and Todaro (1988), analyzing Lagos data set found that expected parental benefits from children are far from equal between men and women. This is because spouses in Nigeria rarely follow joint household financial management practices; and thus, the locus of fertility decision is determined by who controls and allocates economic resources within the family. For instance, by paying bride-wealth, a man secures all rights over a woman and her children. In other instances, a wife is expected to bear many children as her contribution to the continuity and viability of the lineage. Fapahunda (1988) further cited that the influence of economic, social and religious institutions in developing countries can cause husbands and wives to face significantly divergent child-related costs and benefits, and consequently, spousal reproductive goals are likely to differ.

1.2.6. Sex Preference

Williamson (1976) reviewed evidence of son preference by regions throughout the world. In a reply to Datta and Nugent (1984), Vlassoff (1990) agrees that in a pre-transitional society, sons would typically be a crucial source of old-age security for parents. Son preference is likely to be strong for socio-economic reasons where the labor market is more segmented by sex. In that case, sons may be needed as a source of economic gain as well as a support against loss.

Besides, sons were preferred due to the fact that access to productive employment is barred to women not just in specific activities but in virtually all activities. Secondly, women serve their parents for a relatively short time (until they get married). These lead to differences in the value placed upon son as the ultimate source of the economic and social security. Not only this, but since it is through sons that the family name continues (especially in partilineal societies) and some cultural ceremonies are also performed by sons and thus, the preference for sons is justifiable in traditional societies (Caldwell, 1987). For instance, in India, household work is the common role performed by daughters across all caste and class groups whereas, it is the son who is the source of economic support, insurance for old-age, and perpetuation of family lineage (Das, 1995).

1.3. The Objectives of the Study

In general, the study attempts to explore the influence of the value of children on fertility behavior in rural and urban areas by investigating the attitudes and feelings of married couples of different socio-economic and demographic background.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To investigate the differences in the desire for additional children between husband and wife.
2. To identify the demographic and socio-cultural factors that influence fertility behavior in the study area.
3. To explore urban-rural differences in the desire for more children.
4. To examine differences in desire for children between the relatively younger and older generations.
5. To make some appropriate policy relevant recommendations.

1.4. The Conceptual Framework and Definition of Terms

Some concepts/terms used in this study need operational definitions in light of which one can easily understand them. The definitions of some concepts as they are used in the study are presented below:

Value -. In this study, value as related to children, is concerned with the benefits and satisfactions that parents currently obtain and those expected to be obtained during their lifetime or even after death.

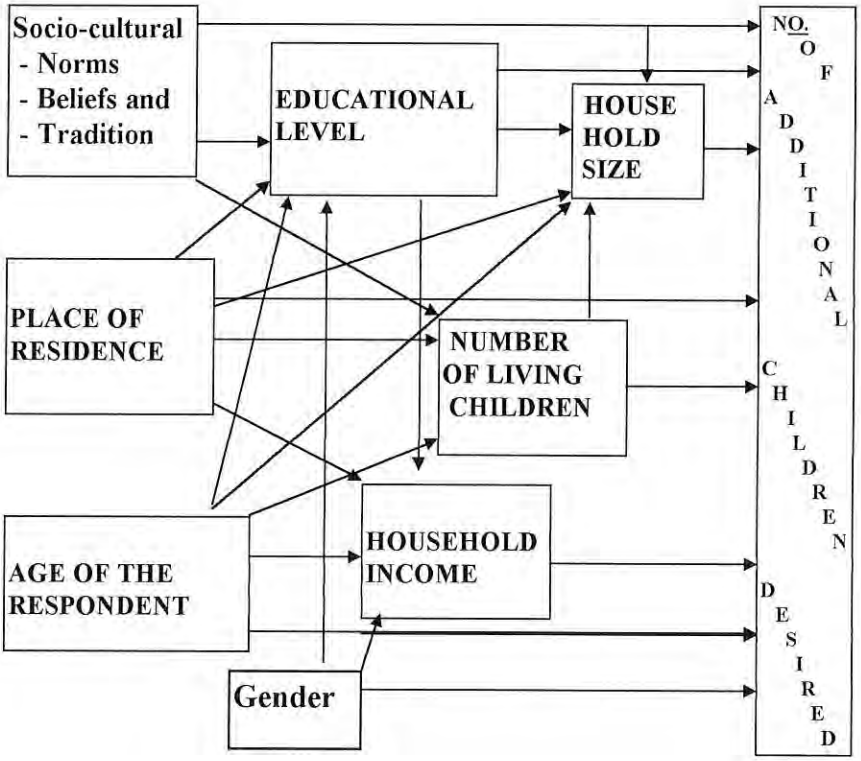
Existing literature shows that the value that parents attach to children was one of the most important factors that influence the reproductive behavior of married couples. The level of development achieved by the society again determines the degree and magnitude of this influence. It is generally hypothesized that the value that parents in most developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, attach to children is the main cause of the persistently high level of fertility.

In this study, though measuring the value of children is not as easy as the demographic and socioeconomic variables, attempts are made to explain value through some proxy variables such as actual benefits derived and expected benefits to be received from children.

The role of children in society is broad and complex, and to analyze the impact of value of children on fertility it can be conceptualized as follows. The value of children is considered as an intermediary factor between the demographic and socio-economic variables on the one hand and fertility behavior on the other hand. In other words, the

background socioeconomic and demographic variables affect the value of children and fertility behavior as well.

Analytical Framework of the interrelationship between Background Variables and Fertility Behaviors



The framework above shows the direction of interrelationship between selected explanatory variables and the dependent variable. As can be observed, age, sex, and place of residence influences the educational level attained and household income. Place of residence and age also influences the number of living children and household size. Education and number of living children can also affect the number of household size. Finally, the combined effect of all these factors affect the reproductive behavior of an individual

In this study, the impact of the value of children (proxied by actual benefits obtained and perceived benefits to be obtained from children were not included in the above analytical framework.

1.5. The Research Hypothesis

In the study area, it is assumed that children have perceived and actual values to their parents in particular, and to the society in general. Parents attach economic, socio-cultural and emotional values to having children. These values of having children, generally will influence parents' reproductive behavior (i.e., family size preference, when to have children and desired sex composition of children and contraceptive use). Based on the above assumptions, the following research hypotheses are presented.

1. Rural respondents desire more children than urban respondents.
2. Expected benefits of children and the number of children additionally desired have positive interrelationship.
3. Poor parents desire for larger family size than rich parents.
4. Younger married couples compared to the relatively older ones desire a relatively smaller family size.
5. Husbands desire for more children than their wives.
6. Sons are preferred to daughters.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1. Selection of the Study Area

The average family size of the study area is 5.2 persons per household (CSA, 1996). This is rather too big for a district found in the immediate vicinity of Addis where most of the youngsters and adults visit frequently to sell their agricultural products and purchase items. Is the relatively larger family size a reflection of more demand for children that in turn must have been motivated by high value that parents attach to children? Or, are there some other factors associated with its vicinal location to Addis that made having many children an advantage to parents?

It was these questions that have inspired the researcher to undertake this 'value of children and fertility' survey in Mulo-Sululta. The other reason for selecting this study area is the fact that the researcher was born and brought up in the zone in which Mulo-Sululta is located. Thus, his knowledge of the culture, language and life style of the society is of immense importance in undertaking this survey given the constraints of resources and time.

2.2. Study Area

To achieve the stated objectives, primary data on demographic, socio-economic variables as well as emotional feelings of respondents were collected from Mulo-Sululta

District, Salale (North Shewa) Zone of Oromia. Mulo-Sululta is one of the twelve Salale Zone Districts that bounds Addis Ababa in the north. The Capital of the study area, Chancho, is 40 kilometers to the north of Addis and 72 kilometers to the south of the zonal capital, Fiche.

According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, the total population of the study area is 133,950, out of which 66,523 and 67,427 are males and females respectively. The overwhelming majority of the population (92.7 percent) is living in rural areas, and this figure is comparable with Oromia's rural population i.e., 89.5 percent. The total population under the age of 15, 15 to 64 and above 65 is 46.9, 48.1 and 5.0 percent respectively (CSA, 1996). This clearly shows that almost half of the total population is under the age of fifteen and the population is young and liable to reproduction.

According to Planning and Economic Development Bureau of Oromia (BPED,1997), the total area of Mulo-Sululta is 1,652 square kilometers and thus the population density is 81.1 persons per square kilometers, and this is less than the aggregate zonal population density of 101.8 persons per square kilometers (CSA, 1996). From the point of view of its land productivity, the population density is too big. The population is almost homogenous and belongs to the Oromo (93 percent of the total population) ethnic group. The predominant religion is Orthodox Christian, 98.2 percent (CSA, 1996).

In Mulo-Sululta, 19.1 percent of the total population is literate. The literacy rate for rural and urban are 15.35 and 62.53 percent respectively (CSA, 1996). The district,

despite its location in the vicinities of Addis, has little opportunity of education, especially in getting senior secondary education. There was no senior high school in the study area before 1997, and the primary schools are very few. Only 10 percent of the farmers' association areas have access to primary education services. In addition to this, the health services are very poor and only 1.9 percent of the rural population are current contraceptive users (FDRE/UNICEF, 1996).

Topographically, the district is dominated by high plateau that extends over an altitudinal range of 2,200 - 2,800 meters above mean sea level. There are isolated hills and chains of mountains that extends from the Intoto Mountain ranges to the north, separating this district from the neighboring Barrak and Alaltu district in the east. The highest elevation exceeds 3,400 meters above mean sea level, and found to the south of Chancho town. The lowest elevation is found in the Mogor River valley and its elevation is about 1,300 meters (Radcliffe *et al*, 1989).

According to the Land Evaluation Study made by Radcliffe and associates, the level of land fertility is low, and most of the flat plains of the district is seasonally water-logged and suffer drainage constraints. These waterlogged areas can only be used for grazing outside the rainy season. Some localized cropping is possible using flood protection and drainage improvement techniques. The total cultivable land is estimated to be about 45 percent of the total area of the district and 88 percent of the households have farmlands. About 47 percent of those having farmland reported the inadequacy of their holdings, which range from 0.5 to 1.0 hectare. Apart from this, 74 percent of those engaged in farming activities had experienced a decline in production rate during the last five years

before the survey. Furthermore, it was reported that most families could not produce sufficient food beyond six months (FDRE/UNICEF, 1996).

In Mulo-Sululta, Oromo traditional beliefs and Orthodox Christian faith is practiced side by side. Residents go to churches and at home they also practice their ancestral beliefs. Even they give more value to their own belief systems than the Christian religion which was forcefully imposed some one hundreds years ago. As a cultural norm, in every place where people are gathered like for wedding, working, festival, ritual sacrifices, etc., the first thing to do is to give thanks to *Waaqa*, the creator. Elders give this thanks or blessings according to the Oromo traditional system of belief but not as Christians used to do.

The traditional beliefs and cultural norms are also very influential in marriage systems and fertility. Culturally, every one marries after seeing some signs of puberty, for instance, growing beards and protruded breast are indications of maturity for boys and girls respectively. In Oromo culture, having several children is considered as the blessing of *Waaqa*, while those with no child are pitied and especial prayers are performed so that *Waaqa* give them children. This is explicitly put by Gammachu (1995), that the greatest blessing for married couples is to have many healthy children. This means that Oromo culture concentrates on fertility from the first moment of the blessings on marriage ceremonies.

With regard to blessings made for newly married couples, Gammachu further elaborated how the mother of the groom blesses on a coffee ceremony made to celebrate the marriage of her son as follows:

O Waaqa, the creator, give my son's wife plenty of offspring;
May she bear children;
O Waaqa, may she understand and enjoy my son's words;
Give them children together.

As indicated above, the Oromo cultural blessings are pronatalist and promote high fertility. In the study area there was a common saying that "Namni ijollee hin qabne nama ija hin qabne." This literally mean that a person that does not have children have no eyes. This and similar other sayings and proverbs encourage people to have more children.

Mulo-Sululta, did not benefit from the diffusion of innovation from the nearby primate city of the country, Addis Ababa. Because of its proximity to Addis, one would expect that the study area is the one that is most influenced by the spillage of new ideas, beliefs, innovations, information, etc., that might increase the awareness of the people. But, the fact is that Mulo-Sululta is far behind the expectation of those who do not objectively know its situation. In terms of socio-cultural and economic development, Mulo-Sululta can be one of the least influenced districts situated nearby the big urban center. In relation to this, it is not unexpected that the current rate of contraceptive use is less than 2 percent and the people still lead traditional ways of life with no major improvement in their ways of life.

2.3. Source of Data

The 1984 and 1994 censuses, and the 1990 FFS reports do not have the data required for this study ('the value of children and fertility behavior'). Because of this, the data needed for this study had to be collected from the field using survey questionnaire and

focus group discussion. Thus, the data for this study was collected from married couples using face-to-face interview method.

2.4. Sampling Frame and Sampling Design

To identify the study population, a multistage sampling design was employed. The sample was designed to compare the two groups (the urban and the rural residents). First, as a primary sampling unit (PSU), the district is divided into rural and urban areas. Chancho town is the only urban area in the district that fulfills the urban criteria of 2,000 population. It has only one special 'Kebele' and the whole of Chancho town is considered as urban sampling unit.

As a secondary sampling unit (SSU), based on the homogeneity of the area in terms of socio-cultural and economic activities, 12 farmers' associations found along the road between Chancho and Darba were purposely selected. The selection of these farmers associations was mainly intended to closely supervise the data collectors using the transportation facilities between the two places (Chancho and Darba).

At the last sampling unit, to exhaustively collect the information from more respondents, out of the 12 farmers associations 6 farmer associations were randomly selected. To identify eligible couples, all the households in the selected farmers association were visited one by one and eligible couples were registered to create a sampling frame.

Eligible couples are those married only once, currently in union and have at least one living child. The restriction to one living child couples is simply to include those with

childbearing and rearing experiences so as to obtain their feelings and opinions on child related issues.

On the other hand, the omission of couples who have been married more than once arise partly from the need to control for the effect of remarriage or instability of marriage and partly because of difficulty of getting birth information from such couples. Since the economic theory of fertility states that fertility decision is couple's decision (Andorka, 1978 as cited in Eshetu, 1994), and to obtain a balanced picture of motivations toward childbearing and rearing from both husbands and wives, and to highlight similarities and differences in their orientation toward children, both of them were included in the study.

After finishing listing eligible couples in both rural and urban areas, it was found out that from the rural areas (6 farmer associations) a total of 300 eligible couples or 600 individual respondents were screened, while from Chancho only 197 eligible couples or 394 individual respondents were screened. All the screened eligible couples were considered to be interviewed.

The eligible respondents were not selected on the basis of probability proportion to size of the number of households in both rural and urban areas. The urban sample was made larger than it could have been if probability proportional to size was used. It was intentionally made to exhaustively use urban respondents so as to get a comparable result with that of rural areas. Therefore, from the point of view of cost and time constraints, the sample size seems sufficient and reasonable for this study.

In addition to the data collected using survey questionnaire, from males and females residing in rural and urban areas, a focus group discussions were conducted. The focus group discussants were selected from people of different socioeconomic background living in the district for a longer period of time. In both places, the discussion of male and female were conducted separately. This was made to give the discussants the chance of freely speaking out their feelings. For the purpose of easily managing the discussion, seven people were included in each group. The interview guide questions were presented and the discussants were left to discuss freely. When the group go out of topic, intervention is made to put them on the right direction.

2.5. Data Collection and Methods of Analysis

2.5.1. The Questionnaire

In order to collect information on the impact of the value of children on fertility, a questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire consists of different types of questions, which include open-ended questions on the advantages, and disadvantages of having and not having children and the importance of having at least one son or daughter among one's children'. Structured questions assumed to be relevant to this study were also included.

The questionnaire was originally prepared in English and later translated into Afan Oromo (Oromo language) by the researcher and two other translators. Maximum care was taken in translating the instrument so as to avoid direct translation that would lead to conceptual errors. Before the final version of the questionnaire was prepared, a pre-test was carried out on ten couples in order to check the clarity of the questions,

consistency checks, skip mechanisms and the relevance of the questions themselves. The pre-test survey was quite useful for assessing the content, logical flows and clarity or understandability of the questions, etc. The final version was produced in Afan Oromo. Hence, it was the Afan Oromo version of the questionnaire that was actually administered. Along with this interview guide was also prepared (see Appendix C) and administered to the focus group discussants selected from both rural and urban areas.

2.5.2. Recruiting and Training of Interviewers

The survey includes married couples as eligible respondents. To avoid possible inconvenience of respondents being interviewed by interviewer of opposite sex, both male and female interviewers were recruited from among several school leavers. Efforts were made to select the best interviewers from among those applied for the job. Thus, six male and six female interviewers were selected on the basis of their ability and fluency of spoken and written Afan Oromo (Oromo language).

All enumerators were given intensive training both in and outside classrooms before starting the task of listing eligible couples from the selected farmers association areas and Chancho town. A four-day intensive training was provided in class. In this training, efforts were made to acquaint the data collectors with the meaning of each question. Apart from this, a thorough discussion was made focusing on the art of posing questions and recording answers and on ways of communicating with the interviewees. Along with this, role-playing interviews were also conducted among the interviewers.

In order to minimize misunderstanding of questions and errors in filling the questionnaire, a one-day practical field exercise in which each interviewer was expected to fill two questionnaires was conducted. The questionnaires filled during the field exercise were brought into the class and a detailed two-day discussion was made on each interviewer's filled questionnaires regarding mistakes made during the field exercise. Then, comments and suggestions were given on how to fill the actual questionnaire and then the interviewers were assigned to list down eligible respondents from the selected farmers association areas and Chancho town.

2.5.3. Data Collection (Field Work)

The data for this survey was collected from eligible married couples of the screened households, if both were available for the interview so that gender differential analysis will be made possible. The data collection program was arranged in such a way that one male and one female interviewers go together and interview the screened couples at the same time but separately. In actual fieldwork, this couldn't be achieved. Most of the time, husbands were not found at home at the time of the arrival of the interviewers. In this case, the wives were interviewed and requested not to disclose the matter before their husbands' interview. This was made to avoid duplication of answers.

The data collection exercise took about 25 days (from the mid of April to the 10^{th} of May 1998). In rural areas, from the screened 300 eligible couples, 294 couples or 588 individual respondents were covered while from the urban area, Chancho, all the screened 197 eligible couples or 394 individual respondents were covered. Thus, the actual data was collected from 491 married couples or 982 individual respondents.

The response rates of eligible respondents in rural and urban areas are shown below.

Response rates among eligible respondents by place of residence.

	Urban	Rural	Total
Total eligible respondents assigned to interviewers	394	600	994
Both spouses interviewed	394	588	982
Only one spouse available	---	8	8
Both spouses not available	---	4	4
Completion rate	100%	98%	98.8%

2.5.4. Field Problems

After completing all interviews, interviewers were requested to briefly report about the interviewing situations. Even when the data collection was in progress, interviewers were reporting the problems they had come across in the field on daily basis. The problems were related to the contents of the questionnaire. Some questions that deal with land size and total number of livestock owned by the respondents were very sensitive to the farmers. Thus, they were very suspicious and reluctant to state the real size of their holding. This was probably due to the fear of possible land redistribution and income tax increment based on the amount of wealth they had. But more efforts were made to convince them so as to get reliable data.

The other type of field problem was lapse of memory in telling their current ages. This type of problem was observed mainly among the older respondents (aged over 40). This was a common problem in rural areas where there was no habit of keeping records of date of birth. To overcome the problem of lapse of memory in telling their actual ages, some local event calendar was used to estimate their ages.

Along with this, the other problem was related to collecting information for the open-ended questions. For instance, some interviewees, when asked to enumerate some of the advantages and disadvantages of having children, initially they could not give immediate responses. This was because they had never thought of being asked such questions. But after repeated probings were made, they were able to give as desired.

The other thing that can be cited as a field problem was the fact that in Chancho, the residential houses were not numbered and there was a problem of immediately locating the houses of eligible respondents. Besides, urban residents were less cooperative as compared to the rural respondents.

2.5.5. Data Processing

Editing Data - Editing the completed questionnaires was of immense importance to get a quality data. Editing of the data started when the first batches of the completed questionnaires were received from the interviewers. This was done to insure that all the required information had been properly recorded and filled in the appropriate way, the given responses were relevant and consistent with each other.

Coding Data - The coding of the information gathered on the open-ended questions took much time. First, for each open-ended question, the various responses given were collected and listed down. The listed information was classified into manageable categories and numbers were assigned and coded for easy data entry. Because of the nature of the questions, coding took the researcher almost 15 days.

Data Entry - A data entry format was prepared using the data entry module of SPSS/PC $^{+}$. Ranges and skip rules were set and after checking the proper functioning of skip rules, the actual data entry started. The data entry took almost a month.

Data Cleaning - This stage of data processing activity was tiresome and tedious. First, consistency check between codes was made. Whenever there was inconsistency, a check was first made on the questionnaire and the error corrected accordingly. After consistency checks were over, frequency counts were made. On the basis of the frequency counts, illegitimate coding and data entry errors were corrected.

2.5.6. Methods of Analysis

Analysis of data was done using **SPSS/PC**$^{+}$ computer program. Actually, the type and nature of available data dictate the technique of data analysis. In this study, both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques were used. In the former case, attempts were made to report numerical and percentage distribution of different demographic and socioeconomic variables related to "the number of additional children desired (NACD)" . In the latter case, bivariate and multivariate analytical techniques are used.

This study mainly focused on the exploration of the value of children and fertility behavior. During the primary phase of analysis, univariate analysis was used to observe the percentage distribution of variables. In the second phase, bivariate analysis was employed to examine and investigate the relationship between the dependent variable

and the independent variables, one by one. For this, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test whether the variation in the dependent variable: i.e., fertility as measure by mean number of additional children desired is due to changes in the independent variables (i.e., age, educational level, number of living children, household size, place of residence, sex, and household income) was statistically significant.

Of all the various techniques of multivariate analysis, ANOVA was the best model for the data available .To Ascertain the pattern of association between the dependent variable and the set of predictors, the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) was used. MCA is a useful technique for testing the effect of background (independent) variables on dependent variable. It is used to estimate the net effect of each variable when variations in the other selected variables are controlled. MCA table shows unadjusted (Eta) and adjusted (Beta) deviations from overall mean (see e.g. Little, 1980; Caldwell et al., 1982; and Soeradji et al., 1982).

Some advantages of MCA over other multivariate methods are:

- It shows the effect of each predictor on the dependent variable both before and after considering all the effect of all other predictor variables.
- It deals with both linear and non-linear relationships among predictors and the dependent variables.
- It treats the input data in any form that is it does not matter whether a particular set represents a nominal scale (categories), an ordinal scale (ranking) or an interval scale (classes of numeric variables).
- It controls the effects of other variables on the dependent variable.

The MCA model, which is based on the additivity assumption, is expressed by the following equation.

$Y_{ijk} = Y + a_i + b_j + \ldots e_{ijk}$

Where Y_{ijk} = Score of a particular individual that falls into i-th category of category of a predictor A and j-th category of predictor B etc.

Y = Grand mean

a_i = is the added effect of i-th category of A

b_j = is the added effect of j-th category of B

Finally, the interrelationship between the number of additional children desired (fertility indicator), on the one hand and the demographic and socioeconomic variables on the other hand was examined using a multivariate analysis. The purpose of multivariate analysis was to determine whether the relationship between the NACD and demographic and socio-economic variables was maintained after controlling for the confounding variables.

2.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

There are some factors that influence the completeness of this study. In this study, married couples who had no birth experience were excluded. Thus, their exclusion could result in less proportion of those desiring for more children. On the other hand, the data collected was not found to be convenient to use them in the multivariate analysis. Lack of quantifiability of the collected information was one of the causes for exclusion.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROFILE OF THE STUDY POPULATION

3.1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

a) Age-Sex Composition

As already mentioned, currently married couples with at least one living child and in the first marriage experiences were randomly selected and interviewed. Though equal number of male and female respondents were included in the sample from both rural and urban areas, there was variation in their age structure. Similar proportions of male and female respondents were not found in a given age category. The age composition of the total respondents is presented in Table 3.1a below.

Table 3.1a Age Distribution of the Respondents by Place of Residence

Age Group	Place of Residence				Total	
	Rural		Urban			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
15-19	11	1.9	6	1.5	17	1.7
20-24	59	10.0	45	11.4	104	10.6
25-29	86	14.6	67	17.0	153	15.6
30-34	62	10.5	68	17.3	130	13.2
35-39	74	12.6	44	11.2	118	12.0
40-44	66	11.2	46	11.7	112	11.4
45-49	51	8.7	29	7.4	80	8.1
50-64	107	18.2	79	20.1	186	18.9
65+	72	12.2	10	2.5	82	8.4
Total	588	100	394	100	982	100

As indicated in Table 3.1a the largest proportion of total and rural respondents in reproductive period are found in the age group of 25 - 29 while that of urban is found in the age group 30 - 34. On the contrary, the smallest proportion of respondents is found in the first age group (15 - 19). This might have been caused by the exclusion of those recently married couples that did not yet give birth to a child.

The mean age of the total sample was 40.3 years. It was 41.9 and 37.9 years for rural and urban respondents respectively. The mean age of the total, rural and urban male respondent was in the order of 44.0, 45.5 and 41.7 years. On the other hand, at the time of survey, female respondents' mean age was 36.6, 38.3 and 34.1 years for total, rural and urban, respectively.

b) Ethnicity and Religion

Of the total respondents, 86.4 percent are Oromo while 10.9, 1.3, 1 and 0.4 percent belongs to the Amhara, Gurage, Tigraway and others, respectively. But when rural and urban respondents are compared from the point of view of ethnic composition, still Oromo predominate with 95.1 and 76.6 percent in rural and urban areas, respectively.

Regarding religion, 97.7 percent of the total respondents claim to be Orthodox Christians. Almost the same proportion is found in both rural and urban areas. There are only 2.2 and 0.1 percent Protestants and Muslims, respectively.

c) Household Size

The average household size of the respondents is 5.8 persons per household. There is a difference of one child between the average household size of rural and urban sample. The average household size of rural and urban was 6.2 and 5.2 persons per household respectively. At the time of survey, on an average, 3.6 children were living with their parents. Besides, each respondent had an average of 4.6 children. The fact that all the respondents have at least one living child has made that the reported average household size to be large.

d) Education and Place of Residence

Of the total respondents, 45.5 percent reported that they can read a newspaper. Out of those who can read, only 89.9 percent can write a letter. Hence, in this study, only those who can read and write were considered as literate. Table 3.1b shows educational status of respondents by their place of residence and sex.

Table 3.1b Educational Status of Respondents by Place of Residence and Sex

Educational	Place of Residence				
	Rural		Urban		
Status	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	71.1	89.5	29.4	48.7	63.7
Primary (1-8)	21.1	8.5	35.5	33.0	22.6
Senior Secondary +	7.8	2.0	35	18.3	13.6
Total	100	100	99.9	100	99.9

As can be seen from Table 3.1b, 63.7 percent of the total respondents were illiterate, and only 36.3 percent were literate. The proportions of literate respondents vary by sex and place of residence. There were more literate males than females in both rural and urban areas. Almost 90 percent of the rural females and 49 percent of the urban female respondents were illiterate.

In relation to the previous place of residence, 14.8 and 11.6 percent of the total respondents have lived for the majority of their life in urban and rural areas, respectively. Whereas, 54.8 and 0.8 percent reported that they have totally lived in rural and urban areas, respectively. This means that almost all the current Chancho residents had originated from rural areas.

e) Economic Characteristics of Respondents

At the time of the survey, 82.1 percent of the rural respondents have reported that they are farmers, 6 percent government employees and the remaining were either traders, NGO workers, people on pension, unemployed or daily laborers. Rural females have reported that they work in the house and in the field, especially during critical agricultural seasons (during sowing, weeding and harvesting times).

On the contrary, 70.1 percent of the urban respondents were engaged in private activities such as trading, craftsmanship and 17.8 percent of the urban sample were government employees. The remaining 12.1 percent were NGO workers, pensioned people, daily laborers, etc. Only 0.8 percent of the urban respondents have reported that they were partly engaged in agriculture.

In relation to the community they live in, 1.4, 44.8 and 53.8 percent of the sampled couples have said that they are economically better off, equal to most and below most respectively.

Furthermore, concerning their current income level, 72.6 percent reported that what they get now is less than adequate. Only 24.9 percent said that they have adequate income that satisfies the needs of their family. The remaining 2.4 percent reported that they earn more than adequate.

In rural areas, the number of livestock herds he/she owns and the size of land he/she cultivates as well as the total amount of crop produced in a year approximately measure the economic status of an individual. In relation to this proxy economic status indicators information was gathered from rural respondents. The livestock populations that an individual owns, cows and oxen in particular, are more valuable and status indicators. Thus, the total number of cows and oxen were taken as the most important economic status indicators of respondents.

Table 3.1c Proportion of Rural Respondents in Relation to Cattle Ownership

Cattle owned	Proportion of Respondents having cattle				Total	
	Male		Female			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	39	13.3	49	16.7	88	15.0
1-2	123	41.8	126	42.9	249	42.3
3-4	132	44.9	119	40.5	251	42.7
Total	294	100	294	100	588	100

As reported during the survey, 15 percent of the rural respondents have no cattle (referring to cows and oxen only). The average number of cattle population per

respondent was 3.3. Not only cattle stock but information on the size of land owned and the amount of crop produced during the year was also collected.

Table 3.1d Respondents according to land holding size and Crop production

Land Size (in Hectares*)	Respondents		Production		
	Number	Percent	in quintals	Number	Percent
None	68	23.1	Zero	26	8.8
1	52	17.7	1 - 4	173	58.8
2	95	32.3	5 - 6	60	20.4
3 +	79	26.9	7 +	35	11.9
Total	294**	100.0	Total	294**	100.0

* Includes cultivated and grazing land.
** Only male rural respondents were considered since females can not exactly tell the amount of land and crops produced.

The average land holding is 1.8 hectares per household. The proportion of rural respondents that do not own land accounts for 23.1 percent of the total respondents. This figure is greater than the one reported by Radcliffe in 1996 (12.0 percent landless household). The difference might have come due to intentionally reporting as landless or the recently (after 1996) married couples included in the study have no land. Relatively, the largest proportions of respondents (32.3 percent) have 2 hectares whereas, those with 3 and over hectares are 26.9 percent.

Regarding crop production, 8.8 percent of the rural respondents reported that they have produced nothing during the year of the survey. As reported by the respondents, the average crop produced by each household (married couple) was 3.7 quintals and more than half of the respondents produce only 1 to 4 quintals during the year. Most probably, it was only those who reported to have produced more than 7 quintals that might feed their families with less problem of food supply for at least six months.

Respondents were asked whether they have fulfilled expected support of their parents or not. The response they gave look like the one below.

Table 3.1e Proportion of Respondents Fulfilling Expected Support of their Parents

Parental Support	Residence		Sex		Total
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	
Yes	41.2	42.1	42.8	40.3	41.5
No	46.1	41.4	45.8	42.6	44.2
Uncertain	12.8	16.5	11.4	17.1	14.3

Of all the respondents, 41.5 percent reported that they have fulfilled the assistance their parents expect from them, while 44.2 percent explicitly said that they have not fulfilled. Many respondents were not able to exactly tell whether they have fulfilled or not. Higher proportions of urban respondents claim to have fulfilled the expected support of their parents than their rural counterparts. In comparing male and female respondents, higher proportions of male than female respondents claim to have fulfilled expected assistance of their parents.

3.2. Fertility Experiences and Preferences

The mean number of children ever born (achieved parity) for the surveyed household is 4.6 children per woman. The rural CEB was 5.2 children per household as compared to 3.7 children for Chancho. The CEB of the surveyed population is presented below.

Table 3.2a Reported CEB by Age Group and Place of Residence(*)

Age group	Place of Residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
15 - 19	1.4444	1.8333	1.6000
20 - 24	2.0000	1.8684	1.9412
25 - 29	3.7179	2.3529	3.0822
30 - 34	4.9375	3.4857	4.1791
35 - 39	7.2292	5.2000	6.6324
40 - 44	7.9643	5.8000	7.0625
45 - 49	9.2778	7.2632	8.2432
Mean CEB	5.1900	3.7326	4.5522

(*) The reported CEB was higher because of selective inclusion of women with at least one living child.

As reported by the respondents, the mean children ever born is according to the general expectation. The number of children ever born increases as age advances. There is a difference of 1.5 children between the rural and urban CEB.

In addition to achieved fertility, female respondents were interviewed whether they have given birth during the last 12 months or not. On the basis of the responses given by females, the TFR of the sampled women was calculated and shown in Table 3.2b below.

Table 3.2b Reported Age Specific Fertility Rates@

Age Group	Place of residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
15 - 19	0.2222	----------	0.1333
20 - 24	0.2340	0.1842	0.2118
25 - 29	0.2308	0.2059	0.2192
30 - 34	0.2188	0.2000	0.2090
35 - 39	0.1875	0.1500	0.1765
40 - 44	0.1071	0.0500	0.0833
45 - 49	0.0556	0.0526	0.0541
TFR	6.2800	4.2135	5.4360

@ The TFR here may not be comparable with the true TFR of the two areas because of selection of only those with at least one living child.

The rural TFR is greater than that of urban and total sample, and as such it is according to one's expectation. The rural sample's TFR is greater than that of urban by 2.1 children per woman. The possible explanation for this could be the difference in motivations in childbearing and family size decisions. The difference in the proportion who ever used contraceptives could also bear an impact on differences in TFR.

3.3 .Contraceptive Knowledge and Practice

Of the total surveyed population, about 51 percent had heard of at least one modern contraceptive method. In rural areas, about 42 percent had heard of at least one modern method of contraception as compared to 63 percent in Chancho. Of those who had heard of any one modern method, 90 percent had heard of pills, about 65 percent of injection; 29 percent of condoms; 13 percent of loops. But only 28 percent of those who heard of any one method had ever used of any one modern method.

In urban area, the percentage of ever-users was almost 49 percent, while in rural area it was only 10 percent. At the time of survey, only 11 percent of the total respondents were using a modern method. There is a very big difference in current use of contraception between rural and urban Sululta. Only 2.2 percent of the rural sample were currently using a method as compared to 24.4 percent in Chancho.

With regard to approving or disapproving couples using a modern method, about 41 percent of the sample approved while 59 percent disapproved. Besides, the major reasons for non-current use of contraception, cited by about 63 percent of ever-users

was related to inaccessibility and lack of knowledge as to where to get from. This clearly shows that there is unmet need of family planing services.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERCEIVED COSTS AND BENEFITS OF HAVING CHILDREN

4.1. Benefits of Having Children

One of the objectives of this study was to explore parents' perceived and actual benefits of children. For this purpose, open-ended questions were used to collect information on the advantages and disadvantages of having children that were most important to parents. Occasionally, respondents gave the same response in different ways. Such responses were categorized together to avoid redundancy and repetition appearing under different headings. The distribution of respondents according to the responses given to the question 'What are the advantages of having children as compared to not having at all?' is presented in Table 4.1a below.

Table 4.1a Advantages of Having Children (Percentage of Respondents who Mentioned Specific Advantages)

Item	Percentages				
	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
To get assistance in work	70.7	79.0	62.3	72.1	68.5
Old age security	62.5	55.2	69.9	57.0	70.8
For funeral ceremony	55.3	43.0	67.6	50.2	62.9
Happiness and pleasure	49.3	43.6	55.0	46.4	53.6
To get heir	47.8	37.9	57.6	46.3	50.0
Continuity of generation	45.0	40.3	49.7	43.7	47.0
To get comfort or care	35.1	31.0	39.3	29.1	44.2
To get someone to send	18.0	16.1	20.0	19.2	16.2
To avoid loneliness	17.9	13.0	22.8	17.3	18.8
For physical security	6.0	9.0	3.1	6.5	4.1
To hire out as shepherds	5.5	9.6	1.4	8.5	1.0
For love and affection	4.9	1.8	7.9	5.1	4.6
To get respect in society	4.1	4.5	3.7	5.3	2.3
To teach and be helped	1.8	2.4	1.2	1.5	2.3
To live better life	1.7	1.6	1.8	3.9	1.0
To strengthen marriage	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.8
No advantage	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.7	0.3
Total Respondents	982	491	491	588	394

It is observable that the advantages of children in relation to getting assistance in work and old age security, funeral ceremony, to get a heir and to keep the continuity of ones' name were the prominent ones. It seems that among urban and female sub groups, the old age security motive of having children is more pronounced.

A larger proportion of respondent also mentioned 'getting someone to care about you or comfort you. The comfort one expects here was not the one after becoming old; but it refers mainly to the overall assistance and enhanced social status because of having loyal and good mannered children.

For rural respondents, assistance in work is more important than old age security motive of having children. This is consistent with the most commonly cited advantage of having children in developing countries and agrarian settings in particular. In rural areas, children perform some activities from which parents benefit. For rural parents, current practical assistance seems more important than old age support.

It seems that the perceived children's benefits vary by sex and place of residence. Hiring out children as shepherds is a common phenomenon in rural areas, especially by poorer parents. Among poorer parents who live in rural areas, hiring out children as shepherds is one of the motivational forces. The benefits of children that come from hiring out as shepherds usually goes to the father, and this could be why a larger proportion of male respondents citing it as a very important advantage.

A large proportion of male and rural respondents also considers 'physical security and enhancement of social status' as advantage of having children compared with the

females or the urban residents. In this respect, in rural areas, matured sons are considered as a defender/protector of their parents. In rural areas where there are no peacekeeping forces like policemen and other security forces, male children are very important in protecting the property of their family. Unexpectedly, only very few female respondents mentioned the advantage of children as a provider of physical security. As mentioned earlier, all female respondents were in marriage union and live with their husbands, and therefore, do not feel insecure without having male children. Had the interviewed women been widowed, divorced or separated ones, the situation would have been different.

Relatively large numbers of female respondents in the rural area perceive love and affection as children's benefits as compared to the males or urban residents. It seems that these subgroups attach more emotional satisfaction of having children than other groups. Besides, very few respondents (1.5 %) regarded children as strengtheners of marriage and still few (1.3 %) cited that having children have no benefit.

In conclusion, there are numerous benefits of children perceived by parents in Mulo-Sululta. Children serve many different functions and provide a multitude of satisfactions to their parents. Since some of the advantages mentioned may be less important than others to parents, an attempt was made to determine the most important advantages by having respondents rank the advantages that were first most important to them. Table 4.1b shows the details of these.

Table 4.1b The First Most Important Advantages of Having Children. (Percentage of Respondents Ranking a Specific Advantage First in Importance)

Advantages	Residence		Sex		Total
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	
To get assistance in work	29.6	24.6	36.0	19.1	27.6
For happiness and pleasure	14.5	19.8	9.8	23.4	16.6
For overall old age support	13.1	13.5	15.5	11.0	13.2
To get heir	11.4	7.9	9.0	11.0	10.0
Continuity of one's name	9.0	11.4	7.9	12.0	10.0
For funeral ceremony	8.7	7.1	5.7	10.4	8.0
For betterment of life	4.6	7.9	5.3	6.5	5.9
To avoid loneliness	4.1	3.6	3.5	4.3	3.9
To get someone to send	2.4	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.1
To hire out as shepherds	1.2	0.8	1.8	0.2	1.0
To enhance Reputation	1.1	0.8	1.8	0.0	0.9
Teach and be helped latter	0.5	1.0	1.4	0.0	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As can be seen from Table 4.1b, assistance in labor was most the important advantage. This was also cited as the first most important by the males and also by the rural respondents. The second most important advantage cited by male respondents was getting old age support. It appears that for women, getting happiness and pleasure from children is more important than old age support and assistance in work.

In rural areas, children are expected to assist in fieldwork, especially during the time when agricultural activity demands the application of more human labor. This could be why more than one-third of rural respondents regarded children's labor as the most important advantage.

On the other hand, in urban areas, the labor assistance expected from children is related to housework and family chores. The assistance is especially wanted from female children. The role of male children in housework is very limited. This is evidenced by a

response to another question ' What is the importance of having at least one girl from among boys?'. Almost 44 percent of the respondents mentioned the importance of having at least one girl was for housework chores.

On the contrary, for the question 'What is the importance of having at least one boy from among girls?', more than half of the respondents cited that boys are important to get an heir or someone to inherit family property and the homestead.

Although children are perceived as an economic benefit to parents mainly in developing countries, in the study area, directly or indirectly economic motivations appear to have some influence on parents' aspiration to have more children. However, it should be noted that strictly financial considerations were not necessarily of immense importance to the respondents. When they are talking about security, they mean emotional and protective security (particularly comfort and care in old age) rather than to purely economic security. According to the feelings of most respondents, even though the economic assistance they expect from children is low, the fact that they have children makes them feel secured.

Children as "source of happiness and pleasure" were also cited as the most important advantage of having children. It seems that females more than males attach emotional benefits to children. In addition, children as important element during funeral ceremony were also mentioned as the most important advantage of having children. This is probably for fame and to show the importance of the deceased. Culturally, a person whose funeral ceremony is colorful (jubilant) and celebrated by many mourners is regarded as an important person. People consider this as an important part of the end of

one's life. Though it is not possible that a deceased sees how colorful his /her funeral ceremony is, he/she wants to be considered as an important person getting a good funeral ceremony. This could be the plausible reason why many people mentioned this as an important advantage of having children.

Among the most frequently mentioned advantages of having children, 'the continuity of one's name, 'tradition and norms through one's children' were cited by 45.0 percent of all respondents. Many respondents strongly stress the importance of children to get a heir. This is consistent with Oromo belief that, the deceased live after death through his/her children at his/her homestead. It appears that, it was because of this traditional cultural norms that every one wants someone to inherit the family wealth and tradition.

This was confirmed by the responses of a focus group discussion in relation to the importance of having a male heir. It was said that sons are very much desired since daughters marry and go away from their families. But sons remain at the homestead of the parents. Sons defend their parents; render more support in old age; perform some cultural ceremonies replacing father; etc. These are some of the reasons why sons are preferred in Oromo society. Son preference was relatively higher in rural than in urban areas.

In general, throughout the distribution, there is a fair amount of similarity between advantages that were mentioned most frequently and those that were ranked as the first most important, but some differences are also observable.

4.2. *Disadvantages (Costs) of Having Children*

In answer to another open-ended question, most of the respondents were able to cite substantial disadvantages in childbearing and child rearing. The detail descriptions of the disadvantages are presented in Table 4.2a.

Table 4.2a Disadvantages of Having Children. (Percentages of Respondents Mentioning a Specific Disadvantage)

Disadvantage	Residence		Sex		Total
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	
Worry over children's future	69.4	67.3	62.3	74.7	68.5
Restrict on alternative activities	67.9	64.5	58.2	74.7	66.5
Misbehave and discredit parents	62.8	69.3	66.4	64.4	65.4
Less return from children	54.6	65.5	59.3	58.7	59.0
Hard to raise	46.4	57.9	45.0	57.0	51.0
Hard to educate	34.7	22.1	28.9	30.3	29.6
Worry over children's sickness	20.4	30.8	20.4	32.6	27.0
May quarrel and cause problem	17.5	9.6	5.1	23.6	14.4
Aggravates poverty	9.0	17.5	16.5	8.4	12.4
Medical care is expensive	4.9	15.0	7.1	10.8	9.0
No disadvantage	5.3	2.8	3.7	4.9	4.3
Health problems in childbearing	1.5	2.5	0.0	3.9	1.9
Total respondents	588	394	491	491	982

As shown in Table 4.2a, the first four most important disadvantages were related to emotional costs of children that constantly strain parents. Perhaps, what makes parents worry about the future of their children is the ever-increasing cost of living, the scarcity of cultivable land and employment problems. Most respondents also expressed the fear that their children might misbehave and bring discredit to their parents and act in some other way than desired by them.

Furthermore, a significant proportion of respondents (59.0 percent) also complains that they get back the amount invested on children's upbringing. They experienced doubts

about obtaining some benefits from children. Parents explicitly complain that today's children are not trustworthy or not loyal to their parents as expected. The focus group discussants cited some reasons for falling loyalties of to-days children. This was mainly caused by: 1) the father and the son have equal amount of land to depend on and the son can not help parents; 2) sons do not expect inheritable properties from parents like land as used to be; 3) declining social sanctions on children failing to take care of parents, etc. The difficulty of raising and educating children were also cited as the disadvantages of having many children. Anxiety related to children's health was also mentioned by 27.0 percent of the sample. Children as aggravators of poverty and deterioration of life were also cited by 12.4 percent of the respondents.

On the contrary, very few (4.3 percent of the sample population) mentioned that children have no disadvantage whatsoever cost they impose on parents. In relation to the disadvantage of having children, as compared to not having at all, what one should remember is that, in the study area as a whole no one has totally showed negative attitude toward having children. But what they mentioned as disadvantages of having children were only the emotional and physical costs that parents encounter because of having children.

Though the pattern and magnitude of the disadvantages mentioned by respondents were approximately similar in rural and urban areas as well as between male and female respondents, there are still some differences. For instance, higher proportion of rural respondent's worry about the future of their children than those of urban and females than males. On the other hand, urban respondents' were more concerned about possible

misbehaving of their children, because of the relatively high exposure of their children to different bad habits (drugs, alcohol, smoking cigarette, etc.,).

Husbands and wives expressed different feelings about the disadvantages of having children. Wives normally bear the major responsibility for bringing up children. This is especially true of agrarian societies like that of Mulo-Sululta district where the major role of wives is up bringing of children.

As in case of advantages, respondents were also asked of all the disadvantages they had mentioned, which one was the first most important. Considering their experiences and perceptions, the following disadvantages were mentioned as the first most important.

Table 4.2b The First Most Important Disadvantage of Having Children. (Percentage of Respondents Ranking a Specific Disadvantages First in Importance)

	Residence		Sex		
Disadvantages	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Total
Restriction on other activities	23.3	12.4	16.1	21.8	18.9
Worry over children's future	19.4	18.0	18.1	19.6	18.8
Misbehave & discredit parent	17.7	17.8	22.4	13.0	17.7
Less benefit from children	11.8	20.4	17.3	13.0	15.2
Hard to raise	11.7	10.7	12.0	10.6	11.3
Hard to educate	8.2	6.3	5.3	9.6	7.4
Worry about children's health	2.0	5.8	3.5	3.7	3.6
Cause Problem by quarreling	4.1	1.3	1.0	4.9	3.0
Aggravate poverty	1.4	4.3	3.5	1.6	2.5
Medical cost is high	0.2	2.8	0.8	1.6	1.2
Health problem in childbearing	0.3	0.3	----	0.6	0.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As indicated in Table 4.2a and 4.2b, the order of the first and second ranked disadvantages is interchanged. But the remaining advantages are more or less consistent with the frequency distribution of disadvantages mentioned. What is most frequently mentioned in table 4.2a was mentioned as the first ranking in Table 4.2b for the total

sample. But, some inconsistency is observable with regard to place of residence and sex of respondents.

Rural respondents have cited restriction on alternative activities and worry over the future of their children as the first and second ranking disadvantage of children, while those of urban mentioned less likely of getting back the amount invested on children and worry over futurity of children as the first and second ranking disadvantages respectively. In relation to male and female respondents, there is some difference between the proportion mentioning some disadvantages. It appears that female sample is more concerned about the restriction imposed on them due to childbearing and rearing. Both male and female samples cited worries over the future of children as the second and less likely of getting back what they have invested on child rearing as the third ranking disadvantage of having children.

From the least important disadvantages cost of medical care and health problems during child pregnancy and deliveries were mentioned. The female respondents are directly concerned about health problems in childbearing and 1.6 percent of the female ranked this as the first most important disadvantage of having children. Regarding medical cost, the urban subgroup and female respondents were more aware of it than the rural subgroup and male respondents.

In general, what was observed was that in most cases, husbands and wives mention the same thing as advantages and disadvantages and thus, the proportion of males and females mentioning a specific advantage or disadvantage was not very much different.

4.3. Desire for More Children

All the female respondents in the reproductive age and male respondents who claimed that they can reproduce children were asked whether they want additional children or not. The response is summarized below.

Table 4.3a. Proportion of Respondents who want more and or no more children.

Responses	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Want more	62.1	52.9	40.5	59.3	52.7	55.7
Want no more	33.1	44.8	52.1	34.9	41.3	40.5
Up to God	4.8	2.3	7.4	5.8	6.0	3.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

As can be seen from Table 4.3a, except the male subgroup, the larger proportion of respondents wants more children. In relation to the demand for additional children, 3.8 percent of the female and 6 percent of respondents said that it is up to God or fate. Again what is noted in Table 4.3a is that about 53 and 56 percent of male and female respondents stated that they want additional children, respectively. It is observable that more rural males want additional children than females while in urban areas, more females want additional children than males.

Table 4.3b. Proportion of Respondents According to the number of children they want

Additionally Wanted children	Place of Residence		Sex		
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Total
Want no children	40.0	47.0	43.9	42.1	43.0
1 - 2 children	4.2	9.2	4.2	8.7	6.3
3 - 4 children	29.0	28.1	27.4	29.9	28.6
5 and over children	26.8	15.7	24.5	19.3	22.0
Total Number	452	338	412	378	790
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Of those who want more children, the largest proportion (about 29 percent) wanted three to four children. The mean number of additional children wanted was 3.1 children per respondent. In urban sample, there is a tendency of wanting fewer numbers of additional children than the rural sample.

Table 4.3c Reasons for Wanting Another Child (Percentage of Respondents Rating a Specific Reason as Very Important).

Reasons for wanting Additional child	Total	Residence		Sex	
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
I enjoy having small baby	71.8	70.5	73.7	72.3	71.2
Carry on one's name	68.4	75.3	58.1	69.7	67.1
I Want a special feeling that develops between child & parents	61.3	60.1	63.1	60.2	62.6
Companion for other children	61.3	62.7	59.2	62.3	60.3
To get a boy / another boys	60.9	61.6	59.8	55.8	66.2
To get a girl /girls	59.1	61.6	55.3	53.7	64.8
To get old age support	57.1	58.7	54.7	55.4	58.9
To share what I have and know	54.0	53.1	55.3	54.1	53.9
To get one more person to help our family economically	50.7	51.3	49.7	46.3	55.3
Enjoy caring for and raising children	50.4	50.9	49.7	47.6	53.4
My husband/wife want children	44.7	44.6	44.7	46.8	42.5
To get enough children surviving to adulthood	43.3	42.4	44.7	41.1	45.7
To get a lucky child	42.2	42.2	42.1	37.8	46.8

All respondents who positively or negatively responded to the question of wanting children or not, were further asked the reason for wanting and not wanting additional children. These reasons were rated as very important, somewhat important and not important at all. The reasons for wanting and not wanting additional children are shown in table 4.3c and 4.3d along with percentage of respondents in each subgroup (place of residence and sex).

Reasons pertaining to enjoying having small baby, carrying on one's name, wanting the special feeling that develops between parents and children and to get companionship for other children were mentioned by high percentages of respondents as very important reasons for wanting additional children. At least 75 percent of the rural respondents want additional children to carry on one's name. Urban dwellers are less concerned about cultural norms and traditional ways of living . Hence, they do not pay much attention to inheriting their homestead, traditional beliefs and religious rites to their children. Instead, it appears that urban dwellers want to increase their emotional satisfaction by wanting another child. Enjoying having a new baby and wanting the special feeling that develops between parents and children were rated first and second as cited by 73.7 and 63.1 percent of the urban respondents respectively. The least important reason for wanting additional child was getting a lucky child that could enhance the socioeconomic status of the parents. The old-age security motive of wanting additional child was also relatively low.

In general, depending on the existing situation, feelings and perceived benefits and costs, the different subgroups (rural-urban and male and females) mentioned reasons for their motives of wanting additional child/children. The exploration of these motives for wanting another child is the vital part of investigating the impact of value of children on fertility decision.

To further investigate the conditions under which the respondents want additional children, they were asked " If your incomes doubled, would it affect the number of your ideal family size?" Only 16.7 percent of the total sample gave positive answers to this question, while 51.7 percent said 'no' and 31.6 percent were uncertain. Since about half

of the respondents said 'no' it indicates that, it is not the increment of wealth (income) that motivates parents to have additional children.

Respondents' perception and feeling on the benefits of large and small family size were also explored. About 87 percent of the total respondents had the opinion that having small family size would make parents economically better off as compared to large family size. Only 12.8 percent reported that having large family size is economically advantageous. The majority of urban residents and also female respondents are in favor of small family size.

Concerning the chance of getting at least one lucky child from many children ('child lottery motive'), respondents were asked whether they approve or disapprove this proposition. Almost 51 percent approved and 37.2 percent disapproved this proposition, while the remaining 12 percent said it is up to God. This proposition was more accepted in rural than in urban area. When the probability of getting one lucky child (for better future life) out of many is the issue, it should be expected that a large proportion would favor larger family size because every body aspires to live better in the future by virtue of having a lucky child.

In addition to the reasons for wanting additional child, reasons for not wanting additional children were also explored. The responses are presented in Table 4.3d.

Table 4.3d. Reasons for not wanting additional child (Percentage of Respondents Rating a Specific Reason as Very Important)

Specific Reasons	Total	Residence		Sex	
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Another child is an economic burden for my family	75.3	71.6	79.9	77.0	73.0
I can't give enough care and attention	53.5	57.2	48.8	54.9	51.6
Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	51.6	53.4	49.4	48.8	55.3
Another child would restrict my freedom	34.9	34.1	36.0	26.8	45.9
My husband/wife doesn't want any more children	31.5	29.3	34.1	37.1	23.9
Concern about over population	23.1	17.8	29.9	26.3	18.9
Another child would threaten my health	21.1	26.6	14.1	1.4	47.2

Only few reasons for not wanting another child were selected as compared to the reasons for wanting another child. The economic cost of having another child is the single most important reason mentioned by more than 70 percent of the total and subgroup of the sample. Inability of giving enough care and attention was mentioned as the most important reason for not wanting another child. Incapability to provide proper care is directly related to the economic power of the family. Hence, in one way or another, it means inability to bear the economic cost in childbearing and rearing. It seems that the economic strain in child rearing is more felt by urban than rural and by male than females. Understanding the costs and benefits of child bearing and rearing is one of the steps towards fertility and family size decision.

When rural and urban respondents' reasons for not wanting another child were compared, except for the least mentioned items, (concern about over population and health risk caused by additional child), the pattern of distributions mentioning a specific reason for not wanting another child was the same.

In relation to additional children as a cause of over population, it seems that urban sample was more aware about it than the rural ones. This could be because urban residents are more exposed to new ideas, thoughts, and beliefs and know more about the problem of over population due to the influence of media. More rural women had mentioned the problem of additional children as treating their health conditions.

In general, a significant proportion of the total sample favors small family size (up to 4 children) and considered large family size (above 5 children) as economically disadvantageous. For urban respondents, their inability to properly teach the existing children could be one of the main reason for more proportion mentioning economic burden of having another child than those of rural respondents. Because their contraceptive knowledge and use are relatively higher, urban respondents have more chance of limiting their family size than the rural ones. On the contrary, even if they do not want any more children, rural respondents can not do. For rural people, whether the economic status increased or not, they have no knowledge and means of limiting their family size. Accepting than what comes, there is little they can do in avoiding (limiting) the number of children they could have.

4.4. Sex Preference and Family Size Decision

As stated earlier, respondents have mentioned several advantages associated with having children. These were the satisfactions and costs of children perceived by parents, in general. Parents may not equally value sons and daughters. Exploring the extent of such

sex preferences and the motives behind these is essential for understanding the reproductive behavior of the population under study.

In this survey, respondents were also asked why it is important for them to have at least one son or one daughter among their children. Again, as a reason to this questions several diverse responses were collected. Table 4.5a and 4.5b show the percentage of respondents mentioning a specific reason for having at least one son or one daughter.

Table 4.4a Reasons for having at least one son. (Percentage of Respondents Citing a Specific Reason)

Reasons for having at least one son	Total	Residence		Sex	
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
For inheritance/heir	52.0	57.9	43.3	42.3	61.8
To get labor support	19.0	19.1	18.8	23.5	14.4
To get old-age support	9.7	7.7	12.7	14.5	4.9
For pleasure/love	9.3	9.6	8.9	12.1	6.5
To get security	5.4	2.6	9.7	4.1	6.7
To teach and be helped	2.5	1.4	4.1	1.4	3.5
Be brother for girls	1.2	0.7	2.0	1.4	1.0
For funeral ceremony	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.6	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As can be seen from Table 4.4a, 52.0 percent of the total sample mentioned getting heir as an important reason for having at least one son. As mentioned earlier, culturally, it is essential to have at least one son that remain at the homestead and keep all the cultural heritage left behind after the death of parents. In relation to the benefits of children in general and son in particular, respondents feel that part of oneself lives on after death if one has male children that inherit his homestead. In light of this, the need to have at least one son is very high. In search of a male child, even if there are several daughters, one goes to the extent of adopting a male child from near relative or try to have a male child of himself (by blood) by some other ways (either by marrying another wife that could

give birth or searching for male child out of marriage). These two later cases are usually preferred than adopting. This definitely influences the family size decision of couples if at all there are means of limiting family size.

So far, the reasons why respondents want to have at least one son were presented. It is true that both sons and daughters are not desired (wanted) by parents for the same purpose. Both have different functions and have different costs and benefits for parents. The reasons why at least one daughter is wanted are presented in Table 4.4b below.

Table 4.4b Reasons for having at least one daughter (Percentage of Respondents Citing a Specific Reason).

Specific Reasons mentioned	Total	Residence		Sex	
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
For service in the house	43.9	36.0	55.6	45.1	42.6
More positive toward parents	14.5	16.4	11.7	15.1	14.0
Bring bride-wealth (price)	11.8	16.8	4.3	14.1	9.5
Multiply one's family	11.6	13.2	9.2	11.8	11.3
For pleasure and love	6.5	4.1	9.9	6.7	6.2
To get funeral ceremony	4.4	6.8	0.8	3.1	5.8
To teach and be helped	4.4	4.3	4.6	2.2	6.6
She replaces mother	2.5	1.7	3.6	1.0	3.9
So that boys get sister	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.8	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100.0
Number	982	588	394	491	491

The single most important reason for having at least one daughter, mentioned by 43.9 percent of the total respondents in the sample was for the service that daughters perform in the house. The highest proportion of respondents in all subgroups also mentioned this reason. The second most important reason was related to the very personality of girls (more positive toward parents or humanitarian). Except in case of rural respondents, for all other subgroups, this was the second most important reason.

For rural respondents, the second important reason for having at least one girl was bride-wealth. Receiving bride-wealth is common in rural areas and it is almost non-existent in urban areas. This is probably why rural respondents gave more emphasis to bride-wealth as one of the reasons for desiring at least one girl among sons. This means that the culture of the society in relation to giving and taking bride-wealth and dowry can play a significant role in fertility decision and the composition of the sex of children that one wants to have. But, in non-contraceptive agrarian societies like that of the study area where there are no means and knowledge of limiting family size, fertility is governed by supply. This means that the demand and supply are equal. Every woman gives births to any number of children that God gives her.

Apart from this, girl's very biological capacity to give birth to a child and multiply one's descendants put her in an important position. In this regard, 11.6 percent of the total sample mentioned this as a reason for wanting at least one girl from among boys. Other reasons mentioned by relatively small proportion of respondents were 'for love and affection, for beautifying one's funeral ceremony, to teach and be helped later in life, and as a substitute of mother'. The least mentioned reason was the importance of girls as companion for her brothers.

In relation to family size decision, respondents were also asked what they would do if they did not have any son so far and kept on having daughters: would they continue having babies until they had a boy or would they stop after a certain number of girls? Table 4.4c shows the percentage of responses to this question.

Table 4.4c. Proportions of Respondents Giving Specific Answer to What They Would Do if Kept on Having Daughters only.

Responses given	Total	Residence		Sex	
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Continue until a boy comes	40.1	46.6	30.3	44.4	35.7
Stop after 3.0 daughters	18.7	11.4	29.5	24.0	13.3
Up to God / fate	39.4	40.5	37.9	28.7	50.2
Adopt from relatives	1.8	1.5	2.5	2.9	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	982	588	394	491	491

Of the total sample, 40.1 percent reported that they will continue giving birth to girls until a boy comes. Continuing giving birth to daughters was mentioned as an alternative means of getting a boy. It seems that urban and female subgroups are relatively less concerned about sex preference. The largest proportion (37.9 percent) has said that is it up to God to have son or daughter. But the second largest proportion of the total and other sub groups of respondents cited this. Again a significant proportion (18.7 percent) of the total respondents said that they will stop giving birth to girls after an average of 3.0 girls. In this respect, 29.5 and 24.0 percent of urban and male subgroups reported that they will stop after the number of girls mentioned above. Some urban and male sub groups were relatively more educated than the rural and female subgroups. Hence, those contracepting can stop birth at any time they want to do so. But for rural respondents (having no knowledge and means of controlling births), reporting to stop after some desired number of girls is meaningless. It is preferable to say "I will stop desiring for son" than saying "I will stop after some number of girls".

CHAPTER FIVE

MOTIVATIONAL FORCES IN THE DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL CHILDREN (*BIVARIATE*)

Perceived benefit of children was assumed as one of the causes of persistently high fertility in developing countries and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. It is obvious that children serve many functions for parents and fulfill many needs. Satisfactions and costs are therefore conceived broadly to encompass economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions. Considering this, this study mainly tries to examine the perceived satisfactions of children as a major motivational force in fertility decision.

5.1. Actual and Perceived Benefits of Children

As already mentioned, parents attach numerous advantages as a reason for having children versus not having at all. Existing literature reveals that parents expect more economic assistance from children in agrarian societies - the labor assistance of children is of paramount importance to parents engaged in agricultural activities. But this is not the case in developed nations and urban settings where children are more of an economic burden to parents.

In this study, information was collected on actual and perceived assistance expected from children. To clearly understand the extent and the magnitude of the benefits of children and how these perceived benefits affect fertility, a bivariate analysis was

conducted relating the number of additional children desired (proxy for fertility) and the variables related to the actual and perceived benefits parents expect from children. Table 5.1a shows the relationship between current assistance obtained by parents and the extent to which they demand for additional children.

Table 5.1a Actual Benefits Derived and Mean Additional Children Desired

Type of Actual Benefits		Mean Additional Children Desired			
	Total	Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Labor	2.4982	2.7821	2.0639	2.6969	2.2265
Money + material	1.9438	2.1358	1.7468	1.4923	2.2526
Nothing *	1.7105	1.8611	1.5750	0.8750	2.0816
Grand Mean	2.3101	2.5929	1.9320	2.3981	2.2147

** Under this category, parents with children under 5 years of age are included.*

The highest mean those parents currently getting labor assistance followed by those obtaining money and material assistance report number of additional children desired. Except for female subgroups, this pattern is followed by rural, urban and male subgroups. This is consistent with the common opinion that in developing countries, the labor assistance obtained from children is one of the factors for wanting more number of children. The variation in mean NACD due to differences in actual assistance obtained is statistically significant (F ratio = 6.765 and F probability = 0.001).

People want children not only for economic benefits, but also for emotional gratification and cultural needs. To explore the perceived future benefits of children, respondents were asked what means of old age security they have. The detail of the response to the desire for additional children is presented in Table 5.1b.

Table 5.1b. Perceived Means of Old Age Support and Mean Additional Children Desired

Means of Old Age Support	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban*	Male	Female
Livestock	2.3314	2.5088	0.4483	2.7451	1.7534
Money	1.5795	2.2609	1.3385	1.5882	1.5676
Children	2.4985	2.9064	2.0395	2.3677	2.6190
God/Fate	2.3088	2.2946	2.3265	2.5000	2.1100

* *In Chancho, many people keep cattle for milk and this is why it is mentioned as one means of old age security*

Except males, the other sub groups mentioned children as a means of old age support wanted more additional children than those mentioning other means of old age support. Considering the total respondents, next to children, those mentioning livestock as a means of old age support and those saying 'God knows' desired for more number of additional children. Hence, if children were only wanted as a means of getting proper old age support, respondents mentioning livestock, money and God should not have shown the desire for additional number of children. This indicates that the desire one has for more children can not be explained only from the point of view of current or future assistance. It seems that it is more satisfying not to be considered childless, and that the emotional satisfaction one obtains from having children must be higher than the actual and perceived future old age support. In other words, though it can not be concluded that one gets more satisfaction by having more children (since the satisfaction obtained from many children is not additive), the value of children can not be equated with any form of material possession. If it were so, richer people who do not worry for lack of means of old age support would not have desired for any child.

Regarding the perceived benefits in old age, respondents were asked what types of benefit they expect from children when they got old. The detail of this response is shown below.

Table 5.1c Perceived Benefits to be Obtained and Mean Additional Children

Perceived Benefits	Mean Additional Children Desired				
	Total	Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Labor Assistance	2.5884	2.8646	2.1601	2.9853	2.2274
Money + Material	1.8491	1.8701	1.8293	1.6132	2.3208
Nothing	0.8833	1.2143	0.5938	0.1471	1.8462

As observed from Table 5.1c, it appears that those perceiving labor assistance from children desired for more number of additional children than those expecting money and material benefits. It is also indicated that rural residents attach more labor assistance to children than urban and males than females. Female respondents who expect money and material benefits desired for more number of additional children than those expecting labor assistance. This is possibly because females do not require labor assistance as males do (for fieldwork).

In the same way, the response given to the question, "From sons and daughters, who do you think will assist you more in old age?" was analyzed with NACD . Table 5.1d shows the detail of this analysis.

Table 5.1d Expected Old Age Benefits from children and Mean Additional Children Desired.

Who Assist you more in Old Age?	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
- Son	2.7442	3.0845	2.1000	2.8528	2.5740
- Daughter	1.9514	2.0109	1.8925	1.8143	2.0348
- Both equal	1.5965	1.4605	1.7053	1.3636	1.7882
Grand Mean	2.3100	2.5929	1.9320	2.3981	2.2143

The mean number of additional children desired is the highest for those expecting to be assisted in old age by sons than those expecting equal support from daughters. As compared to urban and female respondents, rural and male respondents expecting more support from son in old age, on the average, wanted more than one child than the other sub categories. This difference is also statistically insignificant (at significance level of F ratio =19.672 and F probability =0.000 for the total sample).

As observed so far, actual and perceived assistance from children is positively related to NACD and hence, undoubtedly influences fertility and family size decision in societies where the knowledge and prevalence of contraceptive is very high.

5.2. Effects of Demographic and Socioeconomic Factors on the Number of Additional Children

A. Age and Desire for Additional Children

Age is one of the demographic factors that are believed to have influence on the number of additional children desired. Normally, it is expected that younger people that did not yet achieve desired family size would desire for more number of additional children than those already achieved or approaching desired family size.

Table 5.2a Age of Respondent and Mean Additional Children Desired

Age Group	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
< 24	2.9009	3.1642	2.5000	3.3333	2.8000
25 - 34	2.7828	3.2292	2.2602	3.0769	2.5036
35 - 49	1.9100	2.1075	1.5877	2.2215	1.6026
50+	1.6698	1.8727	1.4737	1.6696	0.0000

It is observable that as age advances, the desire for additional number of children decreases. If other factors were kept constant for all sub groups, rural - urban and male-female respondents are compared, almost in all age groups, rural respondents tend to

want more than urban and male more than female. The pattern of desire for more number of additional children is consistent with the general expectation of differences in fertility. The significance of variation in mean NACD due to differences in age was tested and found to be highly significant (at significance level of F ratio =13.075 and F probability = 0.000). Furthermore, the relationship between age and NACD is found to be linear and negative with r = -0.1897 and P = 0.000 for the total respondents. Cross-tabulating age with number of additional children desired, it was also found out that as age increases the desire for additional children declines. (see Appendix D).

B. Number of Living Children and Desire for Additional Children

As evidenced in Sub-Sahara African countries, more than children ever born, the number of living children influences the desire for additional children (Caldwell, 1987). A person having more number of living children and few living will not desire equal number of additional children. The mean number of additional children is analyzed in conjunction with the number of living children and shown below.

Table 5.2b Number of Living Children and Mean Additional Children desired

Number of Living Children	Mean Number of Children Desired				
	Total	Rural	Urban	Male	Female
1 - 2	3.1115	3.5000	2.7463	3.2595	2.9612
3 - 5	2.1423	2.6950	1.5857	2.1622	2.1203
6 +	1.6627	1.8973	0.9844	1.8120	1.4914
Grand Mean	2.3100	2.5929	1.9320	2.3981	2.2143

Table 5.2b clearly indicated that as the number of living children increases, the desired mean number of additional children decreases. Considering total respondents, those with one to two living children desired more than the grand mean while those with three and more than three living children desired less than the grand mean. But in case of rural

respondents, it was only those with six and more than six living children that desires less than the grand mean. This clearly show that rural residents' desire for more number of additional children and larger family size is higher. The relationship between number additional children desired and number of living children is negative with r = -0.2575 and P = 0.001.

The relationship between number of additional desired and number of living children is crosstabulated and the Chi-square test is highly significant at significance level of P = 0.00000. Table 5.2c. shows detailed information about this.

Table 5.2c. Number of Additional Children Desired Cross-tabulated with Number of Living Children.

Count Row Pct Col Pct	Number of Additional Children Desired				
	None	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 and above	Row Total
NLVCH 1 - 2	55 21.2 16.2	26 10.0 52.0	110 42.3 48.7	69 26.5 39.7	260 32.9
NLVCH 3 - 5	132 47.0 38.8	18 6.4 36.0	70 24.9 31.0	61 21.7 35.1	281 35.6
NLVCH 6 +	153 61.4 45.0	6 2.4 12.0	46 18.5 20.4	44 17.7 25.3	249 31.5
Col. Total	340 43.0	50 6.3	226 28.6	174 22.0	790 100

The cross-tabulated result was in conformity with the result of Table 5.2b, i.e., as the number of living children increases, the proportion desiring a certain number of additional children decreases. But on the contrary, as the number of living children increases, the proportion desiring no children increases. This pattern is the same for all sub groups of male and female as well as rural and urban residents. Another notable fact is that from those having different number of living children and desiring for additional children, those desiring 3 to 4 children constitute the largest proportion followed by those desiring 5 and above. In addition to this, age of respondents is cross-tabulated

with the number of additional children desired and number of living children. (For detailed information see Appendix -D under table D_1, and D_2). The cross-tabulated result showed that as age increases the number of living children increases while the number of additional children decreases.

C. Ethnicity and Religion as Related to Desire for Additional Children

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Orthodox Christian Oromo predominantly inhabits the study area. Because of the small number of observations of other ethnic and religious groups, fertility differences on the basis of ethnic and religious background could not reveal a true picture of differences in fertility desires, if at all there is differences. As tested by one-way variance analysis, both ethnicity and religion were found to be insignificant at P = 0.780 and 0.123 for ethnicity and religion, respectively.

D. Education and Desire for Additional Children

As a commonly held view that education affects fertility through the proximate determinants of fertility. What is assumed is that, as educational level increase, fertility and family size decrease. This occurs as a result of postponement of age at marriage due to more years of schooling, more knowledge and practice of contraception and positive attitude toward small family size. The result of analysis of educational level and mean number of additional children desired is presented in Table 5.2d.

Table 5.2d Education and Mean Additional Children Desired

Educational Level	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Illiterate	2.4255	2.5376	2.1129	2.7123	2.1899
Primary (1-8)	2.3175	2.8293	1.9922	2.2240	2.4535
Senior Second +	1.7982	2.5833	1.5765	1.8000	1.7941

Table 5.2d indicates the expected declining desire for more number of children as educational level increase for the total sample. But this general pattern of the total sample was not followed by rural and female subgroups. The unexpected result most likely is due to less effect of education on the difference in mean NACD by rural and female subgroups. As already observed in the previous chapter, rural residents and urban females were predominantly illiterate and the difference in mean NACD due to differences in educational level is minimal. Hence, the difference in mean NACD by rural and female respondents may not be attributed to differences in educational level.

The variation in the mean NACD among the different educational categories is significant as tested by one-way analysis of variance of F ratio = 3.417 and P = 0.033 for the total sample.

E. Household Income and Desire for Additional Children

It is believed that, in one way or the other, the income of the household would influence family size decision and fertility behavior. The current house holds income was analyzed with mean NACD and the result of the analysis is as follows.

Table 5.2e Current Household Income and Mean Additional Children Desired

Condition of Household Income	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Adequate	1.7212	1.7778	1.6565	1.7238	1.7195
Less than Adequate	1.9102	2.0631	1.6580	2.0907	1.6972

There were only few respondents who reported that their current income is more than adequate for the needs of the family and included in the category of adequate.

Comparing the two income groups, except in case of female respondents, those with relatively lower income had desired for more number of additional children than those with better economic status. This could be because poorer parents might have perceived that having many children is the only strategy to mitigate poverty and risks.

Similarly, the same result to the one above was found when the economic status of respondents in the community was analyzed with the NACD. Those reported to be "less than most" tend to desire for more number of additional children than those claiming to be "equal to most". Parental economic status seems to influence the number of desired additional children negatively. This could be related to the strategy to overcome poverty through having so many children.

Because of differences in income sources and types, rural and urban respondents were analyzed with the number of additional children for both rural and urban respondents separately.

F. Wealth and Desire for Additional Children

i. Household Size and Mean Number of additional children

As an economic factor affecting fertility, empirical studies conducted in developing countries have revealed both positive and negative relationships between land size owned and fertility. In this regard, Cain (1985) showed that there is negative relationship between land ownership and fertility. Other studies allege that, whatsoever, the size of land owned is positively related to fertility, that is, large land size is related with large

number of children (high value of children). Hence, there was no uniformity in understanding the relationship between land size owned and fertility. This issue needs further investigation and for the purpose of this study, land size is defined as the amount of land used by the household for cultivation and grazing animals. The effect of land size on mean number of additional children desired is shown below.

Table 5.2f Land holding Size and Mean Additional Children Desired

Land Size Owned	Mean Additional Children Desired					
	Total		Male		Female	
(In Hectare.)	Mean	No	Mean	No	Mean	No
No Land	2.7130	115	3.3934	61	1.9444	54
1 - 2	2.6728	217	2.9561	114	2.3592	103
3+	2.3333	120	2.4262	61	2.2373	59

It is observable from Table 5.2f that both the sizes of land and NACD are negatively related. Landless respondents more likely tend to desire for more number of additional children than those having land. The possible reason for landless people desiring for more number of additional children might be partly because of the young landless respondents desire for more number of children, or the landless considered having many children as the only way of coming out of poverty, mitigate risks and uncertainties. Moreover, landless people having no other means of improving their lives might have perceived the potential labor of children that can be sold for wages as a strategy of better future life. The statistical significance of the variation in mean NACD due to differences in land holding size was tested and found to be insignificant at P =0.3738.

ii. The Number of Cattle Owned and Number of Additional Children Desired

Another most important asset and economic status indicator of rural people is the number of cattle owned. For rural households, oxen are the most important means of labor in agriculture. If not impossible, it is very hard to produce the crops needed for the family without having a pair of oxen. Not only oxen, but cows are also the other important means of livelihood (cows provide milk and oxen as well, etc). Hence, in this study, only the total number of oxen and cows owned are considered as the major indicator of economic status.

Table 5.2g Cattle Owned and Crop Produced as Related to Number of Additional Children Desired

Item	Mean Additional Children Desired					
Cattle Owned	Total	No	Male	No	Female	No
No Cattle	2.8974	78	3.1176	34	2.7273	44
1 - 3	2.7713	188	3.3684	95	2.1613	93
4+	2.2849	186	2.4860	195	2.0127	79
Crop Produced (I n Quintals)						
None	2.2951	61	2.9500	20	1.9756	41
1 - 3	3.0252	119	3.1386	101	2.3889	18
4 - 6	2.4663	178	2.7701	87	2.1758	91
7 +	2.4787	94	2.6786	28	2.3939	66

It appears that the mean NACD tends to decrease as the number of cattle owned increases for the total and female sub group. But in case of male the relationship between cattle ownership and mean NACD has no definite pattern (see Table 5.2g). Considering the total respondents, the same reason mentioned in relation to land holding size could also be applied for this negative relationship between cattle ownership and mean NACD.

iii. Crop Production and Mean Number Additional Children Desired

As shown in Table 5.2f this table, there is no definite pattern in the relation between amount of crops produced and mean NACD. Those reported to have produced 1 to 5 quintals during the year tend to want more number of additional children than those producing one and those producing more than 5 quintals categories. This inconsistency and lack of definite pattern of crop produced and NACD might have resulted from unstability of crop production. Since crop production of the study areas is dependent on the weather condition, it may not be a reliable indicator of economic status.

5.3. Effects of Socio-Cultural and Psychological Factors on Number of Additional Children Desired

For convenience and simplicity of presentation, the response collected as advantages of having children were classified and categorized into three broad categories: Socio economic, socio-cultural and psychological advantages *. These three advantages of having children categories were analyzed in relation to NACD.

Table 5.3a Advantage Categories of Children and Additional Children Desired

Advantage Categories		Mean Additional Children Desired			
	Total	Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Socio-cultural	2.2350	2.5078	1.9057	2.3959	2.1503
Socioeconomic	2.2105	2.5733	1.7066	2.2374	2.1620
Social/psychological	2.6752	2.7609	2.5595	2.9595	2.4217

* These are categories of a variable made by classifying and categorizing the advantages of having children obtained from an open-ended question

As can be seen from Table 5.3a, of the total respondents and all other subgroups attaching social psychological benefits (value) of having children, more likely tends to

show desire for more additional children than those in the other advantage categories. In the second place, those mentioning socio-cultural advantages more likely show more desire for additional children than those attaching socioeconomic advantage for having additional children.

In relation to value of children, existing literature reveals that in agrarian society where children's labor contribution is very important for the family, the socioeconomic value of children is more important. Contrary to the existing commonly held view, this study showed that more than the economic benefits, psychological and socio-cultural values were found to be more important in the desire for more children. This could probably be, these days, children are less willing to help their parents economically, especially after marrying and establishing their family, or because of the ever diminishing land size owned, children could not afford to assist their parents in rural areas. It appears that parents are less confident in obtaining economic support from children and this might have pushed them to desire less number of children in anticipation of support.

Comparing the past and present with regard to obtaining loyalty of children, the focus group discussion confirmed that to-days children are less loyal to their parents. This is attributed to the uninheritability of land. Since the 1975 Rural Land Proclamation, land is a public and government property and can not be transferred to children or other relatives. Because of this, children gain or lose nothing by obeying or disobeying the words of their parents. Along with this, the existing social norms have also disintegrated with the promulgation of socialist ideology of "equality of all people". First, land was distributed to sons and fathers equally. Therefore, parents and children have equal amount of land and children became reluctant to support their aged parents. The focus

group discussants put that, these days, children expect less inheritable property from their parents and this definitely reduced children's loyalty to their parents. Along with this, the rising cost of living has incapacitated children to assist parents, and as a result of this, parents have turned to desire for fewer children for economic purpose.

Contrary to this, the psychological and socio-cultural satisfaction that parents get from their children did not change, and as a result of declining economic expectation, these two values have got relative importance. The variation in the NACD due to differences between sub-categories of advantages of having children is tested and found to be insignificant at significance level of 0.078.

Culturally, it is common to expect assistance/support from children. In this regard, the fertility preferences of respondents expecting a definite type of assistance from son and daughter was observed in relation to their future desire for additional children. Besides, whether respondents have fulfilled the assistance their parents expect from them were asked retrospectively. Though there is suspicion as to how much their response reflects the reality, as tested by one-way analysis of variance, the variation in mean NACD due to differences in perceived fulfillment of parental support was found to be highly significant at $P = 0.000$. It can be commonly assumed that those perceiving to have supported their parents to the expectation might also expect the same from their children. Hence, they will be motivated to have more number of children to maximize the amount they receive from children.

Table 5.3b Perceived Fulfillment of Parental Support and Mean Number of Additional Children Desired

Perceived Parental Support	Total	Mean Additional Children Desired			
		Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Yes	2.4044	2.3700	2.1807	2.3763	2.4343
No	1.6544	1.8081	1.3988	1.8667	1.4258
Uncertain	0.9000	0.8400	0.9692	1.2321	0.6786

Table 5.3b indicates that as expected, those who claimed to have fulfilled expected support of their parents, desired for more number of additional children, while those who have not done as expected to be, desired less number of children. The "uncertain" category showed the least desire for more additional children. This pattern is true for the total sample and the subgroups.

5.4. Family Size and Desire for Additional Children

The response given to the question "From large and small family size, which one do you think is economically beneficial?", was analyzed with the number of additional children. It was found that, except for the female sample, those in favor of large family size showed the tendency of desiring for more additional children than those favoring small family size (Table 5.4a).

Table 5.4a Large/Small Family Size Benefits and Additional Children Desired

Family Size Benefit	Mean Additional Children Desired				
	Total	Rural	Urban	Male	Female
Large Family	3.1525	3.3140	2.7188	3.6905	1.8235
Small Family	2.1622	2.4235	1.8497	2.0671	2.2929

Comparing subgroups, male respondents favoring large family size tended desiring for more number of additional children than females and rural than urban respondents. The

female respondents reporting small family size as economically beneficial tend to desire a high number of additional children. This could be explained by high desire for additional children by younger females who do not yet achieved desired family size. The variation in mean NACD due to differences in small/large family size economic benefit is statistically significant at significance level of P = 0.000.

The response to another question related to exploring respondents' attitude toward getting at least one lucky child from among several children (child lottery type), was analyzed with number of additional children. The result of the analysis showed that those approving this assumption more likely tend to desire for more number of additional children than those disapproving. As tested by one-way analysis of variance, the variation in mean NACD was also statistically significant at P =0.000.

5.5. Effects of Selected Variables on Fertility Behavior (Multivariate Analysis)

In the discussions made so far, the extent of the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable (number of additional children desired) was examined without controlling for the interaction between the independent variables. Thus the main emphasis of the preceding discussions was to examine whether or not there are differences in the desire for additional children among respondents of different demographic and socioeconomic background by using Multiple classification Analysis (MCA).

Before applying MCA, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to examine the significance of the observed variation in mean number of additional children desired due to differences in the independent variables. The table below shows the results of ANOVA on the desire for additional children.

Table 5.5a Analysis of Variance of Desire for Additional Children

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares.	df	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	525.232	11	47.748	10.548	0.000
Age	32.076	3	10.692	2.362	0.070
Education level	42.427	2	21.214	4.686	0.009
NLVCH*	99.550	2	49.775	10.996	0.000
Household Size	7.109	1	7.109	1.570	0.211
Place of Residence	64.095	1	64.095	14.159	0.000
Sex	27.782	1	27.782	6.137	0.013
Household Income	0.440	1	0.440	0.097	0.755
Explained	525.232	11	47.748	10.548	0.000
Residual	3521.787	778	4.527		
Total	4047.019	789	5.129		

* = Number of Living Children

As the table above shows, all the variables used in the analysis, except household size and current household income are statistically significant. Number of living children and place of residence are more influential in explaining the variation in mean number of additional children. Educational level, sex and age of the respondent also explain a significant proportion of the variation in mean number of additional children.

To examine the gross and net effects of each category of the independent variables on the dependent variable, Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) is a suitable statistical model. It also shows the unadjusted and the adjusted proportion explained by each independent variable and the total proportion explained by all the explanatory variables used in the model. In addition to this, it has facilities to control for the interactions

among the independent variables. It also deals with both linear and non-linear relationships among the predictor and the dependent variable. MCA assumes additive effect of independent variables on dependent variable. Therefore, it is suited for this kind of analysis where interaction effects have been found to be insignificant. Table 5.2b shows the MCA of number of additional children desired (NACD) by some selected explanatory variables.

Table 5.5b Multiple Classification Analysis of Number of Additional Children Desired by some Selected Independent variables.

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Deviation	Eta	Adjusted for Independts- Deviation	Beta
Age					
Less than 25	111	0.59		0.09	
25 - 34	267	0.47		0.27	
35 - 49	300	-0.40		-0.08	
50+	112	-0.64	***0.22***	-0.51	**0.11**
Education level					
Illiterate	470	0.12		0.14	
Primary (1-8)	211	0.01		0.02	
Senior Secondary. +	109	-0.51	***0.09***	-0.64	***0.12***
NLVCH					
1 - 2	260	0.80		1.01	
3 - 5	281	-0.17		-0.22	
6 and over	249	-0.65	***0.26***	-0.80	***0.33***
Household Size					
1 - 4 (small)	258	0.57		-0.26	
5 and over (large)	532	-0.28	***0.18***	0.26	***0.08***
Residence					
Rural	452	0.28		0.29	
Urban	338	-0.38	***0.14***	-0.39	***0.15***
Sex					
Male	412	0.09		0.22	
Female	378	-0.10	***0.04***	-0.24	***0.10***
Household Income					
Adequate	195	-0.13		-0.04	
Less than adequate	595	0.04	***0.03***	0.01	***0.01***
Multiple R^2					**0.130**
Multiple R					**0.360**
Number = 790				Grand Mean =	**2.310**

It is indicated in Table 5.5b that each category of the independent variable, except the educational category of primary, showed significant effects with marked deviations from the grand mean both before and after adjustments.

(i) Age of Respondents and Desire for Additional Children

The number of additional children desired varies by differences in age. As proxy indicator of fertility, the number of additional children desired is also affected by age. In non- contracepting agrarian societies, married couples give birth to as many children as possible. In such societies, one normally expects that the relatively older couples would have more number of children than the relatively younger ones. In this respect, the relatively younger ones would desire for more number of additional children than the older ones with more number of children.

As can be observed from the MCA table, the gross effect of age on mean number of additional children desired, is in conformity to the above assumption. That means as age advances the mean number of additional children decreases. Those below the age of 34 showed positive deviations from the grand mean, while those above the age of 34 have negative deviations from the grand mean. This pattern was also maintained even after controlling for the effects of other explanatory variables.

The net effect of age on the number of additional children desired showed that those below the age of 25 had desired for fewer mean number of additional children (by 7 percent less) than those between the age of 25 and 34. Normally, those below the age of 25 should not have shown less desire in mean number of additional children than those

in age group of 25 - 34. This could possibly be related to change of attitude of those below the age of 25 toward smaller family size. This downward trend of fertility desire might have been initiated because of the rising cost of living in general and landlessness among the younger couples. Secondly, it might be attributed to the relatively better chance of exposure to modern life style, better knowledge of family planning, through education or the influence of mass media. Thirdly, those below the age of 25 are relatively less adherent to traditional cultural norms that encourage the benefits of higher fertility.

The other thing to be noted is that, the seemingly high explanatory power of age before adjustment was not really attributable to age, but to the number of living children. Hence, the proportion explained by age alone before adjustment was reduced by half. What should be noted in relation to those above the age of 50 is that, it only refers to male's respondents whose wives are in the reproductive age.

(ii) Education and Desire for Additional Children

In many studies, it has been repetitively cited that education affects fertility by influencing the proximate determinants of fertility. Though the overall level of literacy of the study population is low, there seems to be some differences in fertility between the illiterate and the relatively educated respondents. The Multiple Classification Analysis result showed that in gross terms, those respondents in senior secondary and above educational level, on average, had desired by 26 percent less number of additional children than the illiterate ones. Though it has been shown that those respondents in the

secondary level of education desired less than those in the primary level education, difference in desire for additional children between the two education groups was small.

When the effects of other independent factors were controlled, the net effect of education on the number of additional children desired was lower by 32 percent for secondary and above education compared to the illiterate. On the other hand, those with primary level education desired by 28 percent less number of additional children than the illiterate group. This shows that the most substantial reduction in mean number of additional children desired comes with the increase from primary to senior secondary above level of education.

(iii) Number of Living Children and Desire for Additional Children

It is believed that more than CEB, the number of living children could affect the number of additional children desired by respondents. It is known that in many Third World countries and particularly Sub Sahara Africa (Caldewell et al., 1982), the desire for more children decreases with the number of living children.

As can be observed from the MCA table, the number of living children is negatively related to the number of additional children desired. Thus, after adjustment, those respondents with 1 - 2 living children had about 55 percent more desire for additional children than those with 6 and above living children. From the analysis of variance, it has been also indicated that the differences in number of living children was the most

variation in mean number of additional children before and after adjustments respectively.

(iv) Household Size and Desire for Additional Children

The size of household members to some extent may be related to the number of living children. This is particularly true of households with several small kids living with them. In fact, in rural areas, all households may not live only with their own biological children. Some live with grand children, relatives, hired livestock tenders, etc. In such situations, the size of household should not be necessarily equal to the number of living children.

In Table 5.5b, it is indicated that the gross effect of household size is negatively related to the number of additional children desired. Before adjusting for the effects of other variables, household size seems to have a significant explanatory power as compared to other variables. When the effects of other variables were controlled, household size was found to be influencing the mean number of additional children positively. Thus, households with large (5 and above) household size desired by 16 percent more number of additional children than those with small (1 - 4) household size.

After adjustment, the reversed direction of relationship between household size and mean number of additional children could be attributed to controlling the effect of number of living children. The possible reason for those with small household size desiring fewer mean number of additional children, could be related to the change of attitude of respondent toward small family size(the possible reasons mentioned under

age in relation to the declining desire of the younger couples less than 25 years of age is also applicable). On the other hand, less desire of older people who already achieved desired family size and currently living with few households can also be the cause for this downward desire for additional children. The other reason could be related to benefit maximization motive of rural residents by having so many children that could help out in the field. This means rural residents already having several children would want more additional children so as to get more family labor for agricultural activity. The combined effect of these might have caused those with larger family size to desire for more and those with smaller family size to desire for fewer number of additional children.

(v) Place of Residence and Desire for Additional Children

As can be observed from MCA result, rural residents appear to desire for more number of additional children than their urban counter parts. The gross mean number of additional children desired by rural residents was by 26 percent higher than that of urban. This difference is explained by some factors that directly or indirectly affect the desired number of additional children, such as life style, modernity, and difference in cost of living and contraceptive knowledge. Urban residents are beneficiaries of diffusion of innovation, and as such, they have more access to modern methods of birth control, and less adherent to traditional ways of life that give more value to having as many children as possible. In additions to this, urban environment exposes residents to consumption goods and services as well as life styles alternative to bearing and rearing children. These are some of the possible reasons for urban residents desiring for fewer mean number of additional children.

(vi). Sex of Respondent and Desire for Additional Children

Due to differences in actual and perceived benefits from children, husbands and wives may not have the same desire for additional children. As the gross and net effects of sex shows (Table 5.5b), males desired by 8 and 18 percent more number of additional children than the females respectively. The other thing to note is that, females desired less than the grand mean while that of males was more than the grand mean. The difference between desired number of additional children of male and female might be attributed to more interest of male in general and that of rural in particular. In the rural areas, males want to maximize the agricultural labor input by having more number of additional children. In addition to this, rural males were more beneficiaries of the wages of their children hired out as livestock tenders and farmers. On the contrary, females face more physical fatigue and deterioration in bearing and rearing children. And as such, they are less motivated to have more number of additional children since it worsens their health conditions.

(vii) Household Income and Desire for Additional Children

Household size is a very weak variation explanatory variable from all variables used in the MCA model. Though there is no significant variation in mean number of additional children due to differences in household income, those perceiving to have less than adequate income for the needs of their family desired for more number of additional children (by 7 percent more) than the adequate category before adjustment. The net effect shows no significant variation between the two income categories and its variation

from the grand mean was also small. In general, the explained variations in mean number additional children desired by all the explanatory variables were 13.0 percent.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Summary

This study attempts to bring some insights to the understanding of diverse values that parents attach to children. Exploring or examining the values that parents attach to having children and how these expected values affect parental reproductive behavior is the concern of this study.

The value of children is one of the factors that is assumed to promote the current high fertility in developing countries in general and Sub-Sahara Africa in particular. In agrarian societies where the application of intensive labor is demanded, the labor of children is of immense importance. In this respect, children have more utility value in rural than in urban.

In search of the impact of the value of children on fertility behavior, 491 currently married couples from rural and urban were successfully interviewed. The study showed that more than 71 percent of the total sample reported that the advantages of having children were to get assistance in work. The percentage of males attaching this advantage to children was a little bit higher than those of females. Children's advantage for old age security was also mentioned by about two-third of the total sample. In this respect, it seems that females' old age security motive of having children was found to be higher than those of males. Their very vulnerability might have caused the sense of feeling of insecurity. The advantage of children for attaining a colorful funeral ceremony

is also reported by more than half of the sample. Children's advantage as strengtheners of marriage was the least cited one. As ranked, advantages of children for labor assistance was also found to be the most important one. Children's benefit "for happiness and pleasure" and " old age security" was also among the most important motivational factors in having children.

In relation to disadvantages of children, the first three most influential were related to emotional costs than economic costs. This indicates that the emotional costs of children are the most important costs that affect the feelings of parents. The possible reason for this was, in rural areas, the cost that parents incur in bearing and rearing children was small and children are contributors to the household economy, but not only consumers as in urban areas.

In the study area, the preferred sex of the first child was a son. According to the focus group discussions, it has its own socio-cultural reasons. 1) it is more important to be called by the name of the first born son than daughter; 2) sons remain at the homestead of their parents inheriting all material and spiritual culture; 3) since they live with their parents, they will better take care of the aged parents more than daughters; 4) replacing their fathers, sons can perform some ritual and cultural ceremonies; 5) sons are very important in defending parents and their wealth. Therefore, at least one son is desired to perform these socio-cultural activities.

In relation to desired sex composition of children, the focus group discussants in both rural and urban unanimously agreed that equal number of sons and daughters are desirable. The importance of at least one daughter was also desired for her assistance in

household chores, to bring in a good son-in-law that can pay a good deal of bride-wealth, and her very biological nature to give birth and multiply one's descendants are the major attributes of daughters.

It should be noted that people's desire to have at least one son was high. Even if they have several daughters, they will not stop aspiring to have at least one son. This means that sons are valued more than daughters. It was reported that one will stop aspiring for son after acquiring an average of three daughters.

The bivariate analytical techniques was used to see the effect of some selected variables on the number of additional children desired (NACD).The desire for more children itself can be an indicator of valuing children. One can not desire for more children if it does not have value for him. On the other hand, the number of additional children desired is a proxy indicator of fertility behavior.

The results of bivariate analysis showed that parents who claim to have obtained current labor assistance and those who expect to receive labor assistance from children desired for more mean number of additional children than those obtaining money and material assistance. This indicates that the current and expected labor support from children were important motivating factor for having more number of children.

In addition to this, parents have shown that children are the most important dependable source of old ages security followed by livestock and money. Again, from male and female children, male children were found to a be more dependable source of support in old age.

Apart from these factors, the impact of demographic, economic and socio-cultural factors were investigated using bivariate analysis. It was found that as age advances, the number of children additionally desired decreases. This is directly related to achieved parity or the number of living children. This means those already having more number of children desires less number of additional children and vice versa.

Regarding the impact of education on the mean number of additional children, it was found that education was negatively influencing the mean number of additional children desired. Respondents with senior secondary and above education were found desiring for lesser number of additional children than those in the primary level of education and the illiterate category. This indicates that education in general and above primary (1-8) in particular, is one of the factors that help the reduction of fertility and family size by different ways.

The income of the household was found to negatively affect the number of additional children desired. The "less than adequate" category relatively showed more desire for additional children than the "adequate" category. When the rural sample was analyzed with rural income indices, it was found that land and the number of cattle owned are negatively affecting the mean number of additional children desired, while crop production did not show any definite pattern of relations with number of additional children desired.

On the other hand, the advantages of children collected from open-ended question were classified into economic, socio-cultural and social psychological categories. The

analyzed results showed that more than the economic advantage, those attributing social psychological and socio-cultural advantage of having children were found desiring for more number of additional children than those attributing economic advantage of having more children. This means that the economic motive of having more children is less important than the social psychological and socio-cultural motives. Actually, the declining economic utility of children and the rising emotional or psychological value of children is the indication of fertility transition. But the finding of this study may not necessarily mean that a fertility transition has commenced in the study area. But at this level of analysis, one can simply say that the sense of hoarding of more children for economic benefit is declining.

This study has also found out that respondents perceiving to have fulfilled what their parents expected from them were desiring more number of additional children than those not claiming to have fulfilled the expected support of their parents.

With regard to multivariate analysis, the dependent variable, the number of additional children desired (NACD) was analyzed with selected demographic and socioeconomic explanatory variables. Age and sex of respondents, educational level, number of living children, household size, place of residence and household income were the selected explanatory variables used in the model.

The selected variables were analyzed using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). The result of ANOVA showed that education, number of living children, place of residence, sex and age were significant in explaining the variation of the dependent variable due to differences in the explanatory factors.

Household size was marginally significant and explains the variation in mean NACD. But household income was found to be insignificant and very weak explanatory factor.

The MCA result showed that the gross effect of age was negatively related to NACD and the net effect of age showed that those below the age of 25 had desired for fewer number of additional children than those aged 25 to 34. If all other factors remain constant, the relatively younger (below the age of 25) would have shown higher desire for more number of additional children than the relatively older (25 to 34 years of age) ones. This unexpected result can be explained by the change of attitude of the younger ones toward lower family size. The ever increasing cost of living or landlessness among the younger couples might have initiated the shift to lower family size.

As in case of bivariate analysis, education and number of living children negatively affect NACD. What is to be noted is that the higher the educational level attained and the larger the number of living children, the lower the demand for additional children

Besides, rural residents were found to desire more number of additional children than the urban residents. Urban residents desired by about 26 percent less number of additional children than their urban counterparts. There are also sex differentials in desire for additional children. Males were found to desiring more number of additional children than the females. The net effect of sex showed that the mean number of additional children desired by females is by at least 10 percent less than the sample mean.

After adjustment, household size did not show a strong positive association with number of additional children desired. Those with small family size (1-4) were found desiring for

fewer number of additional children than those with large family size (5 and above). This could be explained by less demand for additional children by the younger couples (below 25 years of age) due the change of their attitude toward lower family size. Or, the older ones who already approached desired family size and currently living with fewer household members might have desired for fewer number of additional children. If the former reason was taken as true, it means the attitude toward lower family size is starting to operate in the society.

Household income was found insignificant in explaining variation in the dependent variable. Though the variation of the "less than adequate" income category and the "adequate" is minimal, in general, household income shows a negative impact on the number of additional children desired.

To conclude, this study revealed that education has greater impact on influencing the attitudes of parents towards lower fertility. Chancho is a very small town surrounded by a vast rural area; and yet, Chancho has documented a lower desire for more children than rural Sululta. The difference is attributable to the influence of modernity, and better relatively better exposure of Chancho residents to IEC services as compared to less opportunity of rural people to benefit from such services.

Along with this, the differences in economic status were also found as one of the factors that created differences in valuing children and family size decisions. As observed from the information obtained from focus group discussions, the poorer were the ones who aspire for more number of children than the richer ones. To maximize the benefits they obtain from the sale of the labor of their children, poor parents want to have as many

children as possible. This means, having so many children is their best strategy to overcome poverty or to avert risks and uncertainties.

6.2. Conclusions

The major objective of this study was to explore the influence of the value of children on fertility preferences, and thereby come up with some policy relevant suggestions and recommendations. To clearly understand and comprehend the real causes of the persistently high current fertility, the contribution of fertility related research is of paramount importance. Of the several factors cited as a cause for the high fertility levels in developing countries and Sub-Sahara Africa in particular, the value of children is among the frequently mentioned ones.

In developing agrarian societies, the contribution of children in household economy was very much significant. Because of diverse contributions and their role in the society, children's value is substantial. Exploring why parents want children, the role and contribution of children in socio-cultural and economic life of the society at large and to individual parents in particular, is the focus of every one working on population related issues.

In order to bring a harmonious relationship between population and economic growth, the current level of high fertility must be reduced somehow. To achieve this, some policy oriented measures must be taken. Therefore, this study attempts to forward some policy

oriented suggestions and recommendations in relation to the value of children and fertility behavior.

On the basis of the findings of this study, the followings are recommended.

Generally, rural residents bear as much children as possible. The major determinants of demand for children are labor, old age security motive and socio-cultural benefits like funeral ceremony, inheritance of the homestead, continuity of one's name, etc. Therefore, policies aimed at reducing the supply of children (i.e., disseminating methods of fertility control and making these available) has to be supplemented with the demand side management (efforts to change the attitude of people towards children and large family size).

To reduce the current high level of fertility, improving the opportunity of educational services is paramount importance. In creating awareness and relieving people from traditional belief systems that promote the importance of large family size, expanding educational performance of the masses is of prime significance. It is only through education that the attitudes of people toward children and large family size can change. With regard to promoting educational services, the education of females has to be encouraged and maximum efforts has to be made by concerned bodies to increase females' school enrollment rate. Along with formal education, increasing the awareness of the people about family planning through information, education and communication services has to be the focus of governmental and non-governmental agencies engaged in family planning services expansion and population related works.

It is poverty of the family that makes child labor so important. To mitigate poverty and enhance the standard of living of the agrarian population, introducing and popularizing agricultural production enhancing technologies such as improved seeds and other harmless agricultural inputs is of paramount importance. With improved economic life, expected economic utility of children and demand for more children as well as large family size ultimately declines.

On the other hand, the study revealed that parents consider children as a better means of old age security. Thus, some other alternative social security institution has to be devised so as to reduce parental reliance on children for old age support. Institutions like Rural Credit and Grain Bank Associations, voluntarily organized social security associations and the like should be encouraged. In this respect, the role of the government in facilitating and initiating groups and NGOs to participate in such fields is of paramount importance in reducing the value of children and thereby fertility..

In conclusion, in order to reduce fertility from its current level and achieve a lower level, improving the educational and agricultural performance of the people as well as introducing some social security mechanisms to lower the degree of dependence of parents on their children (lowering the value of children) for old age security are the most important policy relevant recommendations.

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APPENDIX-A

DEMOGRAPHIC TRAINING AND RESEARCH CENTER
INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

I D E N T I F I C A T I O N P A G E

REGION:_____ ZONE_____ DISTRICT_____
FARMER ASSOCIATION/KEBELE:_____
NAMEOF HOUSEHOLD HEAD:_____
NAME OF RESPONDENT:_____

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:_____ SIGNATURE_____
DATE:_____ / 1998

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER_____
NAME OF FIELD SUPERVISOR_____
SIGNATURE_____

SCREENING FOR ELIGIBILITY.

Please tell me your marital status and marriage order, whether you are living with spouse now and at least have one living child.

1. Are you currently married? 1 Yes 2. No (end)	Eligibility Criteria . Currently married
2. Is your husband/wife living with you now? 1. Yes 2. No (end)	. Living with spouse
3. What is your current marriage order? 1. First 2. Second and above (end)	. First marriage
4. How many living children do you have? _____ Child/children (If no child end)	.Couple has at least one living child

N.B. A respondent is eligible if all 4 eligibility criteria are fulfilled.

INTERVIEW PROPER

Children's Roaster

Please tell me the names of all your own children who are now alive, whether they are living here or away. Starting with the oldest, what are their names? (INTERVIEWER: ask age and sex of each child.)

NO.	Names of children	Sex 1.M 2 F	Age (in completed years)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

SECTION ONE Demographic and socioeconomic background of the respondent.

101a. How old are you? _____years.

101b. In what month and year were you born? Month: _____ Year: 19 ____

102. Where were you born? Region: _____; Zone :_____ ; District:_____

103 . Where did you live during most of your life? 1. Total urban

2. Majority urban 3. Total rural 4. Majority rural

104a. How old were you at your first marriage? _____years.

104b. In which month and month was that? Month:_____ Year: 19____

104c. How long was it since your first marriage? _____years.

105a. How old were you when your first child was born? _____years.

105b. In what month and year were you given birth for the first time?

Month:_____ , Year : 19 _____

106a. Can you read a news paper or magazine? 1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 107)

106b. Can you write a letter? 1. Yes 2. No (go to q 107)

106c. Have you ever attended any school? 1. Yes 2. Never attended (go to Q 107)

106d. What was the highest level of school you have attended?

1 .1 - 6 2. 7 - 8 3. 9 - 12 4. College and above

106e. What was the highest grade you completed at that level? ____ grade.

107. What is your ethnicity ? 1. Oromo 2. Amhara 3. Gurage

4. Tigre 5. Others (specify)_____

108. What is your religion? 1. Orthodox 2. Muslim

3. Protestant 4. Catholic 5. Others(specify) _____

109. Would you say that your present income level is just adequate for the things your family need, or would you say it is more than adequate or less than adequate?

1. Adequate 2. More than adequate 3. Less than adequate

110. What is your estimated monthly income in Birr? _____Birr. (For salaried urban respondents only)

112. Does the household own the following animals? ➔(For rural household only)

Type	No	Yes	Number	Type	No	Yes	Number
1. cow				6. sheep			
2. ox				7. goat			
3. bull				8. donkey			
4. heifer				9. horse			
5. calf				10 .mule			

INTERVIEWER => Questions 116a through 117 are for farmers only.

116a. How many hectares of cultivated land do you have? _____ha.

(Interviewer => probe for exact amount in hectare)

116b. How many quintals of crop did you harvest last year?_____ quintals.

117. For family like yours, do you think that providing education for children will be a very heavy financial burden, or easy ? 1. Very heavy burden

2. Heavy burden 3. Easy burden 4. Very easy burden 5. Uncertain

118. Who would you say has the strongest desire to have children, you or your (husband/wife)? 1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Both equal

SECTION TWO :RESPONDENT'S FAMILY BACKGROUND

201. Are your parents alive? 1. Yes both 2. father only 3. mother only

4. No (go to Q 204.)

202. Where do/does they (he/she) live?

1. Alone 2. With me 3. With other children 4. With relatives

203. Do your parents need your assistance/ help for survival?

1. Yes badly 2. Yes moderately 3. Not at all

204. Including yourself, how many living children do your parents have?

_____sons and _____ daughters = _____ children.

205. Do you think that you have fulfilled the expected support of your parents?

1 .Yes 2. No 3. Uncertain

SECTION THREE : FERTILITY RELATED QUESTIONS

301. What would you say are some of the good things or advantages about having children, compared with not having at all?

(Interviewer- Put the first and second most important advantages in rank.)

Rank

1._____ _____

2._____ _____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

302. What would you say are some of the difficulties or disadvantages connected with having children, compared with not having at all? (Interviewer => Put the first and second most important disadvantages in rank.)

Rank

1._____ _____

2._____ _____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

304. About how many children do you think a typical couple in this community has by the time they stop having children? 1.__ children 2. I don't know

305. Have you given birth to any children during the last 12 months?

1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 309a)

306. Is the child living or dead? 1. Living 2. Dead

308a. Are you pregnant now?

1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 309a.) 3. Uncertain (go to Q 309a)

308b. By the time you become pregnant, do you want to have it by then, later or you didn't want any pregnancy? 1. Then 2. Later 3. Didn't want any

309a. How many children do you have altogether now?

____sons and ____ daughters = __ children

309b. Do you have dead children? 1 .Yes 2. No (go to Q 309d)

309c. How many of them have died? __sons and __ daughters = ___children

309d. How many of them are living ?__ sons and __ daughters = ___ children

309e. How many of them are living with you? __ sons and__ daughters = __ children

309f. How many of them are living elsewhere?

_____ sons and _____ daughters =_____ children

310a. Do you want any more children (excluding current pregnancy, for those having it)? 1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 312) 3. Uncertain (go to Q 313)

310b. How many more children do you want to have?

_____sons and _____ daughters = _____ children

311. Now I want to ask you about some specific reasons why you may want another child. For each reason, please tell me whether, for you, the reason is very important, somewhat important, or not important at all.

Item	very important	Some-what important	Not important at all
1. I enjoy having a small baby			
2. To help carry on family name			
3. I want to have (a boy/ another boy).			
4. Because I want to have (a girl/ another girl).			
5. To be sure that in my old age I will have a child to help me.			
6. Because my (husband/wife) wants more children.			
7. To provide a companion for my (child/children).			
8. To get one more person to help our family economically.			
9. To be sure to have enough children survive to adulthood.			
10. Because I enjoy caring for and raising children.			
11. I want the special feeling of			

love that develops between parent and child.			
12. I want to share what I have and what I know with children.			
13. To get a lucky child out of many.			

312. Here is a list of reasons people sometimes give for not wanting another child. For each one, please tell me whether, for you, the reason is very important, somewhat important, or not important at all.

Item	Very Importa nt	Somewhat important	Not important at all
1. Having another would be an economic burden for my family.			
2. My (husband/wife) does not want any more children.			
3. Because caring for children is a tedious and boring job.			
4. I can't give enough care and attention to other child/children.			
5. Another child would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy.			
6. concern about the problem of over population.			
7. Because having another child would endanger my health .			

313. If you could go back to the time you didn't have any children and could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? A total of ____ children. ____ sons and _____ daughters.

315a. Suppose your family income increase, to double what it is now, would that affect the number of children you want?

1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 316) 3. Don't know (go to Q 316)

315b. How would it affect the number of children you want?_____

316. Would you want your first child to be a boy or a girl, or wouldn't it matter?

1. Boy 2. Girl 3. Wouldn't matter (go to Q 318) 4.Up to god/fate (go to Q 318)

317. Why is it important for you to have (a boy/a girl) as your first child?

Because:_____ _____

318. What is the importance of having at least one boy among your children?

319. What is the importance of having at least one daughter from among your children?

320. If did not have any sons, and kept on having daughters, what would you do? Would you continue having babies until you had a boy, or would you stop after a certain number of girls?

1. Continue until a boy comes 2. Stop after ____ girls

3. up to God/ fate 4. Uncertain 5. Other(s) specify_____

SECTION FOUR: FAMILY PLANNING RELATED QUESTIONS.

401. There are various ways and methods that a couple can use to avoid or delay a pregnancy. Have you ever heard of about any of these methods?

1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 409)

402. What methods have you heard of? ____; _____; _____; ____; ____; _____.

403. Have ever used a contraceptive?

1. Yes 2. No (go to Q 409)

404. Do you approve or disapprove of married couples using a method to avoid or delay pregnancy? 1. Approve 2. Disapprove 3. Don't know

406. At present time. Are you practicing birth control? (If not pregnant)

1. Yes 2. No (go to q 408)

407. What methods are you using now? ____; ___; ___; ___; ____; _____

408. What is (are) the main reason (s) for not using any one of birth control methods?

1. dire for more children 2. Don't approve family planning

3. don't know source 4. Fear of side effects 5. Inaccessible

6. religious reasons 7. Husband/wife disapproves 8. Other(s)_____

409. Do you think you may use a method in the future?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Uncertain

410. If at all you would be using birth control, do you use for spacing births or for totally controlling births? 1. For spacing 2. For controlling

SECTION FIVE

501. Do you have married and unmarried children?

1. Yes, both 2. Married Only (go to 504)

3. Unmarried only (go to 505) 4. Small ten five only

502. Who assist/support you more now?

1. married ones 2. unmarried ones 3. Both equal 4. Neither

503. What kind of assistance are you getting now?

1. Labor 2. Money 3. Material 4. Other(s) _____

504. From married children, what kind of assistance are you getting now?

1. Labor 2. Money 3. Material 4. Other(s) _____

505. From unmarried children, what kind of assistance are you getting now?

1. Labor 2. Money 3. Material 4. Other (s)_____

507. What kind of support do you expect from your children in old age?

1. Labor 2. Money 3. Material 4. Other(s)_____

509. From sons and daughters, which ones do you think will support parents during old age? 1. Sons 2 . Daughters 3. Both equal

510. What means of old age support do you think you and your spouse might have when you get old? 1. Cattle 2. Money 3. Children 4. Relatives 5. Other(s) ____

511. When you get old, do you expect or rely on financial support from your children a good deal, only a little, or not at all? (If children were mentioned under Q 510).

514. Some people believe that the more the number of children they have, the higher the probability of getting a successful child/ children that will promote their socio-economic status. How do you personally feel about this or do you agree with this?

1. Agree 2. Disagree

APPENDIX - B

Information on the advantages of having children were collected from open-ended questions were summarized and categorized into socioeconomic, socio-cultural and social and social psychological advantages as follows:

Socioeconomic Benefits	Social Psychological Benefits
. To get overall old age support	.For a good funeral ceremony
. To get assistance in work	. To avoid loneliness
. To get someone to send	. To get happiness and
. To hire out as shepherds	pleasure
. To live better future life	. To get social reputation
. To teach and be helped latter in life	. To get defender/protector
. To get someone to care about you	. To love and be loved
	. To get someone in time of
Socio-cultural Advantages	need
. To get a heir or somebody to	. To strengthen marriage
inherit family wealth and property	. To prevent craving for
. For the continuity of family or	children
one's name	. To have better future hope

APPENDIX – C

Interview Guide for Focus discussion

I. On demand for Children and their Values

Some people think that children are useful to parents while others do not.

- In your community, are people more concerned about having children?
    - If yes, why?
    - If no, why?
- In this community, do children have some importance?
    - If yes, what importance do children have?
    - If no, what are the disadvantages of having them?
- From poor and rich parents who want to have more children and who rely more on children for old age support? Why?
- Do people perceive their children as a source of socioeconomic support in old age? Why? (Compare the present and past situations as to when children are more dependable for old age security).
    - Were children more dependable in the past? Why?
    - Are children more dependable these days? Why?

B. On Sex Preference and Family Size

- In this community, from sons and daughters, which ones are preferred? Why?
- What is the ideal number of children that an individual should have? What are the best sex composition of children an individual should have?

APPENDIX - D

The number of additional children Desired (NACD) and number of living children (NLCH) were cross-tabulated with age of respondents to see the differences in demand for children due to variations in age and number of living children of respondents. The result is shown in Table D_1 and D_2 below.

Number of Additional Children Desired (D_1)

	None	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 +	Row Total
Age < 24	27 24.3 7.9	13 11.7 26.0	47 42.3 20.8	24 21.6 13.8	111 14.1
25 -34	80 30.0 23.5	23 8.6 46.0	92 34.2 40.7	72 27.0 41.4	267 33.8
35 -49	163 54.3 47.9	11 3.7 22.0	67 22.3 29.6	59 19.7 33.9	300 38.0
50 +	70 62.5 20.6	3 2.7 6.0	20 17.9 8.8	19 17.0 10.9	112 14.2
Col Total	340 43.0	50 6.3	226 28.6	174 22.0	790 100.0

Number of Living Children (D_2)

1 -2	3 - 5	6+	Row Total
104 86.0 35.0	17 14.0 5.1	-----	121 12.3
144 50.9 48.5	119 42.0 35.6	20 7.1 5.7	283 28.8
27 8.7 9.1	110 35.5 32.9	173 55.8 49.3	310 31.6
22 8.2 7.4	88 32.8 26.3	158 59.0 45.0	268 27.3
297 30.2	334 34.0	351 35.7	982 100.0

DECLARATION

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 materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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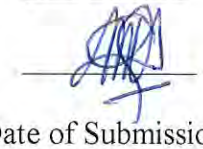
Signature: 

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