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GENDER & DEVELOPMENT

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FROM THE EDITOR

As usual this issue of Economic Focus has included a number of articles and views of contributors. The last round table discussion was on 'Gender and Development'. This topic was selected by the Executive Committee as one of the important and timely issues. As the topic is quite broad and can include issues related to culture, law, politics and economics, attempts have been made to make the discussion focus on the economic aspects of the issue. Four papers that were presented at the last round table discussion are included in this issue of Economic Focus. We also have 'Letter to the Editor' as before and a few other articles on various topics.

As there is going to be election of new executive committee members at the next General Assembly of the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) to be held on July 15, 2000, this issue may be the last issue for the outgoing Executive Committee. The editor of this issue would, therefore, like to take this opportunity to thank all those who contributed to *Economic Focus* in particular and to the success of the EEA in general. Your active participation is always welcome.

Enjoy your reading.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

GENDER AT THE LAST EEA'S ROUNDTABLE

To: The Editor-in-Chief
Ethiopian Economic Association
Addis Ababa.

Dear Sir,

Many will agree, I am sure, if I say that the last EEA workshop on gender is probably the worst in every sense, i.e. its organization, selection of resource persons, themes dealt, the proceedings and attendance. It is indeed telling that most of those who regularly attend the EEA roundtables didn't show up, not even the active members of the EEA itself. Why? Simply because the theme is gender. Scratch an Ethiopian "intellectual" and you will certainly find the worst form of male chauvinism. It is simple to externalize problems and throw mud at a government when it comes to issues of poverty and underdevelopment and stand outside the framework of responsibilities. The more intellectuals hurl dust on the government the less they look internally, at themselves. Ethiopian intellectuals are typical of such hypocrites when it comes to winning themselves on gender issues. Most often than not, they trivialize gender and even make fun of the discourse. Nothing is typical of an underdeveloped mind-set than such mind-set which trivializes gender. Bourgeois thought, particularly the various schools of economics, completely relegate gender as a problem solely of women and categorized exclusively as private. The hyphenated Ethiopian intellectual, to use the popular term of the late sixties, is intellectually a product of such economic constructs that do not relate gender with economics. Thus, why there weren't many participants and practically none of the familiar faces of the EEA roundtables (except one woman) showed up need no explanation: gender is trivial or a private problem.

The themes selected (for or by the resource persons) for such a forum were indeed surprising. Instead of addressing the issue of women and poverty, the issues addressed had no correlation at all and were not burning issues as far as gender is concerned. Then, the meeting was started late by half an hour. At the start of the meeting the chairperson announced that every speaker (there were five of them for a two-hour roundtable!!) will have 15 minutes. W/o Tadellech spoke for more than 45 minutes, the rest then spoke for 15 minutes each. As a result, there was no time for discussion. Let me now comment on a few points raised at the roundtable.

Dr. Dejene Aredo raised the issue of the relationship

between economic theories and gender. Assessing the place the various paradigms occupied on gender is not a new issue. On top of that, one needs not only the mastery of these issues but even has to pay caution as assessment normally involves controversy. I for one know no single major philosophy or paradigm that recognized gender as a development issue and gave it the place it deserves. The only exception is Marxism. However, gender still constitutes one of the weaknesses of Marxism not because Marxism ignored it but could not come to terms with feminism. Feminists themselves call this ambivalence as the "unhappy marriage between Marxism and Feminism". The weakness of Marxism is that it failed to recognize domestic labour as having exchange value, as commodity. Otherwise, Marxism is the only major philosophy of the last century to deal with the problems of women with the discovery of the famous thesis on the intrinsic relationship between and simultaneity of the emergence of the family, private property and the state. Dr. Dejene's categorical statement alleging that "Marxism gave no place to gender analysis" needs correction. He is advised to go through Frederick Engel's "The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State".

Secondly, it is indeed essential to situate the Marxist discourse in a proper context as far as the period of gender as a discourse goes. In the first place, the Suffragette Movement (i.e. the first women's movement that started in England) preceded the Marxist thesis. Secondly, Marxism is a deconstruction of the bourgeois thought that relegated the problems of women to the private sphere. Gender as a discourse is relatively new, not even ten years specially with the waning of the "women and development discourse" to a "gender and development" one. In short, there is the entire historical period of more than a century between the discovery of the theory of surplus value and the gender discourse.

One other point which flabbergasted me that Dr. Dejene raised is when he said that "he hasn't come across any proof that shows the negative impact that Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have on women. Here again we advise Dr. Dejene to contact the World Bank and IMF, or the UNDP offices in Addis or other NGOs dealing with question of poverty (Action Aid for example) and ask for material. The World Bank and IMF must have at least a few copies of the critique of cases of SAPs' disempowering and pauperizing effects on women in so many countries of the South.

The panelist from the Ministry of Agriculture, W/O Bogalech took a position too categorical as regards

ከሚያሳየን የኮምፒውተር ቴክኖሎጂ ሊርቅ የሚችል ዘርፍ አይደለም። በአሃዛዊ መረጃዎችና በሥዕላዊ (graphical) ገለፃዎች የተሞላው ይኸው የትምህርት ዘርፍ ሙያዊ ትንታኔ ካለ ከምጥረውተር እርዳታ እውነታዊ ምሉዕነት የሚጎድለው ዘመናዊ ተረት ተረት ነው ካለንበት የረቀቀ የቴክኖሎጂ ዘመን አኳያ።

ይህንን መሠረታዊ ሀሳብ እንደያዝን በኢ.አ.ዩ የኢኮኖሚክስ ትምህርት ክፍል ወዳለው ነባራዊ ዕውነታ ፈታችንን እንመልስ። ሁኔታው ትንሽ ግራ ያጋባል። በሀሊናችን ግማሽ ክፍለ-ዘመን ወደኋላ እንድናይ ያስገድዳናል። የኢኮኖሚክስ ትምህርት የይዘቱንና ዓይነቱን አድማስ ያሠፋና እያሠፋ ያለ ትምህርት ነው። ይህ የትምህርት ዘርፍ እራሱን ችሎ ለብቻው መሠጠት የተጀመረበት ጊዜ ምናልባትም ከ20ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን መግቢያ ላይ ነበር። ይህንን ስንል እጃማመናንና አመጣጡን ለመተረክ ሳይሆን ለዚህ ዘርፍ በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ መስፋፋት አስተዋፅኦ ያደረጉ የተለያዩ ነገሮች እንዳሉ ሁሉ፣ የኮምፒውተር እገዛና እርዳታም የራሱን ቦታ እንደሚይዝ ለማስታወስ ፈልገን ነው።

ብዙዎች ብዙ ያሉለትን ድህነታችንን ከቴክኖሎጂ ቅርበት ድክመታችንን አስከትሎ ለዚህ ችግር እንደዳረገን እንገምታለን። ይሁንና ዛሬ በአስደናቂ ሁኔታ የቴክኖሎጂ መሻሻል እየታየ በሚገኝበት ዓለም ውስጥ ዘመናትን ባሳለፈ ያረጀና ያፈጀ የሥልጣኔ ደረጃ ላይ ሁኔታ የነገን ትውልድ ማፍራት ካለንበት ወደባለ ድህነት እንጂ ሌላ የት ሊያደርስን ይችላል? ሌሎች ከሚያሳዩት ፈጣን ዕድገት ጋር ከቀሰሙት ትምህርት በኋላ የሚከተለው የሥራው ዓለም የቴክኖሎጂው እንግራዊ ተቋሻሽ በሆነበት ሁኔታ ውስጥ የተማረውን ነገር በቀላሉ ሊተገበር የማይችል የሠው ኃይል በዕድገት ላይ የሚያሳድረውን አሉታዊ ተፅዕኖ መግመት አያዳግትም።

ይህም በኢኮኖሚክስ ትምህርት አካባቢ ያለው ዕውነታ ከዩኒቨርሲቲው አጠቃላይ ገፅታ ጋር መጠነኛ ልዩነት ስለሚታይበት ችግሩን ከትምህርት ክፍሉ ጋር እንድናያይዘው የግድ ይለናል። ምንም እንኳን ዲፓርትመንቱ በሚያደርጋቸው እንቅስቃሴዎችና ባለው አቋም ከሌሎች በላይ ብሎ ቢገኝም ለዚህ ላለንበት አንገብጋቢ የኮምፒውተር ጥያቄ እስከ አሁን መፍትሔ አለማግኘቱ ጣታችንን እንድንቀሰርበት ያደርገናል።

በጉዳዩ ዙሪያ ሊነሱ የሚችሉ ሁለት መሠረታዊ ጥያቄዎች አሉ። እንደኛው የኮርሱ ለትምህርቱ አስፈላጊነት ሲሆን ለመጥቀስ እንደተሞከረው ጥያቄ ውስጥ ሊገባ የማይችል ጠቃሚነቱን ዘርዝረናል። ሁለተኛው ደግሞ ጉዳዩ

የሚመለከታቸው ባለስልጣናት እንደምክንያት የሚጠቅሱት 'የእቅም ጉዳይ' ነው። የዩኒቨርሲቲውን የውስጥ አሠራርና አመራር በወጉ ባናውቀውም ችግሩ ካለው ስፋትና አንገብጋቢነት አንጻር የላጋሽ ድርጅቶችንና ግለሰቦችን ትብብር ቢጠየቅበት በዚህ በኩል ያለውን ችግር ይቀርፈዋል ብለን እንገምታለን።

ያለንበት ዘመን የጊዜንና የሰውጥን ፈጣን ጉዞ በጥንቃቄ ልንቆጣጠር የሚገባበት ወቅት ነው። የ 'globalization' አድማስ በምድር ፀንፎች ዙሪያ እየተንሠራፋ በመጣበት ግዜ የእኛ አንድ ቀን በነበርንበት መርገብ የዕድገት ሕልማችንን ለዓመታት ወደኋላ እንደሚጎትተው ማስተዋል ይኖርብናል።

አንድ ነገር ደግመን ልብ እንበል - ጉዳዩ የትውልድ ብቃት ጥያቄ ነው። አሉ የምንላቸውን ችግሮች እቅም በፈቀደ ሁኔታ አስወግዶ ጥርጊያውን መክፈት ለተማረ የሠው ኃይል ችግራችን እንደ መፍትሔ ማበጀት ነው።

የኛም ምልክታ ያነጣጠረው የኢኮኖሚክስ ተማሪዎች ያለባቸውን የኮምፒውተር ትምህርት ችግር ቀርፎ ብቃትና ውጤት ሊመጣበት በሚችልበት ሁኔታ ላይ ነው። ለዚህም (1) የሚመለከታቸው የዩኒቨርሲቲው፣ የፋክልቲውና የዲፓርትመንቱ አካላት፣ (2) ለሀገር ፍካሬ ተቆርቋሪ የሆኑ ወገኖች፣ (3) የሀገሪቷ ባለሀብቶች ምንም እንኳን ዛሬ ተጠቃሚ ባይሆኑም፣ ነገና ከነገ ወዲያ የጎመራውን ፍሬ ተቋሻሽ ስለሚሆኑ፣ (4) መንግስትና መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ድርጅቶች (5) ዲፓርትመንቱ ከምጥረውተር ማግኘት የሚችልበትን ዘዴዎች ቢቀይስና መረቡን ቢዘረጋጅ (6) እርስዎ መፍትሔ ይሆናሉ ያሉትን ቢጠቁሙ ለዚህ ወሳኝ ጉዳይ ትኩረትና እልባት ይሠጡት ዘንድ ድምፃችንን ከፍ አድርገን እንጠይቃለን። ካለፈው ትምህርት ወስደን ስለነገ ዛሬ እናስብ።

የትምህርት ጥራት አሳድሳ የነገሙን ኩሩና ብቁ ዜጋ በማፍራት ድህነትን እንዋጋ! አበቃን።

የኢኮኖሚክስ ተማሪዎች

ከአዘጋጁ፤

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THE MISSING LINK BETWEEN MICRO AND MACRO LEVEL GENDER DIS-AGGREGATED ECONOMIC DATA IN ECONOMIC POLICY FORMULATION AND PLANNING IN ETHIOPIA

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is prepared for the panel discussion organized by the Ethiopian Economic Association on the economic aspects of Gender and Development. In light of the contribution that the Ethiopian Economic Association is doing now towards providing the public a reliable and meaningful data on the various aspects of the Ethiopian economy, this paper would like to focus on the significance of incorporating gender in its future endeavors.

The major issue to be highlighted here is that the contribution of women to the economy has been underreported. This paper argues that from the gender perspective it is essential to bring together the macro and the micro information for a better understanding of the issue and for planning the country's development. The macro economic data, the way it is done currently, though extremely indispensable for planning the country's development is by and large gender neutral in addition to its inherent problems. However, micro studies based on household analysis reveal a lot of hard facts which were grossly omitted by the nationally aggregated data. There is a lot of effort towards making the macro data to be dis-aggregated by sex. However, the increase in the availability of micro level data

with a rigorous economic analysis is a necessary condition to enable the macro data to be gender-sensitive.

Since 1970, the seminal book of the Danish Economist, Ester Boserup entitled 'Economic Role of A Woman', a lot of effort was made to provide gender dis-aggregated data. Boserup argued that in virtually all the studies the number of women taking part in agricultural work was found to be higher than that of the men. The reasons are, firstly, older men can often stop working by leaving it to their usually younger wives or to their children; secondly, many old women are widows who must fend for themselves; thirdly, more boys than girls go to school and more young men than young women are away from the villages (Boserup 1970).

The limitation of macro studies to show women's participation in agriculture was given as,

- not all types are disaggregated by sex
- they mask regional and sub-regional variation
- they also reflect enumeration problems
- their coverage of unpaid family labor is inadequate

Macro studies tend to under-represent women's contribution which micro studies reveal, and they do so more for women than

for men. Since much of women's work is outside of the cash economy, or is home-based or seasonal, it is unlikely to be enumerated (FAO, 1984).

On the other hand, micro level information is important because:

- it shows how rural men and women divide agricultural and domestic work, including water and fuel collection and the practical implications of these differences for project planning
- they also provide valuable information on women's access to land, credit, extension services, inputs and co-operatives and other types of rural organizations (FAO 1984).

Therefore, it is useful to combine micro and macro data in obtaining fuller and more meaningful guidelines on policies that affect rural women.

Gender differentials in the farm household play a significant role in the economic performance of a given household. A great deal of empirical research has convincingly demonstrated that gender is important in defining the economic role of rural people in Africa (McSweeney 1979). This in turn has resulted in a growing recognition that men and women often have very different rights and responsibilities with respect to resource use and decision

making in the process of agricultural production. In gender analysis, it is recognized that the roles of women and men are largely determined socially rather than biologically (Rosaldo et al., 1974). This recognition has resulted in a number of studies documenting the different roles of women and men in various farm, non-farm, food preparation, household maintenance and child care activities (Whitehead 1985; Bryceson 1995). Furthermore, it has been recognized that both gender and household-based approaches are useful frameworks for targeting policy and interventions in rural areas (Warner et al., 1997).

In placing women within the household context, we must emphasize that although individuals in households have shared interests, they also have separate interests, and may sometimes have opposing interests. The economic convention of assuming a household utility function in which a household acts in its own best interests of the household may not be in the best interest of particular members. It also ignores the question of how decisions are made, and how resources are allocated within households. (Cloud 1985)

Agriculture is still the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people in the developing world. As a result, the food and agricultural sector has gained prominence in both the theory and the practice of development over the last decades.

Overcoming agricultural stagnation and food insecurity hinges on increasing agricultural productivity. In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, where subsistence agriculture predominates, placing strong emphasis on increasing the productivity of labour, land, capital and other resource inputs is of paramount importance. Agricultural productivity could also be determined by gender differences if they (men

and women) use different technologies or different quantities of factors, or there are differences in the quality of these factors (Saito 1994). Ethiopia's economy is agriculture dominated. The agriculture of Ethiopia is characterized by subsistent smallholder mixed farming systems. Cereals, mainly wheat, tef, maize, barley and sorghum contribute about 65% of calories consumed in the country. In the production of these cereals and other agricultural commodities participate all members of a household including women and children.

In a typical household in rural Ethiopia, the average farm size is between 0.7 - 3.5 ha/family depending on land availability and quality, family size and overall population of the area. The average family size is 5-7. Men are usually responsible for preparing land, planting, weeding, harvesting, threshing, storing, herding and marketing (if in large quantity). Women actively participate in cleaning seeds, weeding, harvesting, winnowing, transporting harvested crops and routine marketing of produce. Men make major decisions but women give opinion (Franzel et al., 1992).

THE HETEROGENEITY OF RURAL WOMEN

According to the economic policy of Ethiopia, Agriculture Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI), agriculture is the most important sector.

The total Population of Ethiopia as of July 1, 2000 is 63,494,702. Out of which 54,021,731 belong to the rural area where almost 50% of them, 26,876,699 are women. About 20% of the rural landowners are households headed by women (*de-jure FHH*) (CSA).

A *De jure* female-headed household is a household where the land is owned and managed by a woman, such as in families headed by widows or by single or divorced women.

A *De facto* female-headed household is a household where a woman is responsible for all aspects of managing the household and the farm due to the absence of a husband.

The wives in male-headed households do participate in every agricultural activity which is necessary to consider for any intervention as it interferes with their other activities, reproductive and community.

So, according to the CSA, the *de jure* ones are about 20-25 % of the landowners of Ethiopia. Although there is no official figure given for the *de facto* ones (this is common in a polygamous area), one can use a very conservative estimate to make it around 10-15%. The major implication is that about 35-40% of the land in Ethiopia is mainly managed by women farmers. Moreover, the wives in the male-headed households do participate in every agricultural activity.

On the average 10-15 % of female-headed households (*dejure*) are found in each peasant association. About 70% of these *de-jure* ones in Ethiopia are involved in mixed farming where crop production is the major activity and the livestock playing a complementary role. On the other hand, about 25% of them are involved with crop production only while 5% of them are doing animal husbandry. Each of the three sub-categories require a special attention as the constraints are also different. The *de-jure* female-headed households, being owners of 25% of agricultural land in Ethiopia and the *de-facto* female-headed households managing 10-15% of the cultivated land, and all the wives in the male-headed households contributing to the agricultural activity have a great stake in the agricultural production in the country. That is why it is said that 50-60% of the agricultural activity is done by women.

Can we really afford to ignore the 35-40% of the actual farm manag-

ers in the country and think that we can bring a meaningful improvement in the agricultural sector of this country?

The general understanding to date is that we should consider it. In fact, it is here where the missing link comes. It is essential that all research outputs by all institutions concerned with social and economic development be gender dis-aggregated.

LACK OF GENDER DIS-AGGREGATED QUANTITATIVE BASELINE DATA

Due to the enumeration problems, the above outlined heterogeneity of rural women who are farmers has not been properly captured in the available data and as a result not been integrated in all efforts to increase agricultural production and productivity in Ethiopia.

This calls for the necessity for a gender dis-aggregated data. Except for some purposes, conventional economists have not bothered much to dis-aggregate their economic data by gender. This had undoubtedly made them neutral to the socio-economic situation of rural women making it male-biased not addressing the gender differences.

HOW WAS THE ROLE OF ECONOMISTS IN ETHIOPIA SO FAR?

The research outputs, namely the proceedings, the journals and the other published information available, clearly reveal that the gender issue was treated marginally and mostly in a descriptive way. It was not integrated in the scientific data collection and analysis that most economists undertake on various issues of agricultural development in particular. It is needless to mention the importance of a detailed quantitative data for proper planning and prediction purposes.

poses.

One can see two major bottlenecks as to why economists in Ethiopia have not ventured to mainstream or integrate the gender issue in their main research undertakings?

1. Part of the problem has to do with methodological issues

A. There prevails a view that gender cannot be entertained within the existing conventional models used for economic analysis.

This is much of the lack of proper understanding and experience so that we resort to the usual way of doing things than carefully thinking on how to accommodate it. Some may think that it would be captured by what is being done now, that is, giving every farmer equal chance by using random sampling. And even by random, if there were women (obviously very few), it is not presented in a dis-aggregated way. The randomness has its own merit but cannot take care of the differences among farmers specially based on gender. Thus, the sampling has to specifically consider female-headed households (*de-jure* and *de-facto* as two categories) as distinct from the male ones as their resources and constraints are different.

There are still important gaps in most of the reports that considered gender, though, in a marginal way, there is no clear distinction between *de-jure* and *de-facto* female-headed households. Moreover, the role of females in male-headed households is not clearly stated.

Nevertheless, the micro data that are very relevant and useful nullify most of the fears and prejudices that are reflected above. There are studies done in Ethiopia to show that the inter-household differences can be analyzed using the conventional models that economists are using (ex. Logit model for adoption differences and the Cobb-

Douglas model for differences in productivity between male and female farmers). One can cite the following case to illustrate. The evidence from a survey of male and female (*de-jure*) farmers undertaken in 1996/97 in the central highlands of Ethiopia showed that the adoption of improved wheat varieties was low. However, the proportion of male-headed households (30%) that adopted improved wheat varieties was significantly higher than female-headed (*de-jure*) households (14%). In male-headed households, farm size and extension contact, significantly influenced the adoption of improved wheat varieties. In female-headed households, farm size and ownership of a radio had positive and significant effects on the probability of adopting improved wheat varieties. The multiple regression analysis also revealed that the elasticities of the factors influencing the gross value of output per hectare like fertilizer, farm size, hired labor and livestock were found to be different for male-headed and female-headed households (Addis, et al., 1999). This clearly shows that the resource and the constraints of male and female farmers are different calling for different interventions in any effort to increase agricultural production and productivity.

On the other hand the intra-household analysis was also not given adequate attention in their day to day research endeavors. This can show, among others, the labor input of each member of the household in the agricultural activity and which again would make the intervention to increase production and productivity more practical.

B. It is still not uncommon to find some researchers thinking that gender is just one of those donor-driven issues and would soon fade away. So why should one bother about it?

This impression is caused largely by lack of proper orientation and

appreciation of the issue at best and/or a simple male-bias at worst. However, except for the practical integration of the gender issue into the mainstream, there existed ample evidence and literature to clear one's doubt that it is not just a one time fad but an objective issue that requires our attention.

2. Leaving the issue of gender dis-aggregated data to the so called "gender specialists".

Given its critical importance, gender as a variable need to be integrated in every disciplinary or inter-disciplinary research undertaken to bring a change to the socio-economic development of the country. Gender is a cross-cutting issue that cannot be limited to a single discipline or gender specialists. Expecting the gender specialists to be versed in all disciplines is simply impractical. Instead, the gender specialists might help the understanding of some basic gender issues for those researchers in various disciplines but cannot replace them to do gender disaggregated data for every discipline. Even within a discipline, everybody has different specialization that enables someone to be better versed as compared to others and what matters is to bring in the gender variable in an area where one is versed and is making an effort to improve the life of the people.

WHAT SHOULD ECONOMISTS DO IN THE FUTURE?

Since economic data are key to policy makers, they should be reminded that it is possible to show scientifically using a quantitative data that is statistically rigorous and which can be complemented with a qualitative data to assist the formulation and implementation of a meaningful gender-sensitive policy. As long as economists along with others are doing their best to solve the socio-economic problems of this

country, and knowing agriculture to be a priority, then they cannot afford to ignore the 40% of the land managers of Ethiopia (25% of *de-jure* female-headed and 15% of *de facto* female-headed) and all the wives of the male-headed households that require a special consideration for increasing agricultural production and productivity in the country rather than resorting to the age-old blanket recommendation, that failed to stand the test of time, to all farmers alike. Therefore, our research endeavors to contribute better for an informed policy decision need to make their recommendations by seriously considering these heterogeneity of the rural women who have a great stake to increase agricultural production and productivity in Ethiopia. ❖

Most of the available information is much of descriptive type. We should not expect to influence the policy without having a highly quantitative data that are statistically rigorous and complemented with qualitative data that are scientifically accepted by taking into account the heterogeneity of rural women so that the recommendation domain can be either for the *de-jure* female-headed ones or the *de-facto* female-headed ones or the wives in male-headed ones. The way economists are reporting and arguing at present is not adequately enough gender-sensitive to influence the policy of agricultural development.

CEDAW (Conventions on the Eliminations of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) was already ratified by the Government of Ethiopia on 31 May 1987 (UN, 1987). Article 14 of which refers to specifically the Rural Women as given below:

1. States, Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the econ-

omy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of this Convention to women in rural areas.

2. States, Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:

(Here the list goes from 2a-2h but only a, d, and g are mentioned here)

a. To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;

d. To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, *inter alia*, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;

g. To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;

Rural women, as heterogeneous as they are, deserve a special consideration as clearly stated in the above article of the UN. And the intervention necessitates the identification of recommendation domains to avoid the commonly blanket ones for all farmers across to boost agricultural production and productivity thereby changing their life for the better. The prerequisite, however, is to generate the gender disaggregated data.

Statistical information is vital to analyze women's position and constraints, so as to formulate right policies and programmes. As Dey indicated, few national statistics provide such coverage.

Its absence seriously restricts the ability of planners to define and qualify adequately women's constraints and potential in order to formulate appropriate policies and programmes. Furthermore, the absence of the necessary data permits certain mistaken stereotypes to perpetuate (Dey 1984).

Economists are good at disaggregating data by agro-ecology, small, medium vs large-sized farms, marginal lands vs cultivated, etc., but not male and female farmers! This is indeed a paradox, because after all, is it not for the good of rural men and women, in particular, and all the men and women of the country, in general, that all the effort is

being exerted? Since efficiency and equity are compatible, an economist need to ask himself/herself with a concern to consider gender in any quantitative and qualitative data generation and analysis. This calls for a change in their tradition of thinking in terms of gender and rising above the challenge.

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THE GENDER DIMENSION OF ECONOMIC THEORY AND EVIDENCE FROM ETHIOPIA: AN OUTLINE

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The purpose of this brief paper is to outline the gender dimension of economic theory and provide a cursory review of selected evidence from Ethiopia with a view to instigating further debate and research on a topic that has received limited attention from fellow economists.

Mainstream economic theory has traditionally been content to treat the household as a single unit facing the same utility function. This sort of thinking has strong influence on planners and policy analysts, who often assume that there is harmony within the household. However, there is the counter argument that conflict may exist within the household. For example, Sen (1987) developed the "co-operative conflict" model of the household. It has been argued that this model applies not only to developing countries, but also to developed countries (Wilson 1991).

Domestic labour had never been subjected to economic analysis until the 1960s when G. Becker (1965) formulated new home economics. The invisibility of women's labour in home production and reproduction emanates from the fact that the conventional economists classify time into two distinct categories, i.e. work time (income-generation activities) and leisure time. The latter includes housework and childcare.

According to the new home eco-

nomics, the household is a production unit which converts purchased goods and services, as well as domestic resources, into a set of final use values yielding utility in consumption. Thus, utility is derived not from teff flour but from the enjera made from this grain. Households, women in particular, produce use values (e.g. enjera, wot, clean cloth, well-fed and well-cared children) using two inputs, namely purchased goods (x-goods) like teff, soap, salt, broom, cooking oil, etc. The output of home production is known as Z-goods.

The two outstanding contributions of the new home economics are that: (1) domestic work contributes to the welfare of households and of society and (2) women's (and children's) time in home production can be valued.

The new home economics model can be used to explore the impact of many different changes in exogenous variables confronting the household. For example, an increase in market wage rates may raise the opportunity costs of home production activities and thus induce women to participate in the labour force. An increase in per capita income may induce households to reduce the volume and range of time-intensive Z-goods (e.g. home-made tela) and switch to money-intensive goods (e.g. soft drinks). This theory can also explain why the fertility rate has declined in rich countries (not

that childcare is highly time-intensive).

However, the new home economics is not capable of fully explaining gender relations in economic activities. (Gardliner 1997:50). This is mainly because of its assumptions, which are to some extent unrealistic. The theory assumes a single utility function and thus it rules out of its terms of reference social relations of power, obligation, conflict, or negotiation between males and females. Moreover, in this theory, the division of labour between men and women is explained by static comparative advantage in the maximization of the family welfare. That this is not the case in the Ethiopian context is explained in (Dejene 1995). One feminist economist concluded that the new home economics "merely articulates and rationalizes the vicious circle within which women find themselves" (Gardliner 1997: 50).

As to Marxist economics, one can argue that it does not fully explain the gender dimension of economic activities. Marxism focuses almost exclusively on the class dimension of economic activities rather than on gender perspectives. The theory of value cannot be applied to the household economy, which is distinct from the market economy (where the economic surplus is expropriated under pressure). Marxism consistently provides that socialization of labour (including domestic labour) would become

increasingly important as capitalism develops over time. Accordingly, women are eventually drawn out of home into social production and services previously provided in the home will be provided outside home. These developments would be accompanied by growing class consciousness among men and women.

However, Marxism has contributed a great deal to the domestic labour debate of the 1970s. The focus of this debate was the nature of the relationship between domestic labour and capital accumulation. Much of the conceptual framework of the debate was drawn from the Marxist literature. Thus, concepts like patriarchy¹ the social relations of production and reproduction were conspicuous in the debate. In short, in the 1970s Marxist value theory was stretched new ways to explain gender relations (Gardliner 1997).

Feminist theory dominates the literature on gender relations (e.g. see Imam et al., 1997). The basic premise of the feminist theory is that women's disadvantaged position in the labour market is caused by, and is a reflection of, women's subordinate position in society and the family.

Coming to the literature on gender relations² in Ethiopia, I am tempted to draw the following hypotheses:

- The literature is dominated by non-economists coming from different disciplines.
- Most studies tend to exaggerate

inequality between men and women out of proportion.

- Many studies lack balance and objectivity in their approaches to gender analysis.
- Most studies take it for granted that women are homogenous with respect to their economic and social positions.
- Many studies provide stereotypes drawn from the conditions of the rest of Sub-Saharan African Countries.
- Few studies undertake dynamic analysis of gender relations in Ethiopia.
- Few studies have undertaken comparative analysis of the positions of women, men, and children in society and the economy.
- Few studies provide plausible explanation of existing gender relations in Ethiopia.

Some of these hypotheses can be partly reinforced by the following selected findings drawn from studies undertaken by few economists interested in the area (Dejene 1994; 1995; 1999; Addis 1999):

It is extremely difficult to generalize about gender and development in Ethiopia. Gender roles and constraints depend on the type of economic activities (e.g. the type of farming systems), cultural and historical background, availability of infrastructure, etc. We should not forget that Ethiopia is a land of immense contrasts and great diversity.

Women are by and large heterogeneous. For example, in rural areas, we have to make a distinction between female-headed households and male-headed households. The former account for as much one-quarter of total farm households. Female-headed and male-headed farm households play different roles in society, have different needs, and face different constraints in accessing resources and adopting new technologies. I would like to note here that a study in Kenya suggested that female-headed households were half as likely as male-headed house-

holds to adopt a cash crop (see Appleton 1991:20). Similarly, it is possible and necessary to make a distinction between women belonging to the elite and others.

The stereotype about the gender division of labour in rural areas of Ethiopia should be discarded. There are areas where men dominate crop cultivation (e.g. the cereal growing areas of Central and Northern Highlands) and areas where women dominate crop production (e.g. the onset growing areas of the South). The economic activity rate in rural area is 84.4% for men as against 51.7% for women (see CSA's Labour Force Survey). Unlike in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, there is no strong evidence supporting the assertion that women dominate the production of subsistence crops whereas men dominate the production of cash crops. The gender division of labour in rural Ethiopia is likely task-specific (e.g. plowing is the domain of men) rather than crop-specific.

On the other hand, it can be argued that, in general, women in Highland Ethiopia are more overburdened with housework than their counterparts in most of other Sub-Saharan African countries. This is perhaps because of the possibility that home production activities (Z-goods production) are highly sophisticated (by the standards of pre-industrial societies) and time-consuming.

Rural women, in particular those in the South, are more active than men in manufacturing and petty trade. According to CSA's Labour Force Surveys, out of 100 persons engaged in trade 88 are women. Similarly, out of 100 persons engaged in manufacturing 83 are women.

Rural women tend to have considerable decision-making power with respect to low value items (e.g. marketing of vegetables and chicken) and to crops grown within the homestead. Men tend to dominate decisions regarding the

¹ Insofar as gender analysis is concerned, the greatest value of patriarchy (rule by fathers) was making visible the existence of the material and social relationship and institutional underpinnings of men's power over women (Gardiner 1997:123).

² By gender relations of economic activities we mean socio-economic relations between females and males that are characterized often by differential assignment of labour tasks, control over decision-making, and differential access to and control over the allocation of resources, including land and income (Davison 1988:3).

marketing and use of high value items field crops, and large livestock.

The demand for child labour is extremely high. Activities like animal care and light tasks fall within the domain of children. There is a strong trade-off between the demand for child labour for farm work (and home production) and schooling.

Noticeable changes take over time regarding the role of women in society and in economic activities. For example, there are indications suggesting an increase in the relative size of female-headed households in recent years. There is also anecdotal evidence suggesting increased late marriage in

recent years.

Further, research is required to address existing gap in the literature on gender and development in Ethiopia. For example, the gender dimension of Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) is an area that is little researched. Gender skewness in economic activities and immobility are distinct reasons for there to be a gender dimension to SAP (Appleton 1991:18). The potential of gender dimensions of SAP are discussed and evidence examined in Haddad et al. (1995).

A number of gender-sensitive projects and programmes have been implemented in Ethiopia since the 1980s. For example, women-targeted micro finance institutions have mushroomed

both in urban and rural areas. There is a need to investigate the extent to which these programmes have impacted the economic status of poor women.

Other agenda for further research includes i) the valuation of domestic labour; ii) investigation of impact of extension policy on female-headed households; iii) the trickle-down effects of the empowerment of women elites (Do poor women actually benefit from a policy that encourages the few educated women to assume high managerial and administrative posts?); iv) the extent to which occupational segregation and wage discrimination exist in Ethiopia; and v) intra-household issues.

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THE OVERALL PICTURE OF CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA

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INTRODUCTION

The right to work as an inalienable right of human beings is clearly ratified on the international, regional and national legal instruments. But the reality speaks otherwise when one judges its grassroots application.

If we look at the situation in terms of women and their overall involvement it is even worse, especially in the developing countries where institutions, legalities and accountability are at their infant stage. Having enough room for maneuvering and domination, one can imagine how much the situation will be frustrating. The plight of domestic workers is even worse than public or private sector women employees where they are considered as the private property of the employers.

The worsening situation of a woman in the developing countries, and Ethiopia in particular, will be dealt not by a piecemeal effort but by a comprehensive strategy having an indigenous value designed to meet the objective needs and which leads to the overall development of the nation.

1. THE OVERALL PICTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND THE DEGREE OF WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA

The employment capacity of a nation depends on the overall development of the social, political, and economic sectors. In the case of Ethiopia, where the Economic de-

velopment is at its lowest level, the employment capacity is highly limited, thus leaving aside the majority of the population from enjoying their country's wealth and contributing their share in the overall advancement of the nation.

One can cite various reasons for the above situations. To mention some of the major components:-

The Governments which come to power successively gave priority to the status quo preservation instead of serving the nation. As a result, the policies formulated as an instrument to address the economic, political and social situations in most of the cases neglect the objective reality and the national interest.

The failure to address the objective situation in the political, economic and social policies has resulted basically in suppression and use of power instead of peaceful and diplomatic solution as a means of resolving national as well as regional crises. This in turn has resulted in a very high economic and social crisis, which resulted in high disparity in the distribution of wealth and living standards leaving the majority of the citizens to an imaginable degree of impoverishment. The majority are denied their inalienable right to work and fulfill their duties.

The Civil servants are denied good working conditions and fair payments that go parallel with the ever-increasing living standards. In addition, the burden to provide

the unemployed majority (who are immediate families) with the basic necessity of living falls on the shoulder of the few employed, thus making the difference between the two very slim.

The situation is almost similar in the rural areas where the farmers are forced to feed 6-7 people in almost every family with a small plot of land and subsistence farming.

The investors which were supposed to help development endeavors in a country may end up in hurting the economy as a result of inappropriate policy and lack of proper control. The agreement reached with the investors is always based on the short-term advantages rather than long-term benefits.

As it is briefly elaborated in the above statements, the overall development and the absorbing capacity of our economy is very weak. One can, therefore, draw a very clear sketch on the situation of women in Ethiopia. They are highly subjugated and are the primary target of the overall socio-economic illness.

1.1. The Civil Service Figures

1.1.1. UNDP, December 1998 Report

The following development indicators taken from the UNDP Development Report of December 1998 will highly illustrate the place of

women.

INDICATORS	VALUE	YEAR
Gender related development index		1994
Life expectancy (years)	50.7	1994
Male	49.8	1994
Female	51.8	1994
Adult literacy rate	23.4	1994
Male	29.8	1994
Female	16.9	1994
Combined 1st, 2nd, and 3rd level gross enrolment ratio	20.5	1994
Male	23.3	1994
Female	17.7	1994
Earned Income share		
Male	65.8	1994
Female	34.1	1994
Gender development index	0.230	1994

INDICATORS	VALUE	YEAR
Gender empowerment measure		
(% women) seats held in parliament	2.40	1994
Administrators and managers	0.03	1994
Professional and technical workers	0.30	1994
Earned Income share	25.0	1994
Gender empowerment measure	0.0360	1994

Source: UNDP Human Resource Development, 1998.

INDICATORS	VALUE	YEAR
Women and Capabilities		
Female net enrolment (%)		
Primary	11.5	1994
Secondary	5.2	1994
Female tertiary students (% of total)	13.0	1994/95
Female life expectancy	52.92	1995
Total fertility rate	6.5	1995
Maternal mortality rate (Per 100,000 live births)	700.0	1994

INDICATORS	VALUE	YEAR
Employment		
Labour force (as % of population)	52.7	1994
Women's share of labour force	41.8	1984
	43.6	1994
Labour force in agriculture (%)	88.6	1984
	89.2	1994
Labour force in industry (%)	2.0	1984
	2.4	1994
Labour force in services	9.0	1984
	7.7	1994

1.1.2. The Federal Civil Service Commission Report

The Federal Civil Service Commission in its August 1998 publication of figures made a report on the position of women workers in the civil service. According to the presented figure:-

The number of civil servants in the country is 303,590. Of these 72% are males and 28% are females.

In the regions, the total number of civil servants is 259,838 where 73.41% are males and 26.59% are females.

Hence, 85.8% of the employment is in the regions. When we take the totality of women in the civil service, 98.21% are working in the lower positions. Only 1.79% of the women work in the professional science positions.

At the BA/BSc level, out of 5151 employees only 609 (11.8%) are women. The number and percentage of women employment gets lower as the level of education increases beyond the BA/BSc level.

The number of female employees in the clerical and fiscal service is double than that of male employees. These are called the women's services. Book-keeping, secretarial science and home science are the domain of women.

There were situations in the past when women were rejected for some key positions after passing examinations because these positions were traditionally assumed "only" for men.¹

1.2. Legal Protection

1.2.1. Labour Law

The civil servants in Ethiopia are protected by various national as well as international laws to which Ethiopia acceded and is clearly stated in the Labour Proclamation of 1993:-

This proclamation shall be applicable to employment relations based on contract of employment that exists between a worker and an employer.²

¹ See MERIT Vol. 3 No 4 August 1998 (Federal Civil Service quarterly)

² Proclamation 42/93 Article 3(1)

But this proclamation excludes domestic workers, which in most of the cases are women, and occupies a large number in the employment distribution. Since a domestic worker is definitely a worker and there is at least a verbal contract between the employer and the worker, one would think this provision would apply. But there are saving clauses under article 3(2)d which states "contract of personal service for non-profit-making purposes are not covered by this proclamation. Art 3(3)(C) is even more specific.

The Council of Ministers shall issue regulations governing conditions of work applicable to personal service ሃይለማርያም

Accordingly, domestic servants are not covered by the labour law of the country. To date, no law on personal service is promulgated. But the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs had conducted studies on domestic workers and submitted a draft law to the Council of Ministers. The group has encountered difficulties to draft the law because it is not possible to cover all aspects, like organizing domestic workers and

where they should go to report grievances. This is a tragedy for the army of child and adult domestic workers whose plight is very demeaning.

Sometimes Proclamation 104/98 (Private Employment Agency Proclamation) and Proclamation 42/93 with which disputes from Proclamation 104/94 are governed are mentioned as exceptional to treat the cases. But still it doesn't seem to be very specific to address the issue of domestic workers serving in the country.

1.2.2. Civil Code of 1960

The Civil code specifically provides for "domestic servants living in":

Where the employee lives with the employer's family, the latter shall, in regard to living quarters, food, times of work and rest, take all responsible steps to safeguard the health and moral well-being of the employee.

All the articles in this section provide for domestic servants living in the employer's house, hence is it possible to treat domestic servants living out under the general contract of workers where workers are entitled to sick leave, public holiday leave, compensations at the termination of contract, annual leave and other benefits under articles 2566, 2573, 2580 and others? If so none of the provisions has ever been applied as far as we can determine. The domestic servants living out never tried to resort to them and the employers never offered to extend any of the benefits.

As for domestic workers living in the employer's house, the law enforces the employer to take care of the health and moral well-being of the worker. But the articles do not mention anything about benefits and protection from abuse. Article 2602(1) puts obligation on the employer while Article 2602(3), articles 2603(1) and (2) and Article 2604 (2) highly limited the obliga-

tion.

Very few employees take their domestic workers to hospital. When they do, it is not because of the law but of human compassion. The majority of employers send their sick workers away.

As it is well-elaborated in the above statements, the civil servant law is not only insufficient but also its execution is very much limited and highly subjective.

2. WORKING WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA-OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Development has to be total in nature; it must include the political, economic, cultural and social dimensions of a human being. Hence, the goal of women's empowerment is directly related to the goal of social, economic and political development.

Women comprise half the world population but only few women are employed in the formal sector; and those employed only trickle to decision-making posts. They are the staunch backbones of any rural economy in Africa, Latin America and Asia. They have done well in the informal sector. They undertake tasks that defy explanation for long hours of the day. They raise children; take care of households and animals. Then, why the constraints in employment; promotion and decision-making posts? There are (at least a large portion of them) various reasons for these constraints and the major ones will be discussed below.

2.1. Education

Female education is the most important investment venture that a country can make. On the one hand, educating girls not only helps them alone but the society with which they interact actively also. It has the beneficial effect of minimizing problems created as a result of lack of education.

Schooling is a necessity for everyone. Today the high degree of idleness among the youth is due to lack of schooling or/and a high dropout rate. This in turn has led to widespread juvenile delinquency, all forms of crime, early sexual activity and high HIV/AIDS risks.

The reason for low enrolment and high rate of dropouts of girls in African countries and Ethiopia could be cited as follows:

Low Income: People having a very limited financial income will be forced to make choice with what they have when parents cannot send all their children to school, they send the boys because the boy is perceived to be the caretaker and breadwinner. Girls remain at home to take care of the house or be sent out to work to supplement the family income. Sometimes the one who has got the chance will be forced to leave because of additional financial constraints.

Early Marriage: Girls are not sent to school so as to get married early because parents want to make economic alliances with other families; or want to see grandchildren before dying or they are afraid of disgrace if the girl gets pregnant before marriage, if allowed to grow older at her home.

Harassment: Sexual or otherwise from boy students and teachers are very serious issues. Teachers harass girls for poor performance without trying to find out their causes. Girls prefer to leave the school rather than face the continuous degradation.

In most of the cases, schools are very far away from home and parents are reluctant to send girls unaccompanied for fear of rape, abduction or other harm. Adolescent pregnancy has also caused a high number of dropouts for girls.

Heavy domestic work: Girls are expected to help at home in domestic chores. They have no time

to study and show poor performance in school leading to dropping out.

When girls stay at schools passing all these obstacles, a certain class of subjects are reserved for them; like nursing, secretarial streams and home economics. They are highly discouraged to attend schools which are out of this domain.

If a girl child is not enrolled in school or drop out without pursuing her education for any reason, do not expect to find grown women in decision-making posts.

2.2. Social, Cultural and Psychological factors

In most of the cases the society and parents as well consider women to be mothers and home caretakers. They are also shaped in such a manner, which goes parallel with their social values, which had a great influence on their psychological make-up. They usually tend to give high emphasis on their physical appearance and win somebody who would be of great value to them economically instead of winning their own bread. Sometimes, even in some relatively well-to-do families, where the girls get equal chance with their brothers, they tend to loose interest to go further in their education as a result of their psychological inclination.

The rest who overcome all these obstacles and get the slim chance to build up their career still face a lot of problems especially in countries like Ethiopia where personalities prevail instead of institutional strength.

As a result, some resign; some are fired others are made to resign or just walk away; others stay on and the effect of all the burdens show on their health and overall well being.³

2.3. Multiple Role

Women are expected to balance their various roles and do well in all of them. They have reproductive roles, productive roles and community roles.

They give birth to children and take care of all their needs. Their spouses do not usually help by sharing responsibility for children. Even if a woman is working in an office or holding a post that requires extra hours, she is expected to come home and do domestic duties. She at least has to supervise everything and be good at it too.

Then she has a whole lot of community duties like funerals, births and others. They are expected to attend and give plenty of time regularly. Then there is the official job with all its pressures and deadlines. There is usually conflict of time for a woman worker, which requires a delicate balance between the career, children upgrading and home making.

2.4. Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is a major factor that constrains women employment, promotion and development.

Sexual harassment is defined as unsolicited non-reciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sexual role over her function as a worker.

There are two types of sexual harassment: -

Sexual compliance is proposed or exchanged for employment or educational benefit.

Hostile environment prevails where the sexual conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with the victim's work or academic performance or creating and intimidating hostile or offensive environment for the victim.

Discrimination on the basis of sex in the workplace as in every sphere of life is prohibited by CEDAW and a host of other international treaties including the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (ICESR) and several ILO recommendations to which Ethiopia has acceded, not to mention the constitution of the country.

Sexual harassment has become so fine-tuned that sometimes it is not easily perceived. Even in countries where there are adequate legislations and executive bodies, it still occurs and affects women negatively.

Many countries have specific legislations dealing with sexual harassment; so many others deal with it indirectly; still others are silent about it. Hence sexual harassment at work is usually taken for granted as a natural part of working life.⁴

3. WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ACTIVITIES OF BUSINESS: CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

It seems that several women are involved currently in the business activities. Even though it is very insignificant when compared with the involvement of men there is still some light, which needs to be encouraged.

But, if we assess the situation deeply and look at the sectoral preference, their activities seem to lack basic components which need to be addressed before one ventures into action and/or just steps in business.

The major constraints could be cited: -

Business Plan: Most of them involved or made preference on their areas of involvement not as a result of thorough planning and

³ Researches done in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Uganda, Cameroon, South Africa and Ghana led to this summary.

⁴ See Netsanet Kebede Tsegaye's senior essay at the Faculty of law, A.A.U. May 1999

analyses but because it is either favorable and having more feminine inclination or some friends, or relatives are involved or choose it.

Business Management and Evaluation: In most of the cases, the business is highly subsidized by the husband or immediate families and does not function on the basis of cost-benefit analysis.

It is rather a parasite organ, which drains out the income of the family instead of being profitable and self-sufficient. It is usually used as a recreation facility for the wife and the children.

Financial Constraints: Most of them are dependent on their husbands or some immediate families as their financial source. Some have serious financial constraints others still lack the knowledge to utilize the resources at hand. This could be material, financial or human.

Business Network: Relations with other businesses, especially related ones, is very low hence making the exposure, access to information and know-how very limited.

Project Analysis: The problems are interrelated with the above facts. Most of the women either do not have the know-how to do the analysis or they do not want to contact organizations which give counseling. This may be caused either because they underestimate the value or are reluctant/afraid of

facing the reality and prefer to keep quiet instead of enquiring.

This does not only affect the women involved and their immediate families but has a far-reaching consequence on the economy (spending the scarce hard currency on something not very crucial) and the society. Especially those business endeavors which are highly expanding like video shop, bar and restaurants highly affect the psychological make-up of the society and the youngsters at large.

In a nutshell, the problem of women entrepreneurs is part and parcel of the overall situation of the country and that of women in particular. Hence the solution will also be with the overall measures taken to develop the political, social and economic situation.

CONCLUSION

The problem of developing countries in Africa and the world at large is caused basically as a result of priority allocations and misuse of the national wealth. It would be naive to expect accountability and democratic rule from most of the governments which come to power not as a result of democratic election but of gorilla fighting/coup'd'etat or any similar form.

Therefore, the resources which were expected to be tapped to the advancement of the nation will be

spent to the personal benefit of the ruling classes and quite few officials associated with them. This has caused all sorts of imbalances in the life of the developing nations where the majority of the population are deprived of their right and duties of citizenship.

Hence, the emancipation of women, which is high on the agenda of the developed nations, would not be surprising if it is a huge problem in the developing countries. The solution is crystal clear i.e. the overall development of the nation which requires the solidarity of the governments, their citizens and the international community at large.

The governments could not be able to neglect this fact because it would come against their existence. The citizens unless they are willing to work together with their governments and the international community their plight will continue. The International community also must resort to work hand in hand with the developing countries in their development endeavors because they will always be forced and called upon to address the problems, which arise as a result of the social and economic illness. ■



MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

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1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

As most development policies have moved towards the integration approach so does the terminology used in relation to women's and gender issues have moved from Women to Gender reflecting the gradual conceptual shift from person women to focus on Gender. Thus, gender and development terminology recognizes that the status of women cannot be addressed as a separate issue. It requires to integrate women's needs, both practical and strategic, in all development programmes at all levels.

1.1. Gender

It refers to a system of roles and relationships between women and men that are determined by the social, political and economic concept. It is an analytical term which refers to the socially determined differences between women and men as opposed to sex, which is biologically determined. Traditionally, society assumes that there are observable differences between the sexes but it is known that personality, behaviour and abilities are the result of differential socialization processes.

According to Naila Kabbar, a renowned gender analyst, gender is

that people are born female or male but learn to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. They are taught what the appropriate behavior and attitudes, roles and activities are for them and how they should relate to other people. This learned behavior makes up gender identity and determines gender roles. Sexual characteristics are determined in the women at the moment of conception.

1.2. Gender Role

It refers to determined patterns of behaviour in terms of rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities assigned to females and males in a given society. It differs from one society to another, from place to place and over time.

1.3 Gender Relations

This refers to the socially-constituted relation between women and men who are shaped and sectioned by the norms and values held by members of a given community.

Gender does not address people but issues in development concern which includes division of labour, inequality in access to resources inputs and benefits.

Gender issues are concerned with inequality between women and men and with the action to be taken to correct that imbalance. As gender identifies the imbalance

in society, it is an important tool for planning the gender analysis of who does what or who controls what. It can assist planners in closing the gender gap since in planning the issue at stake is that of power relations or power-sharing.

1.4. Gender Gap/disparity

It is a measure of gender inequality in any socio-economic indicator, e.g. employment, education, health, ownership of property, income, gender gaps result from inequality in decision-making which leads to inequality to access to resources and by the differential treatment given to women and girls as compared to that given to men and boys.

Systematic gender discrimination exists where it is part of the social system and runs through all aspects of life and at different levels such as:

- At Family and household level
- Community level
- Institutional level

1.5. Gender Awareness

It means looking at women and men and understanding their common and specific needs and understands that women have needs, desires aspirations and vision distinct from men. This is a factor which has been invisible in most economic development planning and which resulted in

development programmes failing to address women's specific needs to improve their lives.

1.6. Gender Sensitivity

This means to be aware of or responsive to issues of social relations between women and men within a specific community or institution. It considers the power relations between men and women, the division of labour, the needs and wants, the constraints and opportunities.

1.7. Gender Analysis

It is the systematic examination of the roles, relations and process focussing on the imbalance of power, wealth, workload opportunities and constraints as experienced by women and men in a given community. Gender analysis looks at how programmes and policies have different impact on women and men.

Gender Analysis looks in to the following major areas of gender.

- The development context or pattern in an area, answering the questions what is getting better and what is getting worse.
- Women's and men's activities and roles answering who does what? (activity profile, gender division of labour).
- Women's and men's access to and control over resources answering the question who has what? Who needs what? etc.
- Action needed answering the question what should be done to close the gaps between what women and men need. The constraints and opportunities faced and are available for women and men.

2. WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND THEIR ACCESS AND CONTROL OVER MAJOR RESOURCES

Ethiopian women make their contribution to family and community well-being with unequal accesses

and control over essential resources (including time). They have limited bargaining power to increase their control over resources both within their families and within their community.

To expand their economic activities and earn more to support their families, women need access to more resource. Women usually have less income than men and it is harder for them to have enough for a bigger and more profitable investment. Even when credit is available, access requires collateral either as fixed asset or land. Most women have less control over marketable assets and thus may lack the opportunity to build independent business or investment.

Women's economic empowerment enhances their control over their decision-making capabilities and thus results in change of society's perception of women so that they are able to exercise more control over their lives, improving their status, widens their experience, skills and exposure to the world outside their home.

The reasons assumed to be responsible for lower economic status of women in Ethiopia.

Uneven distribution of assets.
Under employment and unemployment
Discriminatory costumes and practices preventing women from having equal access and control over major productive resource.
Their lack of access to Business information and entrepreneurial skill.

When we assess the economic activities of Ethiopian women in a community, the following issues have to be considered.

What activities are women's responsibilities?
What are the obstacles preventing women from seeking income-generating activities?
Have measures been taken to incorporate into development programmes to support women's economic activities?

What strategies have been taken to create income-generating activities for women?

Has enough attention been made to already existing skills before introducing new economic activities?

Has training been offered to improve the indigenous skills and knowledge system of women?

Do women have child care facilities to look after their children while working to improve their income?

Have support and strategies been developed to find solutions to resistance from family or community members?

There are inequalities in resource allocation within a household and that the well-being of individual household cannot necessarily be detached from the overall status of the household. Intra-household dynamics of resource control affects women's economic empowerment.

Intervention strategies that promote women's empowerment and their access to and control over economic resources are listed below.

Advocate and promote women's role and contribution to social and economic development.
Enhance women's economic participation in and benefit from economic activities providing them with access to educational and training opportunities and promoting technologies that reduce their workload.
Recognize the importance of gender mainstreaming in all national economic development activities.

The foundation for the improvement of women's economic status lies in the overall socio-economic and political factors such as:-

- Legal factors
- Credit, property ownership, inheritance.
- Labour issues.

- Employment Opportunities.
- Family relations (marriage divorce)
- Health issues
 - Educational status etc. and these factors need to be addressed.

Undertake research to identify obstacles preventing women's participation in economic activities. Encourage the participation of women in development programs. Promote labour- and time-saving technologies. Promote the formulation of women's economic organizations and business groups. Promote skill training and credit service for women.

ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER IN ETHIOPIA

In fact, there is no consolidated study undertaken on the subject. Certain surveys conducted in some countries (India, 1974-75, and other studies in certain African nations) have ascertained that, with the provision of appropriate institutional framework, micro-enterprises are a promising area in the fight against poverty and vulnerability. At a national level they are also believed to be one of the engines for industrial growth and development.

Small-scale economic operations can be done either on a full or part-time basis both in rural and urban settings. In whichever way they are done, two things are very vital:-

- They have to create employment opportunities; and
- They have to generate additional income to the household in general and women in particular.

Basically, most micro-enterprises run by women in Ethiopia

- Rely on local resources;
- Require low level of capital and skills;
- They are often one-person op-

erations or involve family labor.

- They provide basic needs at lower prices; and
- They are labor intensive.

A large number of women in rural and urban Ethiopia are engaged in small-scale enterprises at least for two major reasons:

Relatively, women are unable to compete with men for jobs available within the narrow formal sector due to the lesser opportunities they have for education and skill training; and women are responsible for feeding the family in poorer households in general and in female-headed household's in particular and making small purchases to meet the family food, housekeeping needs and the frequent financial need of their families.

The types of rural and urban income generating activities taken up by women in Ethiopia can be grouped into six as listed below:

- i) Handicraft making: termed as "traditional activities of women" which includes spinning, basketry, carpet weaving, food processing, pottery making and rope making
- ii) Petty trading
- iii) Brewing and selling traditional beverages
- iv) Vegetable marketing/gardening and livestock production
- v) Processing and selling local pastries, roasted grains, etc.
- vi) Few rural women are also engaged in service activities such as hair-dressing and plaiting, traditional healing, and ante-natal delivery and post-natal services provided by traditional birth attendants. Also, few women in urban areas have started establishing tailoring and dressing enterprises.

It is important to note that there are variations in the scope and types of income-generating activities between regions due to differences in culture, resource situation, climatic and market developments.

However, income-generating ac-

tivities exist and operate here on limited scale compared to most other developing countries. Small-scale income-generating activities are becoming the major source of livelihood for the majority of poor women, especially for those in urban areas.

3. MAJOR CONSTRAINTS ENCOUNTERED BY WOMEN IN RUNNING SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISES

Both the rural and urban poor women lack the necessary capital or easy access to credit to establish profitable micro enterprises.

Lack of technology and skill upgrading are factors for most women to be engaged in less processed or unprocessed traditional items by using backward technologies, denying them an opportunity to generate additional income with more processed goods. Moreover, lack of knowledge and skill has forced women to concentrate on few and similar activities with the effect of stiff competition and earn meager income. Diversification of activities and producing more processed products with value added have not been showing remarkable changes in the past decades.

Lack of marketing infrastructure is also another major problem for those engaged in small-scale income-generating activities, particularly for those in rural areas. Transport is scarce and integration between big, urban consumer markets and rural markets is lacking. Many of the women engaged in income-generating activities lack adequate market information and hence are unable to speculate the market in the right direction. In sum, they lack appropriate marketing strategy and creativity.

4. GLOBAL AND NATIONAL PLATFORM FOR ACTION THE NATIONAL POLICY OF ETHIOPIAN WOMEN AND WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

The Ethiopian government has agreed to implement by ratifying

and adopting a number of united nation declarations and conventions to improve the status of women and the girl child in Ethiopia. Some of the conventions are, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against women (CEDAW), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRS), the Worlds Conference on Human Rights, International Conference on Population and Development, World Summit for Social Development. The Fourth World Conference on Women Action for Equality, Development and Peace of 1995. These global declarations and policies are concerned with improving the status of women.

The Beijing platform for Action on Women and Development is the last global platform for Action (1995). It has set 12 critical areas of focus for women and development. The global platform has set these critical areas as priority areas of focus for gender and development in each UN member country, including Ethiopia. Among these priority areas, women's economic empowerment is a number one priority, and each member country has agreed to address women's needs for economic empowerment and improve their status.

5. CRITICAL AREAS OF CONCERN FOR GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (Adopted and ratified by All UN Member Countries during the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing 1995)

1. Women's Poverty, Insufficient Food Security and Lack of Economic Empowerment
2. Inadequate access of women to Education, Training, Science and Technology
3. Women's Vital Role in Culture, the Family and Socialization
4. Improvement of Women's Health Including Reproductive Health, Family Planning and Integrated Population Programs

5. Women's Relationship and Linkage to Environment and Natural Resource Management

6. The Political Empowerment of Women

7. Women's Legal and Human Rights

8. Women and Armed Conflict

9. Mainstreaming of Gender Desaggregated Data

10. Women, Information, Communication and the Arts

11. Violence Against Women

12. The Girl Child

The national constitution has also established and supported women's economic environment through the provision of legal measures in favour of women's economic empowerment. It has granted women equal right with men for the ownership, user's right and inheritance of major productive resources and property such as land, housing etc.

On the other hand, the National Policy on Ethiopian women has provided women with the opportunity to participate and benefit from development efforts. Hence, its primary objective in addressing women's need for economic empowerment is stated below:-

"Facilitating conditions conducive to speeding up equality between men and women so that women can participate in the political, social and economic life of their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from the enjoyment, on the fruit of their labour or performing public functions, and, being decision-makers."

The policy's strategy is based on mainstreaming gender in all of the country's development programmes by institutionalizing gender in all ministries. Gender units and departments are established to follow up and monitor the integration of gender issues

in their sector. This focal points play critical role by building the capacities of professionals to institutionalize gender, assist grassroots women organizations and advocate for the integration of women in development programs and generate vital information on gender in development to make women's contribution visible at all levels.

Similarly, Women's Affairs Bureaus are established at regional levels to follow up the participation in and benefit of women in their region's economic development. The policy emphasizes female education as a tool for women's economic empowerment and major steps are taken to enhance the participation of women at all levels of the educational systems.

Furthermore, the policy advocates for the provision of credit extension and skill training of women, strengthening their capacity to establish income-generating activities.

The policy has taken measures to economically empower women through legal support, provision of basic services, supporting grassroots women's organisations, advocating for gender equality and for the eradication of harmful traditional practices which militate against women's economic empowerment.

6. GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA

6.1. Gender Mainstreaming

It refers to making gender an integral part of development programmes and addressing issues of gender equality in all programmes. It addresses women's practical and strategic needs. It gives women and men equal access to resources and decision-making process and thereby brings gender equality.

Elements of gender mainstreaming are:-

- Gender specific policy.
- Increased gender sensitivity.
- Desegregated Data
- Equal Access to resources and opportunities.
- Development of indicators at national, regional and grassroots level.
- The setting of gender goals and objectives in development programs/plans.
- Use of gender inclusive language e.g. human resource.
- Equal and equitable participation of women and men in all program activities.
- Gender accounting, auditing
- Establishment of support structure e.g. gender focal points.

All program follow-up and progress report should be based on gender equality indicators

Government machineries should be aware of the relevance of gender issues and to have access to gender disaggregated data concerning government performance.

For efficient gender mainstreaming, the integration of gender perspective into all policies and programmes at all levels, should include an officially-institutionalized unit within the government which has overall responsibility for coordinating, facilitating, supporting and monitoring the mainstreaming process in all ministries and agencies. This body should be located at the highest level of government (under the President or Prime Minister). This gives the national machinery the political authority needed for its mandate of coordinating the mainstreaming process across all ministries and regions.

In order to achieve mainstreaming objectives all development personnel and managers should be able to take the responsibility of integrating a gender perspective in all policy process and programmes. For this to be effective, they require gender training and the use of gender guidelines and gender indicators.

In order to function effectively, national gender or machineries focal points require adequate human and financial resources.

- Finance national machineries in a sustainable manner locally and through attracting funds from other bodies for the purpose of specific projects.
- Ensure the appointment of adequate levels of staff for national machineries with appropriate qualification and commitment.
- Ensure that staff of the machinery has access to further training.

Government should ensure that gender auditing is included in routine auditing functions.

Consider the adoption of gender budgeting which requires all ministries and other development agencies to disaggregate outputs in terms of benefits to women and men in their budget reports. ■



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REPORT ON THE DEBATES ORGANIZED BY THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION (EEA) ON 'ECONOMIC POLICIES IN THE 2000 ELECTIONS'

Andualem Aragie
Coordinator of the Debates

1. INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) in line with its objectives organizes discussion fora for debates on timely and relevant economic issues. It is believed that these discussion fora, by bringing together policy makers, the private sector, academicians and other concerned bodies can contribute to the economic development of the country. In addition to the provision of information, these discussion fora will enhance economic policy formulation. In a poor country like Ethiopia where basic needs are the day to day agenda of the majority of the population, promoting discussions on issues of economic growth and development in relation to the elections was found to be appropriate before the public goes to the polls. The EEA, therefore, tried to contribute its due share by preparing such fora for debates on economic policies of contestant parties and private candidates in different parts of the country.

2. OBJECTIVES

The economic debates were very important from different perspectives. Firstly, they were meant to provide candidates the opportunity to come forward and outline to their constituency their platform and especially to inform the public what they will do to pro-

mote the economic development of the country if they are going to be elected. Secondly, they were meant to provide voters with information so that they can base their choice on substantive issues before they go to the polling stations, and thirdly to instigate a system of accountability between the candidates and the electorate. Finally, the debates were very important because they were believed to create a conducive atmosphere for the growth of the democratization process, which in the short or long run is believed to bring sustainable peace and development in the country.

3. ACTIVITIES

To the end of these objectives a lot of activities were undertaken. The Association started its activity by assigning five organizers and a coordinator under them. At first, the Association was aiming at organizing two of the debates here in Addis Ababa, but due to the multiplicity of different organizations which were involved in organizing similar fora, it changed its idea and shifted to different towns which were not lucky enough to have such chances. Two of these debates were organized in Oromia region at Nazareth and Jimma. The remaining three economic debates were held in Awasa, Dessie and Dire Dawa administrative council. This way, the Association with its limited time, budget and man-

power tried to reach to the different parts of the country as much as possible.

Coming to the main activities, a lot of effort went to publicity purposes. We started by writing letters to the Election Board so as to notify them of our activities step by step and to gather important information. This was done first with the main office here in Addis Ababa and then the Regional Election Board offices in the five towns selected for the economic debates. We have also been writing letters to different bodies of Woreda administrations. The same thing was done to the offices of contestant parties that were running for election in the towns we moved into.

Our criteria for the screening of panelists were two-pronged: for the party runners and the private contestants. The parties were given the chance to nominate a candidate who at best can represent them and discuss their economic policies, but he/she had to be a candidate in that particular town. As to the private candidates only two were allowed in each town. Our screening criteria for the most part comprised of willingness, registered number of supporters, educational level, readiness, their past contributions for the society and others.

Our next task was to inform panelists of the major issues that

they should strictly focus on while discussing their economic policies. These issues mainly comprised of:

- a. major constraints to the country's economic development
- b. causes of these constraints, and
- c. economic policies that can potentially alleviate these constraints

At the same time, inviting the mass media to give the debates wide coverage was one of our tasks. We also had to move to the innermost of the public to incite a greater degree of participation. This was done mainly with the help of microphone announcements, the posting of banners and posters etc.

Most of the debates began at 9 a.m. in the morning and ended at 3 p.m. in the afternoon. Dr. Berhanu Nega moderated all of the debates. In all of the occasions, after explaining the objectives of the debates and introducing each speaker, he gave an academician's view of the deep-rooted economic problems of the country and the importance of such debates in minimizing these problems. He then invited the panelists to deliver their speech on their respective economic policies.

The presentations were followed by the moderator's guiding questions which each panelist was expected to respond to. These guiding questions were the following.

- Mention three of the worst problems this particular town is facing.
- How do you think these problems could be solved?
- Where do you think you will bring the money from to this end?

The panelists, in addition to their presentations, widely discussed on the guiding questions. The questions in turn aroused the interest of the public to ask, com-

ment on and oppose the points raised by the panelists.

4. PROBLEMS

Even if the EEA accomplished its objectives successfully, there were many problems it faced during its undertakings. Some of these are:

- a. Communicating with all the contestant parties and private candidates was found difficult mainly for reasons of new, unknown offices in case of the former and inaccessibility in case of the latter.
- b. The most hindering problem that we faced during the process of organizing the debates was probably the unduly extended bureaucratic system of the parties that we had to go through. This especially concerns those parties like Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), Amhara People's Democratic Movement (APDM), and Sidamo People's Democratic Organization (SPDO), which are all, coincidentally, under the ruling party.
- c. Some of the parties also rejected our criteria and forced us to have two of their officials as representatives. Furthermore, they nominated officials who were not candidates in those particular localities. In this respect OPDO and SPDO are worth mentioning.
- d. Because the tradition of undertaking such debates is a new one, we faced problems in the actual harmonious handling of the discussions in some of the towns. The debate at Dire Dawa Administrative Council can be a particular example to be cited in this regard.
- e. In most of the towns again, we were faced with acute problems of logistics (of halls, chairs, microphones, etc.).
- f. In some of the towns, the attitude of the public towards our undertakings and us was not encouraging. Actually, against all odds, we were considered as instruments of the ruling party who are out there to fulfill the latter's objectives.

5. CONCLUSIONS

How much were the objectives of the association met?

Though due to organizational problems many people did not attend the first debate at Dessie, the other debates in the remaining four towns were attended by 800 people on the average. As mentioned above, there were different problematic situations that we faced while striving to organize these debates. However, for the most part, the debates were successfully accomplished. Along these lines, it can be argued, the following things are amongst our humble achievements.

- a. The utmost achievement of these debates probably is our contribution towards the growth of the tradition of peaceful dialogues and hence the facilitation of the democratization processes, especially in the major urban areas other than Addis Ababa.
- b. From the side of the public, its active participation in the debates, at least to some extent, has helped it to properly base its choice of the candidates in the elections (whatever the final outcomes). The candidates too have probably learnt a lot in the formulation of their policies in that economic, and not only political issues, should be there incorporated in their programs to attend the interests of the public.
- c. It can also be fairly argued that we have played an exemplary role for similar organizations to follow our footsteps and organize such fora for dialogues on different social, economic and political issues that may recur even after the elections.
- d. Finally, the EEA as a professional association, by organizing the debates, has showed its deep commitment to reach out to the society and help in pragmatic matters that can help to alleviate the economic problems that our country faces today. ■

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN DIRE DAWA

Girma Seifu Maru

Executive Director, Guraghe People's Self-Help Development Organization (GPSDO)

INTRODUCTION

Gender has been an issue of serious attention in the past and continues to be a major development issue in the world, particularly in the developing world where social, economic and political factors aggravate the existing gender imbalance.

Women constitute more than half of the world's population and are expected to share and control the wealth of the world equally. However, studies pointed out that women perform two-thirds of the working hours, receive one-tenth of the world income and own less than one-hundredth of the world property. World development report (1990) put the situation:

"...the available figures on health, nutrition, education and labor force participation show that women are often severely disadvantaged. Women face all manners of cultural, social, legal and economic obstacles that men - even poor men - do not. They typically work longer hours and, when they are paid at all, for lower wages."

Ethiopia being one of the poorest countries in the world, the situation of women is not different. Nationally, Dire Dawa rates the second largest commercial city next to Addis Ababa. The estimated women population in Dire Dawa is 60 percent of the total population based on surveys conducted by ACCORD. Their position, access to resources and power, vary from one ethnic group to another, the overall picture is such that the majority are at the bottom compared to men. Furthermore female-headed households represent 32 percent of the total households in Dire Dawa.

The purpose of this paper is to present some findings about the relationship between education and occupational status based on the data from organizations in Dire Dawa Administrative Council collected by Women Affairs Office, and to look into future prospect of women based on the educational data available from the Dire Dawa Education Office.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN DIRE DAWA

According to data collected from 29 offices in Dire Dawa (most of them are government-owned) 50% of the workers are female. This is a misleading data if we consider it as it is because at the labor-intensive Dire Dawa Textile factory the low-paid and unskilled female workers constitute 67% of the workers. When we pull out the data of the textile factory the participation of female drops from 50% to 37.4%.

The above fact of low participation in the formal sector is also observed in a survey done by ACCORD. In this case, women are mainly earning their livelihood from informal business, which extend from retailing firewood, food items, contraband business, cleaning, prostitution etc.

Women participation in the formal business sector according to the Domestic Trade Department retail and wholesale trades are dominated by males; and servicing sectors like hair dressing, beauty salons, bars, etc. are dominated by females.

In another data compiled from the Dire Dawa Civil Service Office only 35% of the civil servants are female. In 1990 Ethiopian Calendar, the Education Office reported that out of 717 primary school teachers 33% are female, and out of 136 secondary school teachers 5.9% are female. Teachers at the secondary school are required to have a degree or diploma from a recognised institution.

From these we can note that women dominate the informal sector. They are engaged in low-paid, unskilled, or semi-skilled occupations whose rewards are very low compared to men.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND WOMEN

As we can easily observe from the table below, when females have low educational level (lower primary), their participation and interest to join the labor force

is minimal. Females at this level usually engage in household chores as housewives.

Level Of Education By Sex Of Civil Servants In Dire Dawa Administrative Council

S. No	Educational Level	Sex		Total	% Of Female
		M	F		
1	0 - 5	65	23	88	26
2	6 - 8	94	61	155	39
3	9 - 12	164	264	428	62
4	Certificate or Diploma	734	329	1063	31
5	BA and above	213	13	226	6
Total		1270	690	1960	35
%		65	35	100	

Source: Dire Dawa Civil Service Data 1999.

Here the important observations are females at the secondary education leave the school either because of failure, dropout or to join the labor force. These are the possible reasons why at the higher primary and secondary education level females number decreased significantly. The services at this stage are unskilled and labor intensive (like cleaning, messenger, etc.), which are not preferred by male counterparts usually. This phenomenon, among other things, usually forces females to terminate their education to join the labor force unlike male; this significantly reduces their employment in professional category. As we can see from the table only 6% of the professionals are female in the civil servants in Dire Dawa Administrative Council.

Since the level of qualification and experience is a major factor that determines promotion in the civil service, currently promotion to the rank of team leader and above requires to be a degree holder. Therefore, schooling is a key factor to earn higher salary in the civil service employment.

The following findings signify the fact that we have to do a lot to increase women participation in decision making level.

ENROLMENT (PARTICIPATION) RATE

It is the ratio that relates enrollment at different levels to the corresponding school age population. The official age for primary is 7 - 14 years and 15 - 18 years for secondary.

From the table below we can observe that 84.6% of the rural school age population (100 - 15.4) are out of the school system. Moreover, 93.8% of the rural and 30.5% of the urban school age population of girls had no chance to go to school.

Enrolment by Sex 1990(97/98) (%)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary Urban	77.2	69.5	73.3
Rural	23	6.2	15.4
Total	55.6	46.3	51
Secondary Urban	22.4	16.5	19.3

Source: Dire Dawa Education and Culture Office, Annual Educational Statistics 1998. * No secondary school in rural area.

The participation rate at the secondary level is 19.3% of which 22.4% and 16.5% are boys and girls, respectively. The observation here is that the participation decreases from 51% at primary to 19.3% at secondary, and girls' participation decreases from 46.3% at primary level to 16.5% at secondary level i.e. 83.5% of the secondary school age girls are out of secondary school.

REPEATERS

In a particular year, pupils may have been promised to the next higher grade, repeated the same grade or may have left the system all together (drop out). Unfortunately we have not found gender disaggregated data for promotion and drop out rate which is supposed to be high for females for a number of socio-economic reasons (i.e. early marriage, joining the labor force to win daily subsistence, participation in home activities like: cooking, child bearing, etc).

The important thing from the above table is that girls repeaters are proportionately low compared to boys in lower primary education. Here the possible assumption is 'equal treatment of boys and girls at the early stage of childhood' unlike Sara Longwe and Roy Clarke's "Life Cycle Discrimination of Women". The fact that girl repeaters are proportionately low in primary schools has changed and this fact is amplified by the well-known fact that

dropout rate of female increased (above the age of 14).

Number of Students who Repeated the Same Grade

	1 - 5	6 - 8	9 - 11	Total
Male	1729(58)	452(46)	456(46)	2637(53)
Female	1266(42)	527(54)	534(54)	2327(47)
Total	2995(100)	979(100)	990(100)	4964(100)

Source: Dire Dawa Education and Culture Office, Annual Educational Statistics 1998.

Figures in parenthesis are percentages.

CONCLUSION

The current low occupational status of women in the labor force particularly in decision making level is due to, among other things, low educational level of women compared to men.

This low participation rate of females in the education system, especially in secondary level, coupled with the increased repetition and dropout rate in the secondary cycle makes the prospect of

women progressing in the labour force very bleak.

Therefore, policy makers and others involved in women empowerment activities should give due attention to increase girls participation (enrollment) in primary education and decrease repetition and subsequent drop-out of girls from schooling so that women can participate equally in employment and decision making process. This might be a good step forward in the process of women empowerment. □

DILBERT



International Herald Tribune, May 20, 2000

DEBT MANAGEMENT ISSUES IN ETHIOPIA

Tesfaye Berhanu

Ministry of Finance

The Ethiopian economy has been constrained by a number of factors since the 1974 revolution. While the civil war and successive droughts and natural calamities are partly to be blamed, the institution of centralized planning, absence of good economic policies, and political instability contributed to an economic stagnation and caused absolute fall in real GDP growth.

In May 1991 after the demise of the Derg regime a new government was formed. However, it inherited a devastated economy with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world, and therefore, the task facing the new government was enormous. After the end of the civil war efforts were made to reconstruct the economy. As a first start to this, an endeavor was made by the new government to bring about political and economic stability. To this end, in July 1991 the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) had been established. The TGE's economic objectives are set out in the transitional economic policy published in November 1991. Following the issue of the economic policy a multidonor-financed Emergency Recovery and Reconstruction Program (ERRP) had been launched. ERRP was not subject to policy conditionalities but envisioned to provide urgently needed foreign exchange and commodities to revitalize the productive sectors, to rehabilitate war-damaged infrastructure and restoration of facilities in the social sectors, which ultimately are

required to get the economy up and running again.

In addition to this, the government has started to rehabilitate the damaged economy mainly by putting forth wide ranging reform program, which was principally aimed at stabilizing the war-torn economy and deregulating economic activity from central planning to market economy. The Government's reform program has taken several important steps. In sum, the thrust has been on policy measures to correct price distortions, remove restrictions on the private sector, increase government revenues and reform taxes, etc.

Today, in Ethiopia, reforms in public expenditure management and civil service reforms are underway. As the country continues its structural adjustment efforts and accelerates its structural reforms, external assistance in the form of grants and loans will be required.

To better understand the nature of Ethiopia's debt, one simple fundamental question is worth asking. Why does Ethiopia incur external debt? The reason why we contract debt is similar to that of an individual. Suppose an individual wants to build a house. His actual income and savings do not allow him to do so. He could then borrow money from a bank. He borrows money hence to finance an investment project whose expected rate of return is superior to interest rate. One could also borrow to meet the excess of consumption expenditure over income, hence, borrow-

ing to adjust income to expenditure.

Borrowing from both domestic and foreign sources has also become an important instrument of fiscal policy, because part of the expenditures not covered by ordinary revenue is being financed through such means. In a country like Ethiopia, where material and financial resources are lacking to carry out development programs, the need for external assistance is something one cannot afford to ignore.

It is obvious that if any government's expenditure exceeds its revenue, then this deficit will be financed either by internal or external borrowing. Once a country has decided to choose the option of external financing through debt, then the next question will be how the debt is contracted and managed? Currently, the responsibility of negotiating new borrowings and signing of loan agreements, administering internal and external debt, including borrowing money in the name of the Federal government from international sources was given to the Ministry of finance.

Generally speaking, a country can avoid the debt trap best and most efficiently by borrowing less and relying more on domestic resources. The borrowing gap, expressed as the current account deficit in the balance of payments, has as its counterpart the domestic savings or investment gap. Basically, economic policies should encourage domestic sav-

ings and local investment. Increasing domestic savings also implies increased budgetary discipline, which might require privatization or closure of uneconomic parastatals as it was done in Ethiopia. However, domestic resources only are not suffice to cover financing requirements almost in all developing countries. Hence, the need for internal or external debt to finance development projects is inevitable.

In the case of Ethiopia, in addition to external sources, the government also uses funds raised through such means like issue of bonds, sale of treasury bills and direct advances from National Bank of Ethiopia (NBE) to finance development projects. The borrowing from local financial institutions generates this local fund and it is called internal debt. Their limit is based on ordinary revenue of the budget. Currently, direct advance constitute by far the largest proportion of outstanding debt (59%), followed by treasury bills (33%), and bonds (8%).

Treasury bills are issued by government to raise money for short-term. A government may need money to cover salary expenses, operating and project expenditures before its regular revenue is collected on time. Or it may issue treasury bills to adjust the amount of money in circulation with its actual demand whenever there is imbalance. Three kinds of bills, different with respect to their maturity and denomination, are issued— a monthly (28 days), a three-month (91 days), and six-months (182 days) bills.

Bonds, in general, are long-term written promissory agreements by which a borrower promises to pay a stated sum of principal and interest amount on specific dates to the holder of the bond. Government bonds are those bonds issued by the government for the purpose of financing, mainly, its recurrent expenditure. With bonds, the interest rate is gen-

erally fixed.

If a country borrows from abroad it is obvious that it must introduce effective debt management as a major policy concern. Inappropriate and excessive foreign borrowing will generate debt service obligations that will constrain future economic policy and growth. The objective of debt management policy is to achieve the benefits of external finance without creating difficult problems of macroeconomic and balance of payments stability.

Beyond good macroeconomic policy, the effective management of external debt comprises three specific interrelated processes. The first one is selecting the appropriate source of financing; the second is deciding how much to borrow, and the third is keeping complete and up-to-date records on debt. Borrowers must choose the best combination from the available sources of external finance to suit the needs of individual projects and of the economy as a whole. The country clearly wishes to minimize the problems in servicing new debt, while making maximum use of grants and loans on concessional terms.

The amount of debt to contract is a basic policy decision. The amount that any country ought to borrow is governed by how much foreign capital the economy can absorb efficiently, and how much debt it can service without risking external payments problems. The volume of external borrowing will also depend on the terms and conditions on which it is made available. Information on external debt and debt service payments is essential for the day-to-day management of foreign exchange transactions, as well as managing debt and for planning foreign borrowing strategies. In this regard, a workshop aimed at achieving debt relief and drafting the country's debt strategy has been organized by the Ministry of Finance in March last year. It was

held at the ECA conference hall in collaboration with the Debt Relief International, and it was of vital importance specially on transferring technical know-how on debt sustainability analysis. Of course, further institutional as well as manpower capacity building for experts involved in the area of debt management is necessary and very important. Good debt management is part of a good economic management. Better economic and political system for controlling internal as well as external debt may not prevent crisis from occurring, but they will certainly minimize the real economic burden of financial disruption. ■

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist.... It is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil.

John Maynard Keynes
The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, 1936

We have always known that heedless self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
second inaugural address, January 20, 1937

Commerce is the greatest of all political interests.

Joseph Chamberlain, speech in Birmingham, England
November 13, 1896

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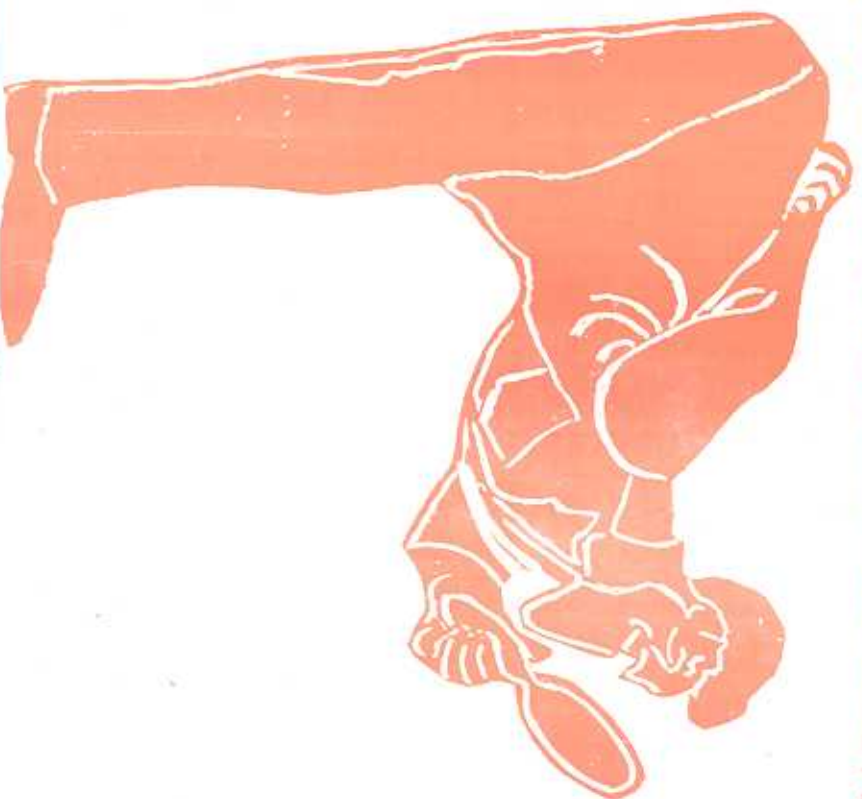
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