DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 257 772 SO 016 623

AUTHOR	Newman, J ne S.
TITLE	Women of th World: Sub-Saharan Africa.
INSTITUTION	Agency for International Development (IDCA), Washington, D.C. Office of Women in Development.; Bureau of the Census (DOC), Suitland, Md.
REPORT NO	WID-2
PUB DATE	Aug 84
NOTE	205p.; For other documents in the series, see SO 016 622-626. Some graphs may not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM	Data User Services Division, Customer Services, Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC 20233 ($5.50).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Statistical Data (110)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Birth Rate; *Census Figures; Employed Women; *Females; Foreign Countries; *Human Geography; Labor Force; Labor Force Nonparticipants; Marriage; *Population Distribution; Population Trends; Rural to Urban Migration; Statistical Analysis; Trend Analysis; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Africa (Sub Sahara); *Women in Development

ABSTRACT

The second in a series of five handbooks designed to present and analyze statistical data on women in various regions of the world, this handbook focuses on women in 40 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Beginning with an overview of population characteristics in the region, the analysis continues with a description of women's literacy and education, their labor force participation, their marital status and living arrangements, their fertility, and their mortality. Information is presented not only in tables, charts, and text, but also in narrative form, offering a critique on concepts, availability, and quality of the data assembled on each variable. Findings show that except in Nigeria, the populations of Sub-Saharan African countries are not large and rural densities are not usually high. However, the population is growing rapidly, at about three percent per year. The proportion of women in the working ages is lower in the urban and higher in the rural areas than is that of men. There appear to be subregional differences in female literacy: rates tend to be higher in the Eastern and Southern regions than in West Africa, and the female disadvantage relative to males is smaller. Moreover, male labor force participation is uniformly high in the region, while female participation is lower and highly variable. Plural marriage is common in many countries of the region; in 10 of the 12 countries with data on polygamy, one-fifth to one-third of the married men had two or more wives. Appendices contain references, tables, and information on population by age, sex, and rural/urban residence. (LH)

WID-2

WOMEN OF THE WORLD

U.S. Department of Commerce
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

U.S. Agency for International Development
OFFICE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

WOMEN OF THE WORLD

Sub-Saharan Africa

by Jeanne S. Newman

This report was prepared under a Resources Support Services Agreement with the Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development

Issued August 1984

U.S. Department of Commerce
Malcolm Baldrige, Secretary
Clarence J. Brown, Deputy Secretary
Sidney Jones, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
John G. Keane,
Director

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
C.L. Kincannon, Deputy Director
Robert O. Bartram, Assistant Director for International Programs

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH
Samuel Baum, Chief

Acknowledgments

This report on Sub Saharan Africa was prepared under contract with the U.S. Bureau of the Census. It is one of four regional handbooks in the *Women of the World* series prepared under a Resources Support Services Agreement with the Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development. **Sarah Tinsley**, Director. Thanks are due to present and former staff members of the Agency for International Development for their contributions to the various stages of the Census Bureau's Women in Development project. In particular, **Jane Jaquette** and **Paula O. Goddard**, formerly of the Office of Women in Development, and **Lois Godiksen**, formerly of the Economic and Social Data Services, provided useful guidance in establishing the Census Bureau's Women in Development Data Base, upon which these handbooks are based. **Jean Ellickson** and **John Hourihan** of the Office of Women in Development and **Annette Binnendijk** of the Economic and Social Data Services provided support at subsequent stages of the project.

Within the Bureau of the Census, **Ellen Jamison**, Staff Assistant to the Chief, Center for International Research, prepared the overall outline for the content and format of the world handbook series, monitored the contracts, prepared chapter 2, and served as reviewer and coordinator of the publication preparation activities. For this report on Sub-Saharan Africa, valuable assistance was provided by other staff members of the Center for International Research: **Kevin G. Kinsella** assisted with countless details to ensure the accuracy of the tables and charts; **Peter O. Way** offered useful guidance on the material to be included, provided supervisory assistance in the verification of tables, and prepared appendix C; **Eduardo E. Arriaga** and **Sylvia D. Quick** provided useful review comments; **Joseph R. Cooper** computerized the graphics; **John R. Gibson, Vera V. Harris-Bourne, Eleanor M. Matthews**, and **Margaret A. Squires** provided statistical assistance in verifying the tables; and **Donna M. Dove** and **Janet M. Sales** took charge of the typing, with the assistance of **Jacqueline R. Harrison** and **Carolyn King**. All demographic analysts in the Center for International Research were involved in the compilation and evaluation of statistics for the Women In Development Data Base upon which this handbook is based. The map was prepared in the Geography Division under the direction of **Betty L. Adamek** in cooperation with Geography Branch, Data Preparation Division. Editorial services were provided by **Gail R. Farren** and artwork was prepared under the supervision of **Nicholas Preftakes**, Publication Services Division.

The author extends a special word of appreciation to **Mary Tadesse** and her colleagues at the African Training and Research Center for Women, Economic Commission for Africa, **Addis Ababa**, and particularly to **Nancy Halfkin**, for hours spent in stimulating discussion and for access to the Center's documents library.

Library of Congress Card Number 84-601086

For Sale by Data User Services Division, Customer Services (Publications), Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233, or any U.S. Department of Commerce district office. Postage stamps not acceptable; currency submitted at sender's risk. Remittances from foreign countries must be by international money order or by a draft on a U.S. bank. $5.50 per copy.

Contents

Abbreviations Used in This Report

ASFR: Age specific fertility rate (the average annual number of births to women in a given age group during a specified period of time per 1,000 women in the same age group, based on midperiod population).

ATRCW: African Training and Research Centre for Women, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Addis Ababa.

CBR: Crude birth rate (the average annual number of births during a specified period of time per 1,000 persons, based on midperiod population).

CIR: Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.

DUALabs: Data Use and Access Laboratories. Arlington, Virginia.

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations. Rome.

F/M ratio: Ratio of the female value to the male value for a given characteristic (for example, the ratio of the female percent literate to the male percent literate).

GDP: Gross domestic product (the total value of all final goods and services produced in an economy during a specified period of time, excluding net factor income from abroad).

GNP: Gross national product (the total value of all final goods and services produced in an economy during a specified period of time, including net factor income from abroad).

GRR: Gross reproduction rate (the average number of daughters born per woman in a group of women passing through the childbearing years and experiencing a given set of age-specific fertility rates. This rate implicitly assumes that all the women live to the end of the childbearing years. See also NRR).

ILO: International Labour Office, United Nations. Geneva.

JASPA: Jobs and Skills Program for Africa, International Labour Office.

NA. Data not available.

NRR: Net reproduction rate (a refinement of the gross reproduction rate that allows for mortality of women from birth to the end of their reproductive years).

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Paris.

TFR: Total fertility rate (the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates).

U.N.: United Nations.

UNDP: United Nations Development Program.

UNECA: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Addis Ababa.

UNECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council. New York.

UNESA: United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. New York.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Paris.

UNIDO: United Nations Industrial Development Office.

USAID: United States Agency for International Devleopment. Washington, D.C.

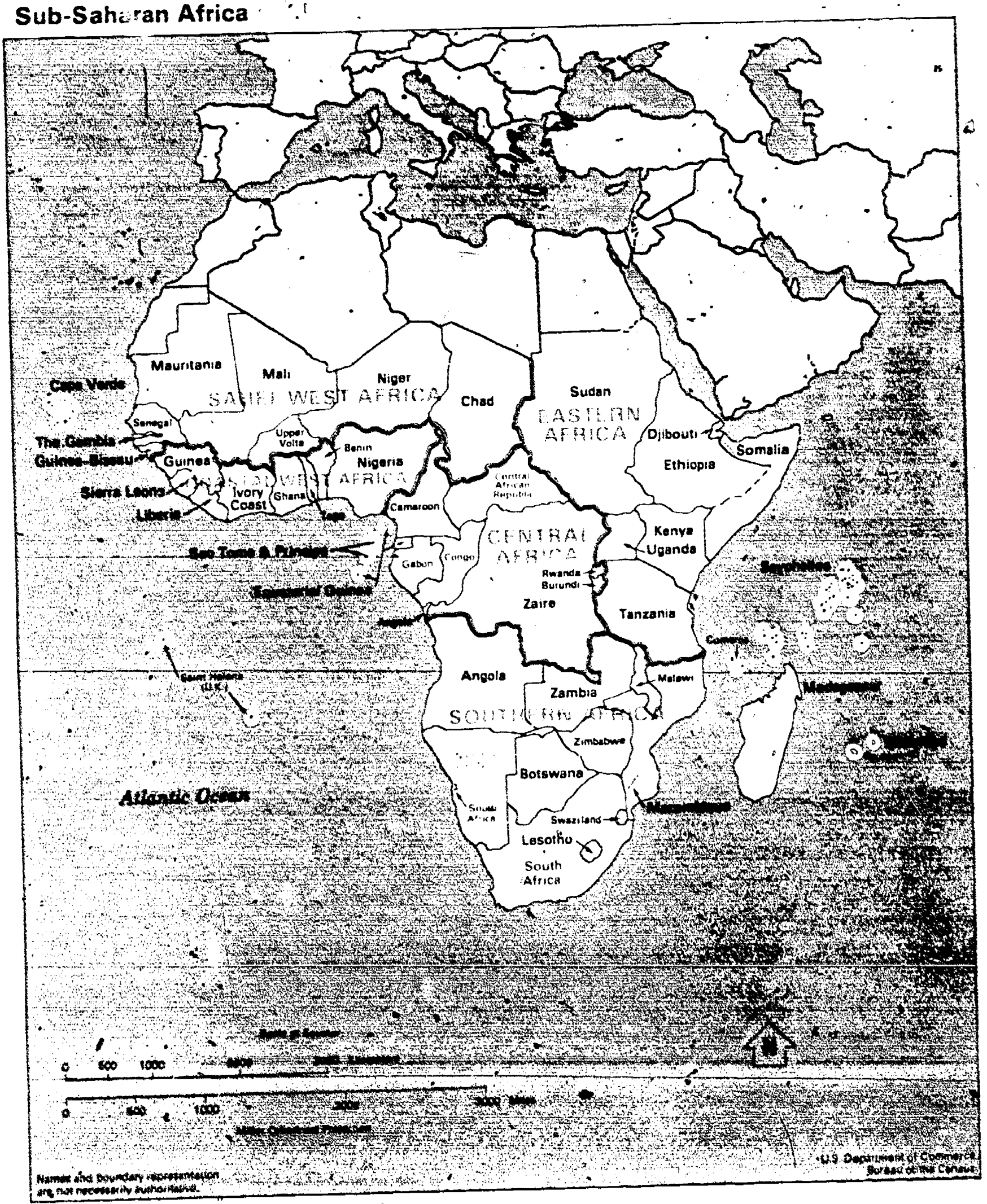
WHO: World Health Organization, United Nations. Geneva.

WID: Women in Development.

WID Data Base: Women In Development Data Base (a project of the U.S. Bureau of the Census).

WID Office: Office of Women In Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Sub-Saharan Africa



Note: Countries named in black are included in the analysis of this handbook.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Constituting just over 10 percent of the population of the developing world in 1980, the people of the Sub-Saharan Africa region are by almost any measure of economic and social development among the least advantaged. Largely agricultural in economic base and dependent upon the export of primary products and labor, most countries are characterized by low per capita gross domestic product, low per capita energy consumption, undeveloped financial institutions, inadequate adult literacy, short life expectancies, high rates of disease and malnutrition, high infant and childhood mortality, and high fertility.[1] Daily life for the vast majority of the people of the region is a constant struggle against poverty, ignorance, and disease.

It is in this context that the question of the status of women must be considered. Although the question of women's access to the resources of a society also is one of social justice and human rights, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa it is perhaps of greater relevance to point out that it is one which is critical to the development process itself. As the primary food producers in the region, Africa's women play an indispensable role in the economy, for the achievement of regional food self-sufficiency will depend upon their increased productivity. In many African countries, women are also responsible for the distribution and marketing of basic food supplies and other household goods, both wholesale and retail. Again, unless women have access to training and to modern financial tools, the small business sector cannot make its maximum contribution to development. Moreover, inasmuch as in African society and particularly in polygamous households women are often both economically and personally responsible for the care and early education of their own children, failure to afford women full access to educational and economic resources will have a direct and limiting impact on the welfare and opportunities available to their children, boys as well as girls. For these reasons, the status of women in Sub-Saharan Africa is an important development issue.[2]

The national governments of the region, often with international assistance, have been making strenuous efforts to mobilize their peoples and resources for economic and social development, and gains in many of the indicators have been registered for both women and men in most countries since national independence. Change is underway in Africa, and with it inevitable dislocation as well as opportunity. Many observers who have examined the benefits and costs of economic development have concluded that women have often borne a disproportionate share of the costs while men have more often received the benefits of these changes.[3] Some innovations have made life easier for all: improved water supplies, health services, and all-weather roads have been of benefit to women as well as men. Despite women's key roles in food production and commerce, however, most of the programs designed to improve productivity in agriculture and business have been directed toward men's activities; few women have felt the benefits of these programs. Moreover, because of the traditional division of labor in agriculture, many development projects have simply increased the amount of work which women must do. For example, expanded acreage must be weeded, and more water carried for additional livestock. When men leave the farm for wage employment, women are frequently left behind to manage alone, often without adequate resources or decision-making authority.

Women's traditional income-generating activities are sometimes unintentionally curtailed by development projects, as, for example, when the introduction of a cattle ranching scheme, by moving families several kilometers away from the nearest

[1] National level statistics on a variety of economic and social characteristics may be found in Population Reference Bureau (1980), U.S. Bureau of the Census (1980 and 1983c), and World Bank (1980c, 1981, and 1982).

[2] The literature discussing African women's economic roles, particularly in agriculture, is extensive. See Anker and Knowles (1978), Boserfa (1961), Boserup (1970), Bryson (1981), Buvinic and Youssef (1980), Halfkin and Bay (1976), Nelson (1981), Pala (1975), Paulme (1963), and UNECA (1974a, 1974b, 1976a, 1978d, 1978e, 1981a, and 1982b).

[3] For information concerning the impact of development programs on women, see footnote 2.

town, deprives women of their traditional market for milk and milk products. The loss of income is a serious matter for African women because the traditional gender division of labor assigns them economic responsibility for an important share of household expenses. When a woman also is the head of a household, as increasing numbers are, an adequate income becomes even more critical for both herself and her family. Although educated women have little difficulty finding employment in the modern sector, albeit rarely at the upper levels of management, most women have had relatively few opportunities for education or training. Therefore, when women who are burdened with additional work on the farm or squeezed out of traditional occupations seek employment in the modern wage sector, their lack of education forces them into the lowest paid, least skilled, and least secure jobs.

Women's disadvantaged position as development proceeds is not the result of national policy; indeed, most African governments have made full policy commitments to narrow the educational gaps between girls and boys, especially at the primary school level. Rather, it is in large part the consequence of beliefs and attitudes, both traditional and imported from the West, that women's activities are primarily domestic and of secondary importance. Such attitudes are both reflected in, and in turn reinforced by, the absence of information about women's situation and their economic activities. And under conditions of economic scarcity, failure to recognize and to measure the economic significance of women's activities tends to undervalue their work and to limit their access to national resources.

The United Nations International Decade for Women has brought the need for information about women's contribution to development into sharp focus, and it is now widely recognized that existing statistical systems have failed to fully measure women's productive roles as distinct from their reproductive roles in society. Moreover, as a result of the work of Powers (1983), UNESA (1980), Youssef (1980b and 1983), and others,[1] there is growing agreement about a set of potentially useful indicators for monitoring the situation of women and their participation in the development process. Although different concepts and operational definitions of economic activity and greater sensitivity to sex biases in data collection and presentation are both needed in order to adequately monitor changes in the condition of women, careful analysis of data from existing national statistical systems can highlight important aspects of their situation while simultaneously identifying informational and conceptual inadequacies.

In recognition of the need for national-level data disaggregated by sex, the Office of Women in Development (WID Office) of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1978 requested the Center for International Research (CIR), U.S. Bureau of the Census, to establish a Women in Development Data Base (referred to hereafter as the WID Data Base) of demographic and socioeconomic statistics, disaggregated by sex and, wherever possible, also by age and by rural/urban residence. A search was conducted on 19 variables, including demographic, educational, household and marital arrangements, and labor force topics. Each variable was chosen because of its key importance as an indicator of women's status and because these particular variables appeared to be the ones that would be most readily available in census publications. Special runs of census files were not contemplated because of the high cost.

The first data search included only the 69 countries where USAID had active programs. It was planned that after the initial search was completed, more countries would be added for purposes of comparison, and more variables if the initial search determined that sufficient information was available on other aspects of women's situation and activities. Subsequently, the WID Data Base was expanded to include all countries with populations of 5 million or more. Over 2,600 tables have been compiled on the 19 indicators. Statistics come principally from the 1970 census round; in some cases, 1960 round data are included.[2] Some information from the 1980 round censuses is available at this time, and this also has been included whenever possible. To supplement the census data, the results of national surveys are also used for some topics. Detailed characteristics of the WID Data Base are presented in chapter 2.

Analysis of these data for a large number of developing countries is presented in handbooks for Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, Near East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Although these handbooks were originally conceived as a tool for the development community in planning and assessing its programs, it was decided to make them available to a wider community of users both to demonstrate what the data reveal about the present-day situation of women and to serve as a benchmark against which to measure change as more information becomes available in the future.

This handbook for Sub Saharan Africa covers 40 developing countries of the region those with populations of 5 million or more plus selected smaller countries. On the tables and charts, countries are grouped into the subregions of Sahel West Africa, Coastal West Africa, Central Africa, Eastern Africa, and Southern Africa. These subregions are illustrated on the accompanying map.

The objectives of this manual are three: (1) to present data on the situation of women for as many developing countries in Sub Saharan Africa as have published national-level data considered by the Bureau of the Census to be of reasonable quality; (2) to interpret the data in light of information from other sources, in order to describe the situation of women in the region; and (3) to consider the strengths and limitations of national-level data as planning tools for monitoring changes in the status of women and for facilitating their full participation in national development.

It is not possible to characterize the status of the women of Africa by means of a single statistic. Because women's roles are many, the status of women is multidimensional, and those dimensions personal, familial, social, ethnic, cultural, religious, political, and economic vary widely across the continent. The

[1] See Berrera (1981), DUALabs (1980 and 1981), Population Council (1979), UNDP (1981), and UNECA (1974a, 1976, and 1981).

[2] A census round refers to a decade during which the various countries conduct their censuses: 1960 round censuses were taken during the period 1955 to 1964, 1970 round during 1965 to 1974. The 1980 round is still underway, referring to censuses taken during 1975 to 1984.

set of indicators offered in this handbook, coming as they do from national censuses, surveys, and vital registration systems, can measure a number of those dimensions, but will leave largely unexplored the equally critical cultural, social, and political aspects of women's status. Nor, with the single exception of rural/urban residence, do these data permit an examination of the status of women by ethnic or other social subgroups within a country. They can, however, afford the investigator a broad view of the condition of women across the continent as measured by some of the key indicators of women's status.

Analytical Summary

The remaining chapters of this handbook analyze the statistics from the WID Data Base. Chapter 2 discusses the availability, quality, and selection of data. Chapter 3 describes the population of the Sub-Saharan Africa region (excluding South Africa) -- its size, growth, composition, geographic distribution, and change. Migration and its impact on women is considered in this chapter, but detailed discussion of both fertility and mortality is left for chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 4 presents data on adult literacy and on educational enrollment among children and youth. In chapter 5, the critical issues surrounding women's economic roles are discussed, and data on labor force participation are presented. Marital status and household characteristics are the focuses of chapter 6, and are followed by consideration of fertility in chapter 7 and mortality in chapter 8 as they relate to the status of women. The handbook closes in chapter 9 with a discussion of the advantages and limitations of national level data in planning for a development strategy which includes women.

Population Distribution and Change. Except in Nigeria, the populations of Sub Saharan African countries are not large, and rural densities are not usually high. However, the population of the region is growing rapidly at about 3 percent per year, and it is a young population with considerable potential for continued growth. The median proportion under age 15 is approximately 45 percent; at 87 young people per 100 adults (ages 15 to 64 years), the youth dependency burden is a heavy one. Most of the population continues to reside in the rural areas, and the differences in urbanization between women and men are relatively small: the median percent urban at the most recent national census or survey was 17 percent for women and 20 percent for men. Urban growth in the region since the early 1960's has averaged about 5.5 percent per year, although there is considerable variation among countries. Because urban and rural rates of natural increase are similar, only part of the urban growth may be attributed to migration. Migration is predominantly a male phenomenon, but women also have participated. In each of the countries for which migration data are available, women constitute at least 40 percent, and in a few cases, more than 50 percent of the in-movers.

For both sexes, the population age distribution in the cities differs from that in the rural areas. Although the data refer to varying years among countries, unweighted averages of the percent in broad age groups may be taken as an approximation of the overall age distribution by rural/urban residence. The urban data for each sex show relatively more adults in the prime working ages (15 to 49 years), relatively fewer under age 15, and still fewer at ages 50 and over than do the rural:

Age	Urban (percent)		Rural (percent)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
All ages	100	100	100	100
0 to 14 years	43	40	44	47
15 to 49 years	49	53	46	41
50 years and over	8	7	10	12

The proportion of women in the working ages is lower in the urban and higher in the rural areas than is that of men, differences which probably reflect higher male than female rural-to-urban migration.

Literacy and Education. Both the absolute level and the female/male ratio of adult literacy vary widely among the countries. In most countries, more men than women are literate in any language, but there is evidence of considerable improvement in female literacy since the 1960's. A higher proportion of women is literate and the female disadvantage is smaller in each successively younger age group. Moreover, although urban literacy is higher than rural, the same pattern of improvement is shown in both urban and rural areas. There appear to be subregional differences in female literacy: rates tend to be higher in the Eastern and Southern regions than in West Africa, and the female disadvantage relative to males is smaller. Indeed, in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, it is the men who are more often illiterate. The pattern of subregional differentials is similar in both rural and urban areas.

In school enrollment, as in literacy, the countries of the Sub-Saharan Africa region show wide variation. The pattern of educational differentials is similar to that for literacy: enrollment rates for each sex are higher in urban than rural areas; relatively more boys than girls are enrolled at each educational level; and West African enrollment lags behind that of Eastern and Southern Africa for each sex. Female/male differentials are lower in the cities and in the Eastern and Southern subregions; again, in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, it is the boys and men who are relatively disadvantaged except at the older ages.

Opportunities for formal schooling are limited for both sexes and decrease with each succeeding age beyond 10 to 14 years. The female/male ratio of total enrollment also is smaller at each successive age. Median values calculated based on the available data are as follows:

Percent enrolled	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
Female	22	37	15	1
Male	31	51	33	8
F/M ratio	0.82	0.70	0.40	0.13

Information from other sources indicates that female enrollment, especially at the primary level, has improved since the 1960's.

Women in Economic Activity. Male labor force participation is uniformly high in the region, while female participation is lower and highly variable. Although social and ecological factors may

account for some of this variability, its magnitude suggests that the measure has a low reliability for women. For both women and men, labor force participation is greater in the rural areas; moreover, for both sexes but especially for women, economic activity rates are negatively associated with the country's level of urbanization. It is suggested in chapter 5 that this negative association might in part be an artifact of the way in which the rural labor force is defined in many of the countries. A greater share of the subsistence and part-time workers in agriculture may have been counted in the labor force, often as unpaid family workers, than of those working in the informal sector which dominates the economic activity of marginal workers in urban areas.

The age pattern of participation for men shows high and fairly uniform rates for ages 20 through 49 years and only a slight decline after age 50. Participation rates for women, on the other hand, show two different age patterns: one, similar to that of the male although usually at a lower level of economic activity, is characterized by fairly flat rates for ages 20 through 49 years. The other, more common, pattern shows activity rates rising with each 10 years of age to a peak for women in their forties; in both patterns, there is a decline after age 50. Adult male participation tends to be higher than female at every age and in both rural and urban areas. For those under age 20, however, urban female participation rates are often higher than male rates. There is some evidence of an effect of the potential pool of male workers on female participation. Female economic activity in ages 30 to 49 years tends to be higher where there is a relative deficiency of men in the same age, that is, where sex ratios are low. Finally, there appear to be subregional differences in female labor force participation, with two broad bands of low participation, one stretching across the Sahel into Sudan, and the second stretching across south central Africa from Angola to Mozambique.

Marital Status and Living Arrangements. Although virtually all adults in Sub Saharan Africa eventually marry at least once, women marry at much younger ages than men do, with a modal minimum legal age at marriage of 16 years for women and 18 years for men. Examination of available data on marital status show the following values, based on information for the varying dates:

Median percent ever married	Women	Men
Ages 20 to 24 years	85	26
Ages 45 to 49 years	98	96

Both women and men marry at younger ages in rural than urban areas. For both sexes, the age by which 50 percent have ever been married is about 2 years higher in the cities. In most countries, the age difference between husband and wife is 5 to 10 years, the median is about 6 years. Plural marriage is still common in many countries of the region; in 10 of the 12 countries with data on polygamy, one-fifth to one-third of the married men had two or more wives. The median number of wives in these marriages is a little over two.

The distribution of the population by current marital status differs considerably among the countries and between the sexes. Few persons of either sex report themselves as legally separated or divorced, and although four times as many women as men are currently widowed, these groups still represent a relatively small proportion of the population. Divorce and death are not uncommon, but from other information it is known that remarriage rates among the divorced are high. The sexes differ primarily in the proportions single and currently married, with nearly twice as many men as women reported as single. Median percentages based on the available information on current marital status for varying dates are as follows:

Marital status category	Women	Men
Single	24	43
Married	62	52
Separated/divorced	3	2
Widowed	9	2

In the cities, the percent currently single for both sexes and the percent of separated or divorced women are higher; conversely, in the rural areas for both sexes, the percentages currently married and currently widowed are higher. The latter observation suggests that women household heads in urban and rural areas are likely to be of different marital status categories and face somewhat different problems beyond those associated merely with their urban and rural residence.

The countries differ considerably in the proportion of households reported to be headed by women; the median is only 15 percent. In most women-headed households, the woman is between ages 30 and 45, the ages at which both work and family responsibilities are heavy. Household sizes are large in both rural and urban areas, although the rural household is likely to be somewhat larger.

Fertility and the Status of Women. By all measures, fertility is high in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. All but four countries (Cape Verde, Mauritius, Seychelles, and Lesotho) have crude birth rates of about 40 per 1,000 population or higher, and nearly half the countries have rates close to 50 per 1,000 population or higher. The median total fertility rate is 6.6 children per woman, and the median net reproduction rate is two surviving daughters per woman. Fertility tends to be distributed across the full span of reproductive ages. In most countries, although the largest share of fertility is contributed by women ages 25 to 34 years, younger women account for at least 30 percent and older women for another 20 percent. In four countries, the distribution is shifted somewhat toward younger women, and in five countries toward older women. In the few countries with data to examine rural/urban fertility differentials, rural fertility tends to be higher than urban, but the differences are not large. Other sources confirm the impression that there is as yet little relationship between indicators of modern (as distinct from traditional) female status and fertility, with the possible exception of a shift toward an older age pattern due to an older age at marriage.

Mortality and the Status of Women. In Sub-Saharan Africa as elsewhere, girls and women experience lower mortality than boys and men do. Except in Ethiopia and Upper Volta, the ex-

pectation of life at birth for women is greater than that for men by 2 to 6 years; the median expectation of life is 46 years for women and 42 years for men. Moreover, a median 27 percent of boys but only 24 percent of girls die before their fifth birthday. However, most of the female mortality advantage has disappeared by the end of the first year of life; median expectation of life at age 1 is 51 years for women, and 50 years for men. For those who reach age 5, the median expectation of life for women is 53 years and for men, 52 years. This convergence implies that much of the difference in life expectancy at birth and in survival to age 5 is due to differential infant mortality; the median infant mortality rate for boys is 152 deaths per 1,000 live births, for girls, 132. A convergence in the pre-school years is in marked contrast to the pattern in low mortality countries, where women retain a considerable mortality advantage throughout life, and implies that Sub-Saharan African women are experiencing higher mortality relative to men at older ages than they would under a low mortality schedule.

Regional differences in mortality are evident. For both women and men, mortality is higher in Western and Central Africa than in the Eastern and Southern subregions, and female/male ratios tend also to be more favorable to women in the latter two subregions. Simple correlational analyses of national level data find female literacy and/or education negatively associated with the mortality measures, associations that do not disappear when per capita GNP is statistically controlled.

Chapter 2

Sources of Data

The primary source of the statistical data analyzed in this handbook is the WID Data Base created by the Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, under the auspices of the U.S. Agency for International Development. The data file, including statistics for 120 countries worldwide, is contained on a computer tape. The capability also exists for selecting and printing tables in a standardized format. A list of table titles for which data were compiled by sex and rural/urban residence may be found in appendix B.

The same factors which are responsible for the underdeveloped status of most of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region also are responsible for their relatively underdeveloped statistical systems. During the period 1955 to 1974, 15 of the 40 countries included in this analysis did not conduct a single national census, while five others took only one. Even for countries that did achieve national enumerations, the data are often incomplete or of uncertain quality. Fortunately, the situation has improved considerably during the 1980 census round. To date, only three countries (Chad, Ethiopia, and Zaire) have never taken a national census.

For most of the countries, the basic population data presented in chapter 3 were gathered during the 1970 round of population censuses. For eight of the countries, data from an earlier census have been taken as the basic set, either because they provide more complete breakdowns by age, sex, and rural/urban residence, or because none other are available. For nine countries, the population data come from the 1980 round of censuses. In some countries, demographic sample surveys provide a basis upon which to estimate national population parameters. However, in a continent with high rates of labor migration and many nomadic and refugee peoples, survey data often pertain only to the de jure and settled population, and may not cover the entire country. In all cases, choice of the reference data set has been based on the availability of population data by age, sex, and rural/urban residence, and of data for approximately the same period on labor force, education, marital and household status, fertility, and mortality. The population data therefore are intended to provide a proper context for the discussions in chapters 4 to 8 of the situation of women with respect to education, economic activity, and the like. Thus, for a number of countries, the population statistics appearing in chapter 3 do not represent the most recent data available but rather the most complete data available with respect to those indicators of women's status which are the subject of this handbook. Where more recent (but usually more limited) population data are available, that has been noted and important differences pointed out in text, tables, or chapter notes

Selection and Quality of Data

As is well known, there are vast differences in both the quantity and the quality of statistics reported by the various countries. Furthermore, in spite of international recommendations, such as those provided by the United Nations, for the standardization of concepts and definitions pertaining to data collected in censuses and surveys, there continue to be wide discrepancies in data collection practices due to legitimate differences of what is appropriate in the varying cultural contexts. As a result, any attempt to compile standard data across countries, such as those in the WID Data Base, requires some decisions about whether and how the reported data should be manipulated so as to provide comparability. Certainly there is not a single right solution to this problem, but it is essential to set rules from the start so that consistent decisions are made whenever similar data situations are encountered among countries.

The standards used in selecting and evaluating the data for inclusion in the data base depend to some extent on the type of data being considered. For the demographic subjects, only

data of benchmark quality are included. The concept of benchmark data refers to statistics (as reported by the country, as adjusted by researchers, or as derived by applying demographic techniques to incomplete data) which have been evaluated by the Census Bureau analysts and judged to be as representative as possible of the true situation. These data are internally consistent for a given country (for example, birth rates, death rates, international migration rates, population growth rates, and age/sex composition all fit together in a logical demographic pattern) and are consistent with other facts that are known about the country (for example, fertility levels are consistent with family planning practices and goals, and mortality levels are consistent with known health indexes).

These data also have been checked for external consistency. They have been compared to data for other countries in the same region or subregion and to those elsewhere at approximately the same level of economic and social development to ensure that they are not out of line.

These benchmark data refer to the date on which the census or survey was taken, that is, no projections beyond the reference date are included among them. Demographic data that do not conform to these rigid benchmark requirements are generally not included in the data base. The source and method of derivation of the estimates are explained in the notes accompanying each table.

For socioeconomic variables (data on households, marital status, education, and economic activity), less rigid requirements were placed on the accuracy of the data. No techniques have been applied to evaluate the quality of the data in the socioeconomic tables, and most of these statistics are presented as they appear in the original sources. Nevertheless, the same care has been taken to annotate the sources and to explain any discrepancies in totals or deviations from standard international practices.

Concepts and Definitions

Concepts and definitions usually are not standardized among countries beyond what has already been done by the countries themselves for two reasons: first, the information is usually not available to manipulate the data to conform to standard concepts, and second, the differing concepts or definitions are often deliberately developed for reasons relating to each country's particular situation. For example, a country with only a few small urban centers needs a different definition of urban than a country that is already predominantly urban. On the other hand, nearly all countries define literacy as the ability to read and write, although some countries include additional requirements such as the ability to write a simple statement about everyday life or the ability to read and write a specific language.

Although in the WID Data Base no attempt has been made to standardize the definitions of concepts such as urban, literacy, or economic activity, and such data are presented as reported by the country, all tables are nevertheless annotated, specifying the definition used by the country for these concepts and others such as nationality, household, and school enrollment. Thus in all cases the user has the opportunity to examine a fairly substantial set of notes that may help to explain any apparent discrepancies in the statistics from one country to another.

Time Period

For the basic distribution of the population by age and sex, data are presented for the latest 2 census years. Most of the tables present data for the latest year available at the time of compilation. For countries whose data were compiled at an early stage of the project, updated tables presenting later statistics have been added to the file.

Some tables, for which a measure of change is most relevant and most readily available, present a time series of data. This is done for the various measures of mortality and fertility, where all available benchmark data since 1970 are presented; in a few cases where no post-1970 data are available, the latest post-1960 estimate is given for these measures.

Auxiliary Measures

Users may choose to manipulate the data to derive additional rates and ratios to measure the status of women in the various subject areas covered in the data base, and this has sometimes been done in the analytical portions of this handbook. These measures may be designed to compare the position of women versus men with respect to a particular topic, or they may relate women in a particular category to all persons in the same category.

For example, the percent literate is shown in the data base for women and men; another measure may be derived to present the female/male ratio of the percent literate. A similar ratio can be devised for other topics such as the female/male ratio of the percent urban, the female/male ratio of the labor force participation rate, and so on.

In the other instance, to analyze women's share in a particular category or activity, the data can be used to calculate the percent of all persons with a given characteristic who are women. For example, it may be useful to calculate the female share of the rural labor force in a developing country. This measure would be derived using the number of economically active rural women as the numerator and the number of economically active rural persons of both sexes as the denominator. Such a measure might also be derived separately for various age groups or for any other characteristic.

Of course more conventional percent distributions also are useful in many instances, such as a percent distribution of women by marital status. Sometimes, just one percentage is a useful measure across countries, such as the percent single among women ages 20 to 24 years. Many of these derived measures lend themselves easily to graphic presentation as well.

Data Availability

Given the criteria established for the selection of statistics for the WID Data Base, it is not surprising that not all data were available for all countries. In many cases, even when data of appropriate quality were available, they often did not fit the

established categories exactly. In order to provide a summary of the amount and standardized nature of the statistics in the data base, a tally was made of the number of rows and columns of data in each table, and these results were compared to the number of rows and columns in each standard table outline. The tally is summarized in table 2.1.

Ordinarily, a country should have 31 tables of data. (It will be noted from the list in appendix B that there are 19 table numbers, but several tables have parts A, B, and C, totalling 31 tables.) If updated information has been added, certain table numbers appear more than once, giving some countries more than 31 tables. A standard table is one whose number of rows and columns conforms to the outline. An actual table may be nonstandard for trivial reasons, for example, because a single age category was different from the outline; or it may be nonstandard in significant ways, for example, because data for only a total row were available when considerably more detail was intended. A frequent reason for a classification as nonstandard is the lack of a rural/urban breakdown of the data.

Sometimes no data at all were found on a particular topic for a given country, as represented by the number of blank tables indicated on table 2.1. For only a few countries, data were found on most topics for which a search was made (only four or five blank tables for Mali and Tanzania, for example), while for Guinea-Bissau, Djibouti, and Somalia nearly all the tables are blank for lack of reliable data.

Table 2.2 presents information on the availability of data by topic for the various countries. Among the topics shown, the ones on which the most countries report data are economic activity and fertility; these are also the topics for which the data are the most recent. Only in Eastern Africa, where five of the ten countries fail to report data on economic activity, is there a substantial lack of information on that subject. In the other subregions, such data are missing for The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau in the Sahel, Nigeria in Coastal West Africa, and Sao Tome and Principe in Southern Africa. Most of these countries are lacking data on many of the other topics as well. For fertility, only one or two countries in each subregion are lacking data, while more than half the countries have fertility statistics pertaining to the 1970's and two to the 1980's.

The poorest showing overall is in data pertaining to household headship, for which 27 of the 40 countries are lacking information. This is especially true in Central Africa, where no country reports such data, and in Southern Africa, where headship is reported only for Malawi. This lack of information is particularly unfortunate for the analysis of household structure in the countries of Southern Africa, where many men are absent for long periods to work in the mines in the Republic of South Africa, as will be noted in subsequent chapters of this handbook.

For internal migration as well, there is a considerable lack of information. In the WID Data Base, internal migration is measured as the percent of population living in each province on the census date who were born in a different province. Among the 40 countries under study, 23 do not report this information. Particularly notable again is the Central Africa subregion, where only Rwanda reports data from which such estimates of internal migration can be made, and Southern Africa, where only Swaziland and Zimbabwe have these data.

From a perspective of the country rather than the topic, Ghana and the Sudan appear to have the most complete data for a fairly recent year. Both countries have some information pertaining to the 1970's on all the topics covered in table 2.2. Mali and Mauritius also have no missing topics, but some of the information relates to the early 1960's (for Mauritius, only the data on literacy pertain to the 1960's, while a crude birth rate for that country is available for 1981). Some other countries have nearly complete data. In particular, Liberia covers all topics except internal migration, and Togo all except household headship. Statistics on most remaining subjects are fairly recent for both countries. Benin and Upper Volta are missing only one topic (life expectancy and school enrollment, respectively), but data on some or all of the other variables are not so recent.

At the other extreme, the data situation for some countries is so poor as to virtually exclude them from the analysis. This is true for at least one country in each of the subregions. No basic information at all was found on any of the topics for Guinea-Bissau in Sahel West Africa nor for Djibouti and Somalia in Eastern Africa. In Madagascar in the latter region, data are missing on all topics except fertility. Statistics are available on four or five of the eight topics for Guinea in Coastal West Africa and for Zaire in Central Africa, but for both countries these data relate only to the mid 1950's. Also in Central Africa, Sao Tome and Principe has data on only one of the topics (fertility). Finally, in Southern Africa, Angola covers only economic activity among the subjects under study.

A further discussion of the availability and quality of data on each topic analyzed in the handbook is included in the appropriate chapter. All tables and charts presented in the handbook are derived from the WID Data Base unless stated otherwise. When no data were available on a particular topic for a given country, that country is omitted from the table in the handbook. As noted above, for Africa it is especially important to consider not only the quality but also the recency of the data on the various topics because some of the statistics are quite old. In order to present all of the available information while at the same time making a distinction between reliable recent data and benchmark statistics that are now quite outdated, all pertinent data from the WID Data Base, regardless of their time reference, are presented in the tables while information in the charts is restricted to countries whose most recent data refer to 1970 or later. In some instances, a country is included in a chart even though its data are incomplete. For example, if certain data are being presented in a bar chart for the "latest two censuses" and the country has had only one census reporting that information, only the one bar will be shown for that country.

Further information on the Women in Development Data Base, including how to access the computer file or obtain hard copy printouts, may be obtained by addressing the Chief, Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Table 2.1. Number of Tables in WID Data Base, by Country and Category

Region and country	Total	Standard	Nonstandard	Blank
SAHEL WEST AFRICA				
Cape Verde	31	2	16	13
Chad	31	5	17	9
The Gambia	31	0	15	16
Guinea-Bissau	33	0	5	28
Mali	41	8	29	4
Mauritania	32	5	19	8
Niger	37	2	27	8
Senegal	31	5	12	14
Upper Volta	31	4	15	12
COASTAL WEST AFRICA				
Benin	31	4	21	6
Ghana	31	5	19	7
Guinea	31	3	13	15
Ivory Coast	31	1	13	17
Liberia	31	15	8	8
Nigeria	31	1	6	24
Sierra Leone	38	1	27	10
Togo	31	5	18	8
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	32	1	15	16
Cameroon	31	3	20	8
Rwanda	35	5	18	12
Sao Tome and Principe	31	0	6	25
Zaire	31	0	16	15
EASTERN AFRICA				
Djibouti	32	0	4	28
Ethiopia	31	4	13	14
Kenya	35	1	20	14
Madagascar	31	1	9	21
Mauritius	31	3	20	8
Seychelles	31	1	20	10
Somalia	31	0	3	28
Sudan	31	4	21	6
Tanzania	32	12	15	5
Uganda	31	1	13	17

Table 2.1. Number of Tables in WID Data Base, by Country and Category—Continued

Region and country	Total	Standard	Nonstandard	Blank
SOUTHERN AFRICA				
Angola	31	0	6	25
Botswana	33	3	19	11
Lesotho	31	0	19	12
Malawi	39	10	21	8
Mozambique	32	2	15	15
Swaziland	35	2	18	15
Zambia	33	1	27	5
Zimbabwe	31	5	13	13

Table 2.2. Availability and Recency of Statistics, by Country and Subject

Region and country	Literacy	Enrollment	Internal migration	Economic activity	Marital status	Head of household	Fertility	Life expectancy at birth
SAHEL WEST AFRICA								
Cape Verde	1960	(NA)	(NA)	1960	1960	(NA)	1976	(NA)
Chad	1964	1964	(NA)	1964	1964	(NA)	1963-64	1964
The Gambia	(NA)	1973	1973	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1973	1973
Guinea-Bissau	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mali	1960-61	1976	1976	1976	1976	1976	1960-61	1960-61
Mauritania	1977	(NA)	(NA)	1965	(NA)	1965	1965	1965
Niger	1977	(NA)	(NA)	1977	1977	1960	1960	1960
Senegal	(NA)	(NA)	1971	1970	1970	(NA)	1973-78	1970-71
Upper Volta	1975	(NA)	1975	1975	1975	1975	1960-61	1960-61
COASTAL WEST AFRICA								
Benin	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	(NA)
Ghana	1971	1970	1970	1970	1971	1970	1970	1970
Guinea	(NA)	1954-55	(NA)	1954-55	1954-55	1954-55	(NA)	(NA)
Ivory Coast	1975	(NA)	1975	1975	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	1974	(NA)	1974	1974	1974	1970-71	1970-71
Nigeria	1971-73	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1971-73	1971-73
Sierra Leone	1963	1963	1963	1963	(NA)	(NA)	1974	1974
Togo	1970	1970	1970	1970	1970	(NA)	1970	1961
CENTRAL AFRICA								
Burundi	1970-71	1970-71	(NA)	1970-71	1970-71	(NA)	1970-71	1970-71
Cameroon	1976	1976	(NA)	1976	1976	(NA)	1976	1976
Rwanda	1970	(NA)	1970	1970	1970	(NA)	1970	1970
Sao Tome and Principe	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1973-79	(NA)
Zaire	1955-57	1955-57	(NA)	1955-57	1955-57	(NA)	1955-57	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA								
Djibouti	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Ethiopia	1970	(NA)	(NA)	1970	(NA)	1970	1968-71	(NA)
Kenya	(NA)	(NA)	1969	(NA)	1969	1961	1977	1977
Madagascar	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1975	(NA)
Mauritius	1962	1972	1972	1972	1972	1972	1981	1971-73
Seychelles	1960	(NA)	(NA)	1977	1960	(NA)	1980	1974-78
Somalia	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sudan	1973	1973	1973	1973	1973	1973	1972-73	1968-73
Tanzania	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967	(NA)	1973	(NA)
Uganda	(NA)	1969	1969	(NA)	1969	(NA)	1969	1969

Table 2.2. Availability and Recency of Statistics, by Country and Subject—Continued

Region and country	Literacy	Enrollment	Internal migration	Economic activity	Marital status	Head of household	Fertility	Life expectancy at birth
SOUTHERN AFRICA								
Angola	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Botswana	1964	1971	(NA)	1971	1971	(NA)	1971	1964-71
Lesotho	1966	1966	(NA)	1966	1966	(NA)	1971	(NA)
Malawi	(NA)	1977	(NA)	1977	1977	1970-72	1977	(NA)
Mozambique	1970	(NA)	(NA)	1970	1970	(NA)	1970	(NA)
Swaziland	(NA)	1976	1966	1976	(NA)	(NA)	1976	1966-76
Zambia	1969	1969	(NA)	1969	1969	(NA)	1969	1969
Zimbabwe	(NA)	1969	1969	1969	(NA)	(NA)	1969	(NA)

Note: Reference years shown in this table usually refer to national-level data that are available in sufficient detail to be included in the tables of this handbook. On the rural/urban level, considerably less information is available on most topics.

Chapter 3

Population Distribution and Change

Because the changing situation of women must be seen in its sociodemographic context, the analysis of data from the WID Data Base begins with a description of the population of the Sub-Saharan Africa region (excluding South Africa) — its size, growth, composition, geographic distribution, change over time, and the population processes responsible for those changes. After a review of data availablility, chapter 3 characterizes the region's population, drawing upon data from a number of sources. Presentation of data describing the reference population of each of the 40 individual countries follows. The data are illustrated in tables and figures, and are discussed in the light of regional trends. In considering components of population change, attention is given in this chapter to migration and its impact on the situation of women, but detailed discussion of both fertility and mortality is left for chapters 7 and 8.

Data Availability

The data presented in this chapter were selected on the basis of the availability of detailed population counts by sex, age, and rural/urban residence and of data on indicators of the status of women, that is, education/literacy, employment, mortality, and so forth, for approximately the same time period. Thus they serve as a set of reference populations for subsequent analysis. Most come from the 1970 round of censuses and/or surveys, and represent the most complete, but not necessarily the most recent data. For the discussion of population growth and rates of urbanization, however, data are presented from the two most recent censuses or surveys.

Population totals are available for each of the 40 countries, and totals by sex for all but two. Nearly all countries have data by sex and age for at least one time period; many have such data for two dates, and a few for three. Close to two-thirds of the countries have tabulated data by age and sex separately for rural and urban areas. Beyond these basic tabulations, however, the countries differ considerably in the availability of detailed population data. More than a third of the countries have not published information on the composition of the population with respect to race or ethnic group, nationality, language, or religion, and almost none have information on income.

Overview

The Sub-Saharan Africa region contains 16 percent of the world's continental land mass but, in 1983, only 8 percent of its population, an observation which has led some to conclude that the region is too sparsely populated for optimum economic development (Okediji and Bahri, 1974). However, such a conclusion would seem to discount the region's extraordinary variation in climate, terrain, and ecology, and its potentially rich resource base. Population density varies widely with the land and the climate, ranging from nearly 500 persons per square mile in agriculturally fertile Rwanda and Burundi to fewer than 4 in arid or semiarid Botswana and Mauritania, where livestock forms the basis of the economy.[1] Population growth rates in the region are almost uniformly high. Recent estimates place the 1982-83 growth rate for the world at 1.8 percent, and at 2.1 percent for the developing countries as a group, while for the same period the growth rate for all of Africa is estimated at 3.0 percent. For the population residing in the 40 Sub-Saharan African countries of this study, the rate was higher still, 3.1 percent. Of these, Chad and Kenya are estimated to have current population growth rates of more than 4 percent, among the highest in the world (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983).

[1] Statistics presented in this overview of the Sub Saharan Africa region as a whole and its place in the developing world have come from statistical series prepared by the Population Reference Bureau (1980); the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, and 1983c); and the World Bank (1980a, 1980c, 1981, and 1982).

These high growth rates are the combined result of continuing high fertility in most countries and relatively high but falling mortality in virtually all. With the exception of the island countries of Cape Verde, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, all the study countries continue to have crude birth rates at or above 40 per 1,000 population, and close to one-half have rates of 48 and over. Most show current crude death rates in the range of 18 to 22 per 1,000 population, down roughly 7 to 8 points since 1960. With the exception again of the island countries and a few others, estimated infant mortality rates are greater than 100 deaths per 1,000 live births, and life expectancies at birth are under 50 years. Such a demographic pattern means that the population of Sub-Saharan Africa is a young one; approximately 45 percent are under 15 years of age, 52 percent are between ages 15 and 64 years, and only 3 percent are age 65 years or over (United Nations, 1982).

The population of the continent is also a diverse one, and relatively few of the countries are homogeneous with respect to ethnicity, language, culture, or religion. During its long period of development, Africa has generated a very large number of language groups and nationalities, each with its own culture and way of life. Onto these, as a result of influences coming from both the Arab world and the West, additional religious, linguistic, and cultural differences have been grafted.

When the colonial powers carved up the continent, they did so with little reference to the existing distribution of nationalities or of religious or linguistic communities. At independence, the new nation states maintained the former colonial boundaries in most cases, and as a consequence some nationalities have been divided among several countries, while most countries try to reconcile the conflicting interests of a number of distinctly different micronations into a single national identity. Conflict and tension have been the inevitable result and have on occasion erupted into civil war.

Most of the countries are heavily rural, but urban populations are growing rapidly. Urban dwellers in Sub-Saharan Africa increased their share of the estimated population from only 18 percent in 1970 to 24 percent by 1980. This percentage is smaller than the 31 percent which is the 1980 average for the developing countries taken as a group; nevertheless Sub-Saharan Africa is rapidly closing the gap with a 1970-80 annual rate of urban growth of 5.5 percent, a rate 1.4 times the average for all developing countries during the same period (United Nations, 1982).

Much of this growth must be attributed to natural increase. The World Fertility Survey, although limited to a very few countries in the region,[2] has confirmed the impression from other studies that urban fertility, particularly among younger women, is nearly as high as that in the rural areas, while urban infant and child mortality rates tend to be lower. However, migration from the smaller towns and the rural areas also is responsible for much of the rapid increase in urbanization seen over the past two decades, especially in West Africa where population mobility is particularly high and there is a long-standing urban tradition.

The temporary migration of labor, both internal and international, particularly in West Africa and in Southern Africa, is a second major component in a continuous redistribution of population in the region.[3] A third, the unfortunate result of severe and persistent drought, in some cases combined with civil conflict, is the flight and resettlement of refugees and the homeless in the Sahel, in the Horn of Africa,[4] and in parts of Southern Africa. Finally, there are the movements of the nomadic peoples of the arid and semiarid zones who traverse the region, often crossing national boundaries on seasonal or longer cycles.

Women are affected by all this movement in two ways. There is first the impact upon the women who move, whether in search of better opportunities or in flight from disaster. And there is the impact of male labor migration upon the women who are left behind to cope however they can with the family farm and the children, often with few resources and no decision-making authority. Both kinds of mobility tend to result in households which are headed by women. In the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, as elsewhere, such households tend to be more vulnerable to economic hardship.[5]

As a consequence of this continual shifting of populations, most African countries are more concerned about issues of population distribution than of population size or national rates of growth, and nearly all have instituted policies designed to slow or to redirect these movements. All have policies and programs to reduce mortality, particularly that of infants and young children. Only about one-fourth of the governments have taken any action designed specifically to reduce fertility, although in most countries family planning, particularly for child spacing, may be included among the services offered to women in both private and government health centers. Rates of contraceptive use are extremely low, generally under 8 percent at the national level; urban rates are somewhat higher (Nortman, 1982). It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the regional population trends of the past two decades will continue with relatively little change through the 1980's. However, as the governments of the region come under increasing pressure from the development implications of a rapidly growing number of children to be educated and youth to be employed, more of them may begin to institute policies designed to retard the pace of childbearing. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to expect dramatic shifts during the current decade in the population processes and national priorities reviewed above. Estimates and projections of the population size and components of change for the region as prepared by the United Nations for the period 1960 to 2025 are illustrated in figure 3.1.

---

[2] Sub-Saharan African countries for which reports are available from the World Fertility Survey are Kenya, Lesotho, Senegal, and Sudan (see World Fertility Survey, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

[3] For discussions of labor migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, see Caldwell (1969), Carter and O'Meara (1977), Gordon (1981), Grundy (1973), Hance (1971 and 1975), Little (1973), Smith, Khoo, and Fawcett (1983), Wilson (1972), and World Bank (1980a and 1980b).

[4] The Sahel includes Cape Verde, Chad, The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta; the Horn of Africa includes Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

[5] For discussions of the impact of migration on women, see Caldwell (1969), Caplan (1981), Gordon (1981), Little (1973), and World Bank (1980b).

Population Size

The 40 countries in this study range in size from the Seychelles, with an estimated population of 65,000, to Nigeria, with an estimated 85 million inhabitants in 1983. In table 3.1, population estimates from the reference data set are presented for each country, for the total country and separately by sex, together with the corresponding sex ratio (males per 100 females) and the female share of the population, that is, the percent female. Table 3.2 and figure 3.2 show the latest midyear population estimates for the 40 countries for the period 1960 to 1985 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c). In these and in all subsequent tables and figures, the countries are grouped by geographic subregion and listed alphabetically within subregions (except in figure 3.3, where countries are ranked by population size). The subregional classification is that used by the U.S. Agency for International Development and reflects a reasonable degree of both cultural and ecological homogeneity. The distribution of the subregional populations is shown graphically in figure 3.3.

Composition by Sex

Sex ratios show considerable intercountry variation. Estimates of males and females (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979) yield sex ratios of 99.9 for the world, 93.7 for the more developed countries, 102.4 for the less developed countries, and 99.0 for the continent of Africa. Sex ratios in the reference data of this study range from a low of 76.1 in Lesotho in 1966, to a high of 108.3 in Somalia in 1975. The Lesotho figure reflects the high male labor migration to the Republic of South Africa, estimated at 12 percent of the male population, as do the relatively low ratios of Botswana and Swaziland. The ratio of 86.5 for Cape Verde too is probably due to male labor emigration. Conversely, the high ratio in the Ivory Coast in 1975 reflects the effect of high male labor immigration; labor was drawn to that country during its rapid economic expansion in the 1970's. Specific reasons for high sex ratios in Somalia and Angola are unknown; they may reflect data collection problems under conditions of civil instability. Estimates by sex are unavailable for Djibouti, and available only for the rural population of Mauritania. Sex ratios for the remaining countries are in the more common range of 90 to 103. Ratios for the individual countries with fairly recent data are illustrated in figure 3.4.

Composition by Age

As noted, the regional population is young with an average of 44.5 percent under 15 years of age, 52 percent in the working ages of 15 to 64 years, and only 3.5 percent are 65 years or over. There is some variability in these proportions. The proportion of children ranges from a low of 37 percent in Sierra Leone (1963) to a high of 51 percent in Rwanda (1970); of the working ages from 46 percent in Togo (1970) to 58 percent in Sierra Leone (1963); of the elderly from 1.5 percent in Rwanda (1970) to 7 percent in Lesotho (1966).

From the standpoint of development planning, proportions of the elderly do not constitute a major constraint in any of the 40 countries. Rather, it is the relative proportions of the young and those of working age in these countries that are likely to have an impact upon development prospects, and the African regional youth-dependency burden is a relatively unfavorable one. Within the region, there are slight differences in age distribution, with over three-fourths of the countries falling into one of two age patterns. In the first, the proportion under age 15 is below the average of about 44.5 percent, while the proportion of working age is average or above, that is, 52 percent or higher. The second pattern is the obverse of the first; the proportion under age 15 is average or above, while the proportion of working age is below average. The 14 countries with the first pattern, showing a lower youth-dependency burden, have an age distribution which is relatively more favorable for economic development. The 14 countries with the second pattern are at a relative disadvantage.

Low percentage of population under 15 years, high percentage 15 to 64 years	High percentage of population under 15 years, low percentage 15 to 64 years
Cape Verde	Chad
The Gambia	Upper Volta
Mali	Benin
Senegal	Ghana
Guinea	Togo
Liberia	Rwanda
Nigeria	Kenya
Sierra Leone	Sudan
Burundi	Uganda
Cameroon	Botswana
Zaire	Malawi
Madagascar	Swaziland
Mauritius	Zambia
Seychelles	Zimbabwe

Seven countries fall outside the two modal groups. In three, Sao Tome and Principe, Tanzania, and Lesotho, the proportions of children and of the working age population are both below average, while the percentages of elderly (4.6, 5.6, and 6.6 percent, respectively) are well above. And in four, Niger, Ivory Coast, Angola, and Mozambique, proportions under 15 years and 15 to 64 years are both above average; percentages of elderly (2.9, 2.0, 2.6, and 2.0 percent, respectively) are of course smaller than average. Data by age are unavailable for the remaining countries.

Distribution by Age and Sex

When age distributions are computed separately by sex, for most countries overall patterns remain the same for the three broad age groups considered in the previous section; a few differences emerge, due perhaps to imbalances introduced into the sex ratios of the population of working age by male labor migration across national boundaries, as well as to problems within the data.

More detailed age breakdowns can be useful in identifying the age/sex pool of potential candidates for important life stage activities. In tables 3.3 and 3.4, percentages of the population in selected age groups are presented separately for women and men. For men, tabulation of reproductive age is omitted. Figure

3.5 illustrates these age distributions for women; in examining this figure, reference should be made to the data and notes of table 3.3 for identification of those countries using nonstandard age groups.

Although data by age and sex are available for most of the 40 countries, comparability is difficult because not all have tabulated the data by standard 5-year age groups. Moreover, the degree of uncertainty in the reporting of ages and the extent of undercounting, particularly of young females, in the different countries is unknown, although it is likely to vary considerably. Such data problems show very quickly in aberrant percent distributions of age by sex, and particularly when sex ratios, that is, measures of the relative numbers of each sex, for the different age groups are examined.

For most countries, these age distributions by sex follow a common pattern in which higher proportions of males than females are found in the younger age groups and to some extent among the elderly, while higher proportions of the female population are in the working ages. Where the age distribution by sex departs from the expected pattern, it may reflect the presence of a large number of male working age immigrants which shifts the male age distribution toward the middle years.

Sex ratios for each of the selected age groups are highly variable, due in large part to differential undercounting by sex and to age misreporting. To the extent that the variability in sex ratios of the working age population reflects real differences, it is probably due primarily to higher male labor migration; intercountry differentials in mortality by sex are likely to be of only secondary importance.

Cultural Diversity

In nearly two thirds of the countries, total counts have been tabulated for the many ethnic groups which make up their population. For the former Portuguese dependencies, counts are made for blacks, whites, mixed and others. In Eastern and Southern Africa, counts are made for Africans, sometimes by specific ethnic group, and Europeans, Arabs, and Asians, also sometimes by specific origin. In the countries of Central and West Africa, more detailed tabulation of African ethnic groups are common; the number of separate groups identified may be as few as two (Djibouti, 1967), or as many as 36 (Togo, 1970).

In most countries, substantial fractions of the population subscribe to each of the three major religious traditions of the region: Islam, Christianity, and the several forms of traditional religion, sometimes referred to as Animism. Data on religious affiliation are found in the WID Data Base for 11 of the 40 countries. In only four of these are the populations religiously homogeneous: Cape Verde and Lesotho (Christian), and Mauritania and Rwanda (Muslim). In the remaining seven, the three major groups are represented in substantial numbers. Of the total population represented by these 11 countries, 32 percent are Muslim, 29 percent are Christian, 20 percent follow one of the traditional religions, and 19 percent report another or no religious affiliation. Although religious differences have been divisive in the region in the past, they are not generally a major problem now except where they have also taken on an ethnic character.[6]

Eight countries report data on nationality. Most of the foreign nationals are urban residents; in these data they constitute anywhere from 2 percent (Benin, 1961) to 34 percent (Ivory Coast, 1975) of the urban population. Periodically, a wave of nationalist chauvinism may break out, as in the case of Nigeria in early 1983, sending foreign nationals back to their countries of origin. Usually, however, the immigrants play an important role in the national economy and their presence is tolerated without major incident.

Only five of the countries have published data on primary language group; as many as 14 different African languages or dialects may be tabulated for a single country. Other languages recorded include English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, Chinese, and six different languages from the Indian subcontinent.[7] These data are of interest in illustrating the diversity which can be found in Sub-Saharan African countries, but they are of little use in indicating the extent to which the population, especially the female population, is fluent in one or more of the languages of government and commerce.

Rural/Urban Differences in Distribution by Age and Sex

Rural and urban populations differ considerably in their composition by age and sex. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show sex ratios for the selected age groups separately for rural and urban areas for the 26 countries for which such data are available in the reference data set. In the rural areas, pre-school age girls outnumber boys in 55 percent of the countries; in urban areas in only 40 percent. In rural areas, primary school-age girls (5 to 9 years) outnumber boys in only 20 percent of the countries; in urban areas in 60 percent of the countries.

In none of the countries do older rural school-age girls (10 to 14 years) outnumber boys; however, the number of rural young women of 15 to 19 years exceeds that of young men in two-thirds of the countries. Such a wide swing is probably the result of age misreporting among women, reflecting the common tendency in rural areas to ascribe older ages to young married women. In contrast, in urban areas the number of girls and young women exceeds that of boys and young men in both of these age groups in one half or more of the countries: for the 10 to 14 year olds, in 65 percent of the countries, and for the 15 to 19 year olds, in 50 percent of the countries.

In rural areas, the number of women of working age exceeds that of men in virtually all countries, while in urban areas women outnumber men in only 10 of the 26 countries, again probably the result of higher male rural-to-urban migration. Finally, among the elderly, in rural areas women outnumber men in one-fifth of the countries; in urban areas, in two-fifths of the countries.

[6] Many observers attribute the current struggle in Chad to the combined result of religious and ethnic divisions between the Arab and Islamic north and the largely black and Animist south. Since, however, these religions coexist in reasonable harmony across the rest of Africa, it may be reasonable to infer that the difficulties arise primarily from ethno-political factors which religious differences may exacerbate but do not create.

[7] For an account of the practical difficulties which this language diversity can create for data gatherers, see Ware (1977).

To summarize, in most countries elderly men outnumber elderly women in both rural and urban areas. For ages under 65 years, rural females outnumber rural males in most countries except during the school ages (5 to 14 years); conversely, urban males outnumber urban females except during the school ages (5 to 14 years), and during the late teens (15 to 19 years) when the number of urban young men exceeds that of urban young women in one-half of the countries.

Urbanization

Although the urban areas are growing rapidly, the population of Sub Saharan Africa is still primarily rural. Only 28 of the world's cities of more than 500,000 population can be found in the region, and a mere 17 percent of the estimated 1980 population was living in urban areas of any size (World Bank, 1982). There is considerable variation among the countries in percent urban. Table 3.7 presents the percent of the population residing in urban areas, by sex, for the two most recent censuses or surveys, and the female/male ratio of those percentages for each date.

At the earlier time, the proportion urban ranged from a low of 1.1 percent in Niger (1960) to a high of 32.9 percent in Mauritius (1962). At the later time, the range was from 3.2 percent in Mozambique (1970) to 42.9 percent in Mauritius (1972). Africa has some very old cities, many of which have been inhabited continuously; among these, Timbuktu in Mali and Kano in Nigeria are perhaps the best known (see Bovill, 1968; Davidson, 1959; and Hull, 1976). However, the more recent explosive growth has come primarily in the capital cities such as Lagos, Kinshasa, and Nairobi.

Men have contributed disproportionately to that growth; nevertheless the data indicate that, with the exception of Zimbabwe, for which data are incomplete, many women have participated in the urbanization process. Most of the female/male ratios of the percent urban are 0.90 or above, and in several countries the ratio is greater than 1.00. Figure 3.6 illustrates the percent of women living in urban areas at the time of the two most recent censuses, and figure 3.7 shows the female/male ratio of the percent urban for the latest available year.

As noted, women in cities have an age distribution which differs from that of men, with relatively higher proportions of women than men in the working ages. Sex ratios for the working ages and the elderly, by rural/urban residence, are illustrated in figure 3.8.

Women in the cities also have an age distribution which differs from that in the rural areas, although the pattern varies somewhat by geographic subregion. Table 3.8 shows the percent distribution of women in the reference populations by age group, separately by rural and urban residence. In West and Central Africa, the proportion of females under age 15 is generally slightly higher in the cities than in the rural areas, while in Eastern and Southern Africa it is usually lower. The proportion age 50 and over tends to be higher in the rural areas in all subregions. And except in the Sahel, the proportion in the active ages (15 to 49 years) tends to be somewhat higher in the urban areas than in the rural. On balance, therefore, the female age distribution in the cities is a younger one than that in the rural areas, although it is older than that of urban males.

Migration

In describing the population of Sub-Saharan Africa in a preceding section, the important role of population redistribution in shaping the policy concerns of the governments in the region was stressed. There have been a number of case studies documenting the extent of population mobility in and among several countries of the region, the most notable of which are the studies of the South African labor market with its flow of working-age men from the surrounding countries; and the 1979 extensive World Bank sponsored review of migration in West Africa.[8] As already noted, there have been a few studies of women migrants to urban areas and of the impact of male labor migration in Southern Africa on the women left behind. Other studies have focused on the nomadic populations or on refugees. For discussions of pastoralism in Africa, see Hance (1971 and 1975); for an historical account of traders and nomads in the Sahel, see Bovill (1968).

Yet, despite its importance, none of the countries in the region has routinely published data on population mobility, whether internal or international. At most, some of the countries have made available data concerning the population currently residing outside the province or country of birth, and/or data on nationality. Table 3.9 presents the percent of the native population who were residing outside the province of birth at the reference date, table 3.10 shows the percent foreign born, and table 3.11 gives the overall percentage of in-movers (whether native or foreign born) to the province of residence at the same date. Figure 3.9 illustrates the percent of native and foreign-born in-movers to the province of residence at the reference date.

The proportion of both female and male migrants among the native population varies considerably from one country to another. The female/male ratios of these proportions range from a low of 0.66 in the Sudan to a high of 1.35 in Mauritius, although 12 of the 16 countries with data show ratios greater than 0.80. Female/male ratios among the foreign born are considerably lower; 10 of the 18 countries with such data show ratios smaller than 0.80. On balance, female/male ratios of percent in-movers to the province of current residence at the reference date confirm the impression from other studies that migration is predominantly a male phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is not overwhelmingly so; in all countries with such data, women constitute at least 40 percent of all in-movers, and in some cases there are more women than men among the migrants.[9]

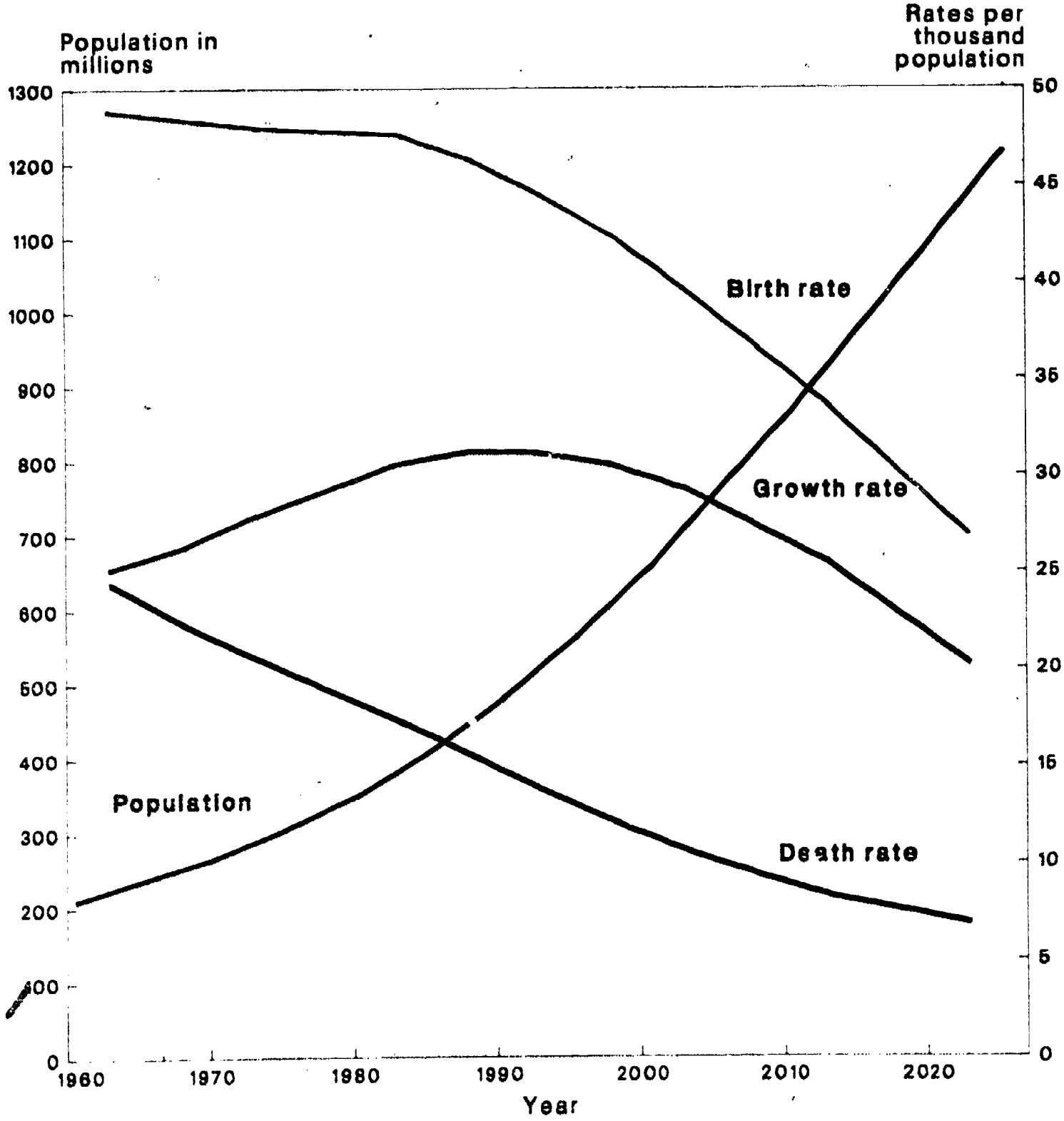
National boundaries, carved out by colonial rulers with little regard to existing ethnic groups and patterns of population movement, have for the most part had the effect of merely slowing but neither stopping nor radically shifting the direction of Africa's traditional mobility. In recent years, however, much of this movement has been to the urban areas. To capture some measure

[8] See sources cited in footnote 3.

[9] For an example of a study which documents a recent increase in the flow of women to the city of Dar-es-Salaam, see World Bank (1980b).

of the movement, table 3.12 shows the percent of the urban population which was foreign born at the reference date, both for the total population and separately by sex, for the eight countries with such data. While in most cases these data show that larger proportions of urban men than women are foreign-born, the differences are not large. Most female/male ratios of these proportions are over 0.80. Only in Benin, however, is the proportion of foreign-born women higher than that of foreign-born men.

Figure 3.1. Sub-Saharan Africa: Estimated and Projected Population Size and Components of Change: 1960 to 2025



Source: United Nations, 1982, pp. 64-175.

Figure 3.2. Estimated and Projected Population: 1960, 1970, and 1985

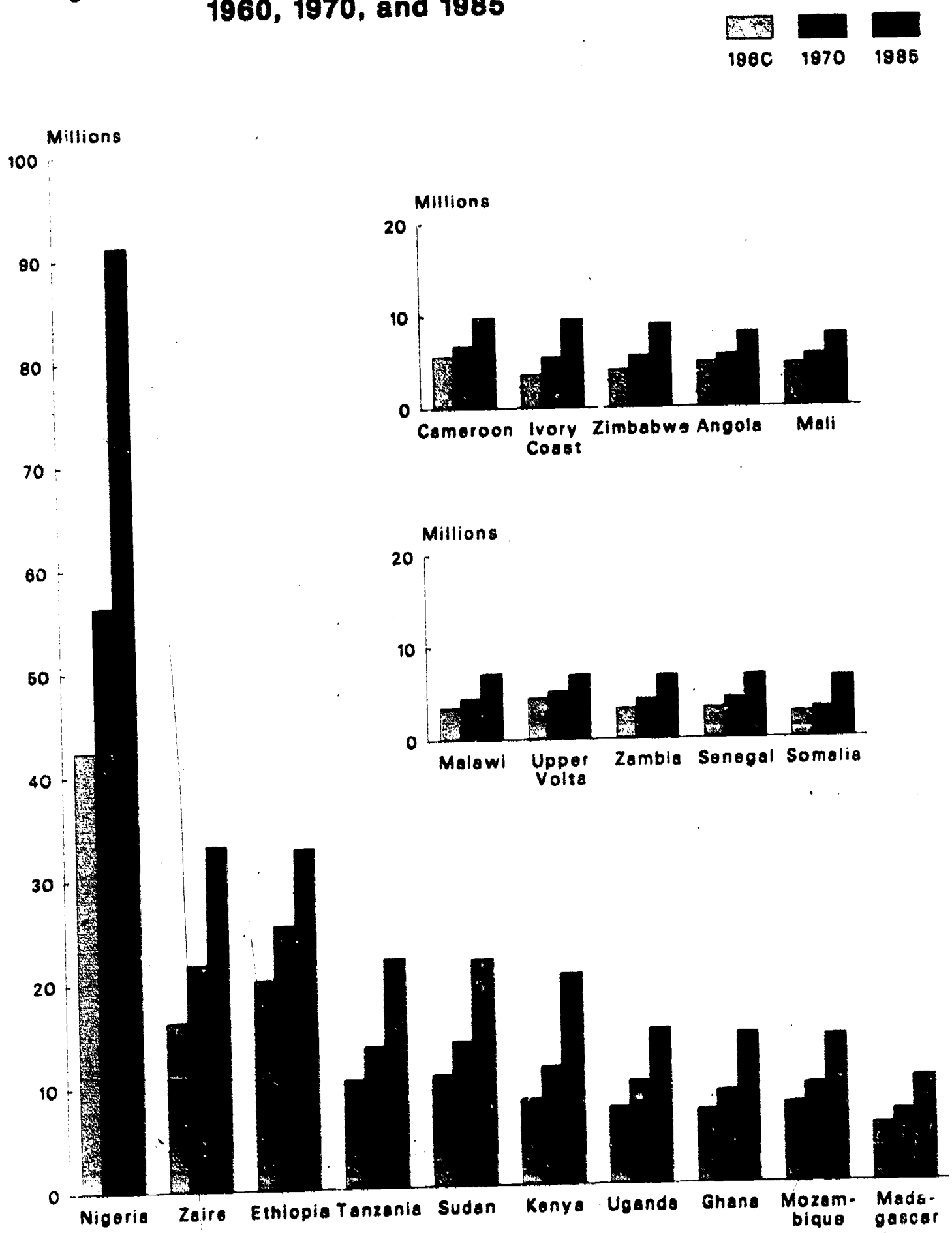
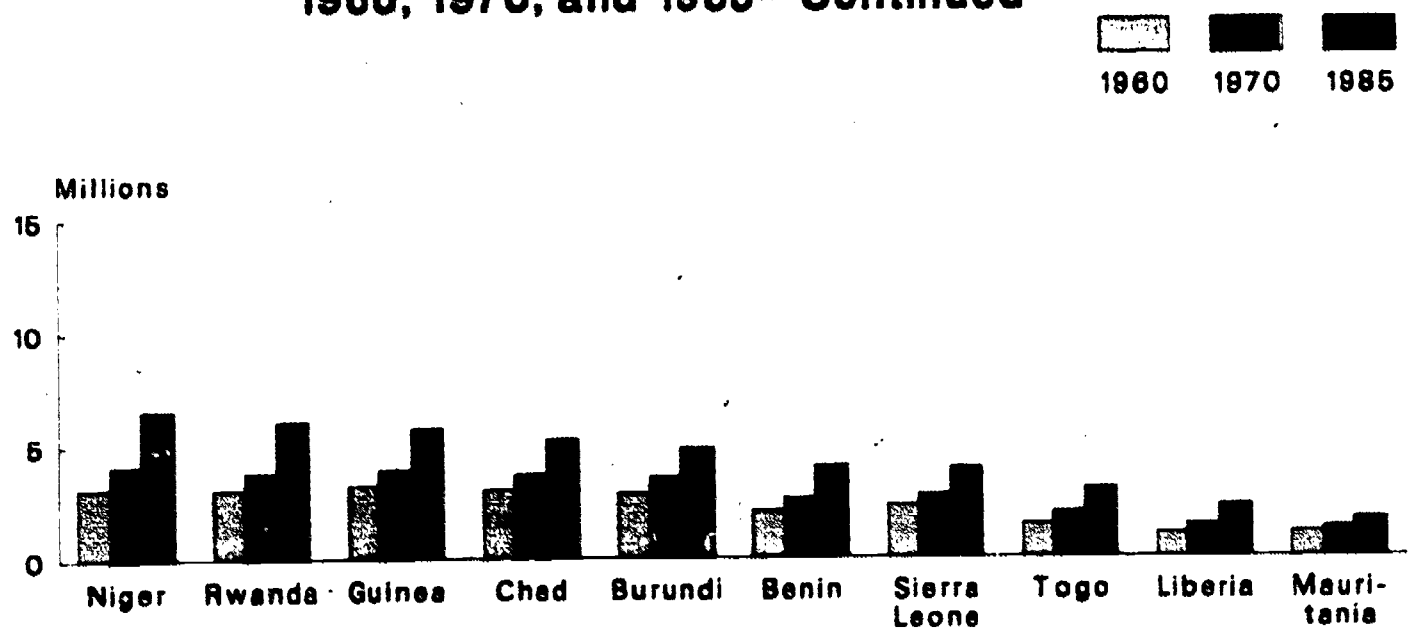
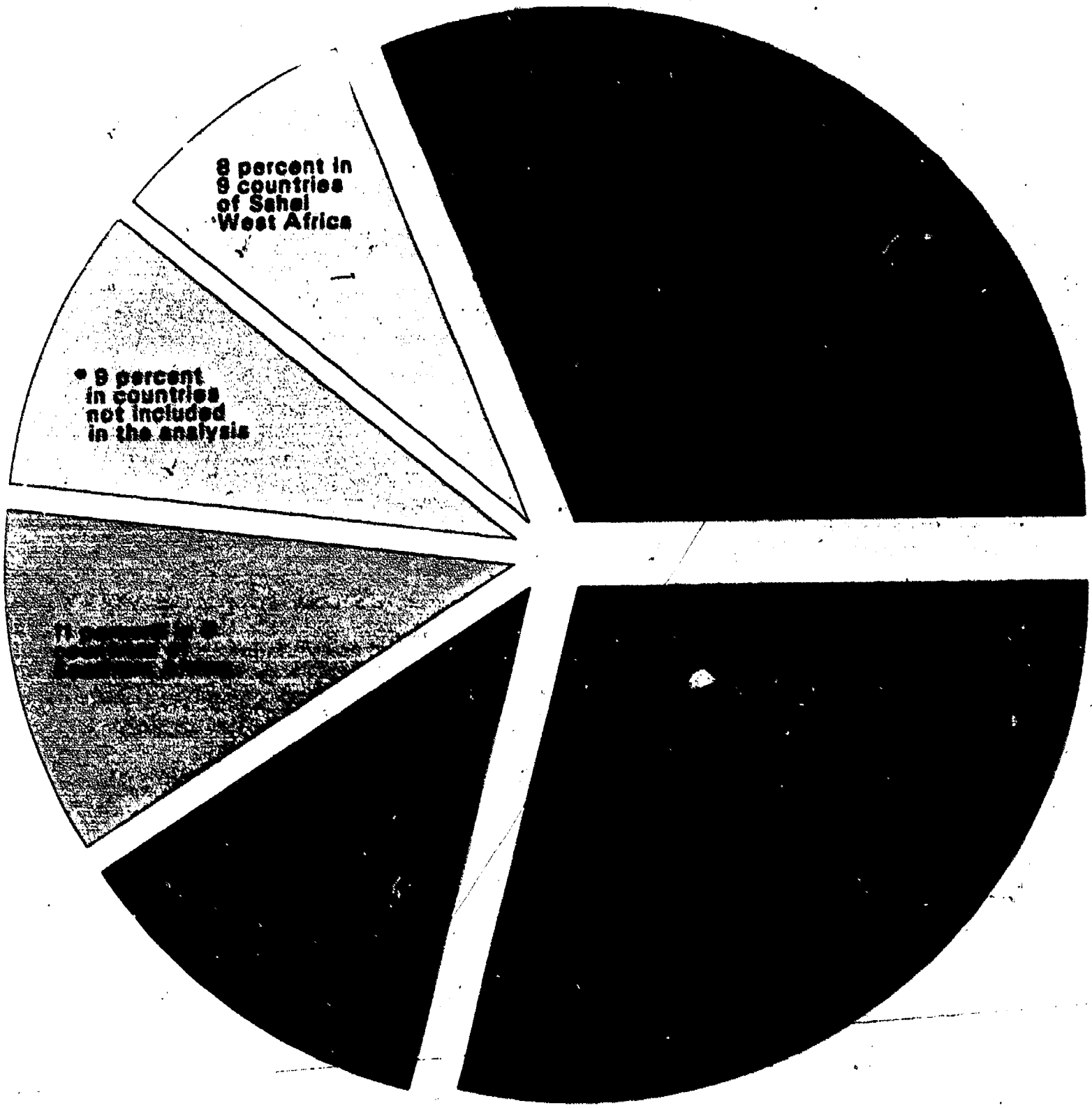


Figure 3.2. Estimated and Projected Population: 1960, 1970, and 1985--Continued



Note: Countries are presented in rank order by population size in 1985.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

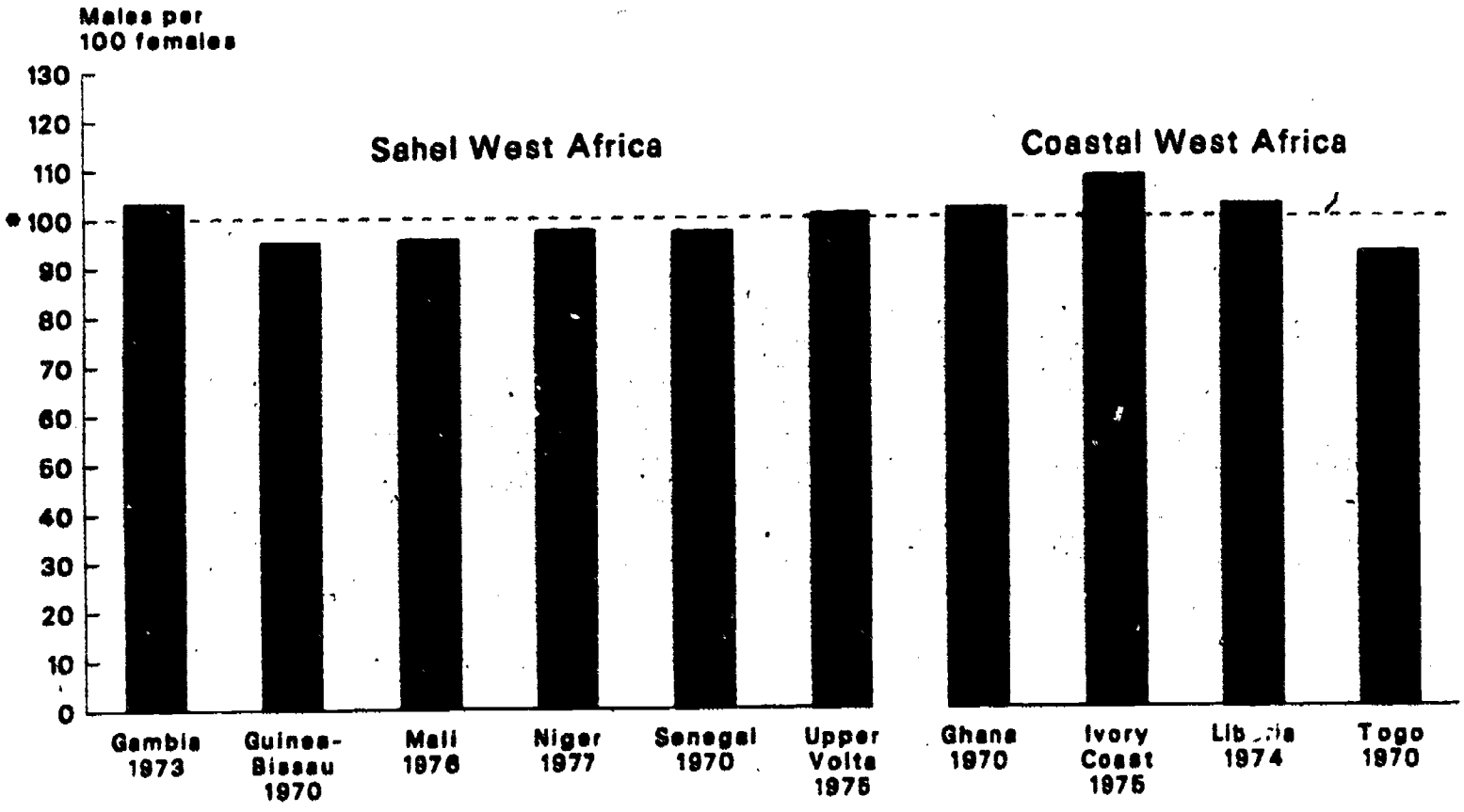
Figure 3.3. Population Distribution of Sub-Saharan African Countries: 1983

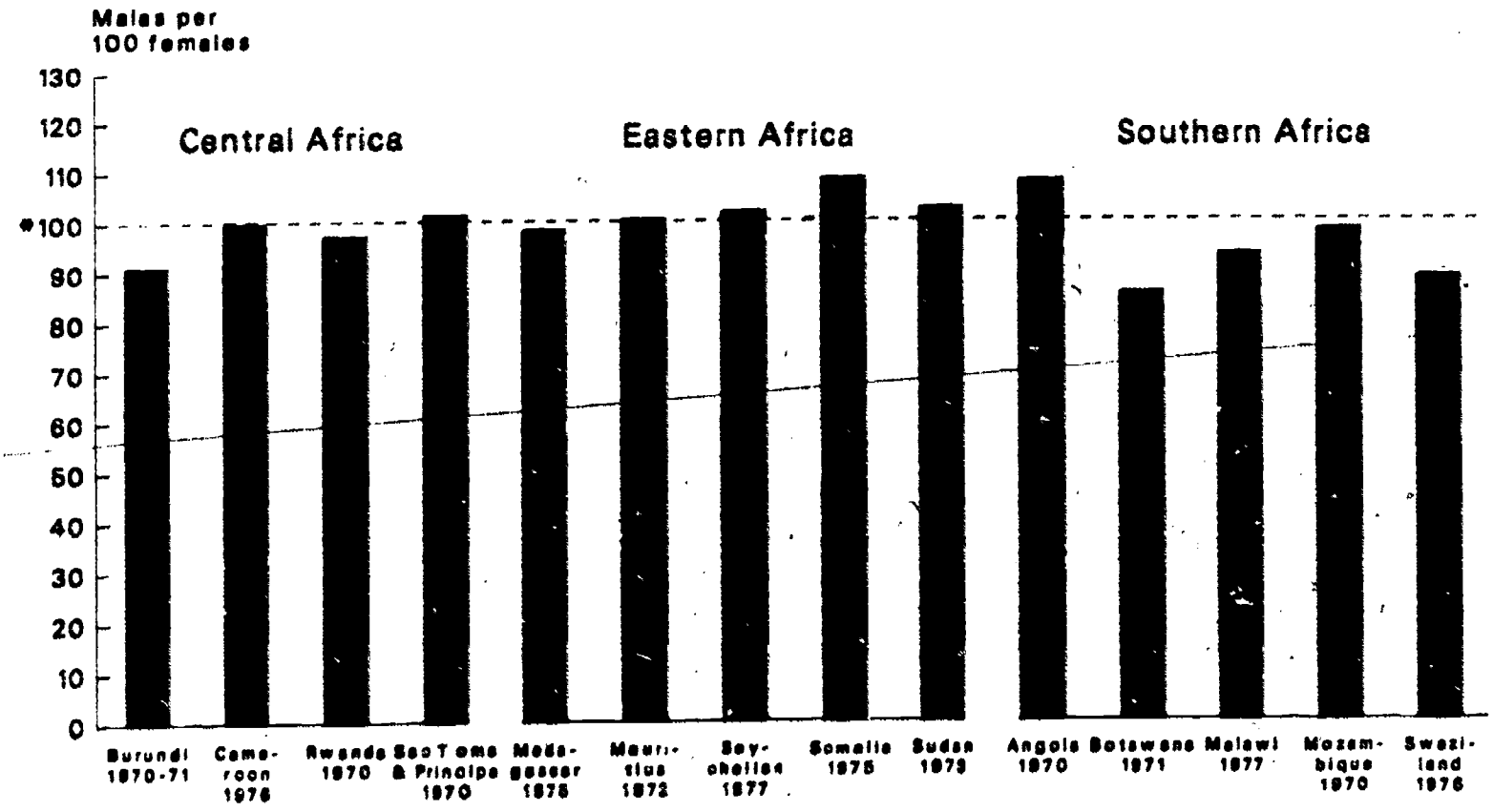


• Handbook excludes 9 percent of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa. Of this, 7 percent refers to South Africa, which was excluded from the analysis, and 2 percent refers to eight countries not presently in the WID data base.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

Figure 3.4. Sex Ratios of Total Population





* Number of males equals number of females.

Figure 3.5. Percent of All Women in Selected Age Groups

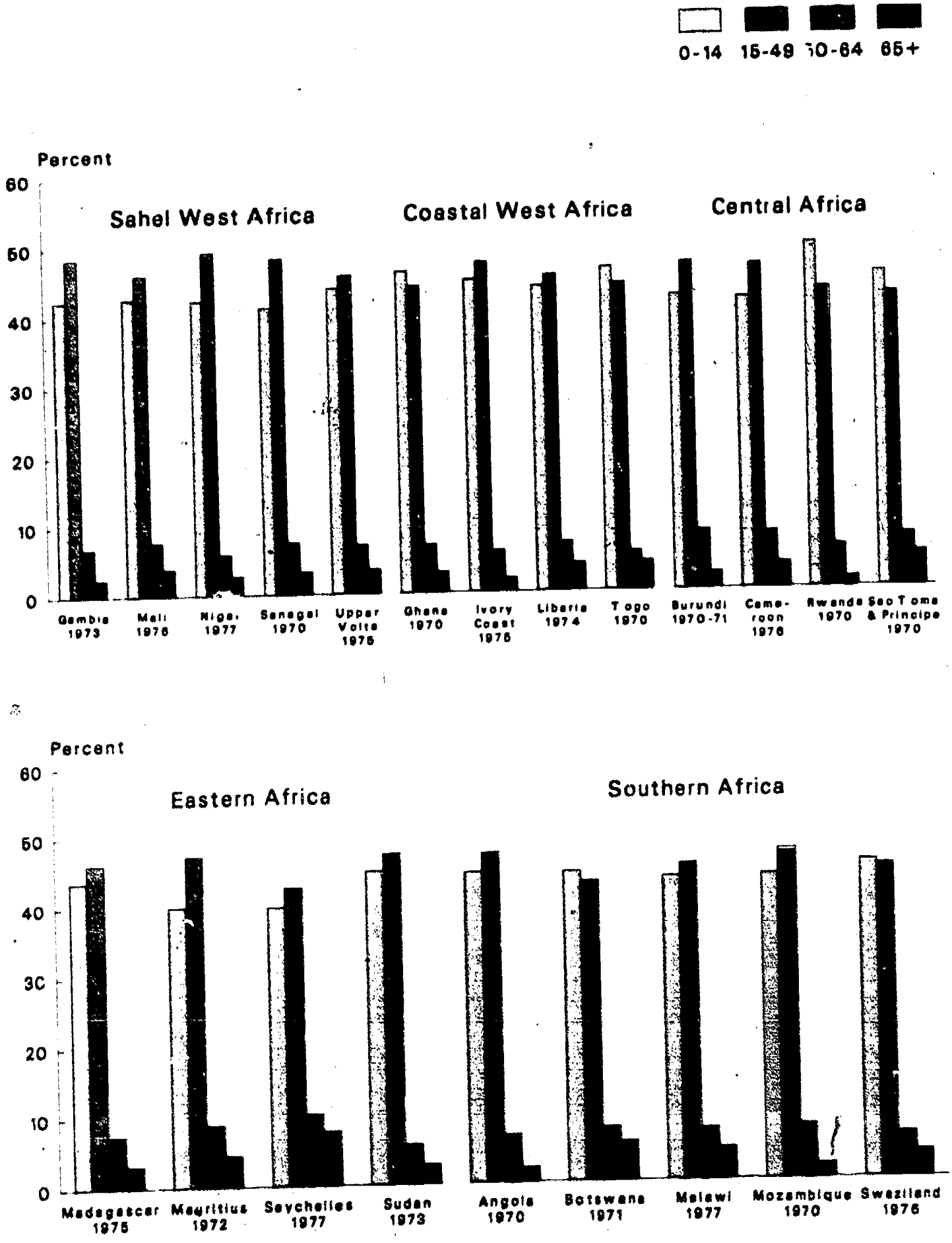
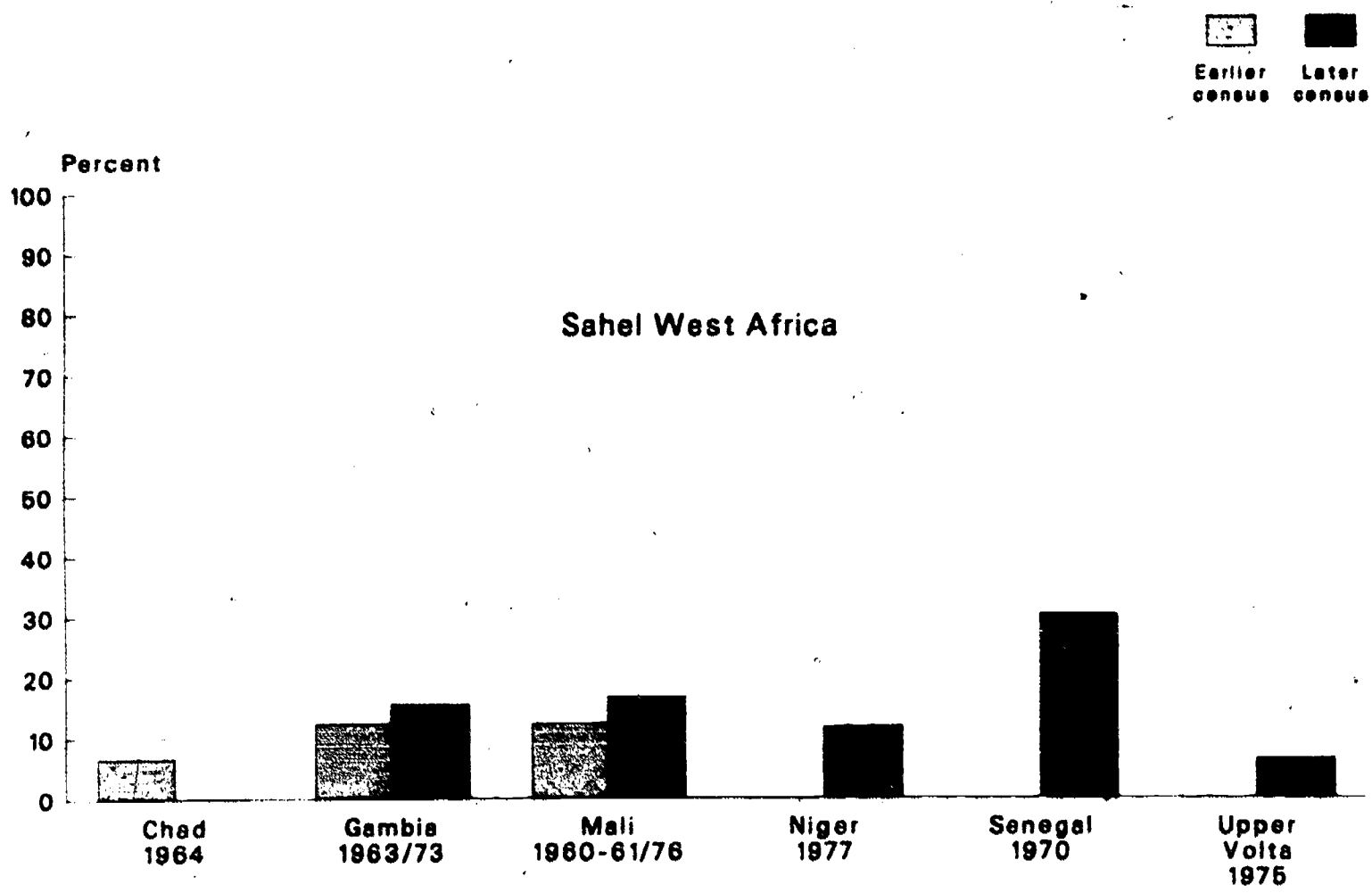


Figure 3.6. Percent of Women Living in Urban Areas, Latest Two Censuses



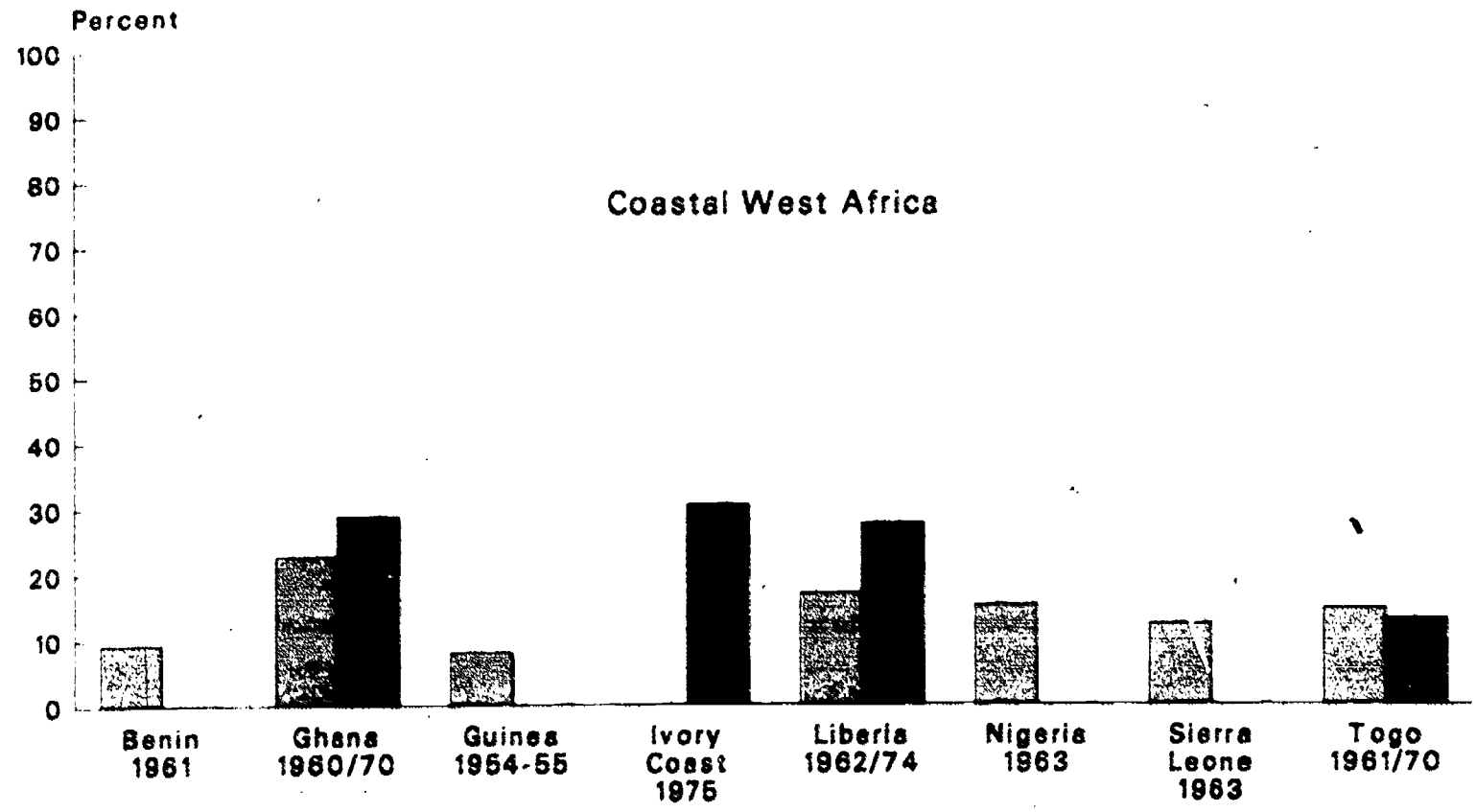


Figure 3.6. Percent of Women Living in Urban Areas, Latest Two Censuses--Continued

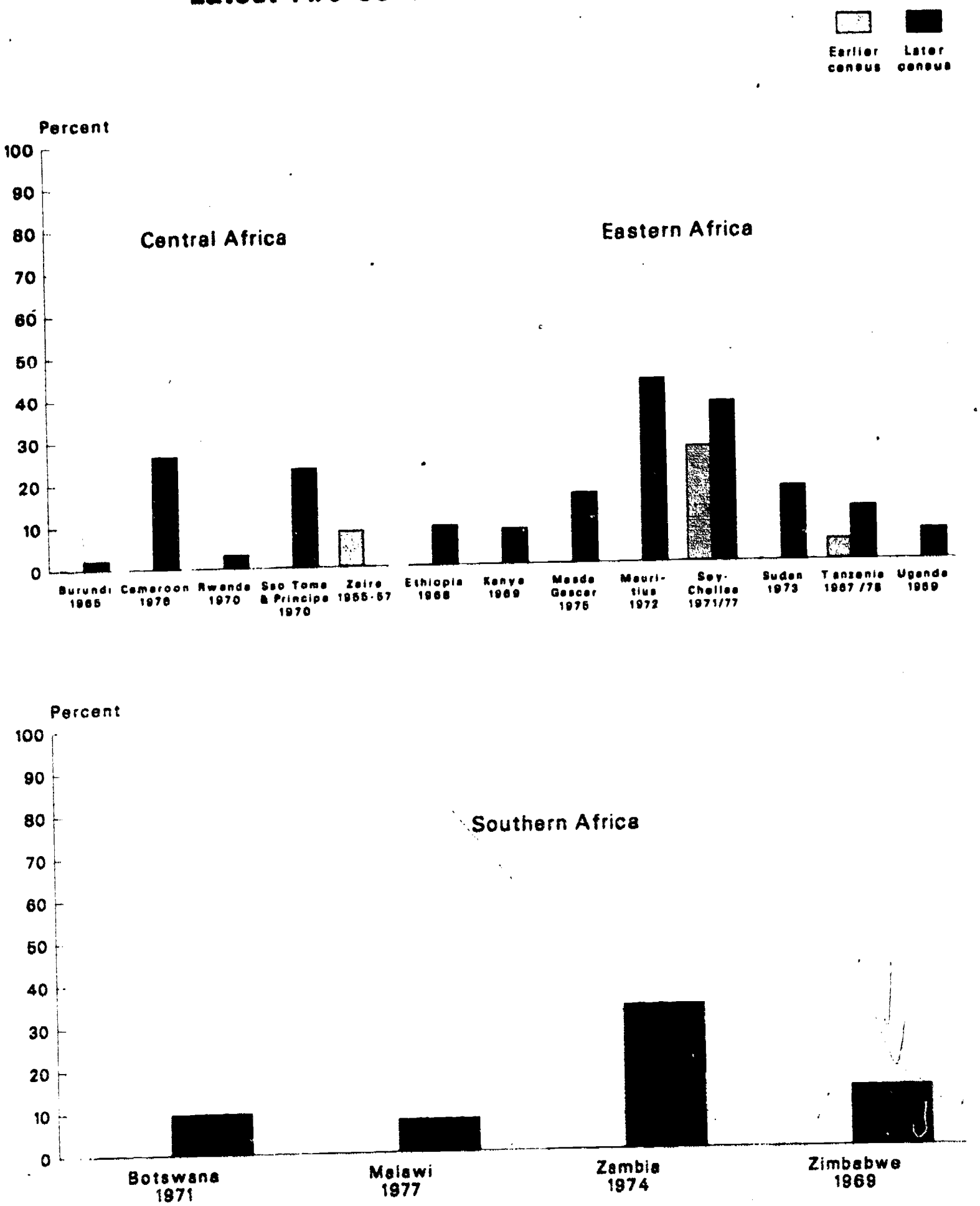
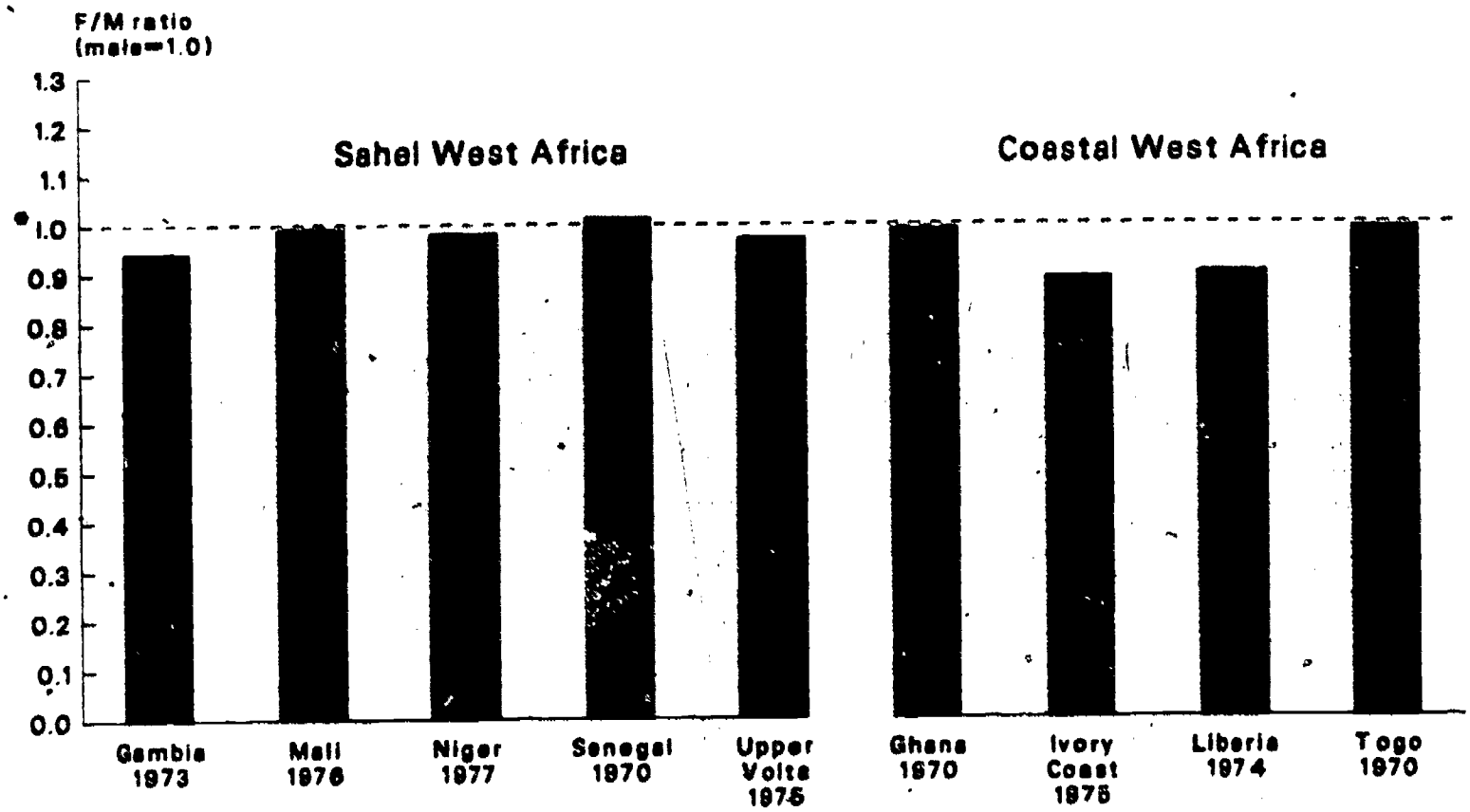
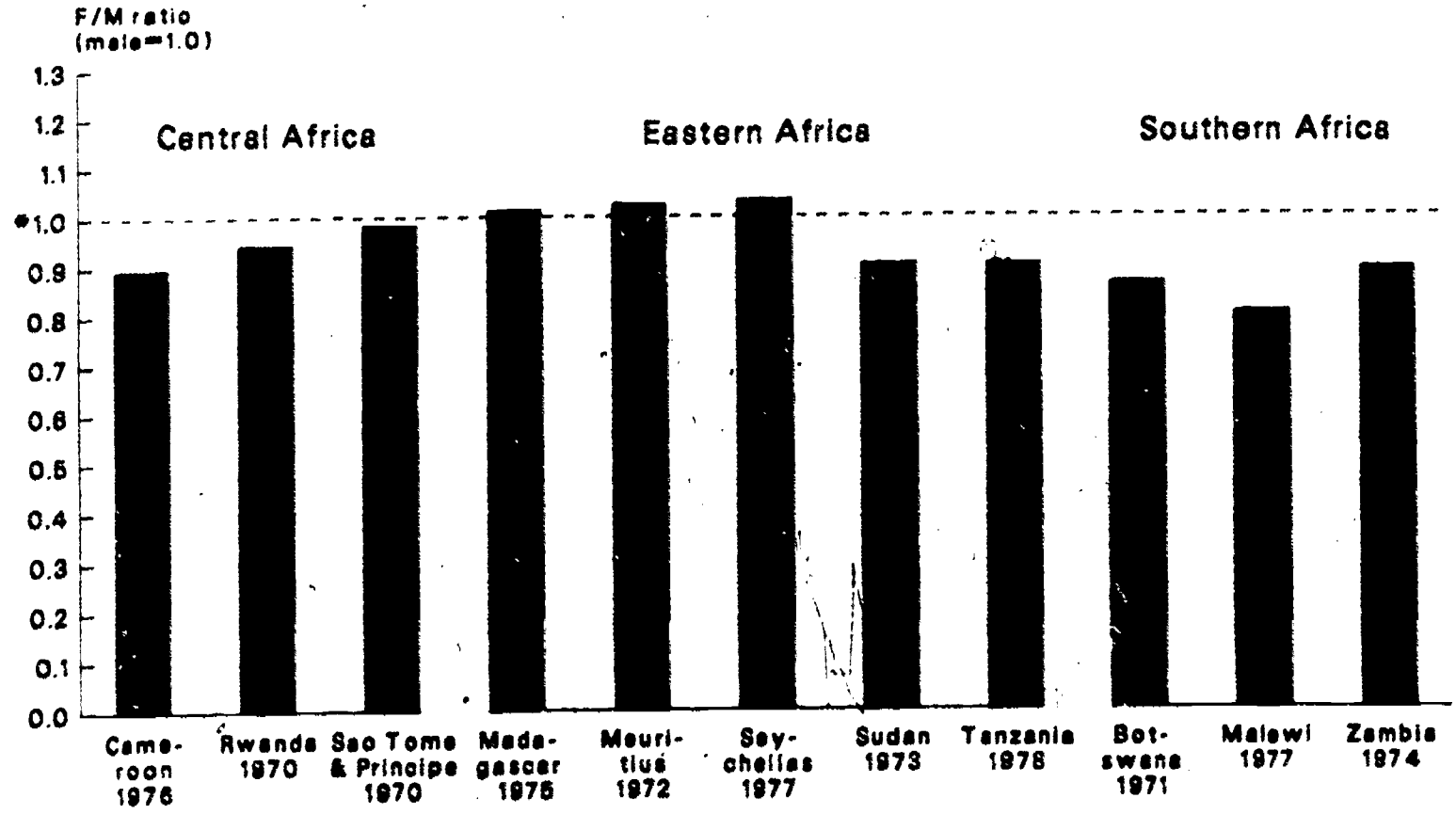


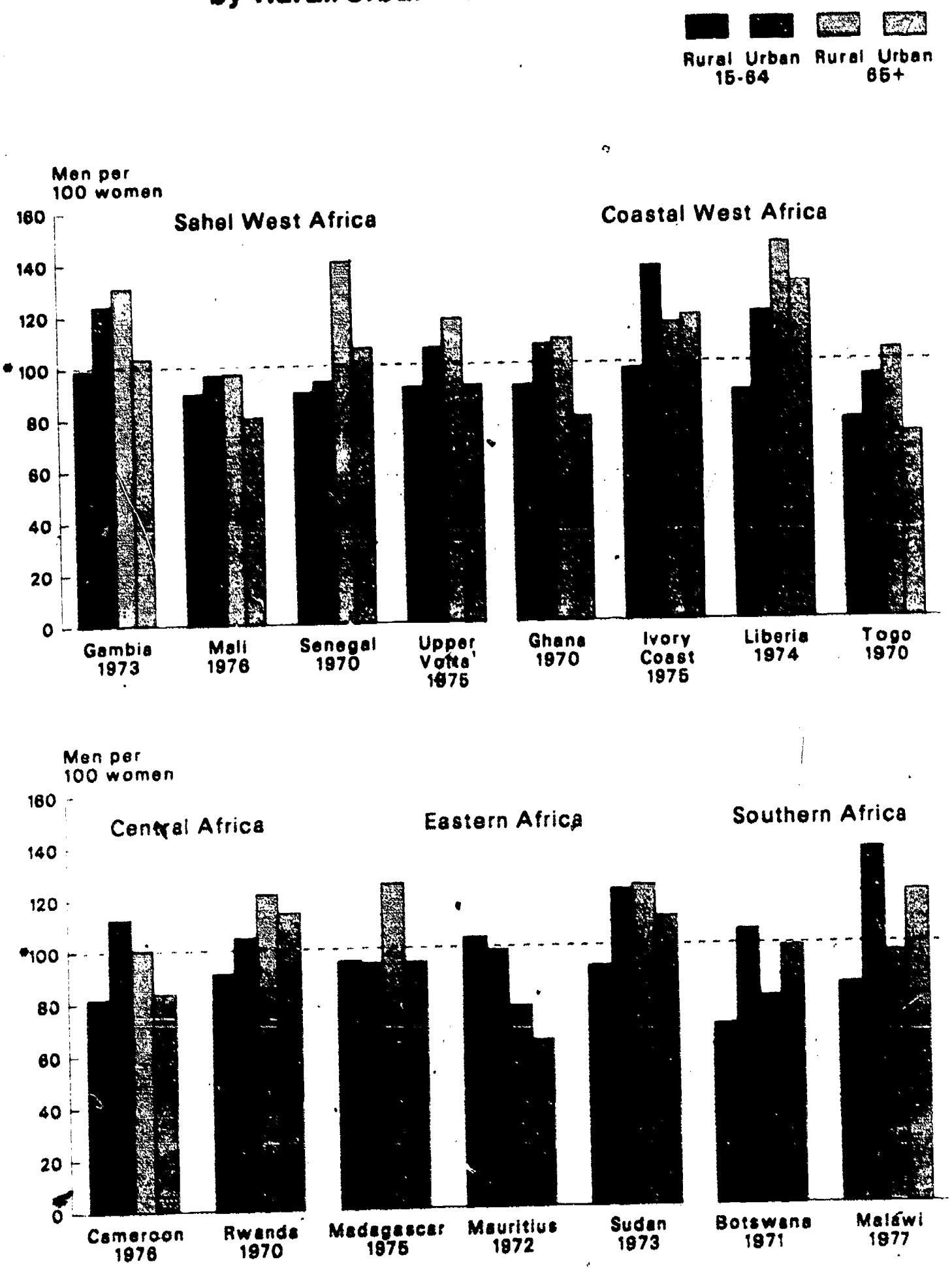
Figure 3.7. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Urban





* Female percent equals male percent.

Figure 3.8. Sex Ratio of the Population in Two Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence



• Number of men equals number of women.
' See footnotes to table 3.5 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 3.9. In-Movers to Province of Current Residence, by Sex

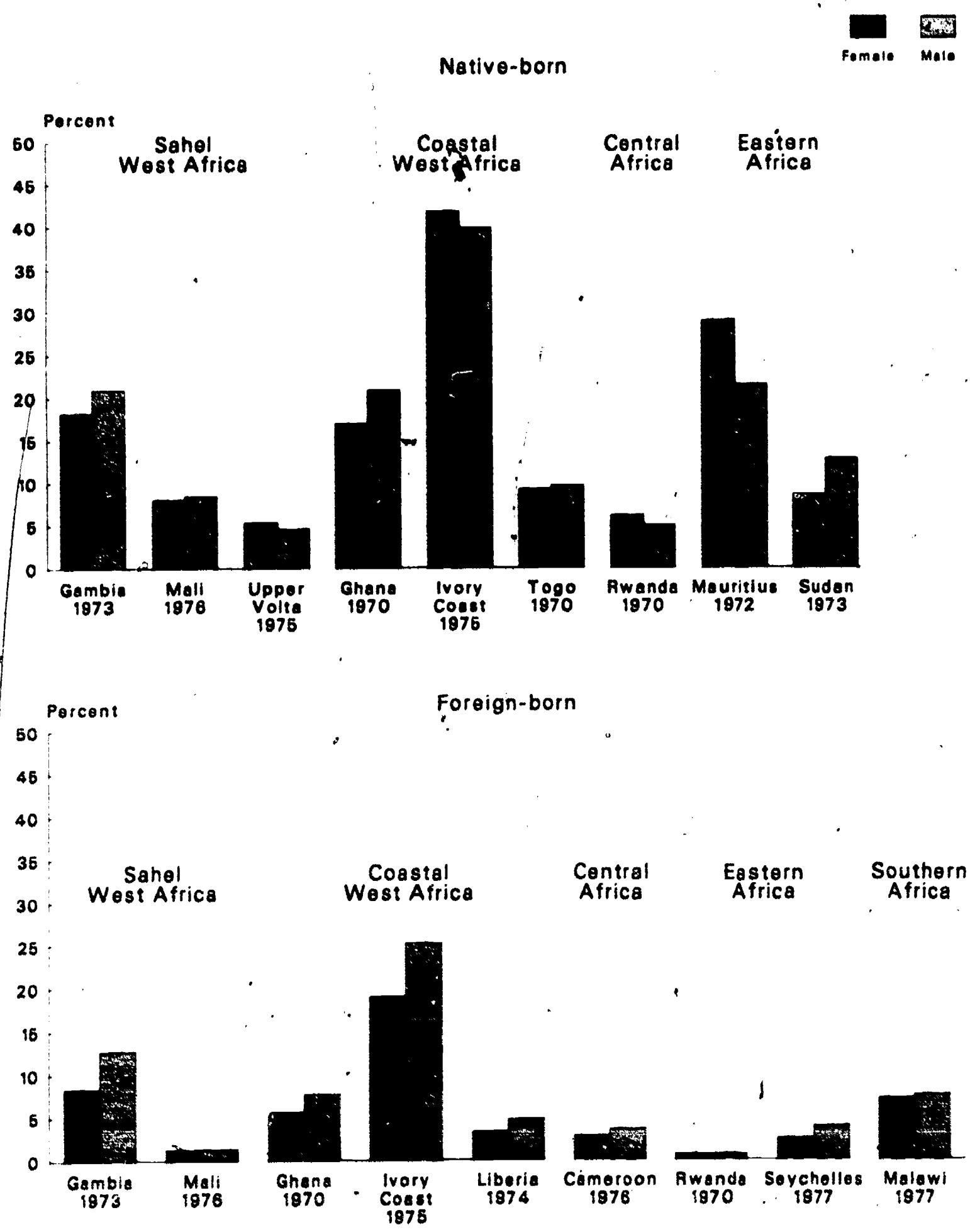


Table 3.1. Total Population, by Sex, Sex Ratio, and Percent Female

(Population in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	Sex ratio	Percent female
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Cape Verde	1960	200	107	93	86.5	53.6
Chad[1]	1964	2,524	1,326	1,198	90.3	52.5
The Gambia	1973	494	243	250	103.0	49.3
Guinea-Bissau	1970	487	250	237	94.8	51.3
Mali	1976	6,395	3,271	3,124	95.5	51.2
Mauritania[1]	1965	1,050	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1977	5,098	2,584	2,514	97.3	50.7
Senegal	1970	3,957	2,008	1,949	97.0	50.8
Upper Volta	1975	5,638	2,811	2,827	100.6	49.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[1]	1961	2,082	1,062	1,021	96.1	51.0
Ghana	1970	8,697	4,312	4,385	101.7	49.6
Guinea	1954-55	2,570	1,347	1,223	90.8	52.4
Ivory Coast	1975	6,714	3,229	3,485	107.9	48.1
Liberia	1974	1,556	769	787	102.3	49.4
Nigeria	1963	55,670	27,558	28,112	102.0	49.5
Sierra Leone	1963	2,180	1,099	1,081	98.4	50.4
Togo	1970	1,950	1,012	937	92.5	51.9
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970-71	3,400	1,782	1,618	90.8	52.4
Cameroon	1976	7,661	3,840	3,821	99.5	50.1
Rwanda	1970	3,573	1,815	1,757	96.8	50.8
Sao Tome and Principe	1970	74	37	37	101.1	49.7
Zaire	1955-57	12,734	6,551	6,182	94.4	51.4
EASTERN AFRICA						
Djibouti	1970-71	164	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Ethiopia	1968	23,662	11,665	11,997	102.8	49.3
Kenya	1969	10,943	5,537	5,406	97.6	50.6
Madagascar	1975	7,569	3,823	3,745	98.0	50.5
Mauritius	1972	851	425	426	100.2	50.0
Seychelles	1977	62	31	31	101.6	49.6
Somalia	1975	3,494	1,677	1,817	108.3	48.0
Sudan	1973	14,114	6,976	7,138	102.3	49.4
Tanzania	1967	12,306	6,290	6,016	95.6	51.1
Uganda	1969	9,549	4,730	4,818	101.9	49.5

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 3.1. Total Population, by Sex, Sex Ratio, and Percent Female—Continued

(Population in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	Sex ratio	Percent female
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Angola	1970	5,250	2,526	2,724	107.8	48.1
Botswana	1971	603	326	277	85.1	54.0
Lesotho[2]	1966	852	484	368	76.1	56.8
Malawi	1977	5,548	2,874	2,674	93.0	51.8
Mozambique	1970	8,169	4,130	4,038	97.8	50.6
Swaziland	1976	494	263	232	88.3	53.1
Zambia	1969	4,057	2,070	1,987	96.0	51.0
Zimbabwe	1969	5,099	2,532	2,567	101.4	49.7

Note: Data for Botswana, Cameroun, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Liberia represent adjusted census/survey information. All other figures are unadjusted. The sex ratio in this table refers to the number of males per 100 females.

[1]Excludes persons not covered by respective national demographic surveys. Estimated total numbers of excluded persons are 730,000 in Chad, 88,000 in Mauritania, and 23,000 in Benin.

[2]Excludes absentee workers estimated to comprise 12 percent of Lesotho's total population.

Table 3.2. Total Population: 1960 to 1985

(Midyear population in thousands)

Region and country	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	Annual rate of growth, 1980 to 1985 (percent)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Cape Verde	197	232	269	280	289	304	1.0
Chad	3,014	3,338	3,707	4,134	4,416	5,246	3.4
The Gambia	357	404	458	521	591	672	2.6
Guinea-Bissau	617	604	620	681	784	858	1.8
Mali	4,559	5,035	5,578	6,200	6,914	7,735	2.3
Mauritania	1,066	1,155	1,254	1,369	1,502	1,656	1.9
Niger	3,105	3,561	4,100	4,741	5,528	6,495	3.2
Senegal	3,270	3,744	4,318	4,989	5,765	6,755	3.2
Upper Volta	4,430	4,762	5,163	5,597	6,138	6,907	2.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	2,055	2,311	2,623	3,002	3,465	4,033	3.0
Ghana	6,958	8,010	8,789	10,308	12,130	14,254	3.2
Guinea	3,213	3,519	3,921	4,416	5,014	5,734	2.7
Ivory Coast	3,565	4,290	5,427	6,758	8,054	9,472	3.2
Liberia	1,055	1,209	1,397	1,624	1,898	2,232	3.2
Nigeria	42,367	48,676	56,346	65,663	77,082	91,178	3.4
Sierra Leone	2,290	2,484	2,727	3,041	3,429	3,909	2.6
Togo	1,456	1,648	1,964	2,247	2,580	3,003	3.0
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Burundi	2,864	3,221	3,589	3,744	4,204	4,826	2.8
Cameroon	5,609	6,104	6,727	7,522	8,582	9,770	2.6
Rwanda	3,037	3,269	3,785	4,367	5,114	6,036	3.3
Sao Tome and Principe	63	69	74	79	85	90	1.1
Zaire	16,151	18,651	21,638	25,009	28,624	33,092	2.9
EASTERN AFRICA							
Djibouti	78	111	158	208	279	293	1.0
Ethiopia	20,093	22,550	25,299	28,210	29,790	32,716	1.9
Kenya	8,157	9,549	11,256	13,481	16,431	20,177	4.1
Madagascar	5,482	6,070	6,766	7,604	8,665	9,909	2.7
Mauritius	663	756	830	883	957	1,034	1.5
Seychelles	42	47	53	59	63	67	1.1
Somalia	2,701	2,941	3,231	3,583	5,373	6,542	3.9
Sudan	10,589	12,086	13,788	16,002	18,745	21,682	2.9
Tanzania	10,328	11,673	13,446	15,850	18,618	21,902	3.2
Uganda	7,286	8,432	9,806	11,080	12,806	14,732	2.8

Table 3.2. Total Population: 1960 to 1985—Continued

(Midyear population in thousands)

Region and country	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	Annual rate of growth, 1980 to 1985 (percent)
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Angola	4,797	5,125	5,573	5,951	6,979	7,981	2.7
Botswana	552	587	650	754	899	1,075	3.6
Lesotho	859	952	1,067	1,195	1,339	1,512	2.4
Malawi	3,450	3,914	4,449	5,162	6,021	7,056	3.2
Mozambique	7,584	8,428	9,442	10,553	12,103	13,994	2.9
Swaziland	340	386	440	504	579	671	2.9
Zambia	3,254	3,694	4,247	4,952	5,771	6,770	3.2
Zimbabwe	4,011	4,685	5,546	6,554	7,556	8,952	3.4

Note: Slight discrepancies between the population totals shown in this table and those in table 3.3 are explained primarily by the different dates during the year to which the data refer. Figures in table 3.1 refer to the respective census dates for each country, while those in table 3.2 all refer to July 1.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

Table 3.3. Percent of Female Population in Selected Age Groups

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Pre-school age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA								
Cape Verde	1960	17.9	14.4	7.8	7.0	42.4	53.2	5.9
Chad[1]	1964	18.4	16.3	6.8	7.1	50.5	55.1	3.4
The Gambia	1973	17.1	13.5	11.8	10.8	[2]48.4	55.2	2.4
Mali	1976	18.0	14.8	9.8	10.2	46.0	53.6	3.8
Niger	1977	18.9	14.9	8.5	11.7	49.2	54.6	2.7
Senegal	1970	15.9	14.4	10.9	10.3	48.2	55.6	3.2
Uppper Volta	1975	18.2	14.3	11.4	9.0	45.7	[3]52.7	[4]3.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA								
Benin[1]	1961	19.4	15.8	8.4	7.1	46.4	53.1	3.3
Ghana	1970	19.2	15.0	12.0	10.1	44.1	50.9	2.9
Guinea	1954-55	17.5	14.5	6.8	9.5	51.8	58.1	3.0
Ivory Coast	1975	19.1	14.7	11.1	9.9	47.4	52.3	1.9
Liberia	1974	17.7	14.4	11.8	10.0	45.4	52.5	3.8
Nigeria	1963	17.6	14.8	9.7	10.0	52.3	56.2	1.7
Sierra Leone	1963	17.3	12.3	6.0	10.1	53.0	59.7	4.7
Togo	1970	20.3	17.6	8.5	6.8	44.1	49.5	4.0
CENTRAL AFRICA								
Burundi	1970-71	15.7	14.0	12.6	10.5	47.0	55.4	2.3
Cameroon	1976	16.7	13.5	11.7	10.1	46.6	54.6	3.5
Rwanda	1970	18.4	16.7	14.5	8.3	43.1	49.1	1.3
Sao Tome and Principe	1970	16.5	16.1	12.7	9.0	42.3	50.0	4.9
Zaire	1955-57	16.8	12.8	8.2	7.2	[2]48.9	[5]62.2	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA								
Ethiopia	1968	18.6	(NA)	[6]27.4	(NA)	[2]43.0	[5]54.0	(NA)
Kenya	1969	18.5	16.1	12.9	9.9	42.9	49.7	2.8
Madagascar	1975	17.4	14.7	11.5	11.3	46.1	53.5	3.0
Mauritius	1972	12.3	14.3	13.3	12.1	47.1	55.6	4.3
Seychelles	1977	13.1	13.0	13.7	11.6	42.5	52.4	7.6
Sudan	1973	17.1	17.0	10.6	8.8	47.1	52.6	2.6
Tanzania	1967	17.7	15.4	9.4	9.1	45.9	52.4	5.1
Uganda	1969	19.6	15.5	11.1	8.8	43.6	50.3	3.4

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 3.3. Percent of Female Population in Selected Age Groups—Continued

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Pre-school age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SOUTHERN AFRICA								
Angola	1970	17.4	15.6	11.3	8.5	47.0	53.7	2.0
Botswana	1971	17.6	14.4	12.2	10.1	42.8	50.2	5.5
Lesotho[7]	1966	12.7	13.0	12.6	10.0	44.7	54.0	7.3
Malawi	1977	19.2	14.5	9.6	9.7	45.1	52.1	4.4
Mozambique	1970	17.5	16.1	9.9	6.3	47.0	54.6	1.9
Swaziland	1976	17.2	15.2	12.9	10.9	44.7	50.7	3.7
Zambia	1969	18.4	15.8	10.7	8.9	46.3	52.1	1.9
Zimbabwe	1969	16.8	17.1	13.4	10.1	45.1	49.9	2.1

Note: Data for Botswana, Cameroon, The Gambia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, and Upper Volta are based on adjusted or smoothed census/survey information. All other figures are based on unadjusted data.

[1]Excludes consideration of persons not covered by respective national demographic surveys. Estimated total numbers of excluded persons are 730,000 in Chad and 23,000 in Benin.

[2]Refers to ages 15 to 44 years.

[3]Refers to ages 15 to 60 years.

[4]Refers to ages 60 years and over.

[5]Refers to ages 15 years and over.

[6]Refers to ages 5 to 14 years.

[7]Excludes consideration of absentee workers, estimated to comprise 12 percent of Lesotho's total population.

Table 3.4. Percent of Male Population in Selected Age Groups

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Preschool age	School age			Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Cape Verde	1960	20.5	16.6	8.9	7.4	50.2	3.2
Chad[1]	1964	20.5	19.6	10.1	6.3	46.1	0.4
The Gambia	1973	16.5	12.8	11.2	10.3	57.4	2.1
Mali	1976	18.8	15.8	11.0	9.9	50.7	3.8
Niger	1977	19.7	17.2	10.9	8.1	49.0	3.1
Senegal	1970	16.5	15.6	11.6	9.8	[2]51.9	[3]4.4
Upper Volta	1975	19.3	15.2	13.0	9.5	[2]48.5	[3]3.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin[1]	1961	20.1	17.8	10.5	6.8	47.3	4.3
Ghana	1970	19.1	14.8	11.8	9.9	51.7	2.6
Guinea	1954-55	19.0	17.2	9.4	8.3	50.6	3.7
Ivory Coast	1975	17.8	14.5	11.3	9.4	53.6	2.0
Liberia	1974	17.5	14.2	11.6	9.8	53.5	3.0
Nigeria	1963	16.8	15.5	11.6	8.9	53.8	2.4
Sierra Leone	1963	17.3	13.5	7.0	7.7	56.7	5.5
Togo	1970	21.8	20.4	11.2	7.5	42.2	4.4
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Burundi	1970-71	17.9	14.5	13.8	10.9	52.0	1.9
Cameroon	1976	17.0	13.7	11.8	10.3	54.6	2.9
Rwanda	1970	19.5	17.0	15.7	9.6	46.2	1.7
Sao Tome and Principe	1970	16.0	15.3	11.9	8.8	52.5	4.4
Zaire	1955-57	17.0	13.0	11.0	6.5	[4]59.0	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA							
Ethiopia	1968	18.4	(NA)	[5]26.5	(NA)	[4]42.3	(NA)
Kenya	1969	19.1	16.4	13.0	9.9	49.1	2.4
Madagascar	1975	18.0	14.3	12.3	10.7	51.7	3.6
Mauritius	1972	12.6	14.6	13.6	12.1	56.2	3.0
Seychelles	1977	13.2	13.1	13.2	12.4	55.0	5.3
Sudan	1973	17.5	17.9	11.5	8.5	49.8	3.0
Tanzania	1967	18.1	16.2	10.9	8.5	48.6	6.1
Uganda	1969	18.9	15.3	11.9	8.6	49.6	4.3

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 3.4. Percent of Male Population in Selected Age Groups—Continued

(Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of overlapping categories)

Region and country	Year	Preschool age	School age			Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Angola.....	1970	16.3	16.2	12.6	9.1	52.0	2.9
Botswana.....	1971	20.9	16.9	13.5	9.8	43.5	5.2
Lesotho[6].....	1966	16.4	17.2	16.6	10.8	44.2	5.2
Malawi.....	1977	19.8	15.3	11.0	9.8	49.2	4.6
Mozambique.....	1970	17.3	17.5	12.3	7.7	50.9	2.0
Swaziland.....	1976	18.6	17.0	14.3	10.2	46.6	3.2
Zambia.....	1969	18.5	16.3	11.9	8.7	49.7	2.5
Zimbabwe.....	1969	15.9	17.0	13.4	10.1	50.6	2.3

Note: Data for Botswana, Cameroon, The Gambia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, and Upper Volta are based on adjusted or smoothed census/survey information. All other figures are based on unadjusted data.

[1]Excludes consideration of persons not covered by respective national demographic surveys. Estimated total numbers of excluded persons are 730,000 in Chad and 23,000 in Benin.

[2]Refers to ages 15 to 60 years.

[3]Refers to ages 60 years and over.

[4]Refers to ages 15 years and over.

[5]Refers to ages 5 to 14 years.

[6]Excludes consideration of absentee workers, estimated to comprise 12 percent of Lesotho's total population.

Table 3.5. Sex Ratios of Rural Population in Selected Age Groups

Region and country	Year	Pre-school age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA								
Chad	1964	100.4	109.2	133.4	77.5	72.5	74.7	101.9
The Gambia	1973	98.8	102.6	114.3	93.2	[1]92.3	98.9	130.5
Mali	1976	99.3	102.8	109.8	91.6	86.6	89.2	96.8
Mauritania	1965	119.3	111.1	111.3	132.0	107.9	107.0	84.0
Senegal	1970	100.0	108.1	108.4	96.0	85.9	89.4	139.9
Upper Volta	1975	103.9	109.3	118.2	106.7	88.6	[2]90.9	[3]117.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA								
Benin	1961	98.6	108.8	118.7	91.5	82.6	86.0	128.3
Ghana	1970	99.1	104.5	115.2	109.0	88.3	91.0	109.2
Guinea	1954-55	98.6	108.7	125.8	78.9	73.2	77.9	115.0
Ivory Coast	1975	99.0	108.6	122.9	82.3	93.1	97.2	114.9
Liberia	1974	101.8	106.8	115.3	88.4	82.0	88.2	145.7
Nigeria	1963	97.0	108.0	121.6	86.3	90.0	93.0	145.9
Togo	1970	99.1	109.6	129.3	99.6	73.4	76.6	104.0
CENTRAL AFRICA								
Cameroon	1976	100.7	102.9	112.4	87.5	78.5	81.5	100.1
Rwanda	1970	102.5	98.0	105.0	112.3	87.6	90.8	121.3
Zaire	1955-57	95.2	96.0	126.5	85.6	[1]78.9	[4]86.1	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA								
Ethiopia	1968	101.8	100.0	100.0	100.2	103.4	104.5	182.4
Kenya	1969	(NA)	[5]101.8	108.2	102.5	88.0	[2]88.8	[3]108.9
Madagascar	1975	100.8	94.9	106.3	92.5	91.0	94.9	124.6
Mauritius	1972	102.2	102.9	101.2	100.0	102.7	103.4	76.6
Sudan	1973	105.3	109.0	112.9	94.6	88.5	91.6	122.9
Tanzania	1967	97.8	101.2	111.5	88.9	85.0	86.5	113.8
Uganda	1969	97.8	100.9	110.6	100.4	95.1	96.8	129.0
SOUTHERN AFRICA								
Botswana	1971	97.0	99.6	185.4	81.2	65.3	68.5	79.2
Malawi	1977	95.5	98.4	108.2	92.2	83.6	83.9	96.3
Zimbabwe	1969	94.6	101.0	101.1	96.9	85.9	89.8	115.7

Note: Sex ratios in this table refer to the number of males per 100 females.

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 44 years.
[2]Refers to ages 15 to 60 years.
[3]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 0 to 9 years.

Table 3.6. Sex Ratios of Urban Population in Selected Age Groups

Region and country	Year	Pre-school age	School age			Reproductive age	Working age	Elderly
		0 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	15 to 49 years	15 to 64 years	65 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA								
Chad	1964	102.1	99.9	137.2	108.8	87.2	87.9	85.6
The Gambia	1973	98.3	91.6	78.9	81.8	[1]120.9	123.8	103.1
Mali	1976	100.9	97.8	93.2	96.5	95.1	96.5	80.0
Senegal	1970	102.7	99.0	92.4	84.3	90.7	93.6	106.4
Upper Volta	1975	103.7	104.0	101.4	112.7	104.7	[2]106.1	[3]91.7
COASTAL WEST AFRICA								
Benin	1961	108.3	105.5	128.7	94.7	78.9	81.7	96.9
Ghana	1970	99.1	91.5	85.7	98.0	107.1	107.1	78.9
Guinea	1954-55	99.4	95.0	122.1	80.0	90.6	92.9	100.0
Ivory Coast	1975	103.4	97.8	104.9	110.4	135.5	137.0	118.0
Liberia	1974	104.2	100.0	116.0	95.0	116.0	118.9	130.4
Nigeria	1963	99.1	100.2	119.7	117.9	121.3	121.6	117.5
Togo	1970	99.1	90.7	89.5	112.8	94.2	94.1	71.6
CENTRAL AFRICA								
Cameroon	1976	101.9	99.5	109.5	110.8	111.6	112.2	83.4
Rwanda	1970	102.0	100.3	102.5	120.1	[1]105.9	[4]104.5	113.9
Zaire	1955-57	99.0	94.7	126.1	84.7	[1]123.6	[4]129.5	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA								
Ethiopia	1968	101.3	(NA)	[5]96.0	(NA)	[1]87.1	[4]85.6	(NA)
Kenya	1969	(NA)	[6]101.4	100.2	105.2	166.1	[2]167.3	[3]146.2
Madagascar	1975	102.8	100.8	99.9	94.9	92.8	94.0	94.2
Mauritius	1972	101.6	101.4	102.9	98.9	98.7	98.5	63.5
Seychelles	1977	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	98.3	(NA)
Sudan	1973	102.7	100.8	107.8	113.2	121.8	121.3	110.6
Tanzania	1967	98.3	92.1	106.2	104.8	127.3	128.0	110.3
Uganda	1969	97.3	89.6	97.3	97.8	136.5	137.2	129.7
SOUTHERN AFRICA								
Botswana	1971	95.1	88.1	67.1	65.5	101.4	105.2	98.9
Malawi	1977	99.5	94.5	86.5	102.9	134.9	136.3	120.0
Zimbabwe	1969	102.2	98.4	100.1	126.7	170.9	171.2	92.9

Note: Sex ratios in this table refer to the number of males per 100 females.

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 44 years.
[2]Refers to ages 15 to 60 years.
[3]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 5 to 14 years.
[6]Refers to ages 0 to 9 years.

Table 3.7. Percent of Population Residing in Urban Areas, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Urban: Latest Two Censuses

Region and country	Years	Earlier Census: Both sexes	Earlier Census: Female	Earlier Census: Male	Earlier Census: F/M ratio (male=1.00)	Later Census: Both sexes	Later Census: Female	Later Census: Male	Later Census: F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Chad	1964	6.9	6.6	7.1	0.93	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
The Gambia	1963/73	12.7	12.3	13.0	0.95	15.9	15.5	16.4	0.94
Mali	1960-61/76	11.9	12.3	11.5	1.07	16.8	16.7	16.9	0.99
Mauritania	1965/77	8.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	23.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1960/77	1.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	11.8	11.7	12.0	.98
Senegal	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	30.2	30.3	30.1	1.01
Upper Volta	1960-61/75	2.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	6.4	6.3	6.5	0.97
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	9.3	9.3	9.3	1.00	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Ghana	1960/70	23.1	22.6	23.5	0.96	28.9	28.7	29.0	0.99
Guinea	1954-55	8.3	8.0	8.6	0.93	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Ivory Coast	1975	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	32.4	30.5	34.2	0.89
Liberia	1962/74	19.8	16.9	22.7	0.74	29.1	27.6	30.7	0.90
Nigeria	1963	16.1	15.1	17.1	0.88	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sierra Leone	1963	13.0	12.2	13.8	0.88	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Togo	1961/70	14.7	14.6	14.8	0.99	13.0	13.0	13.1	0.99
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Burundi	1965	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2.2	2.1	2.3	0.91
Cameroon	1976	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	28.1	26.5	29.8	0.89
Rwanda	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	3.2	3.1	3.3	0.94
Sao Tome and Principe	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	23.6	23.4	23.8	0.98
Zaire	1955-57/70	9.5	8.5	10.6	0.80	21.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA									
Ethiopia	1968	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	8.6	9.2	8.1	1.14
Kenya	1969	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	9.9	8.3	11.4	0.73
Madagascar	1975	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	16.4	16.5	16.3	1.01
Mauritius	1962/72	32.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	42.9	43.3	42.4	1.02
Seychelles	1971/77	26.1	27.2	25.0	1.09	37.2	37.8	36.6	1.03
Sudan	1955-56/73	8.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	18.5	17.5	19.4	0.90
Tanzania	1967/78	5.5	4.9	6.0	0.82	13.3	12.6	14.0	0.90
Uganda	1969	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	7.7	7.1	8.3	0.86

Table 3.7. Percent of Population Residing in Urban Areas, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Urban: Latest Two Censuses—Continued

Region and country	Years	Earlier Census				Later Census			
		Both sexes	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male= 1.00)	Both sexes	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male= 1.00)
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Angola	1960	10.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Botswana	1971	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	10.2	9.5	11.1	0.86
Malawi	1966/77	5.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	8.5	7.6	9.5	0.80
Mozambique	1970	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	3.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Swaziland	1966/76	7.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	15.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zambia	1969/74	29.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	35.6	33.6	37.7	0.89
Zimbabwe	1969	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	16.8	14.0	19.6	0.71

Table 3.8. Percent Distribution of Women Residing in Rural and Urban Areas, by Selected Age Groups

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Total women	Percent		
			0 to 14 years	15 to 49 years	50 years and over
Rural					
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	1,238	41.5	50.4	8.1
The Gambia	1973	206	41.5	[2]45.6	[3]12.6
Mali	1976	2,724	42.1	46.0	11.9
Mauritania	1965	461	43.0	46.1	10.5
Senegal	1970	1,399	39.8	48.8	11.4
Upper Volta	1975	2,633	43.3	45.8	10.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	963	43.4	46.4	10.2
Ghana	1970	3,073	46.3	43.7	10.1
Guinea	1954-55	1,239	38.8	51.6	9.4
Ivory Coast	1975	2,245	44.9	46.6	8.5
Liberia	1974	539	39.0	50.0	11.0
Nigeria	1963	23,384	42.6	51.8	5.6
Togo	1970	881	46.3	43.8	9.8
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	2,675	40.9	46.0	13.0
Rwanda	1970	1,759	49.7	43.1	7.3
Zaire	1955-57	5,993	37.2	[2]48.7	[3]14.1
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1968	10,592	46.8	45.4	7.8
Kenya	1969	5,008	48.1	42.0	9.9
Madagascar	1975	3,194	43.9	45.6	10.5
Mauritius	1972	241	42.6	45.5	11.8
Sudan	1973	5,753	44.6	47.0	8.2
Tanzania	1967	5,979	42.7	45.5	11.7
Uganda	1969	4,396	46.5	43.1	10.5
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	282	43.4	40.4	13.2
Malawi	1977	2,657	43.0	44.9	12.0
Zimbabwe	1969	2,178	48.6	44.0	6.7

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 3.8. Percent Distribution of Women Residing in Rural and Urban Areas, by Selected Age Groups—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Total women	Percent		
			0 to 14 years	15 to 49 years	50 years and over
Urban					
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	88	41.1	52.6	6.3
The Gambia	1973	38	41.8	[2]45.2	[3]12.1
Mali	1976	548	45.1	46.2	8.7
Mauritania[4]	1965	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	609	44.5	46.8	8.7
Upper Volta	1975	177	47.2	45.6	6.8
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	99	46.2	45.8	8.0
Ghana	1970	1,239	46.2	46.2	7.6
Guinea	1954-55	108	39.2	53.4	7.4
Ivory Coast	1975	985	45.5	51.0	3.4
Liberia	1974	205	42.5	52.5	5.0
Nigeria	1963	4,174	39.1	55.4	5.5
Togo	1970	132	47.3	45.5	7.2
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	966	43.8	49.5	6.6
Rwanda	1970	56	47.7	44.4	8.0
Zaire	1955-57	558	43.9	[2]50.8	[3]5.3
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1968	1,073	37.8	[2]51.4	[3]10.7
Kenya	1969	453	43.4	51.4	5.2
Madagascar	1975	629	41.8	48.9	9.3
Mauritius	1972	184	36.5	49.3	14.2
Sudan	1973	1,223	44.9	47.3	7.8
Tanzania	1967	311	38.3	54.1	7.6
Uganda	1969	335	42.4	52.4	4.9
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	30	38.6	51.7	6.5
Malawi	1977	217	47.0	47.8	5.0
Zimbabwe	1969	354	39.5	52.1	7.5

[1]Excludes persons not covered by respective national demographic surveys. Estimated total numbers of excluded persons are 730,000 in Chad and 23,000 in Benin.

[2]Refers to ages 15 to 44 years.

[3]Refers to ages 45 years and over.

[4]The 1965 Demographic Survey of Mauritania did not cover urban areas, where 88,000 persons were estimated to reside.

Table 3.9. Percent of Migrants Among Native-Born Population, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent of Migrants

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
The Gambia	1973	19.5	18.1	20.9	0.87
Mali	1976	8.1	7.9	8.4	0.94
Senegal	1970	15.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Upper Volta	1975	4.8	5.2	4.5	1.16
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	3.9	4.3	3.3	1.23
Ghana	1970	18.8	16.9	20.8	0.81
Ivory Coast	1975	40.9	41.8	39.9	1.05
Sierra Leone	1963	17.7	15.0	20.5	0.73
Togo	1970	9.3	9.1	9.6	0.95
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Rwanda	1970	5.4	6.0	4.9	1.22
EASTERN AFRICA					
Kenya	1969	12.4	10.7	14.0	0.76
Mauritius	1972	25.2	28.9	21.4	1.35
Sudan	1973	10.6	8.4	12.7	0.66
Tanzania	1967	9.1	7.5	10.7	0.70
Uganda	1969	12.7	11.8	13.7	0.86
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Swaziland	1976	14.0	13.2	14.8	0.89
Zimbabwe	1969	25.3	23.3	27.3	0.85

Note: Migrants are defined as persons born in a province other than that in which they lived at the time of enumeration in the census or survey.

Table 3.10. Percent of Population Foreign Born, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Foreign Born

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1960	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.83
The Gambia	1973	10.5	8.3	12.7	0.65
Mali	1976	1.2	1.2	1.3	0.92
Niger	1977	1.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	1.3	1.2	1.4	0.86
Ghana	1970	6.6	5.5	7.6	0.72
Ivory Coast	1975	22.2	18.9	25.2	0.75
Liberia	1974	4.0	3.2	4.7	0.68
Nigeria	1963	0.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sierra Leone	1963	2.7	2.0	3.4	0.59
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	3.1	2.7	3.5	0.77
Rwanda	1970	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.00
EASTERN AFRICA					
Kenya	1969	2.5	2.3	2.6	0.88
Seychelles	1977	3.1	2.4	3.8	0.63
Sudan	1973	2.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Tanzania	1967	2.0	1.6	2.3	0.70
Uganda	1969	5.7	4.4	7.0	0.63
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	2.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Malawi	1977	7.3	7.1	7.5	0.95
Mozambique	1970	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.00
Zambia	1969	4.6	4.2	5.0	0.84
Zimbabwe	1969	9.9	7.1	12.6	0.56

Table 3.11. Percent of In-Movers, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent of In-Movers

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
The Gambia	1973	28.0	24.9	31.0	0.80
Mali	1976	9.2	9.0	9.6	0.94
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	5.1	5.5	4.8	1.15
Ghana	1970	24.1	21.5	26.8	0.80
Ivory Coast	1975	54.0	52.8	55.0	0.96
Sierra Leone	1963	19.9	16.7	23.2	0.72
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Rwanda	1970	6.0	6.6	5.5	1.20
EASTERN AFRICA					
Kenya	1969	14.0	12.8	16.3	0.79
Tanzania	1967	10.9	9.0	12.8	0.70
Uganda	1969	17.7	15.7	19.8	0.79
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Zimbabwe	1969	32.7	28.8	36.4	0.79

Note: In-movers are defined as the sum of foreign-born and native-born persons who were born in a province other than that in which they lived at the time of enumeration in the census.

Table 3.12. Percent of Urban Population Foreign Born

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
The Gambia	1973	16.8	15.4	18.0	0.86
Mali	1976	3.1	2.8	3.4	0.82
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	2.3	2.5	2.1	1.19
Ghana	1970	7.7	6.2	9.2	0.67
Ivory Coast	1975	33.6	30.5	36.1	0.84
Liberia	1974	8.7	7.8	9.5	0.82
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	4.0	3.2	4.6	0.70
EASTERN AFRICA					
Tanzania	1967	8.1	7.8	8.3	0.94

Chapter 4
Literacy and Education

Because literacy and education are prerequisite to full participation in a modern society, the relative extent to which girls and women have access to programs of literacy, education, and vocational/technical training is one of the most important indicators of the current and potential status of women in a given country.

Education not only provides women with knowledge and an opportunity for employment in the skilled and higher status occupations of the modern sector, but also improves their access to all the resources of the society. Moreover, it alters their family and social situation in many subtle and not yet well-understood ways. Formal schooling takes women out of the home and away from traditional female activities for some portion of each day over several years; it exposes them to new ways of thinking about the world and themselves; it tends to delay their entry into the world of marriage and childbearing, and often makes them more desirable marriage partners for young men of higher status. It appears to have an effect, independent of either family income or husband's education, on their fertility and on the life chances of their children, both in higher survival rates and in the educational achievement of sons and daughters alike.[1] Education for women is therefore both an indicator and an agent of change.

There are a number of different ways to measure the relative access to education and training of women and men: female/male ratios for literacy, school enrollment, educational attainment, dropouts and repeaters, and participation in non-formal training; the content of programs and curricula available to the two sexes; and government policies and expenditures for education of the two sexes. Of these, the data in the WID Data Base permit detailed consideration in this chapter only of literacy and school enrollment. Because of their importance, however, some of the other educational indicators mentioned above will also be discussed, drawing on information from other sources.[2]

Literacy

Overview and Data Sources. Literacy is a minimum requirement for participation in modern society. It is defined variously in the several countries but its essence is the ability to read, write, and comprehend a simple paragraph in any language. Unlike school enrollment figures, which may come from administrative records, data on literacy must be obtained from the individuals themselves. Sometimes a test is given to each respondent; often it is simply presumed that anyone who has completed at least 4 years of formal schooling is literate, and only those completing fewer than 4 years are given a literacy test. In other cases, a household respondent is simply queried about the literacy status of household members.

The functional meaning of figures on literacy is not everywhere and always the same. Those who have left school after completing 4 years and have not continued to use their reading and writing skills often find them gone after several years. Moreover, the language of literacy also affects its function. Because the legacy of colonialism and the requirements of nation-building in Sub-Saharan Africa have resulted in the adoption of one of the European languages in business and government, those who are literate only in a language other than that used in the modern sector are at a functional disadvantage. Women, who frequently know only the local language, are more likely to face this problem than men are. For example, in Cape Verde, the 1960 census reported that 29 percent of men but only 13 percent of

[1] For discussions of the effect of women's education on fertility and on their children's mortality, see Caldwell (1979) and Cochrane (1979); on the education of their children, see Smock (1981) and UNECA (1978d).

[2] The most complete compilations of educational statistics are the UNESCO *Statistical Yearbooks;* other useful statistical series may be found in Population Reference Bureau (1980) and World Bank (1980c, 1981, and 1982).

women knew Portuguese. Although none of the other Sub-Saharan African countries in the WID Data Base publish such data, these figures are probably not atypical.

Female literacy rates in the region are generally much lower than male rates. The 1982 UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook*, containing the most recent estimates available for a variety of educational indicators, lists only 12 Sub Saharan African countries in which 30 percent or more of the women age 15 and over are literate, whereas for men, no more than 30 percent are *illiterate* in all but 13 countries. Notable exceptions to the typical pattern of high female illiteracy relative to male are Botswana, Lesotho, and the Seychelles, where percent literate is greater among women than men.

County Data. Data on adult literacy in the WID Data Base are limited. Literacy rates for the entire country are available for only 26 of the 40 countries, and separately by sex for only 24. Estimates of rural literacy can be found for 12 countries only, separately by sex for 11, and by age and sex for 8; for urban literacy, comparable numbers are 11, 10, and 8. In most cases, the estimates refer to approximately the same dates as the population figures of chapter 3.

Literacy data from the WID Data Base are presented in tables 4.1 to 4.3, together with the appropriate female/male ratios of percent literate, and illustrated in figures 4.1 and 4.2. These tables and figures demonstrate the wide variability to be found among the countries of the region in adult female literacy, from less than 1 percent in Chad (1964) and Ethiopia (1970) to 67 percent in Lesotho (1966). They also show an equally wide variability in the extent of relative female disadvantage; female rates range from 10 percent or less of the male rate in Chad, Ethiopia, and Zaire (1955-57), to more than 100 percent in Botswana (1964), the Seychelles (1960), and Lesotho noted above. In Ethiopia, it should be noted, during the past 3 years the revolutionary government has mounted a major campaign in both rural and urban areas to improve literacy, particularly among women; consequently, the 1970 estimates in these tables may not reflect the current situation, for which figures are not yet available.

Subregional differences are apparent, with West African women relatively less and Eastern and Southern African women relatively more advantaged than the regional average. The subregional pattern remains similar for both rural and urban residents; however, as expected the available data show that urban levels of literacy are everywhere considerably higher for both sexes than are rural levels.

Literacy rates for women and men are shown for three broad age groups (15 to 24 years, 25 to 34 years, and 35 years and over) in table 4.4 and are illustrated in figure 4.3. Female/male ratios of literacy rates for these age groups are shown for rural and urban populations in figures 4.4 and 4.5. Comparison among the three age groups indicates major improvement in literacy since independence in the 1960's, presumably reflecting the large investment in education made by most of the governments of the region, especially at the primary school level. (Central government expenditures are discussed in the final section of this chapter.) Both in absolute levels of literacy and in female/male literacy ratios, women have registered important gains in all the countries for which data are available by age and sex. With few exceptions, each successively younger age group shows a higher female literacy rate, as expected, and a higher female/male ratio of percent literate. Except for Botswana, Lesotho, and the Seychelles, where literacy rates among women 35 years and over were already among the highest in the region, progress in reducing both absolute and relative female illiteracy is most evident among the youngest age group. Although illiteracy among women in rural areas remains high, the pattern of improvement indicated by these data is similar in both rural and urban areas.

Formal Schooling: Enrollment and Achievement

Overview and Data Sources. A second set of indicators measures access to formal schooling. The most common measure is school enrollment, expressed as a percent of those of the appropriate age groups who are enrolled in school. The data are usually available separately by sex, but where population estimates by age and sex are highly uncertain, or the ages of the enrollees are variable, female enrollment may be expressed merely as a percent of the total enrollment in a given program or grade level. Data may come from the administrative records of educational institutions, usually compiled at the national level by the Ministry of Education or other official body and are readily available, although often with some time lag. They also come from population censuses, which have been the major source of enrollment data in the WID Data Base. Because of the high proportion of children who drop out during the school year, enrollment figures will vary according to the time of year they are collected.

Measures of educational attainment such as years of school or grade completed, rather than of enrollment, are preferable for some purposes but are not as widely available. For the current school age population, these figures may be inferred from official data on school enrollment by grade level, but for the adult population they must be obtained from household surveys or censuses.

Many students repeat 1 or more years, particularly Standard 7 when a number of students, usually boys, sit more than once for the examination for admission to secondary school. Two measures of attainment which try to capture dropouts and repeaters have been suggested. One, analogous to person-years in a life table, computes the number of student-years in school required to produce one graduate (UNESCO, 1975). The second is simply the percentage of those enrolling who complete a given program. Pupil wastage can be inferred from school enrollment data by grade, but data on repeaters must usually come from special studies based on school records; such data have been published for only a few countries in the region.

Opportunities for education at any level in the region are limited, despite the fact that many countries have invested important fractions of their gross domestic product (GDP) in a push to achieve universal primary education. Historically, schools in Africa were established by missionaries for the training of catechists and by colonial administrators in order to provide themselves with an army of clerks and junior officers, virtually all male. Initially, the majority of schools were for boys alone;

most girls' schools and co-educational institutions came somewhat later and in smaller numbers. Among the pioneering efforts in the struggle for equality for women in education was the establishment of Ghana's distinguished Achimota School in 1924 on a co-educational basis, considered by many at the time to be a revolutionary and highly risky step.[3] It has been only since the achievement of national independence that a concerted effort has been made in most of the countries of the region to provide educational opportunities for both girls and boys, young women and young men.

School Enrollment. Despite a national policy commitment to providing formal schooling for both sexes, in most countries female educational opportunities continue to lag behind those for males. In 1980, girls constituted only 43 percent of those enrolled in primary school in the region (UNESCO, 1982), again, as with literacy, with the exception of a few countries, primarily in Southern Africa. In Botswana, Cameroon, Lesotho, Mauritius, and Swaziland, girls make up 50 percent or more of total primary school enrollment.

The rate of improvement in school enrollment for girls, however, has often exceeded that for boys, particularly during the 1960's when serious efforts to narrow the gap were made in a number of countries. UNESCO's estimates for primary school enrollment in Sub-Saharan Africa for 1960, 1970, and the late 1970's demonstrate this pattern; from 1960 to 1970 the percent of girls ages 6 to 11 years enrolled in primary school doubled, from only 17 to 35 percent, while comparable figures for boys rose from 46 to 63 percent. During the 1970's, rates of improvement for both sexes were approximately equal and considerably slower; for girls, primary school enrollment increased only to 44 percent, and for boys to 74 percent, representing annual rates of increase of only 1 to 2 percent for each sex.

Neither sex has had many opportunities for secondary education in most of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, although important gains have been made since the mid-1960's. UNESCO (1982) estimates that for all of Africa, secondary school enrollment increased its share of total enrollment from 10 percent in 1975 to 15 percent in 1980. Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa have done less well in catching up with their brothers at the secondary school level. From a mere 0.7 percent in 1960, girls increased their enrollment to 3 percent by 1970 and to 4.6 percent at the most recent estimate; this represents a large percent increase, but touches only a tiny fraction of girls of the appropriate ages. The comparable figures for boys are 3, 9, and 12 percent, still a very small fraction of the relevant male population. At each time period, the female share of the secondary school population was under 30 percent.

Still fewer young Africans have had the chance for post-secondary education. UNESCO estimates that during the period from 1965 to 1980, less than 1 percent of total enrollment in Africa was at this level; currently only a little more than one-fourth of these students are women.

Data on school enrollment by age in the WID Data Base are even more limited than those on literacy. Enrollment rates by sex are available for the entire country for children and youth, ages 5 to 19 years, for only 22 of the 40 countries in the data base; rural and urban enrollment rates for the same groups are found for only 12 countries. Comparable numbers for countries with enrollment data for young adults, ages 20 to 24, are 16 and 8. As with literacy data, in most cases the enrollment data refer to approximately the same dates as the population figures of chapter 3. An additional complication in these data lies in the use by many countries of noncomparable age groups in tabulations; the particular age groups employed by the specific countries must be kept in mind in making any intercounty comparisons. Reference should be made to the notes to the tables of chapter 4 for a listing of countries tabulating by nonstandard age groups.

Enrollment rates by age and sex, calculated from data in the WID Data Base, are presented in tables 4.5 to 4.7, and female/male ratios of these rates in table 4.8. Enrollment rates for a key age group, 10 to 14 years, are shown by sex in figure 4.6, and female/male ratios by age for rural and urban areas are illustrated in figures 4.7 and 4.8. Again, as with literacy, the tables and figures indicate wide variation in enrollment rates among countries in the region. For example, in the age group 10 to 14 years, values for girls range from 12 percent in The Gambia (27 percent for boys, 1973), to 81 percent in Lesotho (only 49 percent for boys, 1966); among boys of the same ages, values range from 24 percent in Mali (15 percent among girls, 1976) to 75 percent in Ghana (62 percent among girls, 1970). In Chad, only 8 percent of girls in the age group 6 to 14 years were enrolled in school (36 percent of boys, 1964).

There appear to be subregional differences in enrollment by age, although the relative scarcity of data and the different ages and time periods to which the data refer make such generalizations problematic. At each age level and for both sexes, the countries of the Sahel register lower proportions enrolled in school than do the other subregions, while Southern Africa excels in the proportions enrolled at ages 10 to 14 years and 15 to 19 years for both sexes. Liberia (1974) in Coastal West Africa reports the highest rate (30 percent) of young men ages 20 to 24 years enrolled in school, presumably in post-secondary institutions, but this percentage is not characteristic of the subregion, and only 5 percent of women in this age group are enrolled. In tables 4.6 and 4.7, each successively younger age group shows a higher female enrollment rate, in both rural and urban areas, except for ages 5 to 9 years, where many children have not yet started school. Each also shows a higher female/male ratio of percent enrolled, (table 4.8 and figures 4.7 and 4.8) but with some exceptions the differences between the ratios for ages 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 years are not large. Such a pattern is the combined result of increasingly greater proportions of girls entering primary school and a dropout rate for girls which, like that for boys, increases with each higher grade in school and is increasingly larger than that for boys at each successive grade in school. Nevertheless, the dropout rate for girls is gradually coming close to the boys' rate for a given grade, as more girls are encouraged to stay in school.

Sex differentials in enrollment are most pronounced at age 15 years and above, the ages of higher secondary, vocational, and post-secondary education. It is the latter differential in enroll-

[3] For an interesting if congratulatory account, see Setse (1974)

ment which the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa must now address if women are to be able to acquire the skills needed for productive employment in a modernizing economy.

Enrollment levels are much lower in rural than in urban areas for both sexes and among all age groups, as are female/male ratios of percent enrolled for each age group; patterns of sex differences in enrollment by age, however, are similar in rural and urban areas.

Educational Attainment. With respect to educational attainment, the figures are equally discouraging. UNESCO (1982) reports only five countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ghana, Mauritius, Seychelles, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe) in which the fraction of adults age 25 years and over who have completed primary school is 9 percent or more; the highest fraction reported is that for Seychelles at 21.5 percent. Among these five, the proportion of girls completing primary school varies from a low of 4 percent in Zimbabwe to 23 percent in the Seychelles, where women's achievement in fact exceeds that of men. At the highest levels of education, in only two Sub-Saharan African countries do those who have completed at least 1 year of post-secondary education constitute more than 1 percent of the adults: Mauritius at 1.2 percent, and the Seychelles at 2.6 percent. Even in these two, the comparable proportions for women are only 0.5 percent and 1.7 percent, respectively.

Educational Wastage. An analysis of the sex composition of enrollment by grade level shows a high degree of educational wastage in the region. Figures from Malawi in the mid-1970's are illustrative. Only 35 percent of females over age 5 had ever been to school; 26 percent of the total had attended but dropped out after completing only 4 years; another 8 percent had attended but dropped out before secondary school; fewer than 1 percent attended but failed to reach the final year of secondary school; and the remaining 0.2 percent terminated formal education but did not continue on to post-secondary programs (UNECA, 1982d). At each successive level, girls drop out at an increasingly greater rate than boys do. In Kenya in 1976, the female share of total enrollment decreased from 47 percent in Standard I to 40 percent in Standard VII, to 26 percent in Form VI, and to only 18 percent at the university undergraduate level (Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978).

UNESCO has estimated the extent of school wastage for a number of countries, using the life table person-years concept. In 1975, it was estimated that it takes an average of 14.7 years of female schooling and 16.7 years of male schooling to graduate one individual from a 7-year primary school program in Lesotho, one of the countries in the region with relatively high levels of educational attainment as indicated by other measures. In Malawi, where illiteracy is higher and enrollment considerably lower, educational wastage is much higher, particulary among the girls; the comparable figures are 23.8 female and 17.7 male school years to produce one graduate of a 6-year primary program.

The traditional division of labor based upon sex accounts in large measure for the higher rates of educational wastage among girls. Young girls are expected to assist their mothers at home and on the farm. They take care of younger children; carry firewood and water, sometimes for many kilometers; assist in food processing and meal preparation; and carry meals to those in the fields. This added work load may cause girls to drop out altogether, or may depress performance and retard their progress. Low occupational expectations lead many into pregnancy or early marriage. When money for school fees is scarce, girls are expected to sacrifice for the sake of their brothers. These attitudes are slowly changing, and in at least one survey of Ghanaian secondary school students, girls expressed an interest in continuing their education and a set of occupational objectives, whether realistic or not, which were as high as those of boys (Smock, 1981; and UNECA, 1979e).

Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, as well as the island countries of Mauritius and the Seychelles, are consistent exceptions to the African pattern of low educational attainment for women as compared to men. Among the former, an economy based on cattle raising, mining (in Botswana), and the export of labor to the mines of South Africa has placed boys and young men at a relative disadvantage with respect to education. At an early age, boys are sent off to work at the family cattle posts; when their younger brothers have become old enough to relieve them, the young men then leave for a period of work in the mines. In neither situation is there much opportunity for either formal or informal education, and when the young men return most find it is too late to begin a protracted period of formal training. As a consequence, men in these countries have lower literacy, school enrollment, and educational attainment rates than those of women (Gay, 1982).

Educational Performance. A comparison by sex of the results of the Cambridge School Certificate or other examinations of academic performance can provide another measure of relative educational aspiration and achievement among young women and men. These data, usually available from national education officials, generally show a pattern of female performance which is somewhat lower than that of males. The source of these discrepancies lies in the same set of factors which tend to keep the dropout rate for girls higher than that for boys: the lower expectations and aspirations which families tend to have for girls, and the consequent demands placed on them for assistance at home. In Malawi in 1979-80, girls made up 23 percent of those taking the Primary School Certificate examination but only 20 percent of those who passed (UNECA, 1982d). In Ethiopia in 1978, girls constituted 38 percent of those sitting for the grade six examination but only 36 percent of those passing; for the grade eight examination, the comparable figures were 38 percent and 35 percent, respectively (UNECA, 1981e).

In Kenya, since 1960, the ratio of girls to boys taking the examination for the Certificate of Primary Education has risen from 23 percent to 69 percent; in most areas boys have tended to outperform girls, but the differences have been narrower in districts in which a relatively high proportion of girls have elected to take the examination. In those districts, families tend to be better off economically; parents were therefore less dependent upon the labor of their daughters and were better able to afford school fees. But the higher performance of girls in these districts

suggests in addition that where girls are encouraged to attend school, they also are motivated to higher performance. Girls generally did well on the examination for the East African Certificate of Education, taken after Form IV. It is probable that this represents the combined result of higher dropout rates among girls and of repeaters among boys, both of which would tend to result in greater selectivity among female candidates at the upper grades (Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978).

Other Indicators of Female Access to Education

Nonformal Education. Given relatively low enrollment rates and high rates of attrition, most of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are facing a major problem in the large and growing number of out-of-school youth and young adults, most of whom are inadequately trained for productive employment in modern agriculture, business, industry, or government. They swell the ranks of the unemployed and the underemployed, and unless they can be provided with access to further vocational training, they appear destined for marginality. Recognizing the seriousness of the problem, all the governments of the region, with assistance of a large number of nongovernmental organizations, have instituted programs of nonformal vocational and technical education, aimed specifically at school leavers.[4]

Accordingly, a third set of indicators of relative female/male access to education and training describes the availability of such nonformal educational and training programs, especially those in commercial, technical, and agricultural subjects. Because these programs are offered by a wide variety of institutions and are in their very nature short term and somewhat ephemeral, data on female access are fragmentary at best. Nevertheless, a number of regularities are readily apparent from examination of several of the many case studies which describe individual programs.

Literacy programs are widely available for both women and men. While literacy skills are basic, experience has shown that without substantive training as well, they have not generally resulted in productive employment. Other nonformal and extension programs for women tend to focus on homemaking, nutrition, and health. As with literacy, these are subjects which, while valuable in themselves, do not often lead to gainful employment. Most of the remainder teach dressmaking, hairdressing, or the less skilled commercial subjects, training which can increase employability and earning capacity but only in the marginal occupations traditionally open to women. These skills do not help women qualify for participation in modern agriculture or industry, except possibly at the very lowest levels. Nevertheless, in areas of high unemployment, such skills can make the difference for many women between dependency and self-sufficiency.

Meanwhile, men are recruited into courses in farm management and innovation, areas in which many have had little experience, as well as those in woodworking, automotive mechanics, and the like. Increasingly, the latter type of training is being offered by employers in the form of apprenticeships and on-the-job training, and therefore is available only to those who have already entered the modern wage economy. Women cannot benefit from such programs if they are not part of the industrial and commercial labor force. Consequently, it is even more critical that out-of-school women be able to obtain training in nonformal programs for the skills which they need to obtain employment and to qualify for advancement.

Examples of programs for women in tie-dyeing, sewing, soap-making, typing and the like are too numerous to catalog. However, one of the more innovative examples of a nonformal course is a 4-year apprentice program for training both women and men in technical skills, offered by the national workshop in Freetown, Sierra Leone (UNECA, 1981c). The objective of the workshop is to train school leavers in mathematics, general science, engineering drawing, workshop practice, and one of 16 areas of specialization, including metal fabrication, welding, vehicle maintenance and repair, electricity, carpentry, and the like. Those completing the program will be expected to take a trade test under Sierra Leone regulations; some may then go on for more specialized technical training. At completion, the apprentices are bonded to remain working at the national workshop for a period of time equivalent to the total time of their training. Eventually, most are expected to work in industry or to become self-employed. Although open to both sexes, out of 144 participants there are only 12 female apprentices in the program. This is hardly a typical program, and without adequate encouragement and social support, women training for fields which are normally not open to them may find it difficult to persevere; nevertheless, their success may open the way for others.

A second innovative program in nonformal education is underway at the Eastern and Southern Africa Management Institute (Arusha, Tanzania), where women who hold senior and middle level administrative and professional posts in the public sector can improve their skills in planning and management on the job, and where both men and women are trained in policy analysis and the implementation of strategies to integrate women's productive contribution into the national development planning process. This program serves the 18 countries of the Economic Commission for Africa's Eastern and Southern Africa regions (Elias, 1981).

Programs, Institutions, and Curricula. Although school enrollment, educational attainment, and informal course attendance form the basic data in an assessment of female educational opportunities and of women's situation relative to men's, it is important to note that a year of school completed at a given grade level or a nonformal course attended by women and men may not represent the same educational experience. Programs offered to women and men are often very different in content and orientation. To understand the full pattern of sex biases, therefore, it also is necessary to examine the kinds of institutions, programs, and curricula available to (or taken advantage of by) each sex.

[4] For a discussion of the role of nonformal education in development, see Cloonet (1974), Coombs and Ahmed (1974), and Kindervatter (1980). For Africa, see Elias (1981), Smock (1981), and UNECA (1978e, 1981a, and 1982b). Nonformal training programs in specific countries are described in Coy (1982), Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978), Smock (1981), and UNECA (1976a, 1979c, 1981c, 1981d, 1981e, 1982b, and 1982d).

Single-sex institutions and separate tracking at the secondary and post-secondary level are common, and scientific and technical subjects are often found only in educational institutions for boys and men. For example, in Sudan, the 974 secondary schools in 1974 were distributed as follows (UNECA, 1975a):

Schools	Female	Male
General secondary	250	609
Academic higher	32	67
Commercial	0	3
Technical	0	11
Agricultural higher technical	0	2
Total	282	692

In Kenya as of 1978, none of the secondary vocational and technical schools admitted female students, while of the 21 secondary schools offering advanced mathematics, only 3 were for girls, another 3 were coeducational, and 15 were for boys. In 1976, there were approximately 900 places for girls in arts and only about 400 places in science programs compared to 1,000 in arts and 2,000 in science for boys. Despite the fact that 80 to 90 percent of women in rural areas are engaged in producing, processing, and marketing food, their access to technical education in agriculture is very limited; in 1975, there were only 30 openings for girls at the Bukura Institute of Agriculture compared to 270 for boys (Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978).

Even when technical programs are offered to girls and women, the proportion electing to enroll in them is small. In part, this is the result of the absence of strong science programs for girls in the lower grades. For example, in Kenya, it has been difficult to fill all of the places available to women in science, especially in physics, in higher secondary school because of inadequate preparation. In certain countries like Chad and Togo, where relatively few girls complete primary school, there are only a few female entrants to vocational and technical schools because most do not meet the minimum requirements for entrance (UNECA, 1978e).

In Lesotho in 1979, although girls constituted 58 percent of students enrolled in technical and vocational schools, most were studying domestic arts, bookkeeping, and typing. Few graduated equipped with the technical skills for modern rural development or with adequate foundations in math and science for higher technical training (UNECA, 1978e). In the higher specialized institutes of Sudan in 1973-74, where women constituted 16 percent of the enrollment, they made up only 8 percent of those enrolled in such subjects as agriculture, business, engineering, or architecture, and 74 percent of those enrolled in nursing, secretarial studies, or teaching (UNECA, 1975a).

The pattern may continue at the university level. In Ghana, women make up only 7 percent of those enrolled at the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi, compared to just over 15 percent at the University of Ghana (Legon) and at the University of Cape Coast. Most of the Ghanaian university women are concentrated in the faculty of arts; even at Kumasi where the arts faculty is not a strong one, 20 percent of the women are in arts programs. Many are in teacher training programs (Smock, 1981, and UNECA, 1979e and 1981a). On the other hand, access to university education can permit a greater range of options for women. At the University of Khartoum, where women were 10 percent of the student body, they represented fully 8.5 percent of those enrolled in the combined science faculties of agriculture, engineering, medicine, science, veterinary science, and pharmacy (UNECA, 1975a and 1978e).

Examples could be multiplied, as the pattern of sex bias in program and curriculum, particularly at the secondary level, is a general one. Indeed, the Economic Commission for Africa (1978e) has suggested that secondary education may even depress women's options, as it equips them to move into the modern sector without providing them with sufficient understanding of science and technology to be able to move into the more highly skilled occupations. Furthermore, the introduction of a wider range of secondary school programs, under the guise of reforming the curriculum to make it less academic and more relevant to the vocational needs of the students, has introduced even more gender differentiation. For example, the curriculum prescribed for a new junior secondary course introduced in Ghana in the mid-1970's segregated girls into home science and pre-nursing, while offering agricultural science to boys. Electives for girls included beauty culture, tailoring, dressmaking, and catering, and for boys woodworking, masonry, technical drawing, and automotive practice (UNECA, 1979e). It should be pointed out that this pattern of bias does not follow the traditional African division of labor; traditionally, Africa's agriculture has been in the hands of women, as has much of its commerce. Were women to be trained for the traditional African economic pattern, far more of them would be in agricultural and commercial programs. Apparently many of the sex biases in African education have been imported from the West, along with its technology.

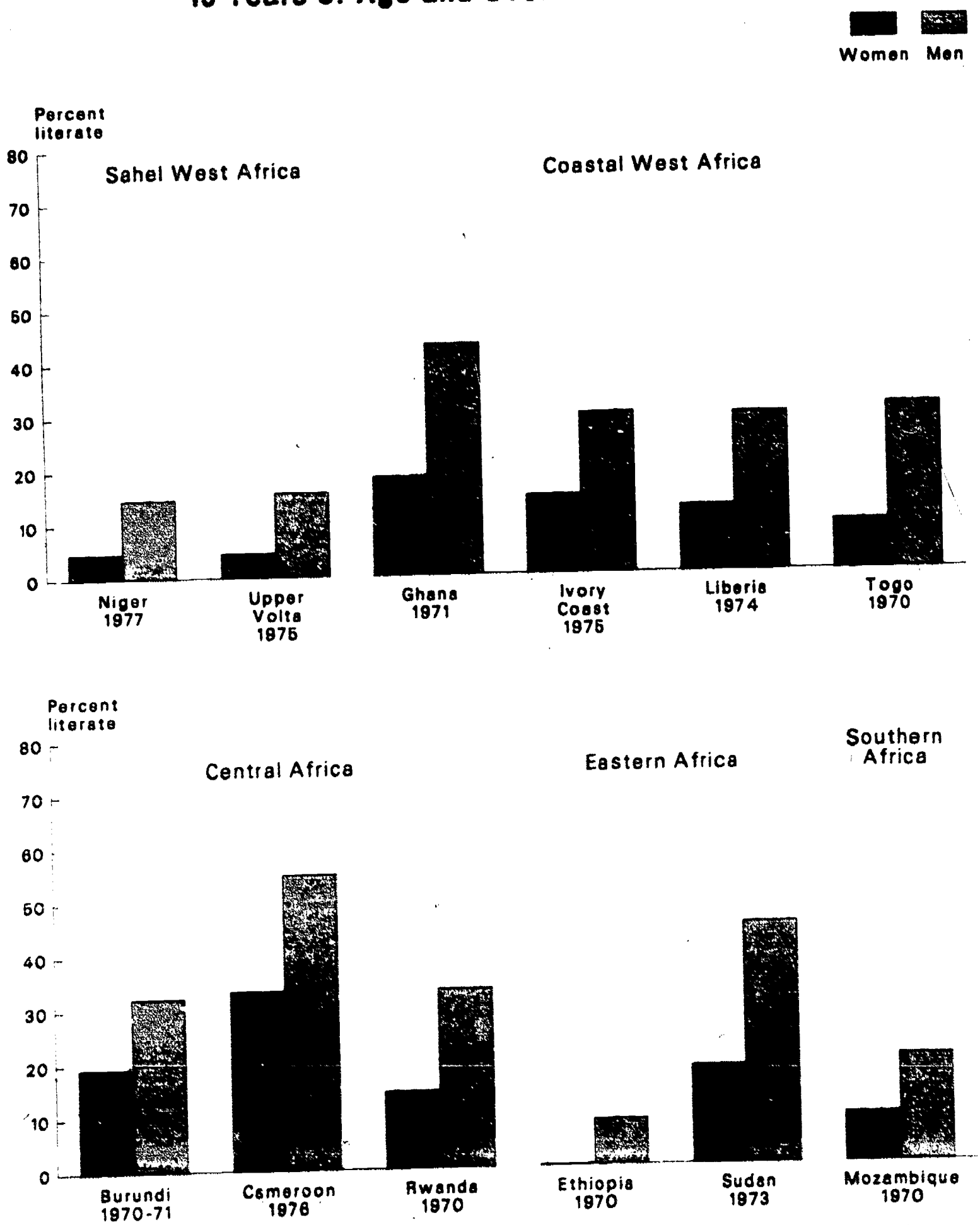
Level of Commitment. Finally, a very important indicator of the status of women in a given country is the commitment of that society to their education and training. Most important are the attitudes of parents. Where parents encourage the educational aspirations of their daughters, female achievement levels reflect this concern, and because women who have been educated also tend to have higher expectations for their children, the effect is cumulative. Nevertheless, most of the gains made during the 1970's have come from the interest and the willingness of increasing numbers of ordinary workers and farmers to support female education, either through the payment of school fees themselves for their daughters, or through government revenues. In most of the poorer developing countries, the national government has accepted the primary responsibility for education. Consequently, except where education is constitutionally a private, local, or as in Nigeria, a regional function, the policies and expenditures for female education and training made by the central government are important indicators of a society's commitment.

Information on per capita central government expenditures for education is generally available in annual financial reports and other official documents. By this measure, the commitment of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa is impressive. Excluding China and India, the per capita government expenditure for

education in developing countries averaged only $3 in 1975 U.S. dollars during the 1970's. But for the same period, per capita expenditure in Sub-Saharan Africa ranged from $2 (Somalia, 1972; Ethiopia, 1979) to $20 (Ghana, 1972) and $33 (Zambia, 1979). Two thirds of the countries reported per capita expenditures above the developing country average; the median figure reported was $5 (World Bank, 1981).

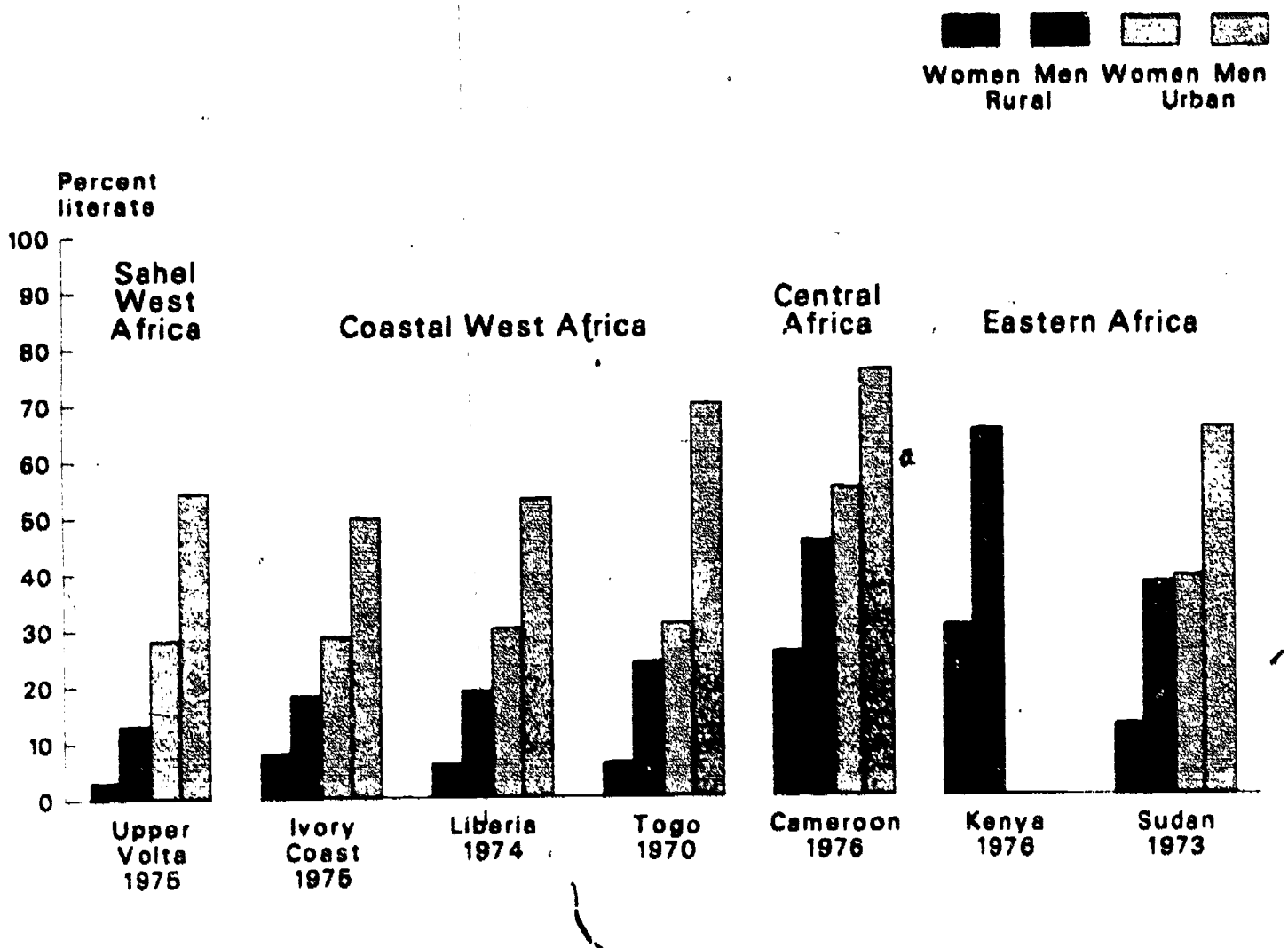
Expenditure data are not usually available separately by sex, but sometimes close examination of the national education budget can be illuminating. In Malawi in 1979, for example, the Ministry of Education proposed to improve and expand seven girls' secondary boarding schools, and to provide assistance to three or four home economics units, whereas it proposed building a large number of new hostels for secondary school boys (one per 120 pupils) (UNECA, 1982d). Although budget figures for any given year are subject to considerable risk of misinterpretation, analyses of annual expenditures over time can indicate trends in the pattern of resources allocated to the education of the two sexes.

Figure 4.1. Percent Literate Among Women and Men 10 Years of Age and Over



Note. See footnotes to table 4.1 for nonstandard age groups.
Literacy rate for women in Ethiopia is 0.2 percent.

Figure 4.2. Percent Literate Among Women and Men 10 Years of Age and Over, by Rural/Urban Residence



Note: See footnotes to tables 4.2 and 4.3 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 4.3. Percent Literate for Women and Men, by Age

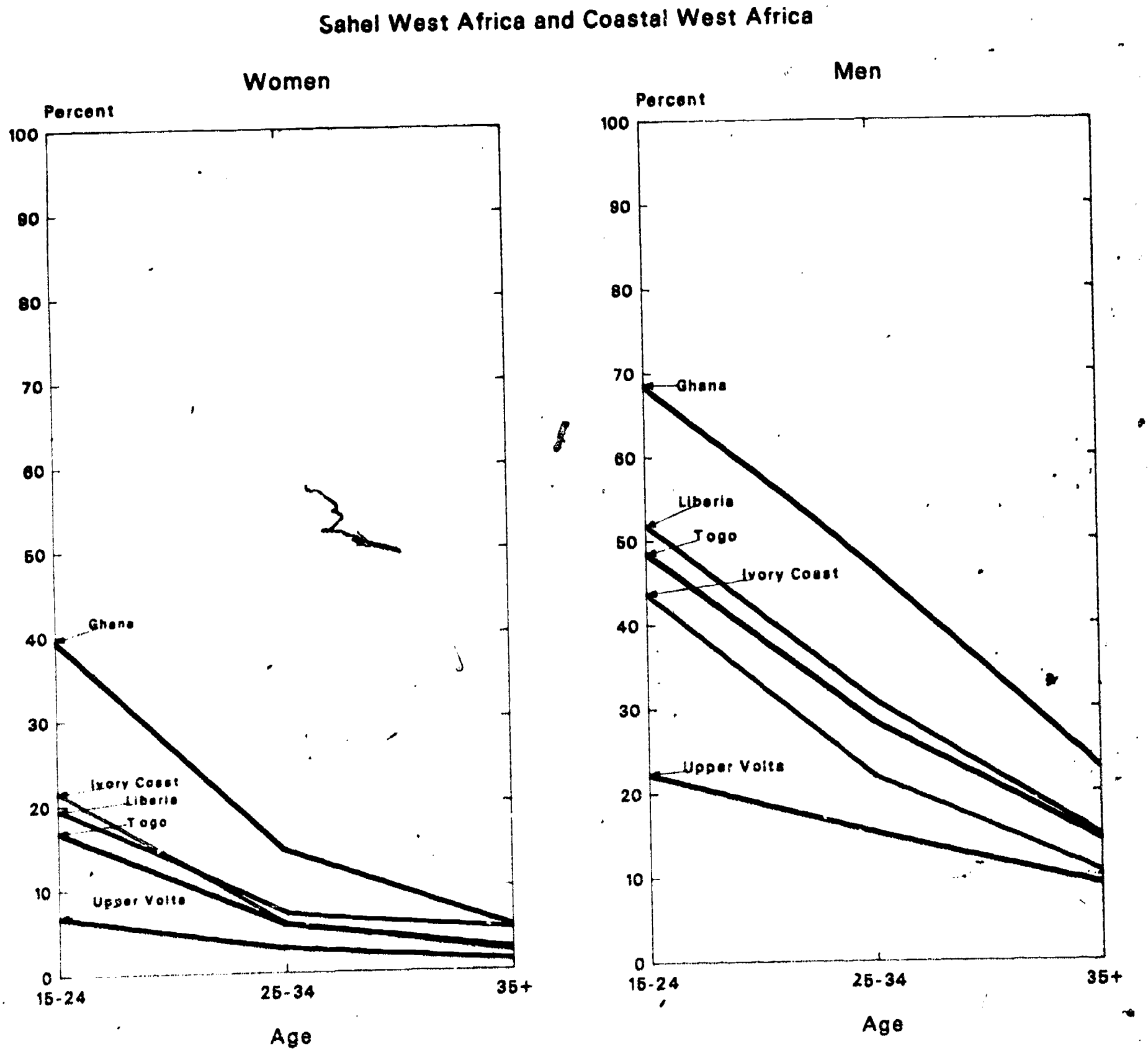


Figure 4.3. Percent Literate for Women and Men, by Age--Continued

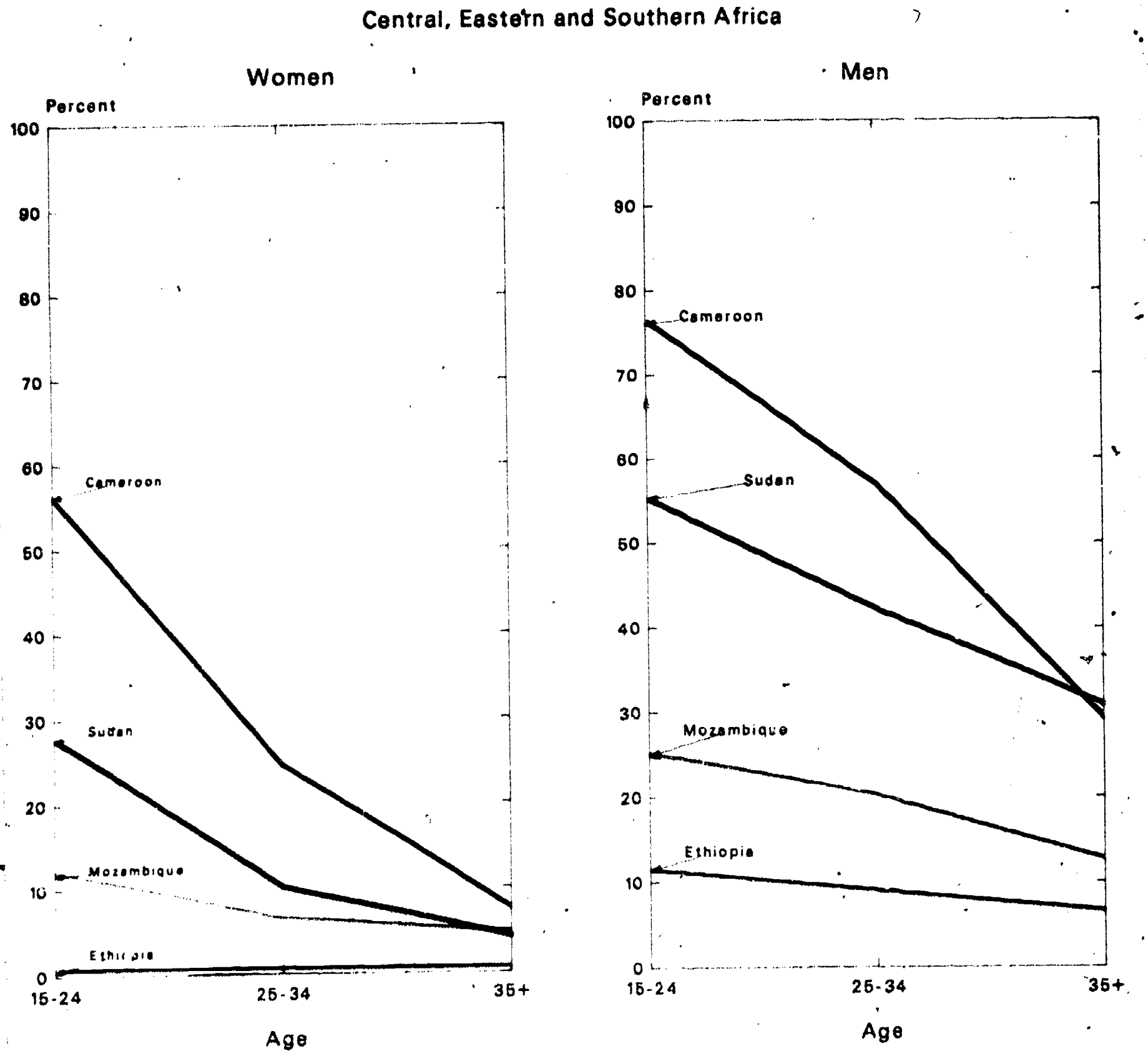
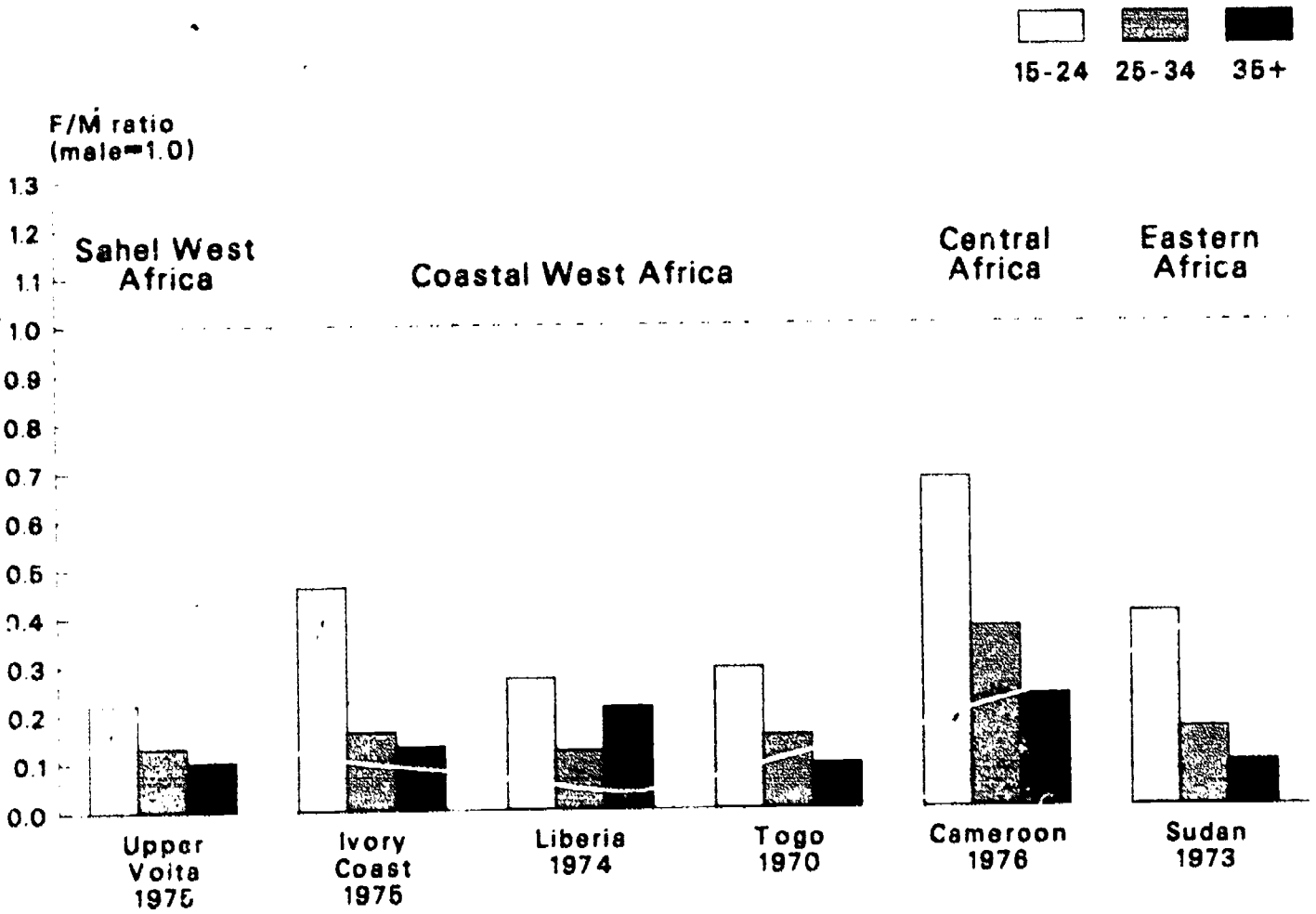
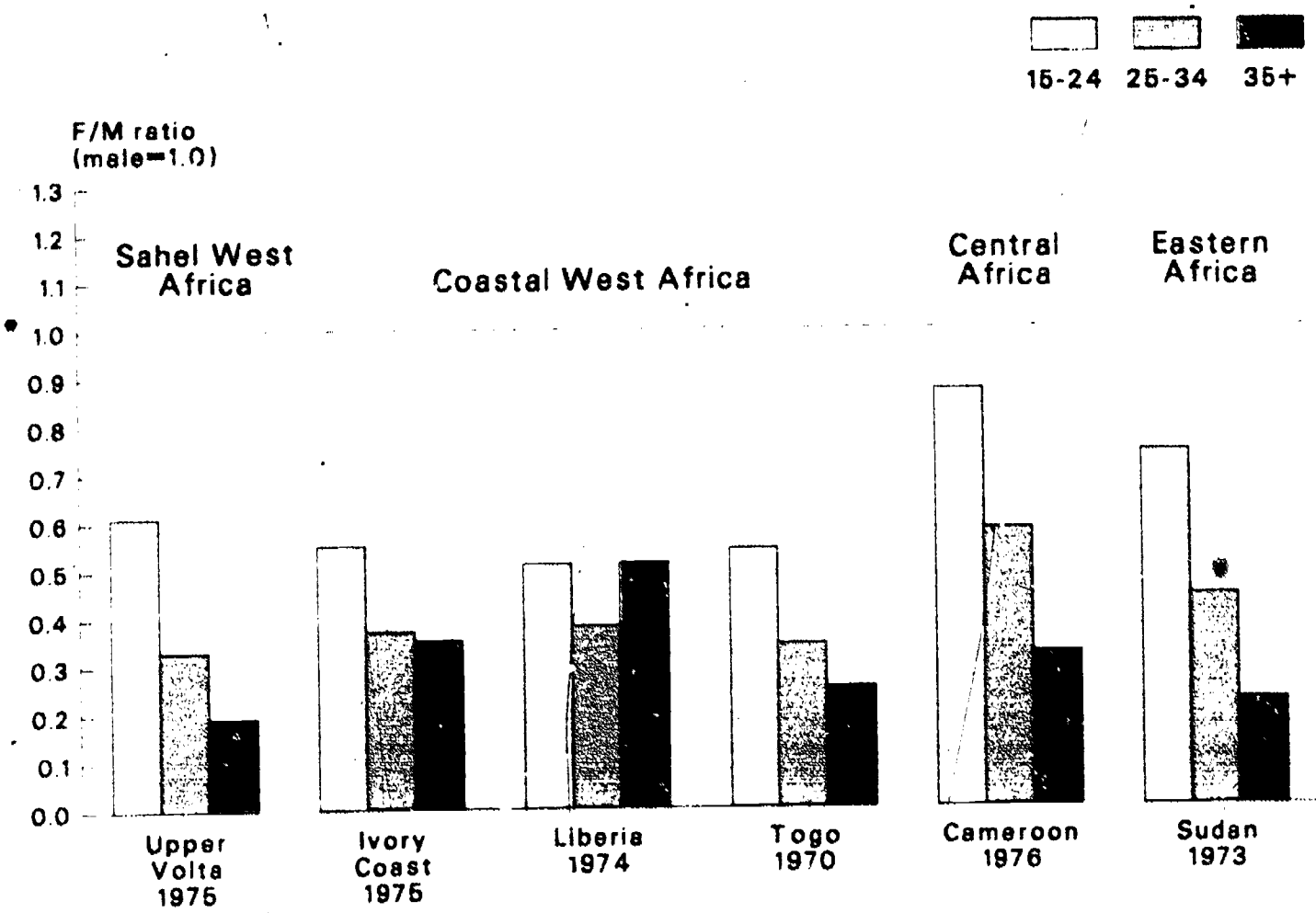


Figure 4.4 Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate in Rural Areas, for Selected Age Groups



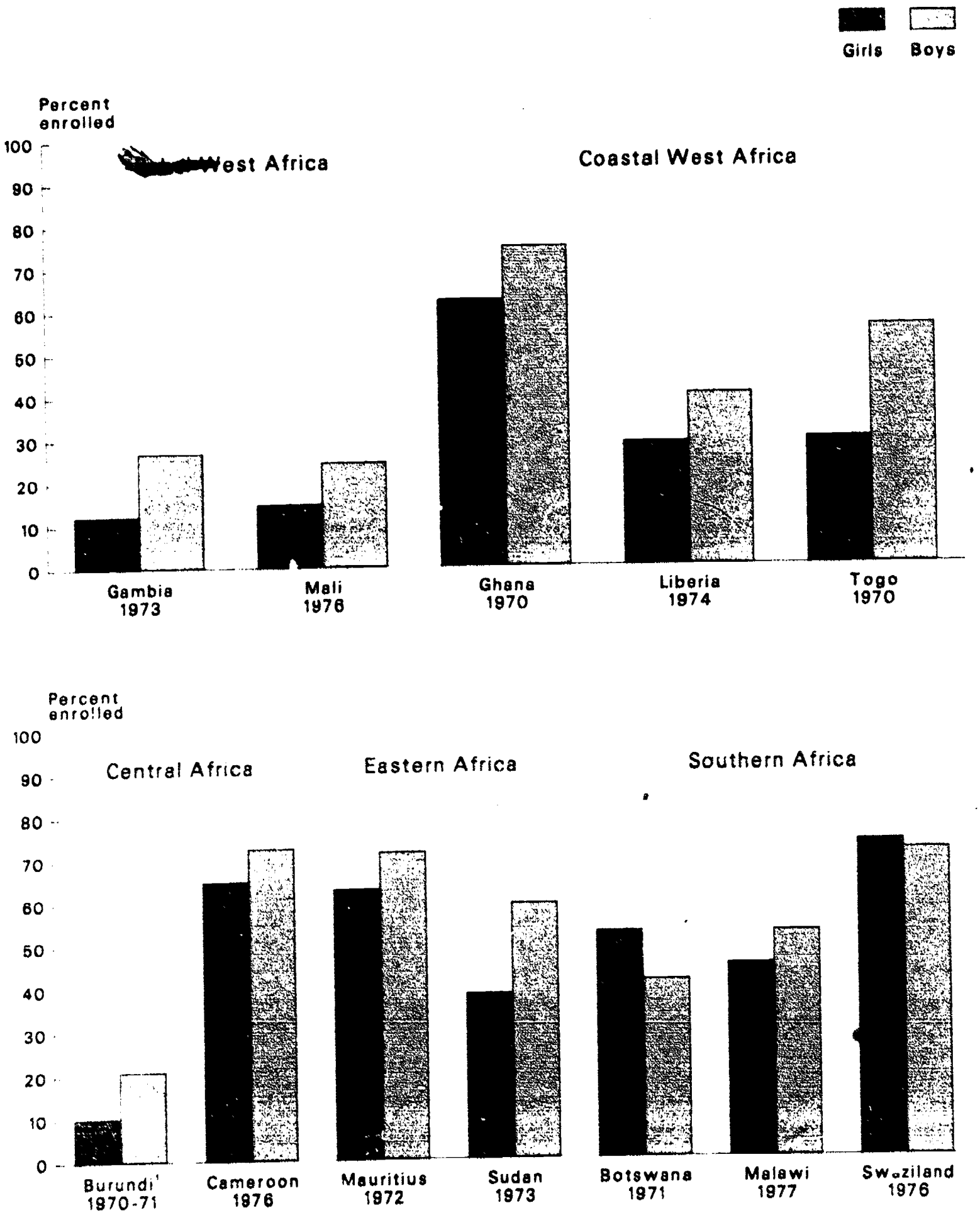
*Female percent equals male percent.

Figure 4.5. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate in Urban Areas, for Selected Age Groups



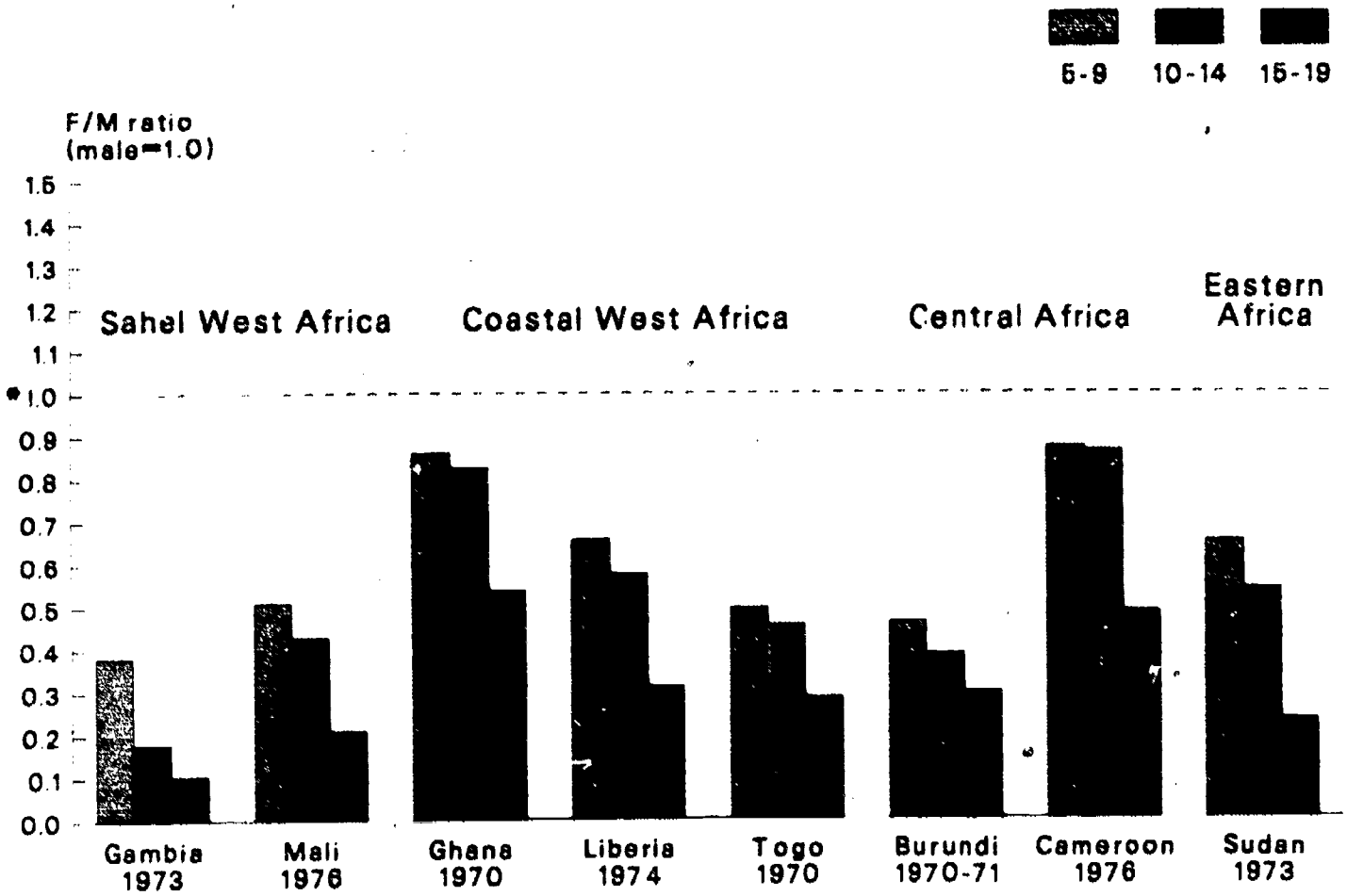
*Female percent equals male percent.

Figure 4.6. Percent Enrolled in School Among Girls and Boys 10 to 14 Years of Age



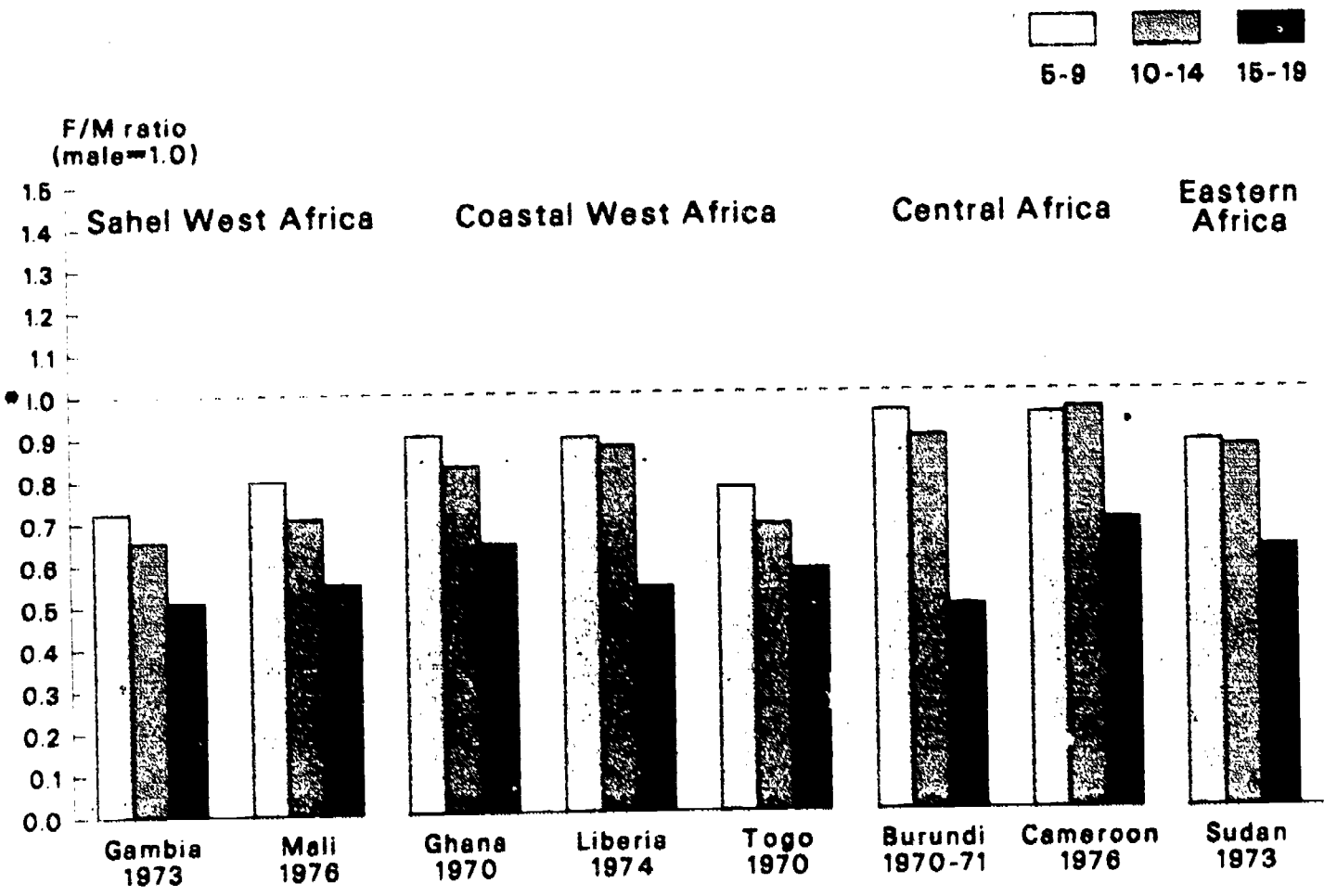
¹ See footnotes to Table 4.5 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 4.7. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Enrolled in School in Rural Areas, for Selected Age Groups



* Female percent equals male percent.
See footnotes to table 4.8 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 4.8. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Enrolled in School in Urban Areas, for Selected Age Groups



• Female percent equals male percent.
Note: See footnotes to table 4.8 for nonstandard age groups.

Table 4.1. Percent Literate Among Total Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Total	Female	Male	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1960	29.3	18.7	42.4	0.44
Chad[1]	1964	5.6	0.6	12.1	0.05
Mali	1960-61	2.9	1.0	4.9	0.20
Mauritania[2]	1977	17.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1977	9.5	4.6	14.6	0.32
Upper Volta	1975	10.0	4.4	15.7	0.28
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	4.6	1.8	7.7	0.23
Ghana[1]	1971	30.2	18.4	43.1	0.43
Ivory Coast	1975	22.7	14.6	29.9	0.49
Liberia	1974	21.0	12.2	29.6	0.41
Nigeria[1]	1971-73	37.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sierra Leone	1963	9.8	5.1	14.7	0.35
Togo[3]	1970	19.1	9.1	30.9	0.29
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi[1]	1970-71	25.0	19.0	32.0	0.59
Cameroon	1976	43.6	33.1	54.8	0.60
Rwanda	1970	23.0	14.0	33.0	0.42
Zaire	1955-57	15.4	2.8	29.2	0.10
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1970	4.2	0.2	8.3	0.02
Mauritius[4]	1962	61.9	53.5	70.2	0.76
Seychelles[1]	1960	45.9	49.2	42.3	1.16
Sudan	1973	31.3	17.9	44.7	0.40
Tanzania	1967	31.5	18.8	45.0	0.42
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1964	34.5	37.5	30.8	1.22
Lesotho	1966	56.3	67.0	40.5	1.65
Mozambique	1970	14.2	8.8	19.7	0.45
Zambia	1969	53.4	41.9	65.4	0.64

[1] Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2] Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[3] Refers to ages 12 years and over.
[4] Refers to ages 5 years and over.

Table 4.2. Percent Literate Among Rural Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Total	Female	Male	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	5.0	0.4	11.0	0.04
Mali	1960-61	1.0	0.2	1.9	0.10
Mauritania[2]	1977	11.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Upper Volta	1975	7.9	2.9	13.0	0.22
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	2.3	0.6	4.2	0.14
Ivory Coast	1975	13.0	7.8	18.1	0.43
Liberia	1974	12.1	5.7	18.8	0.30
Togo[3]	1970	14.0	5.7	23.9	0.24
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	34.7	25.4	45.4	0.56
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1970	4.7	0.4	8.9	0.04
Kenya	1976	46.0	30.0	65.0	0.46
Sudan	1973	24.5	12.2	37.7	0.32
Tanzania	1967	29.5	17.4	42.7	0.41

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 12 years and over.

Table 4.3. Percent Literate Among Urban Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Literate

Region and country	Year	Percent literate			F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Total	Female	Male	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	13.1	2.2	25.4	0.09
Mali	1960-61	16.5	6.5	28.0	0.23
Mauritania[2]	1977	36.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Upper Volta	1975	41.5	28.1	54.3	0.52
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	28.8	12.3	46.5	0.26
Ivory Coast	1975	40.5	28.6	49.7	0.58
Liberia	1974	42.5	30.0	53.0	0.57
Togo[3]	1970	49.6	30.8	69.9	0.44
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Cameroon	1976	65.9	54.9	75.8	0.72
EASTERN AFRICA					
Sudan	1973	53.2	38.9	65.3	0.60
Tanzania	1967	60.8	44.6	73.5	0.61

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 12 years and over.

Table 4.4. Percent Literate Among Women and Men, by Age

Region and country	Year	Female				Male			
		10 to 14 years	15 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over	10 to 14 years	15 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Cape Verde.....	1960	28.8	24.4	17.4	14.0	41.4	45.9	39.5	42.6
Mali.....	1960-61	4.7	[1]1.5	[2]0.5	[3]0.0	9.7	15.5	24.6	[3]2.7
Upper Volta.....	1975	11.0	6.7	2.6	1.0	20.7	22.3	15.1	8.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin.....	1961	(NA)	3.9	1.5	0.6	(NA)	14.5	7.1	4.8
Ghana.....	1971	(NA)	39.6	14.3	5.0	(NA)	68.6	46.6	22.7
Ivory Coast.....	1975	40.0	21.5	5.5	2.3	60.4	43.7	21.8	10.1
Liberia.....	1974	24.0	19.4	6.9	4.7	32.7	51.7	30.7	14.2
Sierra Leone.....	1963	13.4	5.6	3.1	4.1	24.2	22.1	14.0	9.6
Togo.....	1970	[4]31.8	16.8	5.5	2.1	[4]60.5	48.4	28.0	14.1
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Cameroon.....	1976	71.1	56.1	24.2	7.3	78.5	76.1	56.7	29.2
EASTERN AFRICA									
Ethiopia[5].....	1970	1.8	0.4	0.1	0.1	11.9	11.4	8.7	6.3
Mauritius.....	1962	[6]62.0	[7]65.5	49.5	38.0	[6]67.2	[7]80.1	70.1	65.3
Seychelles.....	1960	(NA)	60.4	52.5	40.3	(NA)	48.8	48.5	35.5
Sudan.....	1973	44.9	27.5	9.8	4.0	64.9	55.2	41.8	30.6
Tanzania.....	1967	42.5	29.4	13.9	4.9	56.3	60.3	49.3	29.4
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Botswana.....	1964	49.7	52.5	39.8	21.1	32.7	39.3	33.9	23.6
Lesotho.....	1966	63.9	89.1	81.3	49.7	30.2	53.4	49.7	36.8
Mozambique.....	1970	20.9	11.7	6.1	4.3	26.9	24.9	20.0	12.4
Zambia.....	1969	75.6	60.3	33.2	13.7	79.4	82.5	70.3	43.9

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2]Refers to ages 20 to 39 years.
[3]Refers to ages 40 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 12 to 14 years.
[5]Refers to rural areas only.
[6]Refers to ages 5 to 12 years.
[7]Refers to ages 13 to 24 years.

Table 4.5. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex

Region and country	Year	Female				Male			
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Chad	1964	(NA)	8.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	[1]35.7	(NA)	(NA)
The Gambia	1973	7.9	12.1	4.7	(NA)	14.3	26.9	17.3	(NA)
Mali	1976	[2]12.7	14.7	5.8	1.3	[2]20.1	24.5	14.3	5.7
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	(NA)	[3]12.9	[4]1.6	(NA)	(NA)	[3]30.3	[4]4.1	(NA)
Ghana	1970	[2]45.6	62.4	30.7	2.6	[2]51.5	74.9	53.4	14.4
Guinea	1954-55	[2]13.4	[5]16.2	(NA)	(NA)	[2]35.2	[5]46.0	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	11.4	28.7	20.4	5.3	14.0	40.2	50.7	30.0
Sierra Leone	1963	14.0	20.5	4.4	0.2	18.3	35.3	20.8	2.7
Togo	1970	20.7	29.6	11.6	1.0	36.8	56.0	31.7	6.9
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Burundi	1970-71	(NA)	[6]10.0	2.9	[7]0.1	(NA)	[6]20.8	9.8	[7]1.5
Cameroon	1976	[2]57.6	64.8	23.9	3.7	[2]64.1	72.5	43.3	11.9
Zaire	1955-57	16.6	31.5	6.5	(NA)	33.2	69.2	42.9	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA									
Mauritius	1972	90.8	62.8	20.0	1.3	91.5	71.4	30.5	3.2
Sudan	1973	[8]28.7	38.2	13.1	1.6	[8]39.7	59.3	36.6	8.8
Tanzania	1967	12.2	35.2	10.2	1.0	15.6	48.1	27.0	5.5
Uganda	1969	25.9	39.0	11.0	0.9	31.6	56.2	32.2	7.4
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Botswana	1971	22.0	52.5	28.3	2.6	19.1	41.2	33.0	9.4
Lesotho	1966	41.9	80.8	47.8	4.1	25.0	49.0	40.9	15.6
Malawi	1977	14.6	44.8	21.0	1.6	16.1	52.4	49.0	13.4
Swaziland	1976	44.1	73.4	37.2	(NA)	41.2	71.4	53.9	(NA)
Zambia	1969	27.2	65.1	29.2	1.5	28.2	70.5	60.1	13.8
Zimbabwe	1969	29.0	52.3	17.1	1.5	30.9	59.8	32.8	4.9

[1]Refers to ages 6 to 14 years.
[2]Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[3]Refers to ages 6 to 13 years.
[4]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[5]Refers to ages 10 to 13 years.
[6]Refers to ages 5 to 14 years.
[7]Refers to ages 20 to 29 years.
[8]Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Table 4.6. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex, for Rural Areas

Region and country	Year	Female				Male			
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
The Gambia	1973	3.6	3.3	1.3	(NA)	9.5	18.9	13.1	(NA)
Mali	1976	[1]7.2	6.6	1.4	0.2	[1]14.2	15.5	6.8	1.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	(NA)	[2]8.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	[2]24.8	(NA)	(NA)
Ghana	1970	[1]39.1	58.1	27.0	1.6	[1]45.6	70.6	50.6	12.3
Guinea	1954-55	[1]12.5	[3]15.0	(NA)	(NA)	[1]33.5	[3]43.8	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	5.3	17.3	13.1	2.7	8.1	30.2	42.4	25.3
Togo	1970	16.6	23.4	7.4	0.3	33.7	51.8	26.5	3.2
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Burundi	1970-71	6.8	8.8	2.5	[4]0.2	14.8	[4]22.9	8.5	[4]41.1
Cameroon	1976	[1]50.1	58.3	18.1	1.9	[1]57.5	67.7	37.7	7.1
Zaire	1955-57	13.4	28.6	6.4	(NA)	30.5	67.9	43.1	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA									
Sudan	1973	[5]22.5	28.3	6.8	0.7	[5]34.8	52.8	30.2	6.6
Tanzania	1967	10.0	33.5	9.3	0.9	14.5	46.8	26.3	5.4

[1]Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[2]Refers to ages 6 to 13 years.
[3]Refers to ages 10 to 13 years.
[4]Refers to ages 20 to 29 years.
[5]Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Table 4.7. Percent of Population Enrolled in School, by Age and Sex, for Urban Areas

Region and country	Year	Female				Male			
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
The Gambia	1973	33.9	49.2	18.6	(NA)	46.9	75.4	36.7	(NA)
Mali	1976	[1]39.9	46.6	25.3	6.6	[1]50.2	66.1	46.3	21.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	(NA)	[2]50.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	[2]76.3	(NA)	(NA)
Ghana	1970	[1]62.2	71.2	37.9	4.5	[1]69.2	86.3	59.6	17.7
Guinea	1954-55	[1]24.0	[3]27.1	(NA)	(NA)	[1]56.1	[3]69.5	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	26.7	54.6	35.2	10.1	29.9	62.7	66.1	36.2
Togo	1970	48.6	56.4	29.6	4.5	62.9	82.4	51.5	18.4
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Burundi	1970-71	60.0	73.0	15.0	[4]0.0	63.0	82.0	31.0	[4]6.0
Cameroon	1976	[1]78.6	80.9	35.8	7.3	[1]83.3	84.7	52.3	17.9
Zaire	1955-57	46.3	67.0	9.0	(NA)	60.1	86.5	49.8	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA									
Sudan	1973	[5]53.2	70.5	32.6	4.5	[5]60.8	81.8	52.6	13.1
Tanzania	1967	62.1	70.1	22.7	2.2	42.8	76.5	36.1	7.1

[1] Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[2] Refers to ages 6 to 13 years.
[3] Refers to ages 10 to 13 years.
[4] Refers to ages 20 to 29 years.
[5] Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Table 4.8. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Enrolled for Selected Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA										
The Gambia	1973	55.2	45.0	27.2	37.9	17.5	9.9	72.3	65.3	50.7
Mali	1976	63.2	60.0	40.6	[1]50.7	42.6	20.6	[1]79.5	70.5	54.6
COASTAL WEST AFRICA										
Benin	1961	(NA)	[2]42.6	[3]39.0	(NA)	[2]34.3	(NA)	(NA)	[2]65.8	(NA)
Ghana	1970	[1]88.5	83.3	57.5	[1]85.7	82.3	53.4	[1]89.9	82.5	63.6
Guinea	1954-55	[1]38.1	[4]35.2	(NA)	[1]37.3	[4]34.2	(NA)	[1]42.8	[4]39.0	(NA)
Liberia	1974	81.4	71.4	40.2	65.4	57.3	30.9	89.3	87.1	53.3
Sierra Leone	1963	76.5	58.1	21.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Togo	1970	56.3	52.9	36.6	49.3	45.2	27.9	77.3	68.4	57.5
CENTRAL AFRICA										
Burundi	1970-71	(NA)	48.1	29.6	45.9	38.4	29.4	95.2	89.0	48.4
Cameroon	1976	[1]89.9	89.4	55.2	[1]87.1	86.1	48.0	[1]94.4	95.5	68.5
Zaire	1955-57	50.0	45.5	15.2	43.9	42.1	14.8	77.0	77.5	18.1
EASTERN AFRICA										
Mauritius	1972	99.2	88.0	65.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sudan	1973	[5]72.3	64.4	35.8	[5]64.7	53.6	22.5	[5]87.5	86.2	62.0
Tanzania	1967	78.2	73.2	37.8	69.0	71.6	35.4	145.1	91.6	62.9
Uganda	1969	82.0	69.4	34.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4.8. Female/Male Ratio of Percent Enrolled for Selected Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
		5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years
SOUTHERN AFRICA										
Botswana	1971	115.2	127.4	85.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Lesotho	1966	167.6	164.9	116.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Malawi	1977	90.7	85.5	42.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Swaziland	1976	107.0	102.8	69.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zambia	1969	96.5	92.3	48.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zimbabwe	1969	93.9	87.5	52.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1]Refers to ages 6 to 9 years.
[2]Refers to ages 6 to 13 years.
[3]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[4]Refers to ages 10 to 13 years.
[5]Refers to ages 7 to 9 years.

Chapter 5

Women in Economic Activity

African women have always worked, both outside and inside the home — in agriculture, commerce, and handicrafts. The traditional division of labor by sex in Africa has given women the major role in agricultural production in addition to their roles of bearing and raising children and caring for their husbands and the elderly. Because traditionally women are responsible for providing their families with food, they control most of the food production in the region. Across large areas of the continent, women decide which food crops to plant, how much, when, and by what methods, and they exercise substantial autonomy over the disposition of the crop and the proceeds of the sale of any surplus. Moreover, although men have been responsible for export production since such crops were introduced during the colonial period, women have provided much of the labor for their cultivation and harvest. It has been variously estimated that Sub-Saharan African women produce 60 to 80 percent of all agricultural output, and 90 percent or more of the food crops. They also carry the major responsibility for processing, storing, and marketing their agricultural surplus.[1]

Throughout the dislocations of colonialism and the social and economic changes since national independence, strong family and inheritance systems have continued to sustain this pattern in the sexual division of labor.[2] Initially colonial governments and later many national governments and private corporations found the system an advantageous one. Because women have continued to produce the food for subsistence, male labor has been employed in the modern sector at relatively depressed wages, releasing a surplus for investment in other activities, whether for national development or for export overseas.[3]

The agricultural sector is basic to the economy of the region, but it has been a relatively neglected one during the two decades since independence while the governments of the region have concentrated on building national political coherence and have invested heavily in physical infrastructure, a nascent industrial sector, and the development of human capital. As a consequence, the productivity of both export and food crops has fallen; food production has failed to keep pace with the growth of population, while production for export has stagnated.

Since the late 1970's, however, most of the governments have recognized the critical importance of agriculture in the national economy, and have instituted policies and programs designed to strengthen that sector. Although larger scale enterprises have a role to play, it has become apparent to many African economists and officials that the region cannot hope to achieve its goal of self-sufficiency in food unless the productivity of its small farmers is substantially increased. Economists and planners are also giving increased attention to improving productivity in the informal and small business sectors, where African women play a major role, particularly in marketing and trade.[4] Nevertheless, so great has been the power of Western presuppositions and models of development, that only in the last few years have planners begun to recognize the key role of

[1] There is a large literature on women's role in agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa. See Boserup (1970), Bryson (1981), Halfkin and Bay (1976), Hanger and Morris (1973), ILO (1981), Kebede (1975), Oppong (1983), Paulme (1963), and UNECA (1974b, 1978d, 1978e, 1981a, 1981g, 1982b, and 1982c).

[2] For discussions of the family and social structure supporting the sexual division of labor, see Boserup (1970), Bryson (1981), and UNECA (1982b).

[3] For discussions of the role of female agricultural production in the broader political economy of Sub Saharan Africa, see Bryson (1981) and UNECA (1982b).

[4] A comprehensive review of and prognosis and recommendations for economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa has been published by the World Bank (1981). The Bank questions the wisdom of the regional goal of food self-sufficiency, but highlights the importance of agriculture and the small farmer. See also Lele (1975).

women in these sectors, and the importance of facilitating their access to the resources they need to improve their performance.[5]

A data base on women's economic activities is essential if planning for the more efficient utilization of the female labor force is to be effective; without adequate information about women's activities, those programs designed to improve the productivity of the small farmer and trader may be targeted inappropriately or have unexpectedly negative economic and/or social consequences.[6] Yet it is now widely recognized that existing statistical systems, based on a labor force concept of economic activity, have failed fully to capture women's productive role in African society. The shortcomings of existing data on the female labor force arise from a number of factors, three of the more important of which are a definition of the labor force which is based on culturally biased assumptions, derived from Western experience, about the sexual division of labor and economic relationships within the household; the practical difficulties of measuring part time and multiple activities, and production for use as well as for exchange; and the costs for tabulation by sex of existing statistical series and/or for the collection of additional data.

Although different concepts and/or definitions of the economically active and greater sensitivity to sex biases in data collection and presentation will be needed to explicate the African woman's productive roles fully, better exploitation of data from existing statistical systems will highlight women's economic activities while identifying data gaps and conceptual inadequacies. In this chapter, labor force data from the WID Data Base are presented and examined for their validity as indicators of the level of women's economic activity in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Data Availability

Data on the labor force come from national censuses, special labor force surveys, and household surveys undertaken for other purposes, such as the World Fertility Survey, that also ask about employment and occupation. Although each source seeks information about economic activities, differences in their objectives, definitions, and data collection procedures mean that data from the three types of sources may be incommensurate. Even when data collection procedures are similar, not all the countries in the region apply existing international definitions and standards in a consistent fashion, thus making comparisons among the countries of the region subject to considerable risk of misinterpretation. For example, some apply an operational definition of the economically active which has the effect of including virtually all adults in the tabulated labor force; others exclude nearly all but wage labor.

Since the 1930's, when the industrial countries became concerned about monitoring the level of unemployment among their workers, economic activity has been measured by participation in the labor force. In the years since the adoption of the initial 1938 League of Nations guidelines for labor force statistics, however, there have been a number of modifications in the definition of participation and in the terminology to be employed in data collection. In 1966, the definition was expanded to facilitate identification of the underemployed. Later modifications extended the definition of economic activity to include persons engaged in the subsistence production of marketable goods. Additional revisions were adopted recently by the 1982 Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians, with the intention of more clearly differentiating between paid and self employment, and among the employed, the underemployed, and the unemployed.[7]

Nevertheless, production and labor not clearly exchanged in the market continue to be grossly underestimated. The problem is particularly severe in cases where women's unpaid family work and much of their market-oriented activity are closely integrated with domestic activities. Moreover, as these economic activities are commonly assumed to be secondary to women's main occupation of housewife, they are generally excluded from statistics on the labor force which tabulate principal occupation only.

Quite apart from the issue of the economic valuation of women's purely domestic duties is the difficult problem of defining what constitutes an economic as distinct from a domestic activity. Activities such as child care or meal preparation are clearly domestic, but how should the preparation of meals for farm laborers be classified, or the gathering of fuel, or the carrying of water, often over distances of several kilometers? Carrying water, usually the job of women or children, has normally been considered a domestic activity; yet, for example, the addition of 100 chickens to the family's livestock has been

---

[5] See Boserup (1970) and UNECA (1974b, 1975b, 1978d, 1978e, 1981g, and 1982c). The World Bank study (1981) makes only oblique reference to women's key role in African agriculture and writes of "...his willingness to produce and sell ..." However, scattered through the document are specific recommendations to help women improve productivity: (1) governments should give proper attention to the labor of both men and women; (2) female extension workers are needed in order not to talk "with the wrong people"; (3) application of new and appropriate technology to tasks which women traditionally perform is needed; (4) improved water supply and energy sources are needed to relieve women of the burden and time spent carrying water and fuel; and (5) primary health services and family planning would improve health. For further discussion of appropriate technology, see UNECA (1978a); of agricultural extension credit, land, and related issues, Dadson (1981), Dey (1981), Sebstad et al. (1980), and Staudt (1976); and of workload and time use, Birdsall (1980), McSweeney (1979), and Szalai (1972). For information on women's role in small business and the informal sector, see Benería (1981), Boserup (1970), Gay (1982), ILO (1981), Standing and Sheehan (1978), UNECA (1975a, 1978e, 1979c, 1979d, 1979e, 1980a, 1980c, and 1982b), and World Bank (1980b). For reports on women's economic activity in individual countries, see, for Cameroon, UNECA (1982b); for Ethiopia, Kebede (1975) and UNECA (1979d, 1980a, and 1981e); for The Gambia, Dey (1981); for Ghana, Dadson (1981) and UNECA (1979e and 1982b); for Ivory Coast, UNECA (1982b); for Kenya, Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978), Hanger and Morris (1973), ILO (1981), Pala (1975), and UNECA (1979e and 1982b); for Lesotho, Gay (1982); for Liberia, UNECA (1979c); for Malawi, UNECA (1982d); for Mali, Caughman (1980) and UNECA (1981b); for Nigeria, UNECA (1981e and 1982b); for Senegal, Baun (1978) and UNECA (1982b); for Sierra Leone, Tommy (1980) and UNECA (1981c); for Sudan, UNECA (1975a and 1980c); for Tanzania, Caplan (1981), UNECA (1981d), and World Bank (1980b); for Uganda, UNECA (1982b); for Upper Volta, McSweeney (1979); for Zaire, UNECA (1982b); and for Zambia, UNECA (1979e and 1982b).

[6] For an account of how a planned investment in the Liberian fishing fleet had the unintended consequences of depriving Liberian market women of their traditional role in fish distribution, see UNECA (1979c). For an analytical framework and model impact study, see Palmer (1979). See also Dey (1981) and Hanger and Morris (1973).

[7] See Benería (1981), UNESA (1980 and 1983), and Youssef (1980b and 1983).

estimated to require the transport of an additional 25 litres of water per day.[8]

The concept of the unpaid family worker represents an attempt to include such unpaid work, usually of women and children, undertaken in support of the family enterprise. Many women working in agriculture have been included in labor force statistics under this category, as have women working in small family shops and other informal enterprises in both rural and urban areas. Other women who are actively engaged in such activites as trading, handicrafts, small-scale manufacturing, or services may be classified as self-employed. These two classifications have not proven entirely satisfactory, however, as they make it very difficult to distinguish between those who choose to work for themselves and/or as unpaid family workers and those who engage in these activities by default, during periods of unemployment or underemployment; it therefore tends to result in an underestimation of the extent of unemployment.

Data concerning these categories are thus difficult to interpret, and may become even more so under the rules adopted in 1982 for their inclusion in the labor force. Under the previous definition, to be included in the labor force, an unpaid family worker must have worked at least one third of the normal working hours without direct payment, in some kind of business owned by a relative; because the one third time requirement is more stringent than that for inclusion as an employee or as self-employed, it has had the effect of undercounting the many wives and other female relatives who work in family enterprises without pay. In an effort to correct this anomaly, the 1982 rule calls for the inclusion in the labor force whether as employee, unpaid family worker, or self employed of anyone who can satisfy the not very stringent requirement of a minimum of one hour's productive work during the reference week. Although this modification may successfully address the problem of undercounting, it has created the possibility of a new problem; unless it is carefully applied, it can have the effect of including in the labor force all adults, and all children not in school, thereby destroying much of the usefulness of the concept of the labor force itself.

In addition to problems in the concept and definition of economic activity and of the labor force, stereotypes about appropriate roles for men and women and inappropriate terminology can bias the data collection procedure. Different answers about women's economic activities result when the woman herself is the respondent, rather than her husband, or when either is asked in some detail about the work she does rather than about her job (see Anker, 1981; and UNESA, 1980).

Moreover, even when data have been gathered about the activities of both women and men, national statistical offices may not tabulate those data separately by sex, or may publish data only for the male population. As a consequence, existing labor force statistics are grossly inadequate for assessing the full extent of women's contribution to the national economy.

Nevertheless, because data from censuses do tend to measure roughly comparable activities for women and men, that is, work for a wage or salary, and are reasonably consistent across countries and over time in measuring those kinds of activities, the use of census data to monitor women's access to employment in the modern sector can be defended. In order to monitor women's participation in the wage economy, some observers have suggested using a more refined partial activity rate, which has had several versions but in essence is defined as the percent of women of particular age groups employed in certain specified modern occupational categories.[9]

While demonstrably a better measure of female incorporation into the modern wage sector, these measures require occupation and industry data which are not always available. Furthermore, the vital role which Africa's women play in agriculture and trade would be not be captured by such measures. The majority of women workers would remain invisible were some version of the partial activity rate to be widely used to monitor women's integration into the economic development process. This would in turn thwart the policy objective of making women's labor statistically visible (and thus more valuable) so as to strengthen their claim on the national resources they need to improve productivity. Thus, despite their limitations, census data on the full labor force afford the most feasible source now available for monitoring African women's economic activities.

Data in the WID Data Base for describing female labor force participation in Sub-Saharan Africa are limited. Labor force data by sex are available for only 31 of the 40 Sub-Saharan African countries in the data base, and relatively few of the 31 have data on all the labor force variables or categories of interest. Rural data by sex are available for just 17 countries; urban data for only 15. Eighteen of the 40 countries tabulate labor force by sex and age, but only 14 countries have data by sex, age, and rural residence, and only 13 by sex, age, and urban residence. Twenty-two have data on employment status for the employed labor force by sex, but only 11 tabulate the same data for rural and urban areas. For 26 countries, an estimate of the percent employed in agriculture is available, but for only 21 of these is that figure shown separately by sex. Nor does the WID Data Base as yet contain information for the Sub-Saharan African countries on occupation, industry, and income.[10]

In most cases, the data in the tables and figures of this chapter refer to the same dates as those of chapter 3, and come from

[8]For discussions of the measurement problem, see Benería (1981), Birdsall (1980), Boserup (1970 and 1975), Boulding (1983), Buvinić and Schumacher (1981), Dixon (1982), DUALabs (1980 and 1981), Halfkin and Bay (1976), Hanger and Morris (1973), ILO (1981), Jamison and Baum (1982), McSweeney (1979), Paulme (1963), Population Council (1979), Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1982), Powers (1983), Sâfilios-Rothschild (1984), Standing and Sheehan (1978), Szalai (1972), UNDP (1981), UNECA (1979b), UNESCO (1976), UNESA (1980 and 1983), and Youssef (1980b and 1983).

[9]For discussions of the 'partial activity rate,' see Boserup (1975), Boulding (1983), Jamison and Baum (1982), and Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1982).

[10]For examples of the distribution of female wage employment by industry and/or occupation, see Gay (1982), ILO (1981 and 1982) and UNECA (1975a, 1978e, 1979e, and 1980b). Earnings and income data for women are scanty, but see ILO (1981 and 1982), UNECA 1978e), and World Bank (1980b). For detailed analysis of the Kenyan Labor Enumeration Survey, see ILO (1981). For detailed analysis of earnings of urban Tanzanian women, see World Bank (1980b). Income distribution data for a limited number of African countries may be found in World Bank (1981). Although some countries have enacted "equal pay for equal work" laws, women tend to learn less; this is attributed variously to women's lower education, differential job titles for the same work, or casual (by the day or by the job) rather than regular employment status. Some employers cite the costs introduced by laws requiring maternity leave and day care as reasons for hiring women primarily as casual labor (UNECA, 1979e).

the same source, which was often but not always the 1970 census round. Some country data were obtained in earlier or later censuses, while in about one-fourth of the cases, labor force data were gathered during national demographic surveys, carried out at various times. The comparability of these data, taken at different times and using different data collection procedures, is suspect. The analysis which follows is, therefore, limited by data availability and comparability as well as by whatever biases and conceptual difficulties those data reflect.

National Level Data

The number of economically active women and men age 10 years and over are presented in table 5.1 for 31 of the 40 countries, together with labor force participation rates by sex and the ratio of female to male participation rates. Participation rates and the female/male ratio are illustrated in figures 5.1 and 5.2 for countries with recent data. Two characteristics of participation rates are immediately apparent: (1) the almost uniformly high levels of the male rates, and (2) the extreme variability of the female rates. If one excludes Zimbabwe, whose statistics do not reflect the full range of economic activity of the African population, almost none of the countries report a male participation rate under 60 percent, and all but 5 countries report rates of 70 percent or above; the mean is about 78 percent. In contrast, female participation, although usually lower than male in a given country, ranges fairly evenly from under 10 to greater than 90 percent, with a mean of only 54 percent. The standard deviation for the male rate is 14, while that for the female rate is nearly twice as great, at 26 percent (Newman, 1983).

Because of the relative lack of variability in the data for males, the female male ratio of percent in the labor force is highly correlated with the female participation rate and is also extremely variable. In four countries - Upper Volta, Burundi, Rwanda, and Botswana - the female male ratio is greater than 1.00, that is, the percent of women in the labor force is greater than that of men.

Although African countries differ from one another in a number of respects, it is unlikely that the reported variability in female labor force reflects so much real variation in the extent of women's participation in productive activities. Some of the variation in rates computed from the reported data is the result of differences in the ages included in the country's definition of the labor force. All of the countries include the population ages 15 and over in the denominator for calculating participation rates, but many also include ages 10 to 14 and a few begin as low as age 6. Some variation is due to differences in the age and sex composition of the population, and to the extent of urbanization and modernization among the countries. There may also be subregional differences, reflecting both cultural and ecological factors. Despite the effects of some of these factors, however, it is highly probable that much of the variation in these rates is an artifact, reflecting differences in definitions, concepts, and data collection procedures among the several countries, which differences are themselves, of course, not completely independent of social and cultural biases.

Rural/Urban Differences

For both women and men, the recorded rural activity rates are greater than urban rates in virtually all the countries. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 present labor force participation rates separately by sex and female/male ratios of percent active for rural and urban areas, respectively. The participation rates for women and the female/male ratios are illustrated in figures 5.3 and 5.4. For men, rural participation is greater than urban in all 15 countries for which data are available by sex and rural/urban residence; for women, rural participation is higher in all but one. Among men, however, the differences are not large; except in Mali, where the urban rate is only 69 percent of that in the rural areas, urban male participation is at least 80 percent of the rural rate.

Among women workers, the countries appear to follow two different patterns; in nine of the countries, female urban rates are approximately one-half of the rural rates, while in the remaining six countries the participation of urban women is closer to the male pattern, with urban rates which are 80 percent or more of the rural rates. Indeed, in Niger, urban female participation is slighly higher than rural.

These data show a strong and consistently negative association between the level of urbanization, total and female, and labor force participation - total, male, female, urban, and urban female. With every increase of 1 percent in the proportion of the population living in urban areas, the percent of the population economically active decreased anywhere from 0.5 percent in the case of all males, to 1.8 percent for urban females. It is not known the extent to which this reflects a real decrease in labor force participation as urbanization increases, or is merely the result of rural/urban differences in the way in which workers in the subsistence and informal sectors are counted. These figures also indicate that urban female participation rates show a greater decrease with increased urbanization than do those of males (Newman, 1983). Whether this truly represents a greater female economic disadvantage as the country urbanizes, or simply means that rural female workers are more likely to be counted in the labor force is unknown; perhaps both factors are operating.

There are a number of factors which may contribute to the rural/urban patterns which are recorded in these data. In most rural areas, virtually everyone is engaged at some level in agriculture, and many also work part time in off-farm activities. In countries where national statistical offices have made strenuous efforts to count the rural labor force, recorded participation rates are likely to be fairly high, and where an attempt has been made to include women working in subsistence agriculture, the female rates approach the male rates.

Low participation rates in the cities, on the other hand, reflect a combination of real differences among certain population subgroups and the undercounting of those who support themselves in the large informal sector. In urban areas, relatively more of the young are in school and more of the elderly have withdrawn formally from employment, while some of the wives of the middle class are housewives in the Western style. Except for these, however, nearly everyone in the city as in the rural area also engages in income-generating activities, but there is a greater variety in the things urban people do to earn the cash

incomes they require in an urban setting. Their efforts make some urban dwellers more and others less likely to be recorded in the labor force statistics -- more likely for those who have joined the modern wage labor force, even at its lowest levels, and less likely for the vast army of those who operate on its fringe.

Official statistics fail to capture a large proportion of the latter – the small-scale traders and street vendors of all kinds of legal and illegal merchandise; those who do odd jobs for householders; neighborhood traditional healers, herbalists, and midwives; self-employed seamstresses and off-factory pieceworkers; caterers and beer brewers; those who do laundering or perform other personal services: prostitutes;[11] and so forth. The economic activities of migrant women, particularly those who have accompanied their husbands from farm to city, are often underestimated, as the city offers few opportunities for formal employment for the poorly educated and unskilled rural migrants of either sex. In the rural areas from which they came, the great majority of migrant women had relied upon subsistence farming or other agricultural employment to secure the necessary resources to meet their traditional responsibility for providing their families with food and other household necessities. Their traditional economic responsibilities do not cease with the move to the city; indeed, their need for cash income increases, while very few have the required skills for wage employment in the modern sector. Consequently, most of these women will join that informal urban sector whose economic activities remain unreported or underreported. Thus, while there may in fact be a somewhat smaller proportion of the urban population engaged in economic activities, the rural/urban differences reported in the official statistics are probably exaggerated.

Subregional Differences

Among the more than 50 countries on the continent of Africa, there are wide variations in ecology, history, and culture. Because they represent more or less homogeneous sociogeographic areas, the five subregions of this study of Africa south of the Sahara have been those employed by USAID: the Sahel, Coastal West Africa, Central Africa, Eastern Africa, and Southern Africa. Superficial examination of the data of table 5.1 suggests the presence of differences among the subregions in reported levels of female labor force participation. Mean values range from 28 percent in the Sahel to 76 percent in the Central Africa subregion.

Considering the geographic distribution of female participation rates, it is clear that there are at least two centers of relatively high reported female economic activity, one in Coastal West Africa and the other in Central Africa; and two broad bands of relatively low reported activity, one stretching across the Sahel and into Sudan, the other from Angola across to Mozambique. Some of the subregional variations may reflect real differences in the work that women do; for example, the low reported rates in the Sahel may result from the higher rates of seclusion among Islamic women in these countries. Some of the differences result from the definitions and data collection procedures employed. The extraordinarily high female participation rates of Upper Volta, for example, are the result of a definition of the labor force which includes women who were classified as homemakers. Efforts to relate these geographic patterns to other labor force determinants must await further analysis; in this handbook their presence is simply noted.

Age Composition of Labor Force

In most countries, the life pattern of work is different for the two sexes. Most young men enter the labor force when they leave school, usually in their late teens or early twenties; thenceforth, until retirement they remain in the labor force, even through substantial periods of unemployment and underemployment. The typical age pattern of male economic activity rates, therefore, whether in urban or rural areas, begins with a relatively low level among those under age 20 years. Participation rises sharply among men ages 20 to 29 years, in most countries to 95 percent or more, rises still further to 95 percent or more among men ages 30 to 39 years, remains at these levels through the forties, and begins to fall again among men age 50 years and over. Because the age at which young men enter the labor force depends upon the availability of educational and training opportunities, national service requirements, and the like, participation rates at the earlier ages vary among countries and, within countries, by rural and urban residence, far more than they vary for the prime working ages 30 to 49 years. Differences in age of withdrawal also result in somewhat more variability in the rates among those age 50 years and over.

The life pattern of labor force participation is less uniform among women. Relatively fewer women are formally employed on a regular basis throughout their adult working lives, but where educational opportunities for women are limited, they may enter the labor force in greater numbers at the younger ages than their brothers do. Thenceforth, women tend to move in and out of the labor force as they marry, bear and raise children, care for aged parents, become unemployed for any reason, help out in the family business, and generally respond to their many family and social responsibilities. For most of their lives, whether or not they are in the formal labor force, a large proportion of African women work in family farms and business enterprises at least on a part time basis and also supplement family income and/or provide for their needs and those of their children in the informal sector through trading, small-scale industry, catering, brewing, and so forth. African women rarely withdraw totally from economic activity and are usually engaged in more than one kind.

As a consequence of their irregular participation in the formal labor force, the age pattern of women's economic activity is considerably more variable than that of men. In some countries, the pattern for women may resemble that for men, although the levels of participation are lower; in these cases, the rates rise

[11] There are many who have written on women in the informal sector in Africa. Nearly all of the country reports referenced in footnote 5 include such discussions. See especially Anker and Knowles (1978), Benería (1981), Caldwell (1969), Haftkin and Bay (1976), Little (1973), Oppong (1983), Paulme (1963), Smith, Khoo, and Fawcett (1983), Standing and Sheehan (1978), UNECA (1981a), World Bank (1980a and 1980b), and Young and Moser (1981). For a discussion of prostitution as an avenue to financial independence, see Little (1973) and UNECA (1981a and 1982b).

sharply among women ages 20 to 29 years, are highest and fairly similar among the prime working ages of 20 to 49 years, and begin to decline after age 50 years. A second common pattern shows female participation increasing with each 10 years of age, peaking among the age group 40 to 49 years as the demands of childbearing and child care slack off.

Both patterns are seen in the WID Data Base. Table 5.4 presents labor force data for women and men by 10-year age groups: under 20 (usually referring to 10 to 19 years), 20 to 29 years, 30 to 39 years, 40 to 49 years, and 50 years and over. In seven countries (Chad, Mali, Upper Volta, Guinea, Burundi, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe), female economic activity follows the male pattern in which the three groups of mature adults (20 to 29 years, 30 to 39 years, and 40 to 49 years) show roughly comparable rates; peak levels of activity in these countries vary from 12 percent active (Zimbabwe, 1969) to nearly 100 percent (Burundi, 1970-71). In 11 countries (Senegal, Ghana, Liberia, Togo, Cameroon, Mauritius, Sudan, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho, and Malawi), female activity rates rise with each successive 10 years of age, to peak at 40 to 49 years; female participation levels in the peak years range from 28 to 90 percent.

Although there are rural/urban differentials in levels of labor force participation, the broad age pattern of labor force activity is similar in the rural and urban areas of most of the countries. Labor force participation rates by age and sex for the rural population are presented in table 5.5, and for the urban population in table 5.6. At all ages except the youngest, male rates are typically higher than female rates, and rural rates are higher than urban rates. For all ages except the youngest, the usual order of decreasing labor force participation is: rural male, urban male, rural female, urban female.

Exceptions to this pattern, however, are found in each age group, and five of the countries (Upper Volta, Guinea, Togo, Rwanda, and the Sudan) deviate considerably from the modal pattern. Upper Volta shows relatively high urban female participation at all ages. Rural female participation is relatively high in Guinea at ages under 50 years, while urban female activity ranks higher at age 50 years and over (it should be noted, however, that the only available data for Guinea refer to the mid 1950's, while those for most other countries relate to the 1970's). In Togo, rural female participation is relatively high at the youngest ages, while urban female activity exceeds that of rural women at age 50 years and over. In Rwanda, rural female participation is relatively high at all ages under 50 years, and in the Sudan, urban male activity is relatively high during these ages. Seven of the remaining countries depart from the modal pattern in only one age group, usually among persons under 20 years where variability is highest; only Chad follows the pattern in all age groups.

Two measures of women's labor force participation relative to that of men, that is, female share and the female/male ratio of percent economically active, are presented by age and rural/urban residence in tables 5.7 and 5.8. For most countries, there is a close association between the female share of the total labor force and the share at each age. Nevertheless, in the rural areas there is a tendency for that share to peak at ages 20 to 29 years, falling off thereafter with each successive age group. In the urban areas, female share is likely to be greatest at the very youngest ages, under 20 years. The peak age is lower in the cities, in part because young men of these ages tend to remain in school, postponing entrance into the labor force for longer periods than young women do. Total female share of the labor force in the rural areas ranges from 9 percent (Niger, 1977) to 54 percent (Guinea, 1954-55), with a median of 38 percent; the median share for rural women in the peak ages (20 to 29 years) is approximately 47 percent. In urban areas, total female share ranges from 9 percent (Sudan, 1973) to 52 percent (Upper Volta, 1975), with a median of 22 percent; the median share for urban women in the peak ages (under 20 years of age) is close to 35 percent.

Female/male ratios of the percent economically active in the rural areas range from 0.09 (Niger, 1977) to 1.06 (Upper Volta, 1975), with a median F/M ratio of about 0.65, that is, the female rate is about 65 percent as high as the male rate. Comparable female/male ratios for the urban areas are from a low of 0.12 (Sudan, 1973) to a high of 1.11 (Upper Volta, 1975), with a median F/M ratio of 0.40. Again, the relatively higher rates of female participation in the rural areas are evident. In both rural and urban areas, the female disadvantage[12] relative to males is lowest among the under 20 year olds. Female/male ratios for this age group in the rural areas range from 0.23 (Mali, 1976) to 1.16 (Upper Volta, 1975), with a median of approximately 0.91. In urban areas, they range from 0.13 (Sudan, 1973) to 1.24 (Upper Volta, 1975), with a median of 0.49. The very high ratios among young women in Upper Volta are not the result of age misreporting; in that country female labor force participation is high relative to male in all age groups.

On the assumption that opportunities for female employment are greater where the supply of male labor is relatively deficient, the influence of the supply of potential and observed male labor on female labor force participation was examined in an earlier paper, employing the same data set (Newman, 1983). No significant association was found between total female labor force participation and female share of the population of working ages, whether of ages 10 years and over or 15 years and over. However, when separate analyses were made by 10-year age groups, a significant tendency was found in the economically important ages 30 to 39 years and 40 to 49 years for female participation in the labor force to increase as women's proportion in the population increased, that is, as the relative supply of potential male laborers decreased. In these age groups, female labor force participation increased by one percentage point for each 3.5 to 4.4 point increase in female share of the population. The association between participation and female share of the potential labor supply was also positive in ages 20 to 29 years but did not reach significance and disappeared among the youngest and oldest age groups.

The relatively high female share of the population in these age groups which is observed in a number of countries is probably

[12] "Disadvantage" may not be the appropriate word here. Except for those trained at the professional level and relatively few prosperous entrepreneurs, most women are incorporated into the modern wage sector at the lowest levels while those who enter the labor force at young ages do so because of restricted educational opportunities. The "advantage" of participation under such conditions is dubious.

a reflection of the high rates of male labor migration characteristic of many parts of the Sub-Saharan Africa region, an important demographic phenomenon with major social and economic consequences for both sending and receiving countries (see chapter 3 of this handbook). Apparently one of the consequences is a higher rate of female participation in the labor force.

Modernization: Structure of Economy and Labor Force

Participation in the modern wage sector of the economy is an important indicator of female integration into the development process. Although information on employment by industry was not available in the WID Data Base, examination of three indicators of employment structure may suggest the extent to which women are participating in economic development: the percent of female employment in agriculture, the percent of women employed as unpaid family workers, and the percent self-employed.

Agricultural Employment. The relevance of percent employed in agriculture as an indicator of the level of economic development is well established, but the use of statistics on female agricultural workers to assess participation in development is subject to severe limitations. Women working in agriculture are particularly subject to undercounting, inasmuch as agricultural work is usually seasonal, often part time, and typically highly integrated with domestic activities. The resulting underreporting of female agricultural workers tends to deflate female labor force participation in countries where a high proportion of women are still employed in agriculture.

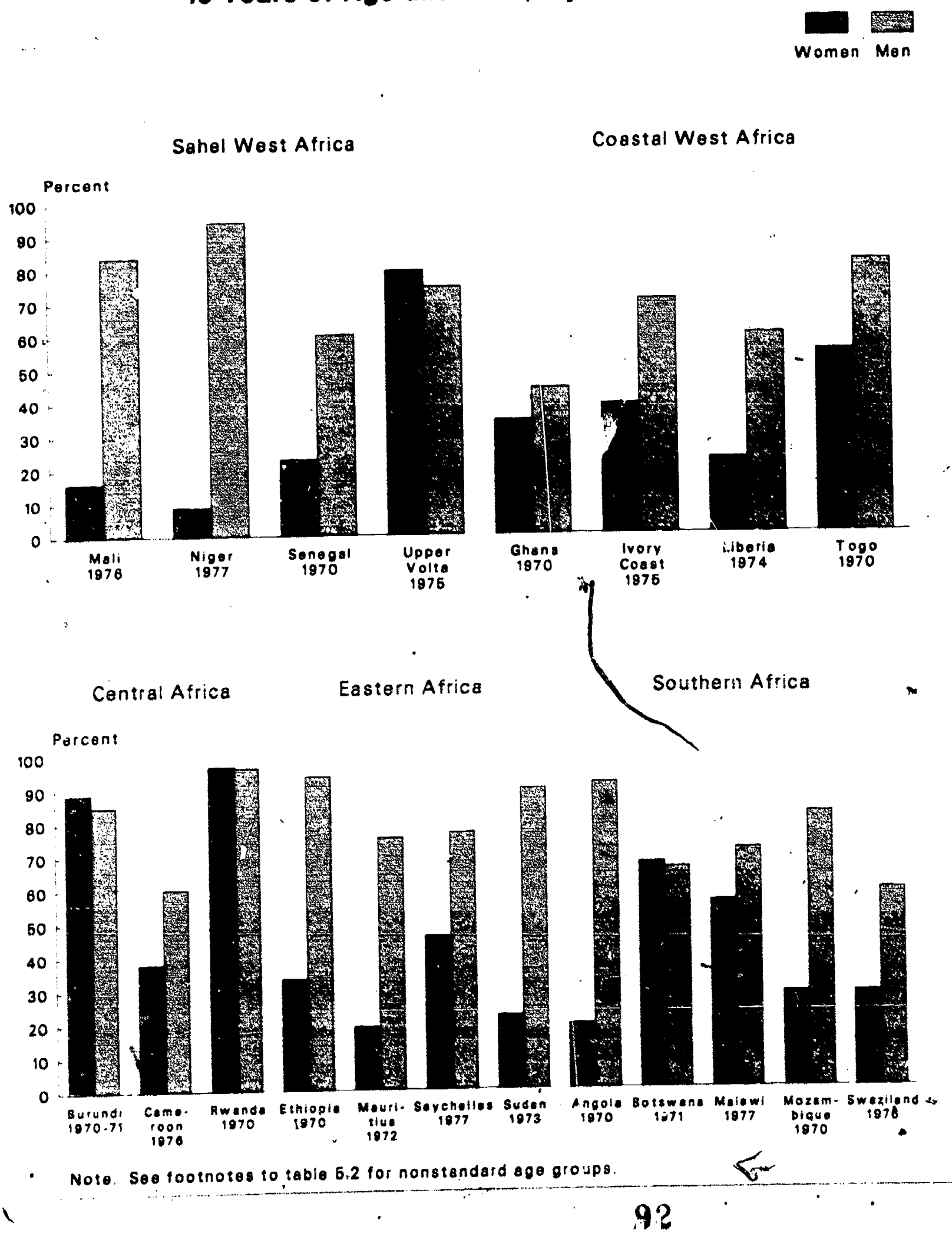
On the other hand, there is a growing practice among national statistical offices in the region to include virtually all persons working in subsistence agriculture, women as well as men, in the labor force. Such a policy has the effect of raising the female participation rate close to that of the male, that is, to the 80 to 90 percent range, in countries with high levels of agricultural employment. Upper Volta is an example of a country following this practice, the result is a reported female labor force participation rate in that country of 79 percent, three to four times higher than the rates of other countries in the Sahel.

Countries vary in the extent of underreporting or, conversely, in the degree of possible overreporting of female agricultural workers; estimates are available for neither. Consequently, it is not surprising that in the WID Data Base, neither total female labor force participation nor rural female participation is associated with the proportion of women employed in agriculture. In table 5.9, the percent of the labor force employed in agriculture is presented, for the whole labor force and separately by sex, female/male ratios of percent in agriculture are shown in figure 5.5.

Unpaid Family Workers and Self-Employed. The percent of the female labor force employed as unpaid family workers and the percent self-employed may also indicate the extent to which women have been integrated into the formal labor force. Data concerning these categories of employment are difficult to interpret, and as noted earlier in this chapter, the former may become even more so under the international rules for measuring labor force participation which were adopted in 1982. That is a problem for the future, however. In the WID Data Base, the unpaid family worker and the self-employed are two categories in which women whose work might otherwise have gone unrecorded have found their way into labor force statistics, and with the exception of a few countries, the problem generally is one of undercounting, not overcounting.

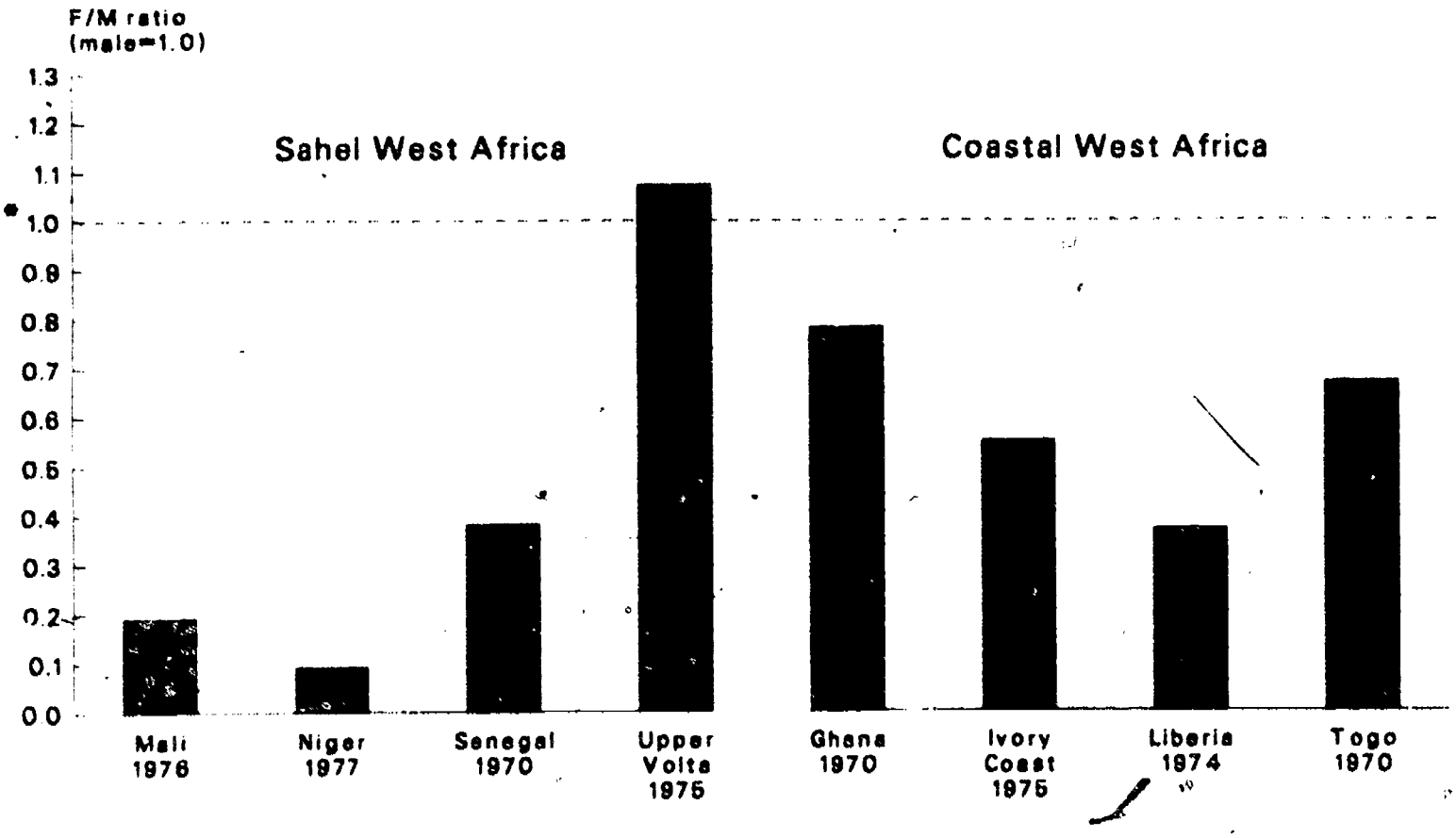
Among the 21 countries with such data, there is a positive but insignificant association between female labor force participation and each of these indicators (Newman, 1983). No significant relationship is evident between the percent of women who were self-employed and those employed either as unpaid family workers or in agriculture. There are, however, significant associations between the proportion of women employed as unpaid family workers and the percent of both the total and the female labor force engaged in agriculture. It is a reasonable inference from these data that, to the extent that women engaged in subsistence farming are being recorded as part of the labor force, they are being counted as unpaid family workers and not among the self-employed. In table 5.10, the percent of unpaid family workers among women and men is shown for the total labor force and for rural and urban areas. Female/male ratios of percent unpaid family workers are illustrated in figure 5.6.

Figure 5.1. Labor Force Participation Rates for the Population 10 Years of Age and Over, by Sex



Note. See footnotes to table 5.2 for nonstandard age groups.

Figure 5.2. Female/Male Ratio of Labor Force Participation Rates



* Female rate equals male rate.

Figure 5.3. Labor Force Participation Rates for Women, by Rural/Urban Residence

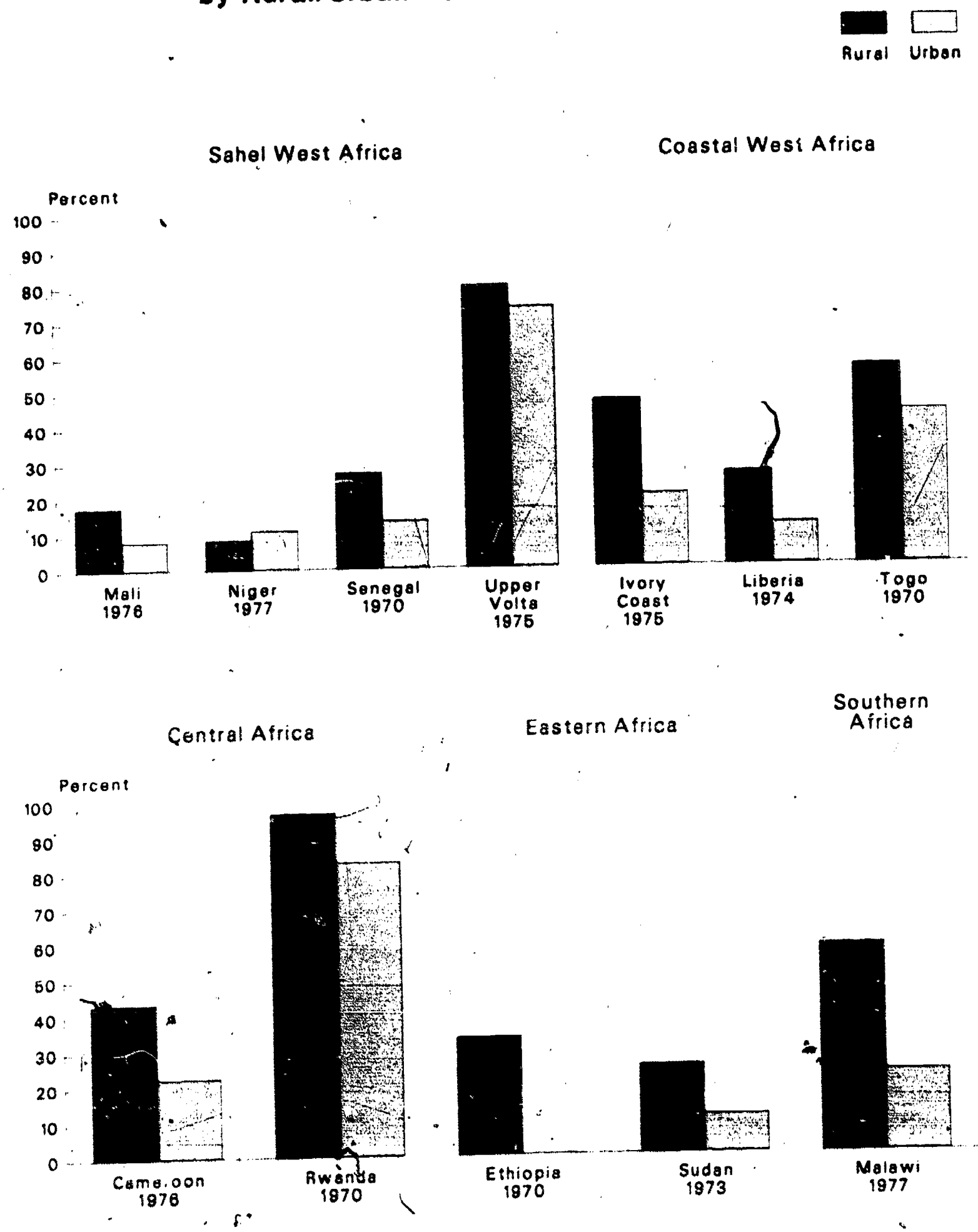
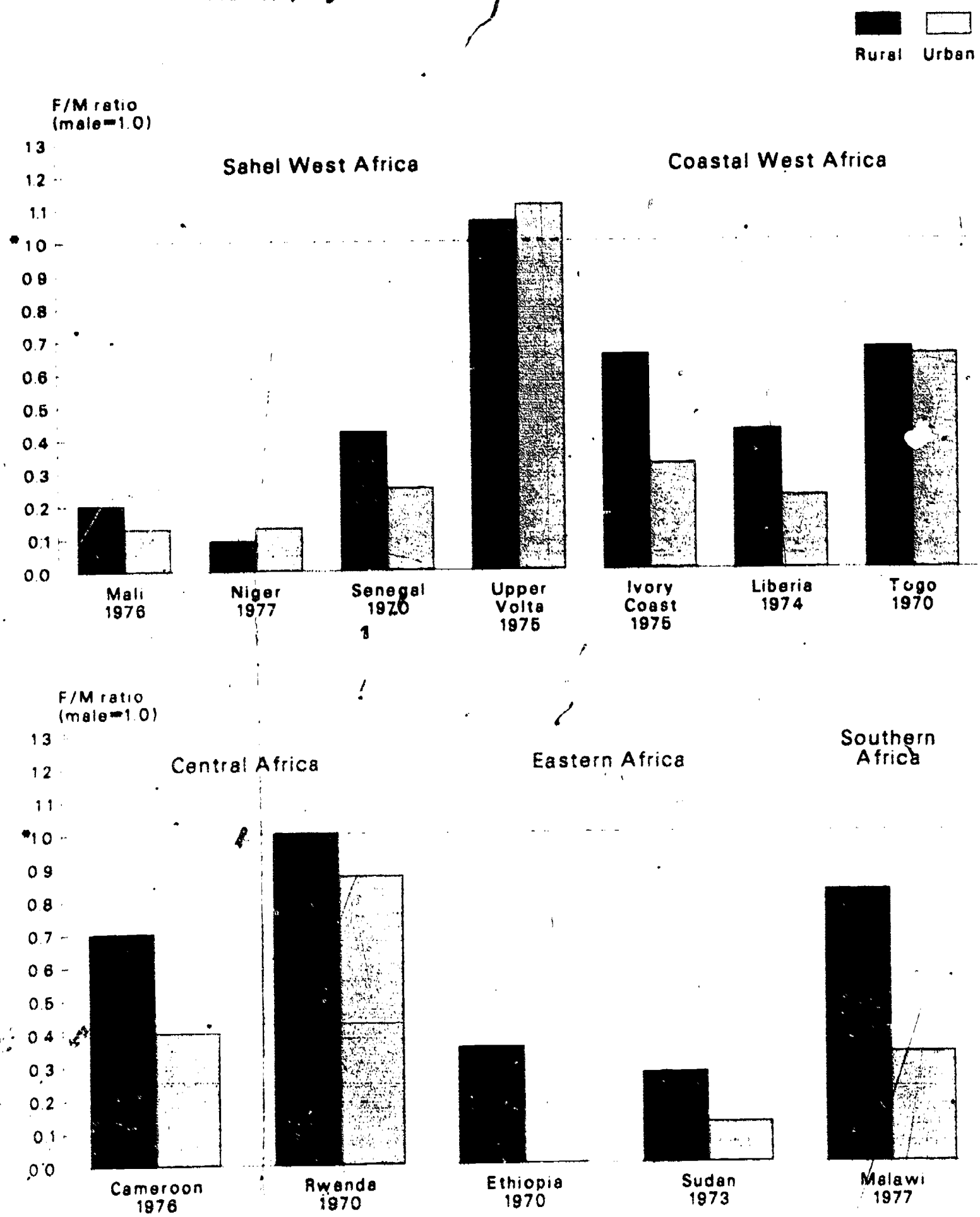
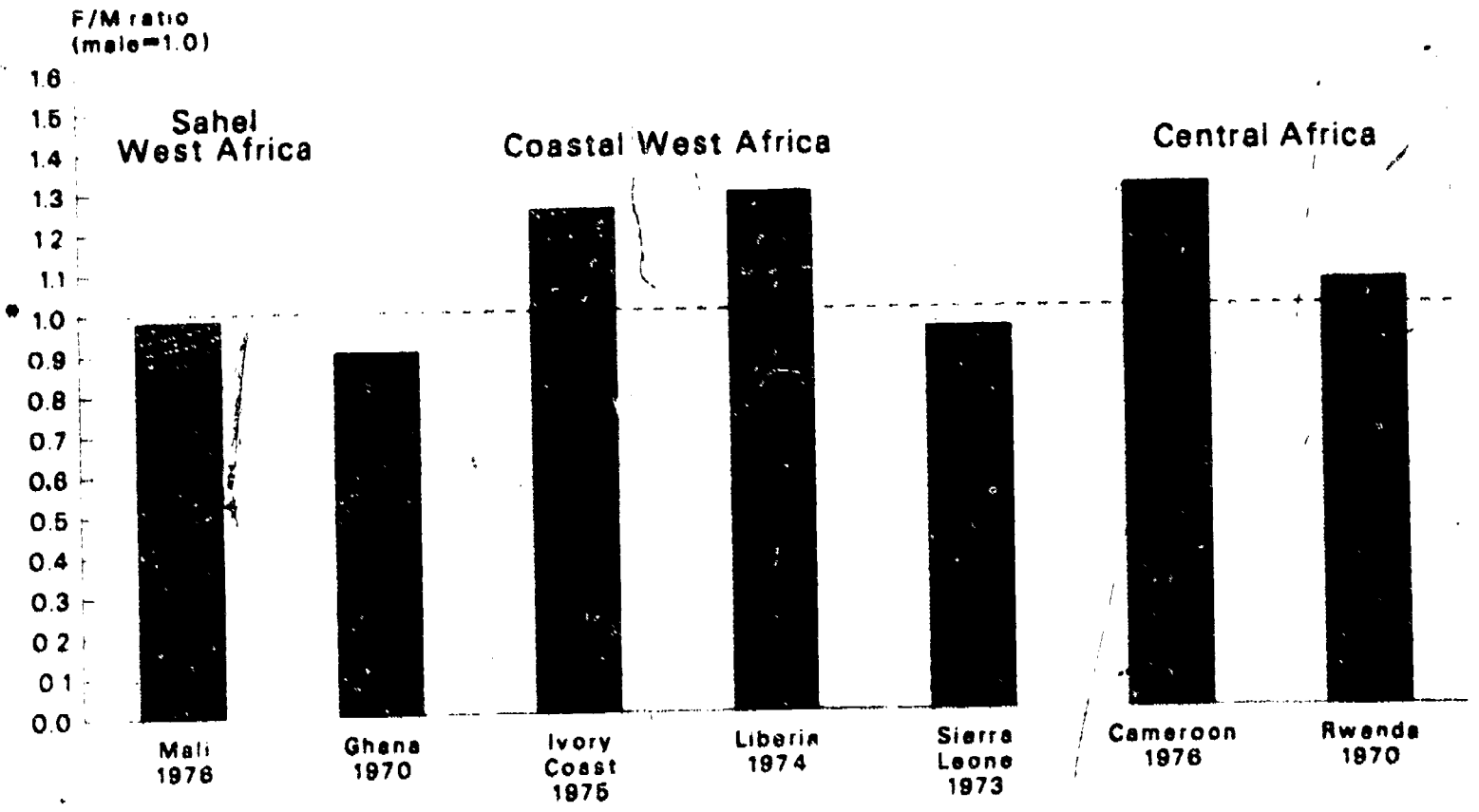


Figure 5.4 Female/Male Ratio of Labor Force Participation Rates, by Rural/Urban Residence



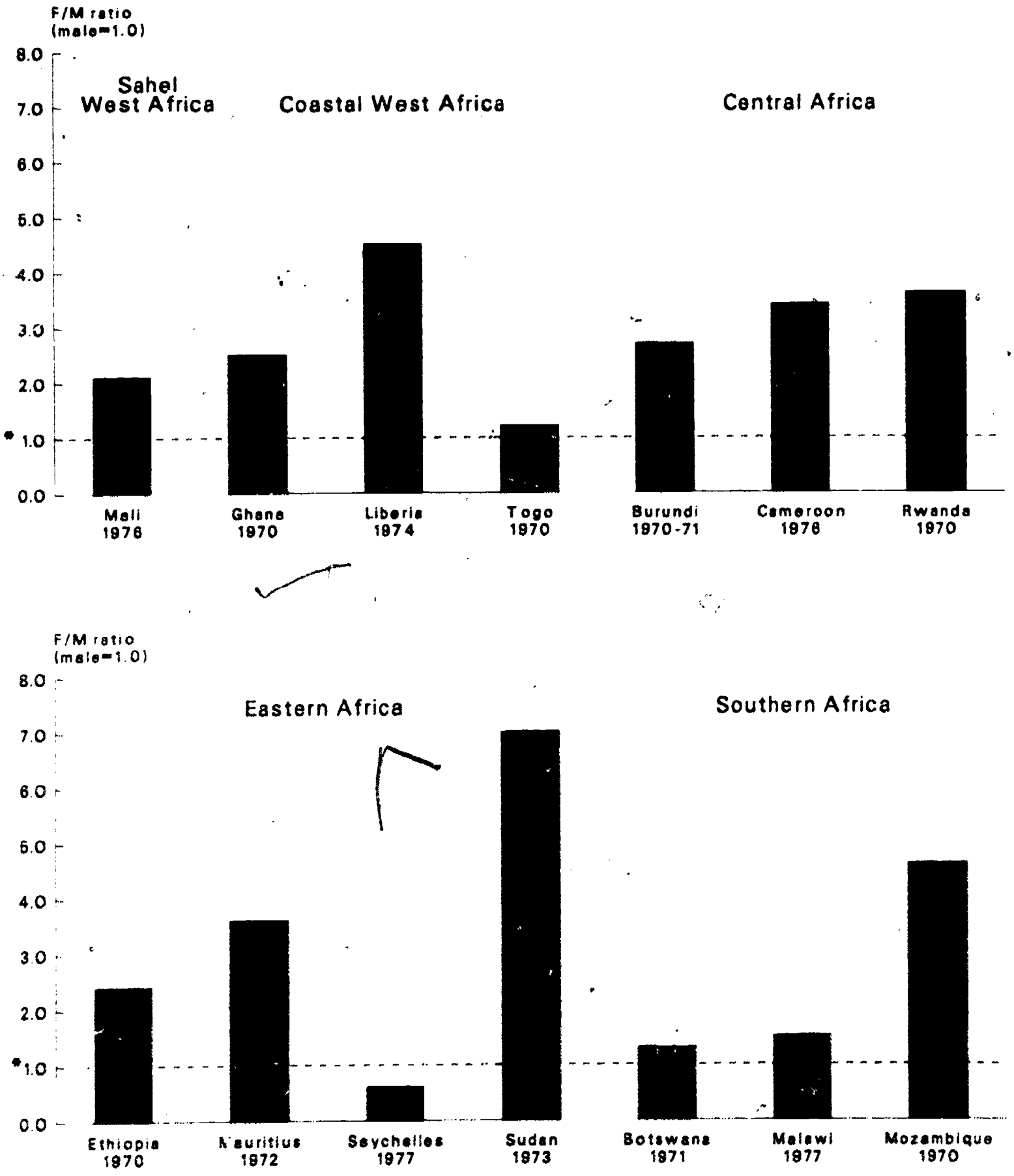
• Female rate equals male rate.

Figure 5.5. Female/Male Ratio of Percent of Labor Force in Agriculture



• Female percent equals male percent.

Figure 5.6. Female/Male Ratio of Percent of Unpaid Family Workers



* Female percent equals male percent.

Table 5.1. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Cape Verde	1960	20	26.9	43	73.8	0.36
Chad[1]	1964	216	27.8	563	94.3	0.30
Mali[2]	1976	358	15.9	1,825	83.7	0.19
Mauritania[1,3]	1965	48	18.2	261	94.6	0.19
Niger[4]	1977	131	8.6	1,263	94.3	0.09
Senegal[5]	1970	346	22.8	824	60.3	0.38
Upper Volta	1975	1,499	79.4	1,375	74.5	1.07
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[1]	1961	443	74.0	498	94.7	0.78
Ghana[1]	1970	1,472	34.1	1,859	43.8	0.78
Guinea[4]	1954-55	692	82.5	624	90.9	0.91
Ivory Coast[5]	1975	969	38.9	1,932	70.4	0.55
Liberia	1974	116	22.2	317	59.9	0.37
Sierra Leone	1963	334	43.1	604	80.0	0.54
Togo[6]	1970	323	54.7	405	81.7	0.67
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970-71	1,112	88.7	930	84.9	1.04
Cameroon[5]	1976	1,102	37.7	1,656	60.0	0.63
Rwanda[1]	1970	878	96.6	807	96.2	1.00
Zaire[1]	1955-57	3,247	79.7	3,063	84.0	0.95
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia[3]	1970	1,718	32.9	4,952	93.5	0.35
Mauritius[6]	1972	54	18.6	215	75.1	0.25
Seychelles[6]	1977	10	45.6	16	76.6	0.60
Sudan[1]	1973	694	21.7	2779	89.6	0.24
Tanzania	1967	2,758	67.0	3,076	78.9	0.85

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.1. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Angola[7]	1970	107	19.0	601	91.2	0.21
Botswana	1971	145	67.0	110	65.5	1.03
Lesotho[1]	1966	228	76.5	143	78.4	0.98
Malawi	1977	1,056	55.6	1,232	71.1	0.78
Mozambique	1970	771	28.1	2,156	81.9	0.34
Swaziland[1]	1976	40	28.2	68	58.9	0.48
Zambia[1]	1969	344	30.2	815	77.0	0.39
Zimbabwe[1]	1969	151	6.0	774	30.4	0.20

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 8 years and over.
[3]Refers to rural areas only.
[4]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[6]Refers to ages 12 years and over.
[7]Based on data from 9 of 15 administrative districts.

Table 5.2. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Rural Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[1]	1964	209	28.8	525	95.1	0.30
Mali[2]	1976	337	17.5	1,599	88.4	0.20
Mauritania[1]	1965	48	18.2	261	94.6	0.19
Niger[3]	1977	111	8.3	1,129	95.8	0.09
Senegal[4]	1970	282	27.0	600	63.6	0.42
Upper Volta	1975	1,414	79.8	1,295	75.1	1.06
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[1]	1961	408	78.8	460	95.3	0.78
Guinea[3]	1954-55	664	86.0	568	91.2	0.94
Ivory Coast[4]	1975	813	47.1	1,251	72.9	0.65
Liberia	1974	100	25.1	227	62.8	0.42
Togo[5]	1970	289	56.1	357	83.6	0.67
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[4]	1976	932	43.2	1,189	61.6	0.70
Rwanda[1]	1970	854	96.6	778	96.2	1.00
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	1,718	32.9	4,952	93.5	0.35
Sudan[1]	1973	623	24.6	2,085	91.2	0.27
Tanzania	1967	2,716	69.6	2,868	79.0	0.88
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	1,025	58.2	1,109	71.4	0.82

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 8 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 12 years and over.

Table 5.3. Number and Percent Economically Active Among Urban Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Active

(Numbers in thousands)

Region and country	Year	Women		Men		F/M ratio (male=1.00)
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[1]	1964	7	13.5	39	84.6	0.16
Mali[2]	1976	31	8.0	225	60.6	0.13
Niger[3]	1977	20	10.9	134	83.3	0.13
Senegal[4]	1970	64	13.4	224	52.8	0.25
Upper Volta	1975	85	73.6	80	66.1	1.11
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[1]	1961	35	65.9	39	87.7	0.75
Guinea[3]	1954-55	29	42.7	56	88.2	0.48
Ivory Coast[4]	1975	155	20.3	620	64.3	0.32
Liberia	1974	16	11.6	90	53.6	0.22
Togo[5]	1970	34	43.3	49	66.6	0.65
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[4]	1976	170	23.3	467	56.1	0.40
Rwanda[1]	1970	24	82.6	29	94.5	0.87
EASTERN AFRICA						
Sudan[1]	1973	72	10.6	[illegible]4	85.1	0.13
Tanzania	1967	42	19.9	[illegible]	77.2	1.01
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	32	22.7	123	68.8	0.33

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 8 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 12 years and over.

Table 5.4. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]24.1	30.3	29.7	26.8	22.4
Mali	1976	[2]15.4	17.6	17.2	17.3	11.9
Senegal	1970	[3]10.6	[4]30.3	[5]33.2	[6]34.8	[7]19.8
Upper Volta	1975	44.9	97.0	97.8	96.8	84.0
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]79.0	[4]76.4	(NA)	[8]80.7	[9]56.8
Ghana	1970	[1]39.2	63.1	73.9	77.9	65.0
Guinea	1954-55	[10]84.9	88.9	91.9	89.3	45.4
Liberia	1974	11.3	23.5	29.5	33.7	24.6
Sierra Leone	1963	23.7	46.8	[11]38.6	(NA)	[7]30.4
Togo	1970	[12]50.2	56.1	59.7	60.9	46.3
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970-71	73.0	99.3	99.5	99.6	85.6
Cameroon	1976	[3]17.6	45.8	52.7	59.7	48.5
Rwanda	1970	[1]95.7	98.0	98.6	98.9	84,7
Zaire	1955-57	[1]64.4	80.4	[11]90.8	[6]90.4	[7]41.8
EASTERN AFRICA						
Mauritius	1972	[12]10.6	21.2	24.6	28.0	16.8
Seychelles	1977	[12]36.8	69.1	60.8	53.1	26.3
Sudan[13]	1973	[1]16.1	19.5	22.7	27.5	25.4
Tanzania	1967	48.5	76.3	79.4	81.2	60.6
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Botswana	1971	[14]62.8	[15]69.9	[16]74.3	[6]77.2	[7]69.6
Lesotho	1966	[1]34.4	80.7	88.0	89.5	83.9
Malawi	1977	30.4	[4]60.8	[5]67.4	[6]72.6	[7]62.4
Mozambique	1970	16.3	32.0	30.6	32.9	32.8
Zambia	1969	[1]39.8	26.4	23.7	29.5	38.1
Zimbabwe	1969	[1]2.5	11.9	11.5	10.8	7.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.4. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex—Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]75.1	97.3	98.6	98.1	93.3
Mali	1976	[2]68.0	92.4	97.1	96.8	70.1
Senegal	1970	[3]24.2	[4]83.8	[5]95.5	[6]95.4	[7]69.4
Upper Volta	1975	38.5	92.2	96.0	95.8	90.9
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]83.9	[2]95.8	(NA)	[8]98.0	[9]88.5
Ghana	1970	[1]42.3	88.9	97.8	97.5	87.7
Guinea	1954/55	[10]85.9	96.3	97.6	97.4	77.1
Liberia	1974	14.4	64.7	89.7	91.7	79.9
Sierra Leone	1963	49.3	90.9	[11]66.9	(NA)	[7]75.0
Togo	1970	[12]51.2	91.5	96.8	96.9	86.3
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970/71	63.8	98.1	99.8	98.8	90.0
Cameroon	1976	[3]21.1	86.5	95.8	95.6	81.4
Rwanda	1970	[1]93.3	98.6	99.7	99.5	87.5
Zaire	1955/57	[1]28.3	95.5	[11]97.3	[6]94.4	[7]51.2
EASTERN AFRICA						
Mauritius	1972	[12]45.2	95.8	97.3	95.9	62.9
Seychelles	1977	[12]52.2	95.6	96.7	94.7	66.6
Sudan[13]	1973	[1]62.5	93.9	98.3	98.4	87.5
Tanzania	1967	43.3	93.4	97.5	97.6	88.6
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Botswana	1971	[14]64.4	[15]59.4	[16]66.3	[6]72.5	[7]76.5
Lesotho	1966	[1]43.9	75.4	90.4	93.6	91.7
Malawi	1977	32.2	[4]78.7	[5]95.3	[6]96.1	[7]88.8
Mozambique	1970	44.4	99.2	99.6	99.4	94.7
Zambia	1969	[1]43.1	85.1	90.6	88.2	73.9
Zimbabwe	1969	5.8	63.7	71.3	64.7	44.0

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2]Refers to ages 8 to 19 years.
[3]Refers to ages 6 to 19 years.
[4]Refers to ages 20 to 24 years.
[5]Refers to ages 25 to 44 years.
[6]Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[7]Refers to ages 55 years and over.
[8]Refers to ages 25 to 59 years.
[9]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[10]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[11]Refers to ages 30 to 44 years.
[12]Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.
[13]Refers to the settled population only.
[14]Refers to ages 10 to 24 years.
[15]Refers to ages 25 to 34 years.
[16]Refers to ages 35 to 44 years.

Table 5.5. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex, for Rural Areas

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]25.3	31.8	30.8	27.4	22.7
Mali	1976	[2]17.8	19.0	18.7	18.6	12.4
Senegal	1970	[3]12.6	[4]38.2	[5]39.7	[6]37.4	[7]19.5
Upper Volta	1975	45.7	97.2	97.8	96.8	83.8
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]68.6	[4]74.6	(NA)	[8]79.6	[9]50.2
Guinea	1954-55	[10]90.2	93.7	95.4	91.6	46.2
Liberia	1974	15.1	28.7	32.8	35.9	25.8
Togo	1970	[11]53.7	57.8	60.4	61.0	46.4
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon	1976	[3]21.6	53.9	58.3	63.9	51.5
Rwanda	1970	[1]96.3	98.9	99.0	99.1	84.8
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	28.1	33.3	35.5	36.1	35.5
Sudan[12]	1973	[1]19.3	21.9	25.6	30.9	28.5
Tanzania	1967	50.6	80.1	82.5	83.7	61.9
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	30.5	[4]65.1	[5]70.7	[6]74.1	[7]63.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.5. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex, for Rural Areas—Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]79.4	97.8	98.8	98.2	93.3
Mali	1976	[2]77.7	96.7	97.8	83.1	87.3
Mauritania	1965	88.4	95.4	97.0	98.0	48.9
Senegal	1970	[3]28.7	[4]88.4	[5]96.9	[6]97.1	[7]74.8
Upper Volta	1975	39.3	93.1	96.1	96.0	91.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]87.3	[4]96.7	(NA)	[8]98.0	[9]88.6
Guinea	1954-55	[10]87.5	96.9	97.7	97.5	77.0
Liberia	1974	17.8	66.7	91.4	93.4	81.1
Togo	1970	[11]54.2	94.6	97.3	97.2	87.6
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon	1976	[3]23.6	90.3	96.5	96.0	81.8
Rwanda	1970	[1]93.6	98.7	99.8	99.5	87.6
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	83.7	97.3	99.0	98.6	97.9
Sudan[12]	1973	[1]68.8	95.2	98.5	98.5	88.3
Tanzania	1967	43.9	93.6	97.7	97.8	89.0
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	28.8	[4]79.9	[5]96.1	[6]96.6	[7]89.0

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2]Refers to ages 8 to 19 years.
[3]Refers to ages 6 to 19 years.
[4]Refers to ages 20 to 24 years.
[5]Refers to ages 25 to 44 years.
[6]Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[7]Refers to ages 55 years and over.
[8]Refers to ages 25 to 59 years.
[9]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[10]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[11]Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.
[12]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 5.6. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex, for Urban Areas

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]9.3	11.7	14.7	17.5	16.7
Mali	1976	[2]5.1	10.6	9.5	10.0	8.9
Senegal	1970	[3]6.8	[4]13.8	[5]17.8	[6]28.0	[7]20.5
Upper Volta	1975	34.2	94.2	98.0	97.6	87.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]44.3	[4]59.8	(NA)	[8]73.7	[9]52.4
Guinea	1954-55	[10]35.0	39.1	51.4	58.3	33.7
Liberia	1974	3.1	12.9	19.1	24.1	17.7
Togo	1970	[11]26.7	45.6	54.5	60.4	45.5
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon	1976	[3]8.0	28.0	36.5	43.7	33.0
Rwanda	1970	[1]78.9	77.0	86.2	92.7	82.2
EASTERN AFRICA						
Sudan[12]	1973	[1]6.2	10.9	10.8	13.7	12.5
Tanzania	1967	11.5	22.2	24.6	26.6	20.7
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	12.2	[4]21.5	[5]28.2	[6]39.4	[7]39.2

*See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.6. Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age and Sex, for Urban Areas—Continued

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad	1964	[1]37.3	91.4	96.5	96.8	89.3
Mali	1976	[2]24.3	74.9	93.3	93.5	80.3
Senegal	1970	[3]14.3	[4]76.3	[5]92.6	[6]91.9	[7]51.9
Upper Volta	1975	27.6	82.6	93.8	93.3	81.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin	1961	[1]51.5	[4]86.5	(NA)	[8]93.2	[9]82.1
Guinea	1954-55	[10]71.4	92.0	96.5	95.8	80.9
Liberia	1974	7.4	62.2	86.8	87.2	73.7
Togo	1970	[11]29.4	79.1	93.7	94.0	72.5
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon	1976	[3]15.4	81.2	94.4	94.4	79.5
Rwanda	1970	[1]86.9	97.3	99.4	99.1	86.0
EASTERN AFRICA						
Sudan[12]	1973	[1]46.7	91.1	97.8	98.[illegible]	84.3
Tanzania	1967	33.1	91.4	95.6	94.1	76.6
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	[illegible]	[4]72.8	[5]90.1	[6]91.6	[7]85.3

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2]Refers to ages 8 to 19 years.
[3]Refers to ages 6 to 19 years.
[4]Refers to ages 20 to 24 years.
[5]Refers to ages 25 to 44 years.
[6]Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[7]Refers to ages 55 years and over.
[8]Refers to ages 25 to 59 years.
[9]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[10]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[11]Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.
[12]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 8.4. Female Share of Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age

(In percent)

Region and country	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Rural							
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	28.4	[1] 29.1	36.5	29.2	22.5	19.6
Mali	1976	17.4	[2] 18.5	20.6	17.9	15.9	12.0
Mauritania	1965	15.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1977	9.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	32.0	[3] 29.6	[4] 42.8	[5] 35.7	[6] 27.9	[7] 18.2
Upper Volta	1975	52.2	50.7	56.9	54.5	52.0	44.7
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	1961	47.0	[1] 46.2	[4] 55.7	(NA)	[8] 47.4	[9] 31.5
Guinea	1954-55	53.9	[10] 54.9	61.6	57.2	50.0	34.3
Ivory Coast	1975	38.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	30.5	45.6	38.3	31.9	26.3	19.0
Togo	1970	44.7	[11] 46.9	51.6	46.6	40.7	34.0
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Cameroon	1976	43.9	[3] 47.4	45.9	44.3	43.5	39.0
Rwanda	1970	52.3	[1] 47.8	54.3	58.5	51.2	45.7
EASTERN AFRICA							
Ethiopia	1970	25.8	21.3	30.7	27.3	25.4	22.5
Sudan[12]	1973	23.0	[1] 23.4	24.9	22.3	22.0	22.0
Tanzania	1967	48.6	53.1	54.0	47.7	46.1	39.6
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Malawi	1977	48.0	52.7	[4] 52.9	[5] 46.9	[6] 47.8	[7] 43.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.7. Female Share of Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age—Continued

(in percent)

Region and country	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Urban							
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	15.4	[1] 18.6	17.0	14.5	12.6	16.7
Mali	1976	12.2	[2] 18.1	13.5	10.0	9.0	9.9
Niger	1977	12.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	22.1	[3] 34.6	[4] 20.2	[5] 18.5	[6] 20.4	[7] 27.2
Upper Volta	1975	51.6	53.8	54.5	51.1	45.0	49.8
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	1961	47.6	[1] 47.7	[4] 54.5	(NA)	[8] 47.0	[9] 40.7
Guinea	1954-55	34.0	[10] 36.1	33.8	35.3	34.8	27.3
Ivory Coast	1975	20.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	15.5	28.6	16.6	13.9	13.6	13.6
Togo	1970	41.3	[11] 46.8	39.2	40.6	40.2	42.8
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Cameroon	1976	26.7	[3] 32.6	23.5	26.8	27.7	27.7
Rwanda	1970	45.5	[1] 43.0	41.7	46.9	50.7	49.3
EASTERN AFRICA							
Sudan[12]	1973	9.3	[1] 10.6	9.0	7.9	9.8	11.4
Tanzania	1967	17.0	24.6	17.0	14.5	15.4	17.3
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Malawi	1977	20.5	[3] 40.3	[4] 20.7	[5] 16.8	[6] 19.9	[7] 24.8

[1] Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2] Refers to ages 8 to 19 years.
[3] Refers to ages 6 to 19 years.
[4] Refers to ages 20 to 24 years.
[5] Refers to ages 25 to 44 years.
[6] Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[7] Refers to ages 55 years and over.
[8] Refers to ages 25 to 59 years.
[9] Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[10] Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[11] Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.
[12] Refers to the settled population only.

Table 5.8. Female/Male Ratios of Percent in Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age

(Male = 1.00)

Region and country	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Rural							
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	0.30	[1]0.32	0.31	0.32	0.28	0.24
Mali	1976	0.20	[2]0.23	0.20	0.19	0.22	0.14
Mauritania	1965	0.19	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1977	0.09	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	0.42	[3]0.44	[4]0.43	[5]0.41	[6]0.38	[7]0.26
Upper Volta	1975	1.06	1.16	1.04	1.02	1.01	0.92
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	1961	0.79	[1]0.79	[4]77	(NA)	[8]0.81	[9]0.57
Guinea	1954-55	0.94	[10]1.03	0.97	0.98	0.94	0.60
Ivory Coast	1975	0.65	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	0.42	0.85	0.43	0.36	0.38	0.32
Togo	1970	0.67	[11]0.99	0.61	0.62	0.63	0.53
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Cameroon	1976	0.70	[3]0.92	0.60	0.60	0.67	0.63
Rwanda	1970	1.00	[1]1.03	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.97
EASTERN AFRICA							
Ethiopia	1970	0.35	0.34	0.34	0.36	0.37	0.36
Sudan[12]	1973	0.27	[1]0.28	0.23	0.26	0.31	0.32
Tanzania	1967	0.88	1.15	0.86	0.84	0.86	0.70
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Malawi	1977	0.82	1.06	[4]0.82	[5]0.74	[6]0.77	[7]0.71

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.8. Female/Male Ratios of Percent in Rural and Urban Labor Force, by Age—Continued

(Male = 1.00)

Region and country	Year	All ages	10 to 19 years	20 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50 years and over
Urban							
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	0.16	[1]0.25	0.13	0.15	0.18	0.19
Mali	1976	0.13	[2]0.21	0.14	0.10	0.11	0.11
Niger	1977	0.13	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	0.25	[3]0.48	[4]0.18	[5]0.19	[6]0.30	[7]0.40
Upper Volta	1975	1.11	1.24	1.14	1.04	1.05	1.07
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	1961	0.75	[1]0.86	[4]0.69	(NA)	[8]0.79	[9]0.64
Guinea	1954-55	0.48	[10]0.49	0.42	0.53	0.61	0.42
Ivory Coast	1975	0.32	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Liberia	1974	0.22	0.42	0.21	0.22	0.28	0.24
Togo	1970	0.65	0.91	0.58	0.58	0.64	0.63
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Cameroon	1976	0.40	0.52	0.34	0.39	0.46	0.42
Rwanda	1970	0.87	[1]0.91	0.79	0.87	0.94	0.96
EASTERN AFRICA							
Sudan[12]	1973	0.12	[1]0.13	0.12	0.11	0.14	0.15
Tanzania	1967	1.01	0.35	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.27
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Malawi	1977	0.33	0.62	[4]0.30	[5]0.31	[6]0.43	[7]0.46

[1]Refers to ages 15 to 19 years.
[2]Refers to ages 8 to 19 years.
[3]Refers to ages 6 to 19 years.
[4]Refers to ages 20 to 24 years.
[5]Refers to ages 25 to 44 years.
[6]Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[7]Refers to ages 55 years and over.
[8]Refers to ages 25 to 59 years.
[9]Refers to ages 60 years and over.
[10]Refers to ages 14 to 19 years.
[11]Refers to ages 12 to 19 years.
[12]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 5.9. Percent of Labor Force in Agriculture, by Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1960	40.0	19.0	69.0	0.28
Mali	1976	93.0	91.0	93.0	0.98
Niger[1]	1960	97.0	98.0	97.0	1.01
Senegal	1970-71	73.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	53.0	21.0	80.0	0.26
Ghana	1970	57.0	54.0	60.0	0.90
Guinea	1954-55	87.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Ivory Coast	1975	70.0	81.0	65.0	1.25
Liberia	1974	73.0	88.0	68.0	1.29
Nigeria	1966-67	72.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sierra Leone	1973	63.0	61.0	64.0	0.95
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	95.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Cameroon	1976	79.0	92.0	71.0	1.30
Rwanda	1970	94.0	96.0	91.0	1.00
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia[1]	1968/71	95.0	90.0	97.0	0.93
Madagascar	1966	88.0	91.0	85.0	1.07
Mauritius	1972	34.0	39.0	33.0	1.18
Seychelles	1977	17.0	15.0	19.0	0.79
Sudan	1973	71.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Tanzania	1967	92.0	98.0	86.0	1.14
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Angola	1960	69.0	47.0	71.0	0.66
Botswana	1971	90.0	95.0	85.0	1.12
Lesotho	1976	46.0	50.0	43.0	1.16
Malawi	1977	86.0	96.0	78.0	1.23
Mozambique	1970	74.0	94.0	67.0	1.40
Zambia	1969	32.0	39.0	32.0	1.22

[1]Refers to rural areas only.

Table 5.10. Percent of Unpaid Family Workers in Labor Force Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
Total country					
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1960	10.5	9.3	10.9	0.85
Chad[1]	1964	28.7	80.3	9.0	8.92
Mali[2]	1976	43.9	77.8	37.1	2.10
Senegal[3]	1970	32.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	25.2	30.9	22.2	1.39
Ghana[1]	1970	12.3	18.6	7.3	2.55
Guinea[4]	1954-55	65.0	95.5	31.2	3.06
Liberia	1974	18.2	42.2	9.4	4.49
Sierra Leone	1963	45.0	82.4	24.2	3.40
Togo[5]	1970	24.1	26.3	21.5	1.22
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	60.3	84.4	31.6	2.67
Cameroon[3]	1976	19.8	34.1	10.0	3.41
Rwanda[1]	1970	53.6	82.1	22.6	3.63
EASTERN AFRICA					
Mauritius[5]	1972	1.7	4.0	1.1	3.64
Seychelles[5]	1977	1.9	1.?	2.2	0.59
Sudan[6]	1973	9.4	30.2	4.3	7.02
Tanzania	1967	16.0	15.4	16.5	0.93
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	78.6	88.3	67.4	1.31
Lesotho[1]	1976	36.3	45.9	20.2	2.27
Malawi	1977	75.6	93.3	60.5	1.54
Mozambique	1970	14.7	34.4	7.4	4.65

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.10. Percent of Unpaid Family Workers in Labor Force Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
Rural					
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	29.6	80.8	9.3	8.69
Mali[2]	1976	47.4	81.8	40.2	2.03
Mauritania[1]	1965	45.6	89.0	37.8	2.35
Niger[4]	1960	(NA)	(NA)	44.4	(NA)
Senegal[3]	1970	45.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	26.1	31.9	23.2	1.38
Guinea[4]	1954-55	66.9	95.8	33.2	2.89
Liberia	1974	22.4	46.3	11.9	3.89
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Rwanda[1]	1970	54.2	82.7	22.9	3.61
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1970	46.3	80.9	34.2	2.37
Sudan[6]	1973	11.7	33.1	5.4	6.13
Tanzania	1967	16.6	15.6	17.5	0.89
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Malawi	1977	80.0	94.8	66.4	1.43

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5.10. Percent of Unpaid Family Workers in Labor Force Age 10 Years and Over, by Sex and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total	Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
Urban					
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad[1]	1964	13.6	65.8	4.0	16.45
Mali[2]	1976	17.4	34.0	15.1	2.25
Senegal[3]	1970	8.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin[1]	1961	17.2	24.2	10.9	2.22
Guinea[4]	1954-55	37.1	87.9	10.9	8.06
Liberia	1974	5.3	17.6	3.1	5.68
Togo[5]	1970	8.7	5.6	12.2	0.46
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Rwanda[1]	1970	35.7	60.2	15.0	4.01
EASTERN AFRICA					
Sudan[6]	1973	1.3	4.7	1.0	4.70
Tanzania	1967	1.9	4.8	1.3	3.69
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Malawi	1977	14.9	45.9	6.8	6.75

[1]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[2]Refers to ages 8 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 6 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[5]Refers to ages 12 years and over.
[6]Refers to the settled population only.

Chapter 6

Marital Status and Living Arrangements

The family has always been the fundamental institution and organizing principle of Sub-Saharan African society, and marriage, whether under customary, religious, or civil law, is the key mechanism by which the family ensures its stability and well-being across the generations. Because of its central function, marriage is a complex institution; the specific rights and obligations of husbands and wives and parents and children vary among the several ethnic groups in the region and reflect deeply rooted cultural values and historical experience. Differences depend in part upon whether descent is patrilineal or matrilineal and on whether access to land for the newly formed couple comes from the family of husband or wife. They also depend upon the type of marriage—whether it has been entered into under customary, religious, or civil law. As African societies are changing, so the institution of marriage is also changing, but it remains a central feature in the lives of virtually all adults in the region. Traditionally, a woman's status has been defined within the context of the family, and although her sphere of action is widening, her emotional support continues to come from family relationships, her sense of integrity and self-worth are still inescapably linked to family roles, and her opportunities and constraints are often tied to those roles. Consequently, marital status is a critical variable in determining a woman's social status and access to the resources of the society.

Most women live in households with a male head—their husband if they are married, or a male relative if they are single or their marriages have been dissolved. In recent years, a number of factors have led an increasing number of women to become heads of households themselves. Some, a very few, have never married, choosing or being forced into personal independence with its risks over the relative security and confinement of marriage. For more of them, marriage has been dissolved by separation, divorce, or death; although traditionally such women would have returned to their parents' home, increased opportunities for employment and income generation, particularly in the cities, now lead many women to try to maintain an independent household for themselves and their children. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region, moreover, the relatively large number of women whose husbands do not reside with them in the same village or city may head a de facto instead of a de jure household. These women may be wives of men who have gone away on long-term labor contracts, or they may be second or third wives in polygamous families. Whatever the specific reason these women are managing a household alone, they are frequently in a precarious economic and social position. Without access to family resources, and often without authority to make the necessary decisions, such women are particularly vulnerable. Because their situation is only now being recognized, and because cultural norms tend to assign such households to a male head if there is a candidate anywhere, the extent of the phenomenon is unknown, but special studies in a number of places suggest that considerable numbers may be involved. This chapter describes the characteristics and function of marriage in African society, points to some of the changes now underway across the region in marriage law and practice, and reviews information on marital status and household structure available in the WID Data Base for as many of the 40 Sub-Saharan African countries as possible.

Marriage in Sub-Saharan Africa

Although details differ, traditional marriage has always represented the joining of two lineages, and not primarily of two individuals. It involves the exchange of rights in property and offspring between the two families, and lays upon the contracting families and the couple certain obligations and responsibilities. Traditional marriage has changed in response to the influence of both Islam and Christianity and to the pressures and

values introduced by national independence and economic modernization. The description which follows presents certain broad features which have commonly characterized traditional marriage in the region, without attempting to sketch out either the range of variation or specific modifications introduced in recent decades.[1]

Normally there is an early betrothal, followed by payment of an agreed-upon bridewealth to the family of the bride. Bridewealth may be paid in installments, and the security of a woman in marriage is often a function of the status of bridewealth payments. Polygamy is traditionally favored as a means of achieving greater influence for the family through the development of a wider set of close linkages, access to more land, and more children to work the land. Polygamy also provides alternative sexual partners for the husband during the long period that an infant is breastfeeding, a time when traditionally a couple abstains from sexual contact. Although under customary law a man may take any number of wives, inasmuch as bridewealth must be paid for each wife, few men have been able to afford more than two or three in practice. Women marry at very young ages, soon after reaching puberty, while men are several years older at first marriage. The disparity in the age at first marriage between women and men is typically greater when a woman is the second or third wife, as it is generally only older men who have amassed sufficient wealth to make such a marriage.[2]

The economic contribution which a wife makes to the household is generally recognized, whether or not she brings a dowry to the marriage, and the property of husband and wife is often kept separate. A wife traditionally has no rights to the property of her husband, whether acquired before or during their marriage, despite her obligation to work in his fields or to assist his other enterprises. Nevertheless, she has a sphere in which she is relatively autonomous, and can dispose of the income generated by her own efforts by her own decision. Both partners have obligations to their parental families, including making gifts, participating in celebrations, supporting relatives in need, and contributing to educational expenses of younger siblings, among other things.

The dissolution of marriage, too, has traditionally been a family concern. Formal divorce is rare in the traditional marriage inasmuch as it would require a husband to return some or all of the bridewealth to his wife's family, and the wife to give up all children beyond the age of weaning to the family of her husband. But separation is not uncommon. The death of a husband, a frequent occurrence because of the usual wide disparity in the ages of husbands and wives and the high levels of mortality, is especially difficult for a woman under traditional practice. Not only does she lose the support of someone for whom she may have developed real affection, but in many ethnic groups she no longer has any right to her children or to the property which she and her husband may have acquired together. Although in some groups a widow may remain for the rest of her life in her husband's house, in others she loses everything and must return to her parental family. In patrilineal societies, her school age children remain with her husband's family.[3] For the majority of widows in the childbearing years, their families will arrange for remarriage as quickly as possible. Some cultures practice the levirate, a custom under which a widow becomes the wife of one of her husband's relatives, usually a brother.[4]

The traditional rights and obligations of African marriage have been made more complicated by the simultaneous existence of several different forms of marriage in each country. In all countries, both customary and civil marriages are recognized. In addition, there may be one or more forms of religiously sanctioned marriage, usually Islamic and/or Christian; in East Africa, Hindu marriages are also recognized. Differences in rights and obligations of the marriage partners in the several types of marriage can be substantial. Although marriage under Islamic law is for the most part compatible with long-standing traditional practice, the coming of Islam reduced to four the number of legal wives its followers could have at any one time, while making divorce unavailable to women and easier for men. The status of women, however, is protected under Islam; equal treatment of each wife is required. Although there is no provision for joint property in the Islamic marriage code, Koranic rules of inheritance ensure that a widow and her children receive a substantial share of the decedent's estate.

With the coming of Christian missionaries and colonial rulers, monogamous marriage was introduced. Based on Western concepts of marital rights and obligations and on Western patterns of inheritance, it joined men and women as senior and junior partners in an exclusive lifetime venture. Such marriages could be contracted in either a religious or a civil ceremony under provisions of law which reflected the Victorian British, French, Portuguese, or Roman-Dutch marriage law of the colonial era.

After the achievement of national independence, many African governments, goaded in part by women who had participated actively in the struggle against colonial rule, and in part by their own desire to clarify the existing confusion and ambiguity in marriage and family law, began to try to enact legislation which would on the one hand respect national traditions and values, and on the other give recognition to the economic and social changes in women's position in society. Few countries have found consensus in this. In most, there have been bitter and continuing struggles in the legislature, revealing the deep anxieties and resentments which many African men feel about major change in the status of women (Pala, 1975; and UNECA, 1979a and 1982b).

---

[1] For descriptions of traditional marriage in many African societies, see Bryson (1981), Little (1973), Mair (1969), Oppong (1983), Pala (1975), Phillips and Morris (1971), Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (1967), and UNECA (1982b).

[2] For discussions of polygamy in African society, see Clignet (1970), Ekechi (1976), Oppong (1983), Pala (1975), Phillips and Morris (1971), Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (1967), Tommy (1980), UNECA (1979a and 1982b), and Welch and Glick (1980). For an example of economic decisionmaking among wives, see Tommy (1980). For evidence of differential mortality among children in polygamous families, see Mott (1982).

[3] There is a wide range among countries and within ethnic groups in the treatment afforded widows. See Gay (1982) for a description of the care taken of the widow's interests among the Basotho (Lesotho), where when a man dies all his relatives are expected to help plow the widow's fields the next year. In contrast, see an account in UNECA (1982a) where among the Shona (Zimbabwe) the death of her husband can deprive a woman of all that they have worked for together.

[4] For an account of the practice of the levirate in Senegal, see UNECA (1982b).

Some countries enacted legislation which for the most part simply codified customary practice; even this has represented a step forward for women by reducing the scope for arbitrary action. Yet there has been change. Although many marriages continue to be arranged in the traditional ways, particularly in the rural areas, most countries have placed certain legal restrictions on the minimum age at marriage for both women and men, on the ability of families to proceed without consent of the two parties involved, and on the maximum brideprice which can be demanded.[5] Marriage registration systems have been instituted. Although not usually compulsory for traditional marriage, registration makes marriage legally binding, thus providing women with additional protection. Some countries now limit the number of wives a man can take, but attempts to require the consent of the first before he can bring another into the household have as yet been largely unsuccessful.[6]

Divorce has been made easier for women to initiate, and in most countries, although children continue to belong to the husband's family, women have been given the right to custody of minor children, at least to age 7 and sometimes older, if the marriage is dissolved. Property rights, both during marriage and upon the death of the husband, have been redefined. Married women can now enter into contracts, sue and be sued, obtain a passport, hold property and, within limits, dispose of their property without the consent of their husbands. In some countries, limits have been set on the fraction of property held by either partner which can be given away or sold without the consent of the other. Nevertheless, despite changes in the law, traditional practices frequently continue; women are often reluctant or unable to take action to enforce their new rights.[7]

Accompanying these changes, corresponding changes have taken place in the social and psychological meaning of marriage. Traditional marriage had been a contractual arrangement between families. If a couple fulfilled their obligations to each other, their children, and their parental families, and treated each other with kindness and respect, this was enough. They were not expected to share interests, become close companions, still less to be in love, although many came to feel deep affection for one another. But as African society has changed, as the scope for individual choice has widened, as education and employment for both men and women have given them some measure of financial independence and strengthened their decision-making role in marriage, the importance of the extended family has weakened, and the influence of the ideal of the companionate monogamouos marriage has grown, particularly among women. Both women and men are demanding a greater role in the selection of a partner.

An increasing number of educated women are rejecting polygamous marriages, and in many countries polygamy is turning out to be less practical in an urban society, where housing and other necessities are expensive. Despite some evidence that plural marriage may be increasing in a few places, in most the practice is falling off.[8] This does not necessarily imply that large numbers of men have accepted the ideal of monogamy and sexual fidelity; indeed, studies consistently find relatively high levels of approval for polygamy among men,[9] an approval confirmed by the speeches in the legislature when a marriage reform law is being considered (Pala, 1975; and UNECA, 1979a and 1982b). There are a number of more or less institutionalized sexual arrangements open to an African man short of formally taking a second or third wife. In societies where polygamy has been the tradition, such liaisons do not generally disrupt marriage, provided that the husband fulfills his obligations to his wife a family and avoids embarrassing her.[10]

Data Availability. Data on marital status come primarily from censuses and household surveys. These may be supplemented by special studies of particular population subgroups. Although many countries have established provisions for marriage registration, these systems are usually voluntary, coverage is inadequate, and the resulting data are not useful as yet. As discussed above, there have been a number of conceptual and definitional problems in obtaining meaningful data on marital status and households. Because of cultural sensitivities, questions on polygamy or on consensual unions are not asked in most African countries. Where the statutory age at marriage is older than traditional practice, questions on age at marriage may not yield reliable data.

As has been the case with the indicators of women's access to education and employment presented in previous chapters, data on marital status in the WID Data Base for the Sub-Saharan African countries are limited. Only 27 of the 41 countries have information on marital status by sex, 25 by sex and age, 16 by sex and age for rural areas, and 13 by sex and age for urban areas. For only 23 countries, just over one half, is information available on the minimum legal age at marriage for women and men; data on polygamy are available for 22 countries, and on consensual unions for 6. For most countries, these data refer to the same dates as those for the basic population data of chapter 3.

National Data: Nuptiality

Age at first marriage. Of the 23 countries with information about a minimum legal age at marriage (see table 6.1), 20 had established a minimum for women and 19 had set such a limit for men. In many cases, the ages are the same for the two sexes,

[5] Imo State in Nigeria has recently set a limit on bridewealth of N60 ($100 U.S.) and forbids any demand for additional gifts. On the other hand, the brideprice in Lesotho set by law remains very high: 20 cattle, 10 sheep, 1 horse. Gay (1982) suggests that this ensures that the money earned by labor in the mines of South Africa will be distributed throughout the society.

[6] Tanzania's Marriage Act of 1971 was a notable exception; before a man can marry a second, the first wife must register consent in court (UNECA, 1982b). But similar provisions have been introduced in Ghana, Kenya, and Senegal without success.

[7] For discussions of legal changes in Sub Saharan Africa and the problems of implementation, see Gay (1982), Pala (1975), Phillips and Morris (1971), and UNECA (1979a, 1982a, and 1982b).

[8] For change in the extent of polygamy, see Bryson (1981), Gay (1982), UNECA (1982b), and World Fertility Survey (1981c).

[9] For discussions of differential perceptions of modern polygamy by women and men, see Clignet (1970), Ekechi (1976), Little (1973), and Oppong (1983).

[10] The literature on extramarital liaisons and prostitution in Africa is growing. See Little (1973); Smith, Khoo, and Fawcett (1983); and UNECA (1981a and 1982b).

but where they differ, in every case the legal age for men has been set higher than that for women, usually by 2 to 3 years. The modal age for women is 16 years, but in Ethiopia and Kenya, it can be much lower among particular ethnic groups; at the other extreme, Nigeria's 21 years is certainly unrealistic and unenforceable, at least for women. The modal legal age for men is 18, with a range from 13 years in Ghana to 21 years in Nigeria.

Table 6.2 and figure 6.1 show the age by which 50 percent of the population had been married at least once; where available, figures have been tabulated separately for rural and urban residence. The range is considerable for women, from under age 17 in Chad to age 30 in the Seychelles, but most countries cluster in the range of 17 to 20 years. The range is also large for men, from age 22 in Chad, Rwanda, and Malawi, to age 30 in Uganda and Botswana and age 32 in the Seychelles. These ages for men do not cluster but instead are spread fairly evenly across the range between 22 and 27 years.

Differences between men and women in the age at which 50 percent have ever been married are fairly large; except in Burundi, Rwanda and the Seychelles, where the difference is only 2 years, the age differential is usually from 5 to 10 years. Compared to the minimum legal ages of marriage, the age by which half the population has been married for both women and men is significantly older, while the age differentials between women and men are considerably larger. Age differentials between women and men in rural and urban areas are similar, but the ages by which half have married for both women and men tend to be approximately 1 to 2 years older in the cities than in the countryside.

No longitudinal data are available to examine changes in age at marriage over time, but information from other sources suggests that in a number of countries age at marriage has been increasing. The World Fertility Survey has identified a definite rise in female age at marriage in the Sudan, from 19 years in 1973 to 21 years in 1978, and in Kenya there has been an increase from 21 to 32 percent in the proportion still unmarried by age 20 among women ages 20 to 24, in comparison with those ages 30 to 34. On the other hand, no trend toward increased female age at marriage was observed by either the Lesotho or the Senegal Fertility Surveys (World Fertility Survey, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

Current Marital Status. In table 6.3 and figure 6.2, current marital status is shown by sex for the total country; in table 6.4 the same information is presented for rural areas, and in table 6.5 for the cities. There is considerable variation among the countries in the distribution of marital status within each sex. For women, the proportion who are currently married varies from 24 percent in Cape Verde (1960) to 85 percent in Guinea (1954-55), with a median of 62 percent. Some of this range is due to differences in age at marriage and some to the age distribution of the female population.

There are real differences in the proportion of people whose marriages have been dissolved and in the proportion of those who have never been married. The median proportion of widows is close to 9 percent, but the range goes from 3 percent in Ghana (1970) to a very high 21 percent in Lesotho (1966). For the separated and divorced, the comparable figures are a median of 3 percent, and a range of 0.2 percent (Cape Verde, 1960) to 9 percent (Zambia, 1969). Misclassification may account for some of Lesotho's 21 percent widowed; only 2 percent of the women report being separated or divorced, yet this is unlikely. That country has a very low formal divorce rate, but with its high rates of male labor emigration, marital instability and separation are high. It is possible that many women in this category are reporting themselves as widowed.

The largest variation among countries is in the proportion single; the range is from 4 percent in Chad (1964) to an astounding 70 percent in Cape Verde (1960). The latter may be the result of the high immigration from the mainland which is characteristic of Cape Verde. If Cape Verde is excluded, the country with the highest proportion of single women is Uganda, at 54 percent (1969). The median is 24 percent with Cape Verde, 23 percent without. The countries reporting more than 50 percent single include Cape Verde, Togo, Sudan, and Uganda.

The median portion currently married for men was 52 percent, widowed, 2 percent, separated or divorced, 2 percent, and single, 43 percent (with and without Cape Verde). The female median percent married is 1.2 times that of males, while female median percent single is only 0.6 as large as the male.

In the cities, the distribution of marital status is different from that in rural areas. In every country in the data base and for both sexes, the proportion single is higher in the city; for women, except in Togo and Malawi, the proportion separated or divorced is higher in urban areas. For every country and for both sexes, the proportions who are married are slightly higher in rural areas; this is also true for the widowed in almost all countries. These figures underscore the differences between the urban and rural areas with respect to women-headed households; women heads in rural areas are likely to be widows, sometimes young women with children, but more often older women. In the cities, households without male heads are most likely to be headed by divorced and/or separated women, often with young children; unmarried women tend to live with their families or as boarders with relatives. The needs of these groups are likely to be quite different.[11]

Percent Single at Ages 20 to 24 and 45 to 49. A useful way of comparing the age pattern of marriage for women and men is to examine the percent single at two ages: 20 to 24 years and 45 to 49 years. Data for women and men in these age groups are shown in table 6.6; similar data are presented separately for rural and urban areas in table 6.7. The differences between the sexes at ages 20 to 24 are dramatic. The median proportion single for women in this age group is a mere 15 percent, while for the men it is close to 74 percent. Nevertheless, by age group

[11] For discussions of the extent and problems of female-headed households, see Bryson (1981), Buvinić and Youssef (1978), Caplan (1981), Gay (1982), ILO (1972), Kerven (1979), Kossoudji and Mueller (1981), Little (1973), Oppong (1983), Pala (1975), UNECA (1974a, 1979e, 1981a, 1982a, and 1982b), and World Bank (1980).

45 to 49 years, these differences have largely disappeared; in most countries, at these ages virtually everyone of both sexes reports having been married at least once. Median values show about 2 percent of women and 4.5 percent of men who report never having been married. Because these data are essentially cross-sectional, cohort data would be required to see whether this pattern is continuing.

Polygamous Marriage. Polygamy continues to be an important form of marriage in many parts of the Sub-Saharan Africa region. It has endured despite the opprobrium of colonial officials and of Christian leaders, the increasing education and financial independence of women, the growth of the ideal of the monogamous companionate marriage, and the high cost of maintaining a polygamous establishment in an urban setting. In many areas, particularly in Southern Africa, it has become a numerically unimportant survival, but in parts of West Africa polygamy has been strengthened in recent years. For example, it has been suggested that the development of cash cropping and small industry in northern Nigeria, by increasing the incomes of men, has enabled them to forego their wives' labor in the fields; as a consequence, it has become a point of pride in these areas not only to have more than one wife, but to be able to maintain them in seclusion (UNECA, 1982b). The World Fertility Survey reports evidence suggesting an increase in polygamy in Senegal. Some 32 percent of the married men reported two or more wives at the time of the survey (1978), while the comparable proportion in the 1970-71 demographic survey was only 28 percent (World Fertility Survey, 1981c). Table 6.8 presents three indicators of polygamy, using data from various sources and for various dates (Welch and Glick, 1980). The first column is an incidence measure, showing the number of polygynists per 100 married men, the second indicates the average number of wives for each polygynist, and the third gives the number of wives per married man, both monogamous and polygamous. In the countries for which data are available, polygamous men constitute anywhere from one-fifth to one-third of all married men, except in Rwanda and Burundi, where they comprise only 8 percent. Column two suggests that most men in plural marriages take only two wives; the number of wives per polygynist ranges only between 2.0 in Rwanda and 2.4 in Ghana and Togo. The ratio of married women to married men in these countries ranges from 1.1 in Burundi and Rwanda to 1.6 in Chad; this is a higher figure than would be derived from the data in table 6.3 because of the particular selection of countries in this table, as in polygamous countries female marriage rates tend to be high.

Households in Sub-Saharan Africa

There have been many discussions about the meaning of the terms household and household head in the African context, with their Western implications of a group of people domiciled together and pooling their resources to provide each member with food and other necessities under the leadership of one person, normally a man. Traditionally and still today, African households are highly fluid, expanding and contracting as members, usually relatives who are looking for work, taking an exam, waiting for transport, and so forth, pause awhile and move on. The expansion of the group occupying a single compound is customarily accommodated by building an additional separate dwelling, often with facilities for meal preparation within the compound, although with modern building styles this is now more difficult.[12] National statistical offices have had to develop answers to such questions as: Is each separate dwelling in the compound a separate household? How many households does a polygamous marriage constitute, particularly where the wives and their children do not reside in the same compound? How many household heads are there?

In urban areas, definitional problems are somewhat simpler, since for the most part the more common international definitions are applicable. Urban households do not as readily expand and contract as do those in rural areas but are more limited by the amount of space and more specifically by the number of separate rooms in the dwelling. A recent survey of households in Zambia showed that household size was directly related to the number of separate rooms available to the household, even in the densely settled areas of Lusaka (Azefor, 1982). But even in urban areas, the distinction may be arbitrary between one household consisting of a number of family groups, each occupying a separate room, and several households, one per room, but sharing facilities for meal preparation.

Because it has been necessary for national statistical offices to adapt standard census concepts to the realities of African social systems, the Statistics and Population Divisions of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa have drafted a document containing the operational definitions used in the several countries of the region for concepts commonly used in censuses and surveys (UNECA, 1978b and 1978c). Such a document is an indispensable adjunct to the interpretation of published tabulations from the countries of the region.

However defined, households in Africa are fairly large. For example, average household size reported by the World Fertility Survey (1982) for Sudan was 5.3 persons (6.0 persons and 5.0 persons for urban and rural areas, respectively) among the sample population. In the Zambian survey mentioned above, large households predominated in both urban and rural samples (an average of 6.4 and 6.6 persons, respectively). By nature of the sample, these are overestimates, as the sample excluded one-person male households and those without a woman age 12 to 50 years, but since a small fraction of the population resides in such households, the figures are reasonable estimates for the living arrangements of the vast majority of the population (Azefor, 1982). In the 1976 Lesotho census, the reported average de jure household size is 5.0 persons, but so great is the effect of labor emigration that the average de facto household size is only 4.4 persons (Gay, 1982).

The extent of underreporting of female household heads is unknown, but it is considered to be substantial. Because social norms do not yet support the idea of a female head of household,

[12] For discussions of the fluid African household, see Caplan (1981), Gay (1982), Mair (1969), Oppong (1983), Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (1967), and UNECA (1982b).

both respondents and enumerators often assign nominal headship to any available male; in one case, headship was assigned to the respondent's 12 year old son. Results from the few studies which have attempted to probe for the number of women who are functioning as heads of households suggest that the range is wide. The Zambian household survey found that women constituted nearly one-fifth of the rural household heads, but less than 5 percent of urban heads; by the nature of the sample, housholds headed by women over age 50 were underestimated (Azefor, 1982). In Ghana, the International Labour Office estimates that more than one-third of all rural households are headed by women (ILO, 1972). In Lesotho, where male labor emigration is very large, several studies report nearly one-third of rural households with de jure female heads, and another third, whose nominal male heads are absent migrants, with de facto female heads (Gay, 1982). A 1978 survey in Botswana reported that 23 percent of rural households and 38 percent of households in the capital city of Gaborone were headed by women (Kossoudji and Mueller, 1981; and UNECA, 1981a). In Zimbabwe, it is estimated that more than one-half the rural men are working away from their home villages; their wives are in most cases de facto household heads (UNECA, 1982a). A World Bank (1980) study of Tanzanian urban women found that 15 percent of the sample were household heads; a breakdown by marital status showed that 48 percent of the divorced and separated, 18 percent of the single, and 10 percent of the currently married were managing their own households.

No tabulations of household income by characteristics of the household head are available. However, case studies show that in Africa as elsewhere in the world, households headed by women tend to be among the most vulnerable to economic and social stress. Like male household heads, these women must find ways to support their families, but their employment opportunities are limited. Most find that some kind of informal trading, perhaps combined with handiwork, is the only practical option. Many also receive help from relatives and male friends. Some turn to prostitution. Because officials generally believe that the traditional extended family system continues to be effective, they have been slow to recognize the problems of these households.[1] Since marital instability appears to be a growing phenomenon in the region, the magnitude of this problem is likely to increase, and governments will need to begin to give serious attention to the plight of households headed by women. Adequate data would be a first step.

Data Availability. Household data in the WID Data Base are even more limited than data on marital status; 18 countries give information on median household size for the whole country, but only 17 countries have such data for rural and 15 for urban areas. The number of households with female heads was tabulated for just 13 countries, and by age of woman for 12. Again, for most countries, these data refer to the same dates as the basic population data of chapter 3.

National Data: Household Structure

Household Size. Median household size is presented in table 6.9 and figure 6.4 for the total country and for rural and urban areas. Household sizes are large: medians range from 3.9 persons per household in Benin (1961) and Ghana (1970) to 6.9 in The Gambia (1973). Rural households are very much larger than urban in The Gambia (median sizes of 7.6 and 4.8, respectively); in the rest of the region, there is only a slight tendency for rural households to be larger than urban in most countries.

Women as Heads of Households. The proportion of households headed by women and the age distribution of the female heads are given in table 6.10, along with the female/male ratio of percent headship. The range in female headship is considerable, from just 5 percent of households in Upper Volta to 29 percent in Malawi and 30 percent in Kenya. The median for the 13 countries reporting such data is 15 percent with female heads. The Upper Volta figure is strikingly low, and includes only de jure female heads; it does not reflect the situation of the many women left by their migrant husbands with the responsibility of managing the household.

In four of the ten countries with data, more of the women who are household heads are found in the age group 30 to 44 years than in any other, while in three countries the peak ages are 40 to 59 years. In Upper Volta, it is among the oldest women, ages 60 years and over, where more women heads are found than at other ages. At the peak ages 30 to 44 years, most of the women heads are in the ages where responsibilities for work and family are normally the heaviest and where the struggle to manage alone must be the most difficult.

[1] See references cited in footnote 1

Figure 6.1. Age by Which 50 Percent of Women and Men Have Ever Been Married

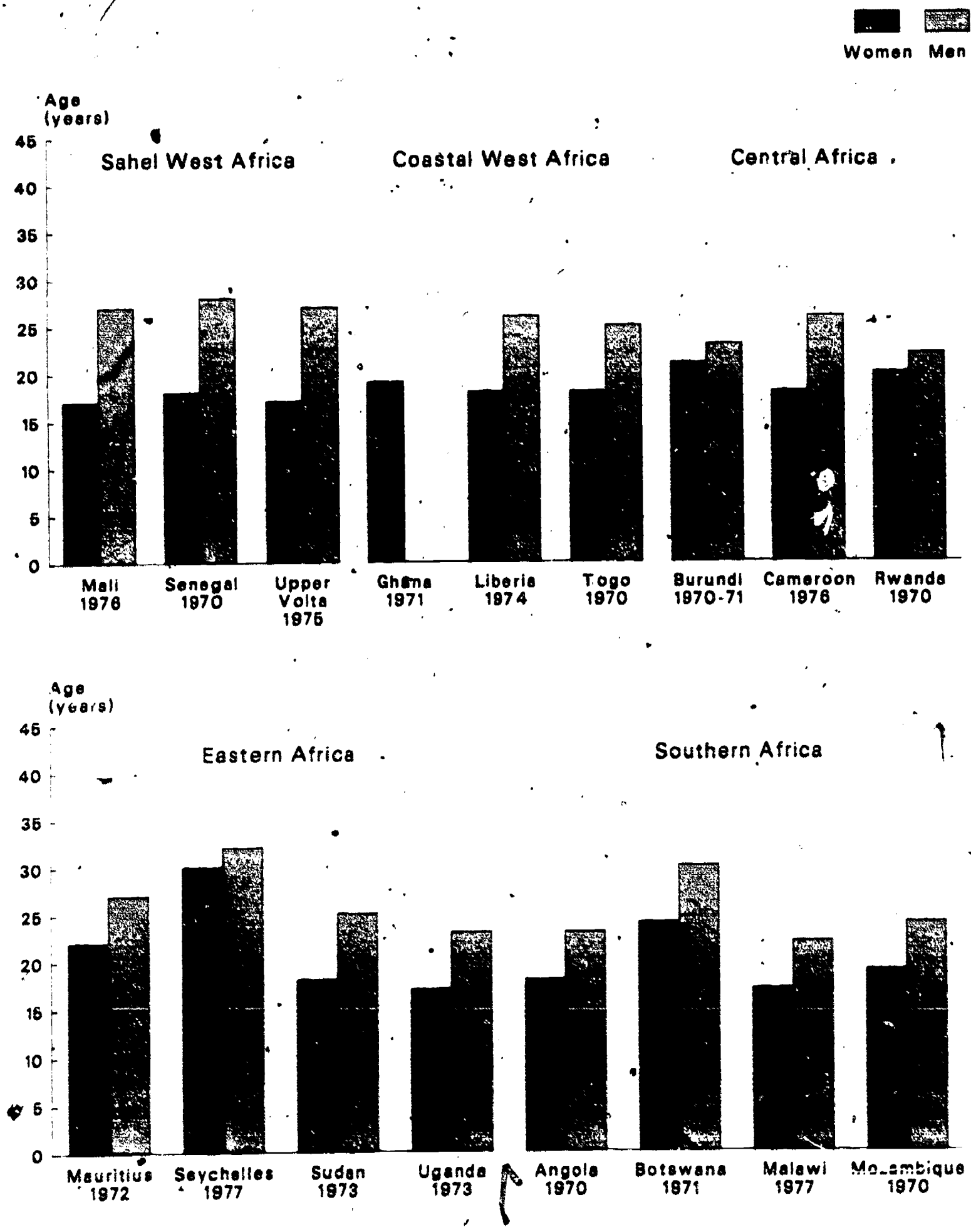


Figure 6.2. Proportion of Women 10 Years of Age and Over in Categories of Marital Status

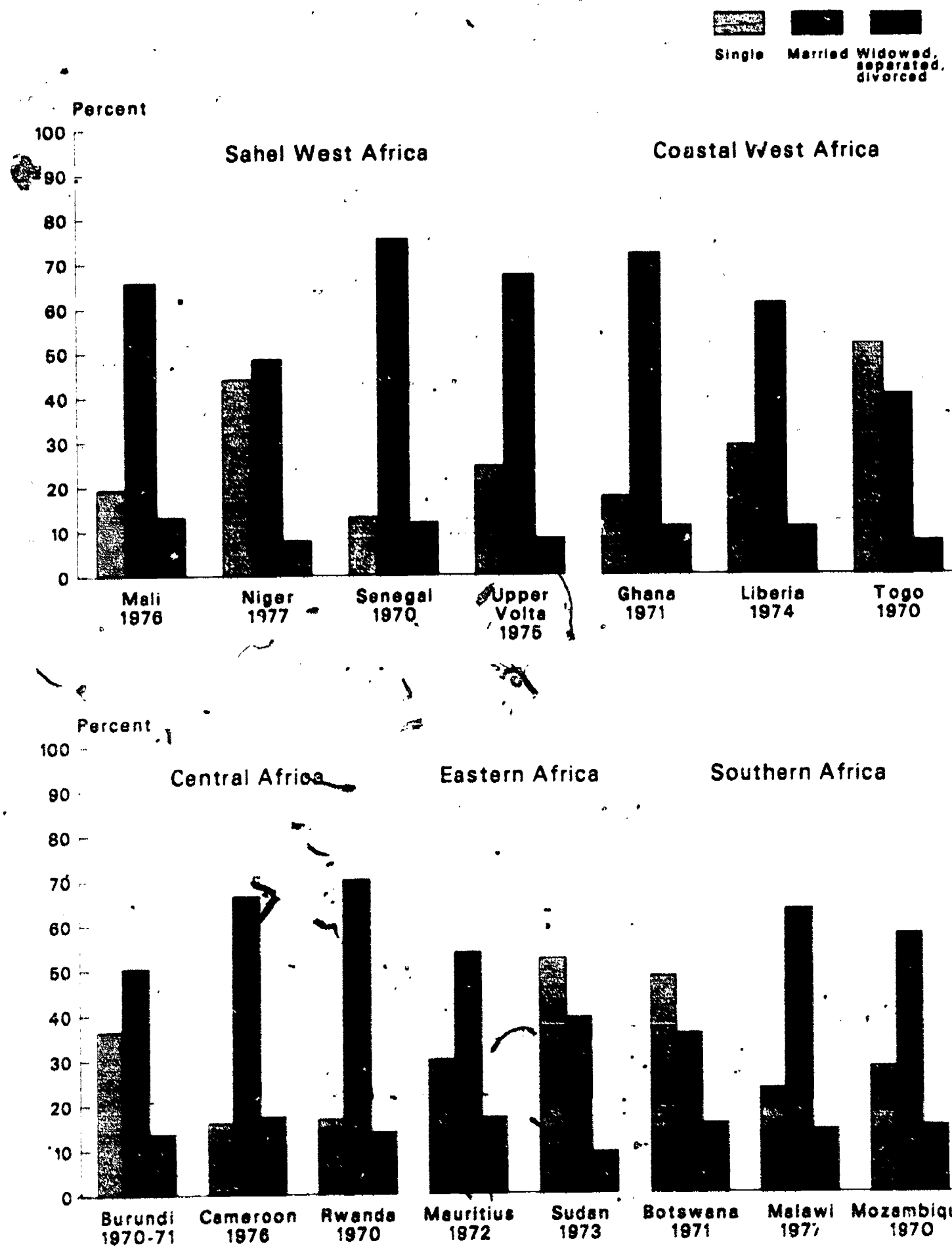
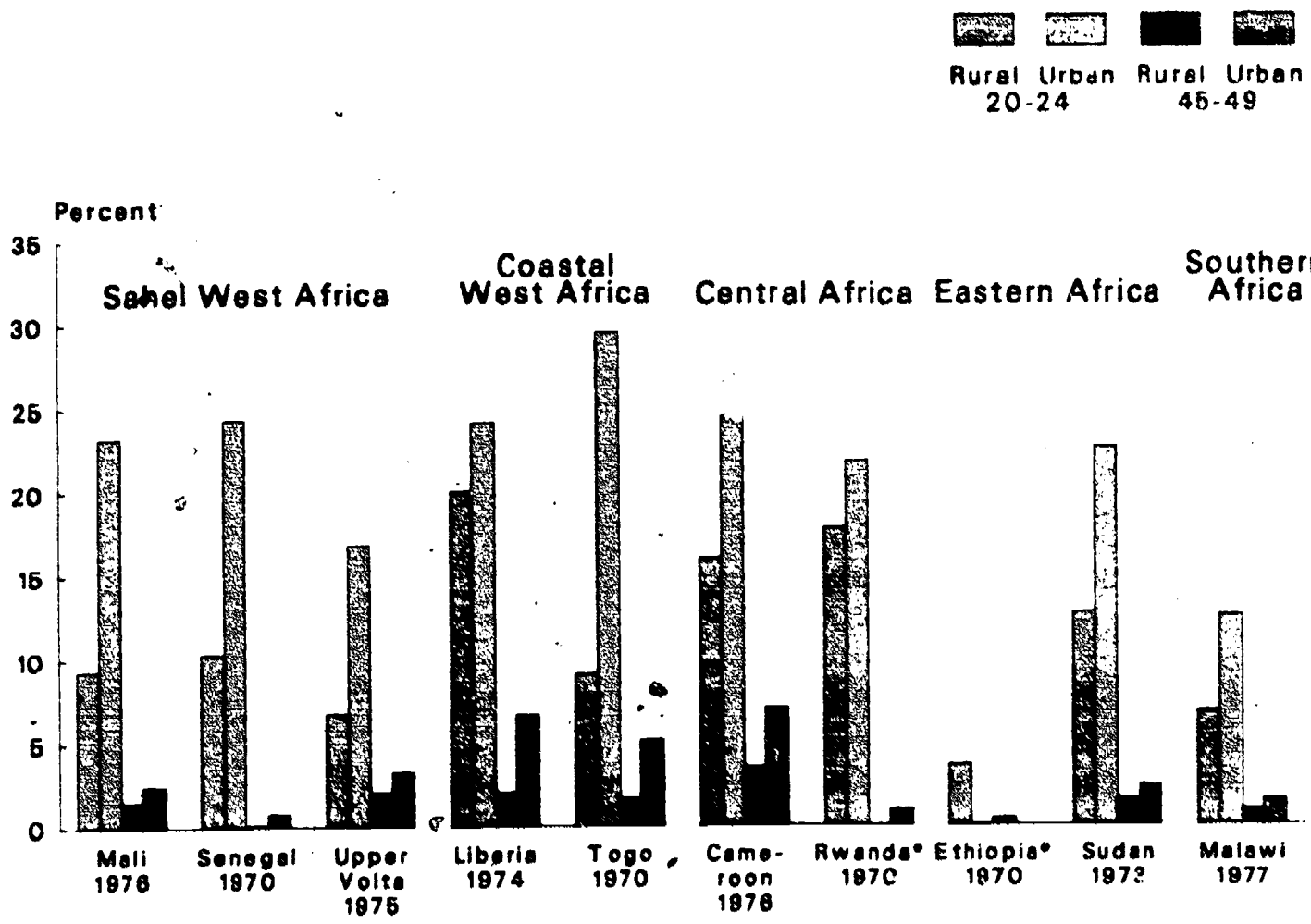


Figure 6.3. Percent Single Among Women in Two Age Groups, by Rural/Urban Residence



* For Rwanda, percent single for age 45-49 in rural areas is 0.0; for Ethiopia, data on percent single are not available for urban areas.

Figure 6.4. Median Number of Persons per Household, by Rural/Urban Residence

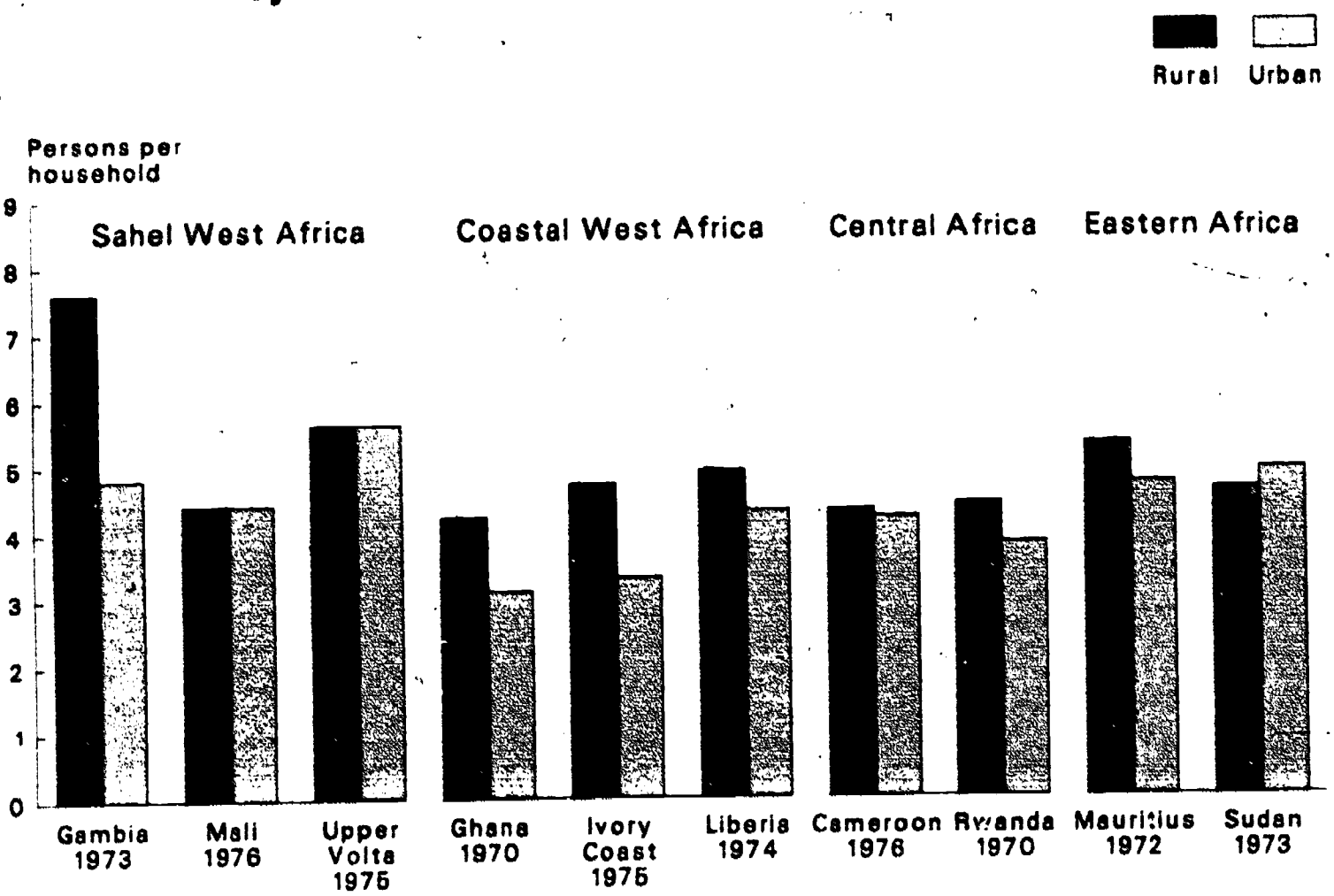


Figure 6.5. Percent of Households Headed by Women

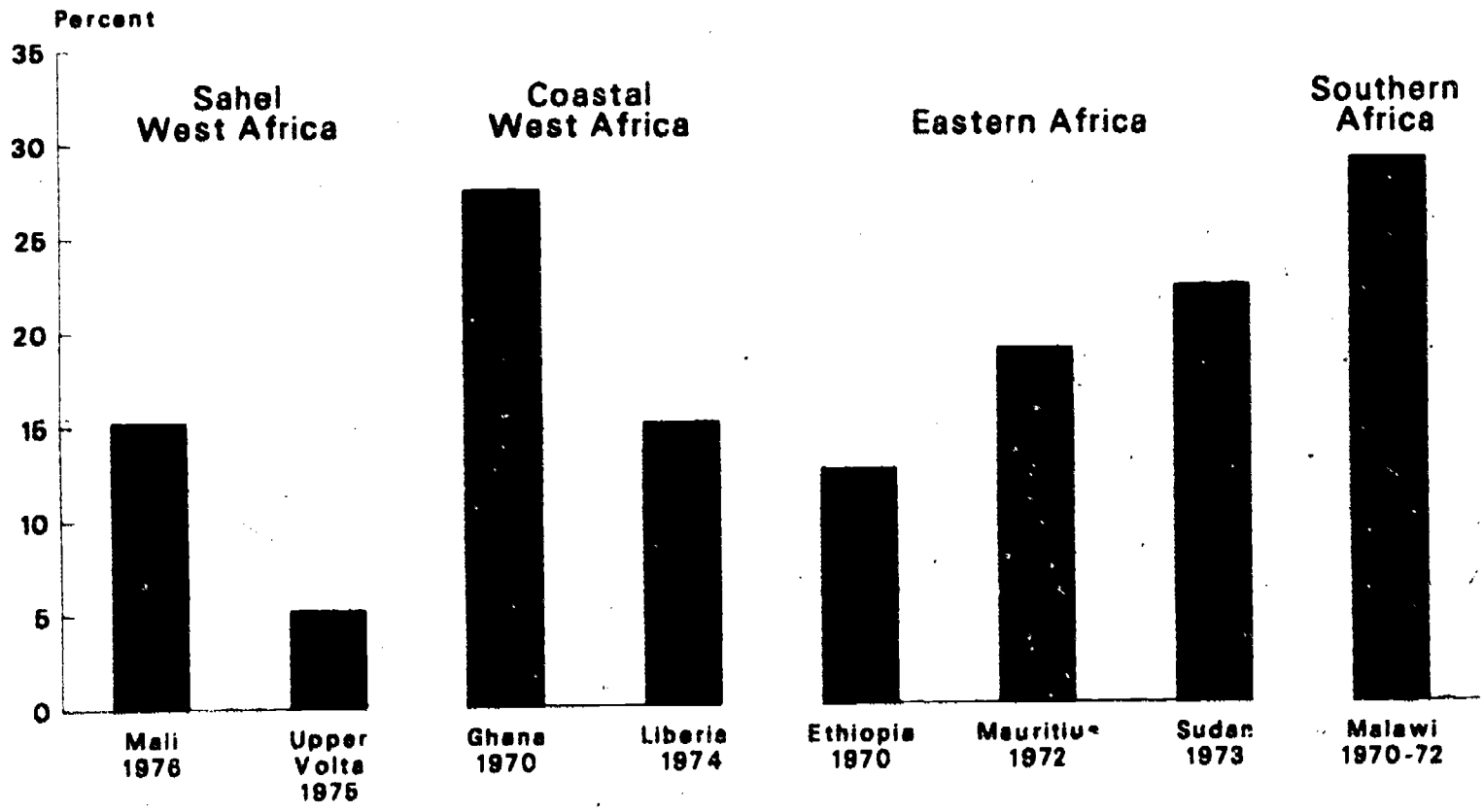


Table 6.1. Minimum Legal Age at Marriage for Women and Men

Region and country	Women	Men
SAHEL WEST AFRICA		
The Gambia	None	None
Mali	15	18
Niger	16	18
Senegal	16	20
COASTAL WEST AFRICA		
Benin	None	None
Ghana	13	13
Guinea	17	18
Liberia	16	16
Nigeria	21	21
Sierra Leone	None	None
CENTRAL AFRICA		
Cameroon	15	18
Zaire	15	18
EASTERN AFRICA		
Ethiopia	12-15	18-20
Kenya	9-18	15-18
Madagascar	14	17
Mauritius	15	18
Somalia	16	None
Tanzania	15	18
Uganda	16	18
SOUTHERN AFRICA		
Botswana	16	16
Lesotho	16	18
Swaziland	16	18
Zambia	16	16

Note: Data on legal marital ages represent the most recently compiled information.

Table 6.2. Age by Which 50 Percent of Women and Men Have Ever Been Married, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total		Rural		Urban	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	[1]17	22	[1]17	22	17	22
Mali	1976	17	27	17	27	19	29
Mauritania	1965	(NA)	(NA)	[1]21	28	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1972	18	28	17	28	19	29
Upper Volta	1975	17	27	17	26	18	27
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Benin	1961	[1]20	24	[1]20	24	18	25
Ghana	1971	19	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Guinea	1954-55	[1]20	26	[1]20	26	[1]20	27
Liberia	1974	18	26	18	26	18	26
Togo	1970	18	25	18	25	20	27
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Burundi	1970-71	21	23	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Cameroon	1976	18	26	17	25	19	27
Rwanda	1970	20	22	20	22	20	24
Zaire	1955-58	18	23	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA							
Ethiopia	1970	(NA)	(NA)	16	22	(NA)	(NA)
Kenya	1969	19	25	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mauritius	1972	22	27	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Seychelles	1977	30	32	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sudan	1973	18	25	18	25	19	27
Tanzania	1967	17	23	17	23	17	25
Uganda	1973	20	30	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Angola	1970	18	23	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Botswana	1971	24	30	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Lesotho	1966	19	25	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Malawi	1977	17	22	17	22	18	24
Mozambique	1970	19	24	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zambia	1969	18	24	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1]Precise age cannot be determined. Figure represents a maximum estimate.

Table 6.3. Percent Distribution of Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Cape Verde	1960	100.0	70.1	24.0	5.5	0.2
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	4.0	76.5	13.0	6.5
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	19.1	65.6	11.3	1.7
Niger[4]	1977	100.0	43.9	48.3	4.9	2.6
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	12.8	75.4	8.6	3.1
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	24.4	67.3	7.7	0.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	5.2	81.3	11.8	1.3
Ghana[2]	1970	100.0	17.4	72.0	2.9	7.7
Guinea[5]	1954-55	100.0	4.8	84.6	9.8	0.9
Liberia	1974	100.0	28.9	60.7	6.4	4.0
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	51.7	40.4	6.1	1.2
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970-71	100.0	36.2	50.3	10.3	3.2
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	15.8	66.4	13.8	3.4
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	16.5	70.0	10.8	2.8
Zaire	1955-57	100.0	8.5	75.8	12.1	3.7
EASTERN AFRICA						
Kenya	1969	100.0	33.0	55.0	8.6	2.7
Mauritius[2]	1972	100.0	29.7	53.5	12.7	4.0
Seychelles[2]	1960	100.0	47.9	42.2	9.2	0.6
Sudan[4,6]	1973	100.0	52.1	38.9	6.7	2.3
Tanzania	1967	100.0	22.4	64.5	8.1	5.0
Uganda[4]	1969	100.0	53.9	36.8	5.2	3.9
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Botswana	1971	100.0	48.1	35.3	9.8	5.4
Lesotho[2]	1966	100.0	17.8	58.4	21.3	2.4
Malawi	1977	100.0	23.0	63.0	6.9	6.9
Mozambique	1970	100.0	27.8	57.5	9.7	5.0
Zambia[2]	1969	100.0	13.1	70.2	7.0	9.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.3. Percent Distribution of Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Cape Verde	1960	100.0	69.1	28.7	1.9	0.2
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	20.3	75.4	2.2	2.1
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	43.3	52.3	1.7	0.7
Niger[4]	1977	100.0	59.4	38.2	0.6	1.7
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	38.7	57.4	1.5	2.3
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	50.5	47.2	1.7	0.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	27.1	65.4	3.1	4.2
Ghana[2,7]	1970	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Guinea[5]	1954-55	100.0	34.5	61.3	2.9	1.2
Liberia	1974	100.0	47.2	46.4	2.0	4.3
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	68.7	28.8	1.1	1.2
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Burundi	1970-71	100.0	44.5	53.4	0.9	1.2
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	39.4	55.1	2.1	2.6
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	27.7	69.4	1.6	1.3
Zaire	1955-57	100.0	23.9	70.0	2.9	3.2
EASTERN AFRICA						
Kenya	1969	100.0	50.7	45.6	1.2	1.6
Mauritius[2]	1972	100.0	42.7	53.2	2.3	1.6
Seychelles[2]	1960	100.0	50.1	46.6	2.6	0.8
Sudan[4,6]	1973	100.0	64.8	33.1	1.0	1.1
Tanzania	1967	100.0	40.0	55.3	1.5	3.1
Uganda[4]	1969	100.0	64.8	30.5	1.1	3.3
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Botswana	1971	100.0	56.3	36.8	1.6	3.9
Lesotho[2]	1966	100.0	34.7	59.4	4.0	1.9
Malawi	1977	100.0	39.2	57.5	1.0	2.2
Mozambique	1970	100.0	43.5	52.2	2.1	2.2
Zambia[2]	1969	100.0	29.3	64.6	1.2	4.0

[1] Generally refers to civil unions, but may include small proportions of persons united by customary or religious law.
[2] Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[3] Refers to ages 12 years and over.
[4] Refers to all ages.
[5] Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[6] Refers to the settled population only.
[7] Data for men are not available.

Table 6.4. Percent Distribution of Rural Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	3.8	77.0	13.2	6.1
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	17.5	67.1	11.9	1.5
Mauritania	1965	100.0	23.4	55.4	10.4	10.8
Niger[4]	1960	100.0	4.1	82.4	11.4	1.8
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	10.1	78.9	8.8	2.0
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	23.9	67.8	7.8	0.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	4.8	81.6	12.0	1.3
Guinea[5]	1954-55	100.0	4.7	84.7	9.9	0.8
Liberia	1974	100.0	26.5	62.1	7.4	3.9
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	50.7	41.2	6.4	1.2
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	13.0	68.4	15.1	3.0
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	16.4	70.1	10.8	2.6
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	100.0	17.0	68.3	9.7	4.8
Sudan[4,6]	1973	100.0	51.4	39.7	6.8	2.2
Tanzania	1967	100.0	22.3	64.7	8.2	4.8
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	100.0	22.4	63.0	7.1	7.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.4. Percent Distribution of Rural Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	19.6	76.1	2.2	2.0
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	41.6	54.1	1.9	0.7
Mauritania	1965	100.0	44.0	50.3	1.0	4.8
Niger[4]	1960	100.0	21.8	74.2	1.6	1.9
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	36.7	59.1	1.7	2.2
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	50.1	47.6	1.8	0.4
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	26.8	65.5	3.3	4.3
Guinea[5]	1954-55	100.0	33.8	62.0	3.0	1.2
Liberia	1974	100.0	44.4	48.3	2.5	4.7
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	67.9	29.5	1.2	1.3
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	33.9	59.4	2.5	3.0
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	27.3	69.8	1.7	1.3
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	100.0	35.6	60.9	1.4	2.1
Sudan[4,6]	1973	100.0	64.6	33.3	1.0	1.1
Tanzania	1967	100.0	39.7	55.6	1.5	3.0
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	100.0	39.1	57.5	1.0	2.3

[1]Generally refers to civil unions, but may include small proportions of persons united by customary or religious law.
[2]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 12 years and over
[4]Refers to all ages.
[5]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[6]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 6.5. Percent Distribution of Urban Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Women						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	6.7	70.4	10.8	12.0
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	27.1	58.1	8.6	2.3
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	19.5	66.5	7.9	5.9
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	33.1	59.4	6.5	0.7
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	9.6	78.0	9.5	1.9
Guinea[4]	1954-55	100.0	5.5	83.1	9.3	2.1
Liberia	1974	100.0	35.3	56.6	4.0	4.2
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	58.7	34.8	4.0	1.1
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	24.1	60.8	10.0	4.5
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	19.4	62.0	12.2	6.4
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	100.0	23.5	45.4	9.5	21.6
Sudan[5]	1973	100.0	54.9	35.8	6.3	3.0
Tanzania	1967	100.0	24.0	60.8	6.2	8.9
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	100.0	30.9	60.8	3.4	4.4

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 6.5. Percent Distribution of Urban Population Age 10 Years and Over, by Marital Status and Sex—Continued

Region and country	Year	Total	Single	Married[1]	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Men						
SAHEL WEST AFRICA						
Chad[2]	1964	100.0	28.6	66.8	1.6	3.0
Mali[3]	1976	100.0	51.3	43.5	0.9	0.7
Senegal[2]	1970	100.0	43.6	53.0	0.9	2.3
Upper Volta	1975	100.0	56.9	41.7	0.8	0.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA						
Benin[2]	1961	100.0	30.4	64.2	1.6	3.5
Guinea[4]	1954-55	100.0	41.7	55.5	1.6	1.3
Liberia	1974	100.0	53.2	42.4	0.9	3.5
Togo[3]	1970	100.0	73.8	24.5	0.5	0.6
CENTRAL AFRICA						
Cameroon[2]	1976	100.0	50.0	45.8	1.1	1.7
Rwanda[2]	1970	100.0	37.2	59.5	1.5	1.8
EASTERN AFRICA						
Ethiopia	1970	100.0	39.6	53.8	1.6	5.0
Sudan[5]	1973	100.0	65.4	32.3	0.9	1.1
Tanzania	1967	100.0	43.7	51.1	1.2	3.7
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
Malawi	1977	100.0	39.7	57.5	0.5	1.9

[1]Generally refers to civil unions, but may include small proportions of persons united by customary or religious law.
[2]Refers to ages 15 years and over.
[3]Refers to ages 12 years and over.
[4]Refers to ages 14 years and over.
[5]Refers to the settled population only; refers to all ages.

Table 6.6. Percent Single Among Women and Men Age 20 to 24 Years and 45 to 49 Years

Region and country	Year	Women		Men	
		20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1960	73.0	55.8	91.0	46.4
Chad	1964	2.4	0.2	46.0	1.8
Mali	1976	11.7	1.7	81.6	3.1
Senegal	1970	14.6	0.3	90.1	3.3
Upper Volta	1975	7.4	2.0	74.5	6.7
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	3.7	0.6	65.0	5.0
Ghana	1971	16.0	0.5	(NA)	(NA)
Guinea	1954-55	1.8	0.0	74.9	3.3
Liberia	1974	21.4	2.8	74.3	7.5
Togo	1970	[1]12.2	1.9	74.0	4.6
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	33.8	1.1	54.6	0.6
Cameroon	1976	19.7	4.2	75.3	10.9
Rwanda	1970	18.0	0.0	45.5	0.8
Zaire	1955-57	9.9	[2]0.5	58.1	2.2
EASTERN AFRICA					
Kenya	1969	18.4	[3]2.8	71.8	[3]6.6
Mauritius	1972	46.1	3.7	84.0	5.3
Seychelles	1960	74.8	31.7	86.5	26.1
Sudan	1973	15.0	1.7	70.7	3.5
Tanzania	1967	9.1	1.3	56.6	4.4
Uganda	1969	13.1	5.8	57.1	12.1
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	55.6	13.3	86.8	12.0
Lesotho	1966	20.8	2.6	76.5	4.3
Malawi	1977	7.4	0.9	49.3	1.8
Mozambique	1970	21.1	4.0	60.3	4.2
Zambia	1969	9.6	2.2	63.0	3.1

[1]Refers to ages 19 to 24 years.
[2]Refers to ages 45 to 54 years.
[3]Refers to ages 40 to 49 years.

Table 6.7. Percent Single Among Women and Men Age 20 to 24 Years and 45 to 49 Years, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Rural				Urban			
		Women		Men		Women		Men	
		20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years	20 to 24 years	45 to 49 years
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Chad	1964	2.2	0.2	45.0	1.6	4.8	0.3	61.3	0.4
Mali	1976	9.3	1.5	79.4	2.8	23.2	2.4	89.1	5.1
Mauritania	1965	28.9	13.6	84.4	9.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1960	0.8	0.1	19.1	0.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970	10.3	0.1	87.7	3.3	24.3	0.7	95.2	3.2
Upper Volta	1975	6.7	2.0	73.3	6.6	16.8	3.2	87.4	7.6
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	3.0	0.6	64.0	5.2	1.1	0.4	75.4	1.8
Guinea	1954-55	0.2	0.0	73.8	3.2	0.9	0.0	83.1	4.5
Liberia	1974	20.0	2.0	73.4	6.8	24.1	6.6	75.6	9.2
Togo	1970	19.1	1.6	70.0	4.3	[1]29.5	5.1	86.4	7.5
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Cameroon	1976	16.0	3.5	68.2	10.7	27.0	7.0	84.1	11.1
Rwanda	1970	17.8	0.0	44.6	0.8	21.8	0.9	63.6	1.7
EASTERN AFRICA									
Ethiopia	1970	3.6	0.4	48.5	0.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Sudan	1973	12.7	1.5	67.0	3.1	22.6	2.3	77.9	4.9
Tanzania	1967	8.7	1.2	55.0	4.3	14.8	2.8	70.9	6.6
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Malawi	1977	6.8	0.9	47.2	1.8	12.5	1.5	61.6	1.7

[1]Refers to ages 19 to 24 years.

Table 6.8. Selected Measures of Polygamy

Region and country	Year	Polygynists per 100 married men (incidence)	Average number of wives per polygynist (intensity)	Number of wives per married man (index)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA				
Chad	1964	22.0	2.3	1.6
Mali	1960-61	22.8	2.2	1.3
Niger	1959-60	22.0	2.1	1.3
Senegal	1970-71	28.4	2.2	1.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA				
Benin	1961	31.1	2.3	1.4
Ghana	1960	26.2	2.4	1.4
Togo	1970	35.9	2.4	1.5
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	1970-71	8.4	2.1	1.1
Rwanda	1970	8.4	2.0	1.1
Zaire[1]	1977	29.8	2.3	1.5
EASTERN AFRICA				
Kenya[2]	1974-75	<0.4	2.1	1.2
Tanzania	1969	27.1	2.3	1.4

[1]Refers to the Yaka Society only.
[2]Refers to rural areas only.

Table 6.9. Median Number of Persons per Household, by Rural/Urban Residence

Region and country	Year	Total	Rural	Urban
SAHEL WEST AFRICA				
The Gambia	1973	6.9	7.6	4.8
Mali	1976	4.4	4.4	4.4
Mauritania	1965	(NA)	3.9	(NA)
Niger	1960	(NA)	3.6	(NA)
Upper Volta	1975	5.6	5.6	5.6
COASTAL WEST AFRICA				
Benin	1961	3.9	3.9	3.7
Ghana	1970	3.9	4.2	3.1
Guinea	1954-55	4.3	4.3	4.1
Ivory Coast	1975	4.2	4.7	3.3
Liberia	1974	4.7	4.9	4.3
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	1970-71	4.1	(NA)	(NA)
Cameroon	1976	4.3	4.3	4.2
Rwanda	1970	4.4	4.4	3.8
EASTERN AFRICA				
Ethiopia	1970	(NA)	4.2	(NA)
Kenya[1]	1969	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mauritius	1972	5.0	5.3	4.7
Seychelles	1977	4.2	(NA)	(NA)
Sudan[2]	1973	4.6	4.6	4.9
Tanzania	1967	(NA)	(NA)	2.7
SOUTHERN AFRICA				
Botswana[1]	1971	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zambia	1969	4.1	(NA)	(NA)

[1]Median number of persons per household not available for Botswana and Kenya. The average household size in Botswana (1971) was 5.9 persons in the total country, 6.0 persons in rural areas, and 4.8 persons in urban areas; and in Kenya (1969) 5.6 persons in the total country, 5.8 persons in rural areas, and 4.2 persons in urban areas.

[2]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 6.10. Selected Household Measures

(Numbers in thousands. Figures may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Total households: Number	Total households: Percent with female heads	Total households: F/M ratio of household heads	Percent distribution of female heads by age: Total, age 15 years and over	15 to 29 years	30 to 44 years	45 to 59 years	60 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Mali	1976	1,254	15.1	17.7	100.0	20.2	[1]18.1	[2]35.8	25.9
Mauritania[3]	1965	225	19.9	24.8	100.0	27.8	[1]23.5	[2]34.1	14.6
Niger[3]	1960	611	6.7	7.2	100.0	9.7	[1]11.1	[2]50.0	29.2
Upper Volta	1975	1,044	5.1	5.4	100.0	9.8	33.3	21.6	35.3
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	466	14.1	16.4	100.0	22.0	26.2	31.2	20.6
Ghana	1970	1,752	27.4	37.7	100.0	21.5	32.8	24.1	21.5
Guinea	1954-55	537	10.4	11.6	100.0	29.8	40.4	18.3	11.5
Liberia	1974	311	14.9	17.5	100.0	22.8	34.9	23.5	18.8
EASTERN AFRICA									
Ethiopia[3]	1970	4,033	12.4	14.1	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Kenya	1969	1,938	29.5	41.8	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mauritius	1972	155	18.8	23.2	100.0	5.3	21.3	38.8	35.1
Sudan[4]	1973	2,288	22.1	28.4	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Malawi	1970-72	998	28.8	40.5	100.0	24.0	34.7	21.5	19.1

[1]Refers to ages 30 to 39 years.
[2]Refers to ages 40 to 59 years.
[3]Refers to rural areas only.
[4]Refers to the settled population only.

Chapter 7

Fertility and the Status of Women

Much of what has been written about African fertility has focused on the implications of high fertility and rapid population growth for national development and on the prospects for programs of fertility limitation in the region.[1] But families have children or do not have them for reasons largely separate from considerations of the greater national interest. In chapter 6, attention was focused on the family relationships which are at the center of traditional African society; within that society, a woman's status is heavily dependent upon the number of children, and especially the number of sons, she has. African societies have shared such a value system with most developing countries, but in addition, much of Africa is characterized by a traditional division of labor by sex which, by continuing to allocate to women the major responsibility for subsistence food production, undergirds and sustains a set of values which places a premium on women's family roles. These values are given added strength by support from the three major religious traditions in Africa: Islam, Christianity, and traditional African faiths.

With increasing urbanization, the centrality of the traditional family system is weakening in some areas, but the vast majority of African women, approximately 80 percent, continue to live and work in rural settings where traditional ways continue. Even in the cities, despite the higher costs of raising children in an urban setting and the new opportunities for female education and employment, African men and women continue to find joy and satisfaction in their children, and to want[2] and for the most part achieve large families. African fertility remains high, with total fertility rates (TFR) among the highest in the world. The United Nations (UNESA, 1982) estimates a 1980-85 total fertility rate for the Sub-Saharan Africa region of 6.45 children per woman, compared to 4.79 in South Asia and only 2.43 in East Asia, while the World Fertility Survey (1981a and 1982) reports an astounding average of 8.1 children per woman for Kenya in 1977 and 6.9 children per woman for Sudan in 1978.

Despite these fertility levels, high infant and child mortality in the region has tended to keep completed family size somewhat lower than these fertility rates imply. For 21 Sub-Saharan African countries with benchmark estimates of infant mortality for 1970 or later, seven have a rate over 150 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, and two (The Gambia, 1968-73, and Sierra Leone, 1974) have rates over 200. In contrast, only one of 23 Asian countries (Afghanistan, 1978-79) has an infant mortality rate over 150, and no Latin American country has a rate so high (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b). With such mortality rates, there is very little interest in programs of fertility limitation in Sub-Saharan Africa.

African women and men, however, have always cooperated in fertility regulation. A tradition of prolonged breastfeeding and sexual abstinence until weaning has had the intended consequence of spacing births at 2 to 3 year intervals to improve the chances for survival of the infant. Such an interval has also given women a chance to rest between births. This tradition was made supportable by the institution of polygamy; but with urbanization and modernization, there has been a trend away from polygamy in many parts of Africa and a concomitant trend away from the observance of prolonged abstinence. These developments, coupled with a decrease in the duration of breastfeeding, tend to increase fertility by reducing birth intervals, thus countering any incipient decline which might have been expected as a result of the modernization process.[3]

[1] For a recent discussion of population in African development, see World Bank (1981); for an alternative view, see Okediji and Bahri (1974). For a discussion of female roles and fertility, see UNECA (1974a) and Youssef (1980a and 1982).

[2] Studies agree that desired family size in Africa is large, and there is little evidence that most couples want fewer children than they are producing. See Caldwell (1974a and 1974b), Ware (1974), and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, and 1981c).

[3] The importance of breastfeeding, post partum amenorrhea, and sexual abstinence until weaning in traditional child spacing in Africa have been the focus of considerable research in recent years. See Bongaarts (1979); Caldwell (1974b); Leridon and Menken (1979); Mosley, Werner, and Becker (1982); Page and Lesthaeghe (1981); and Romaniuk (1980).

According to estimates made by the United Nations, the crude birth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa has fallen a mere 2.4 percent during the period 1960-65 to 1980-85, in striking contrast to the substantial decline in the developing world as a whole, which the United Nations estimates to have been 23.6 percent during the same period (UNESA, 1982).

African women therefore continue to gain status and some measure of power within the family through their roles as mothers and wives, and childlessness is seen as a personal tragedy. Because they have always worked, African women see no inherent conflict in combining motherhood with economic activity. To be sure, much of their activity in agriculture, handicrafts, or trade has been compatible with their domestic responsibilities, and because there have usually been younger or older female relatives in the household to help with child care, they have been able to accommodate the demands of work outside the home. In urban areas, too, work in the informal sector is often compatible with child care. It is only among a small but growing number of urban women employed in the modern sector, many of whom work at wages too low to purchase adequate substitute child care, that smaller families are beginning to appear desirable.[4] Thus, although fertility rates are somewhat lower in urban areas, they remain high compared to rates elsewhere in the developing world.

Since some education is generally required for modern wage employment, surveys usually find a negative association between education and fertility. In the absence of widespread use of modern contraceptives, the association is usually the result of an older age at marriage among young women who have remained in school, but some studies indicate that fertility within marriage, too, may be somewhat lower.[5] However, education does not necessarily lead to lower fertility among African women. Among the elite, where resources are ample to provide good nutrition, adequate medical care, spacious housing, and child care assistance, many couples can afford to have the large families they want.[6] Furthermore, it is among women with some education that the traditional practices of extended breastfeeding and sexual abstinence are most rapidly disappearing, thus reducing the 2 to 3 year interval between births and increasing fertility in the early years of marriage.

In principle, modern methods of child spacing could substitute for the traditional period of abstinence, but these are not well known, are still distrusted for a number of reasons, and are not widely available, especially in the rural areas. Fertility regulation by modern methods is associated with prostitution in the personal realm, and in the public is, in the minds of many Africans, synonymous with population limitation, about which there is substantial ambivalence. Some observers have maintained that Africa requires even faster population growth. As a consequence, very few governments in the region have articulated explicit policies to reduce fertility and rates of population growth, and only about half of the countries of the region have given direct or indirect support to family planning programs as a health measure, although nearly all permit the provision of family planning services on a private basis. In such a climate, contraceptive usage, even in urban areas, is low.[7]

Fertility measures, therefore, are ambiguous as indicators of the status of women in Sub-Saharan Africa. They cannot be adequately interpreted without reference to other indicators such as education, employment, and income.

Data Availability

African fertility has been of considerable interest to those who fund research, and as a consequence, more data are available on fertility than on other African population characteristics. The data come from national demographic surveys and population censuses, supplemented by numerous special studies; although vital registration systems exist in most countries, their coverage is scanty. For four countries (Kenya, Lesotho, Senegal, and Sudan), results from the World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982) are also available. For an inventory of African surveys, see Baum, et al. (1974). Considerable effort has gone into developing an adequate conceptual framework (UNECA, 1978b), to the use of appropriate language and terminology (Udo and Weiss, 1980; UNECA, 1978b; and Ware, 1977), to methods of eliciting full and reasonably accurate pregnancy histories, including timing methods,[8] and to developing appropriate estimating methods for use with limited and defective data.[9] As a result, fertility estimates are among the most common and most reliable of the measures of African population characteristics. Nevertheless, it is widely recognized that the number of births, particularly stillbirths and infants who die within the first few days, is underestimated; moreover, the accuracy of age-specific rates depends upon the success with which the enumerators have been able to elicit reliable ages from the respondents.

Five measures of fertility are in common use and are widely available (see the abbreviations at the beginning of this report for definitions of various measures). The simplest is the crude birth rate (CBR), which requires the least information to calculate. The total fertility rate (TFR) and age-specific fertility rates (ASFR) require a tabulation of births by age of mother, as well as a population distribution of women by age. Finally, the gross reproduction rate (GRR) requires in addition data on the proportion female among total births, and the net reproduction rate (NRR) requires information on mortality of females by age.

Fertility data in the WID Data Base are reasonably extensive. It should be noted, however, that in many instances the data are not precise enough to establish a single figure to represent

[4] For evidence on fertility differentials, see Anker, Buvinic, and Youssef (1982), Caldwell (1984b), Page and Lesthaeghe (1981); UNECA (1980b), Ware (1974), and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

[5] For discussions of fertility and education, see Anker, Buvinic, and Youssef (1982), Caldwell (1974a and 1974b), Cochrane (1979); Mosley, Werner, and Becker (1982), Page and Lesthaeghe (1981); Population Reports (1979); UNECA (1974a and 1980b), and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

[6] For evidence of higher fertility among the elite, see Mosley, Werner, and Becker (1982), UNECA (1980b), and Ware (1974).

[7] For evidence on contraceptive usage in Africa, see Caldwell (1974b); Mosley, Werner, and Becker (1982); Page and Lesthaeghe (1981); Udo and Weiss (1980); U.S. Bureau of the Census (1977, 1978, 1981, and 1982); and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

[8] Most useful are the series of manuals published by the U.N. Population Division and the sets of materials prepared by the World Fertility Survey.

[9] See Brass (1975), Coale and Trussell (1974), Haupt and Kane (1978), Page and Lesthaeghe (1981), and U.S. Bureau of the Census (1983a).

a particular rate. In such cases, a range of estimates (for example, a CBR of 49-50 for The Gambia in 1973) is used to indicate a reasonable range, if not a precise point estimate, of the crude birth rate for the given year. In addition, attention must be paid to the recency of the available data. Although the majority of the 40 countries under study have benchmark data on most of the fertility measures for some date for the total country, the data are frequently quite old, and comparable estimates for the same year are usually not available separately for rural and urban areas. The rural/urban data available from surveys are often outdated.

Table 7.1 summarizes the availablility and recency of fertility data in the various tables in the remainder of this chapter. As this summary indicates, 34 of the 40 African countries under consideration have a benchmark estimate of a national level crude birth rate, but only 24 of these estimates refer to 1970 or later and none refer to the 1980's. For the other measures (except the NRR), 27 countries have benchmark estimates, of which from three-fourths to two-thirds refer to the decade of the 1970's. For the net reproduction rate, which requires information on mortality as well as fertility to calculate, fewer than half the countries have benchmark data, and 5 of the 18 available estimates relate to years before 1970.

For rural/urban data on fertility, the table shows that only a handful of countries have any statistics at all, and almost none have recent information. Given these constraints, the available data are presented and analyzed below.

Summary Measures of Fertility

Crude Birth Rates. Crude birth rates in the WID Data Base for Sub-Saharan African countries (see table 7.2 and figure 7.1) are almost uniformly high; nearly half the countries have rates close to 50 per 1,000 population or higher and of the remaining, all but 4 have at least 40 per 1,000. Three of the four with unusually low crude birth rates are the island countries of Cape Verde, Mauritius, and the Seychelles; each of these is demographically atypical of the region, with low proportions currently married, relatively older age distributions; and lower mortality and fertility rates which have been found in island populations elsewhere in the world. The fourth is Lesotho, whose fertility is low in part because of the absence of 12 percent of its adult male population who are out of the country on long-term labor contracts. Among countries with crude birth rates over 50 per 1,000 in the more recent period are Kenya (54 per 1,000 in 1977) and Malawi (50 54 per 1,000 in 1971-72), while Benin, Mali, and Niger had rates that may have approached 55 per 1,000 in the early 1960's.

For the few countries with crude birth rate data available by rural urban residence (see table 7.3), the rural rates are slightly higher except for Mali, where the 1960-61 birth rate appears to be somewhat higher in urban areas.

Total Fertility Rates. Again, except for the island countries of Mauritius and the Seychelles, total fertility rates in the region are high. As shown in table 7.2 and figure 7.2, even among the countries whose latest data refer to the decade of the 1970's, 4 of the 17 have TFR's of 7 births per woman or higher, and nearly all have rates of at least 6 births per woman. Consistent with its very high crude birth rate, the TFR in Kenya for 1977 shows an average of more than eight births per woman.

As in the case of the crude birth rate, the TFR is generally somewhat higher in rural than urban areas, according to the few countries with disaggregated data by type of residence.

Gross and Net Reproduction Rates. By definition, gross reproduction rates are approximately one half the size of total fertility rates. Of more interest is the differential between gross and net reproduction rates, a difference which reflects female mortality from birth through the childbearing years. Examination of these rates, as shown in table 7.2 and illustrated in figure 7.3, suggests that achieved family size is in many cases considerably smaller than that implied by the total fertility rate. The median GRR is about 3.1, while the median NRR is only about 2 surviving daughters per woman. The difference can be as great as the 55 percent loss indicated for The Gambia (1973), the equivalent of a loss of at least three children. Among the countries for which both GRR and NRR estimates are available, the median proportion of daughters who do not survive through maturity is approximately 32 percent, and the median number of daughters lost is 1.1, which translates into an average loss of at least 2 children per median family of 6.6 persons.

Age Distribution of Fertility

Age Patterns. In an essentially noncontracepting society, the age patterns of fertility are largely a function of age at marriage and the underlying changes in fecundity with age and successive pregnancies. Fertility rates by age tend to rise rapidly in the early years and peak during the twenties, falling off slightly in the early thirties and more rapidly thereafter. As the age at marriage rises with increased opportunities for education and employment, the peak tends to occur in the late, rather than the early twenties, again remaining fairly high into the midthirties, then falling off more or less evenly through the end of the forties. When substantial proportions of the population are using modern contraception, the decline from the peak fertility years tends to be relatively precipitous as women achieve their desired family size in their twenties and thirties and then employ contraception to limit additional births.[10] In Africa, the relatively young age at marriage and low rates of contraceptive usage imply that substantial shares of total births are produced both by women under age 25 years and by those ages 35 years and over.

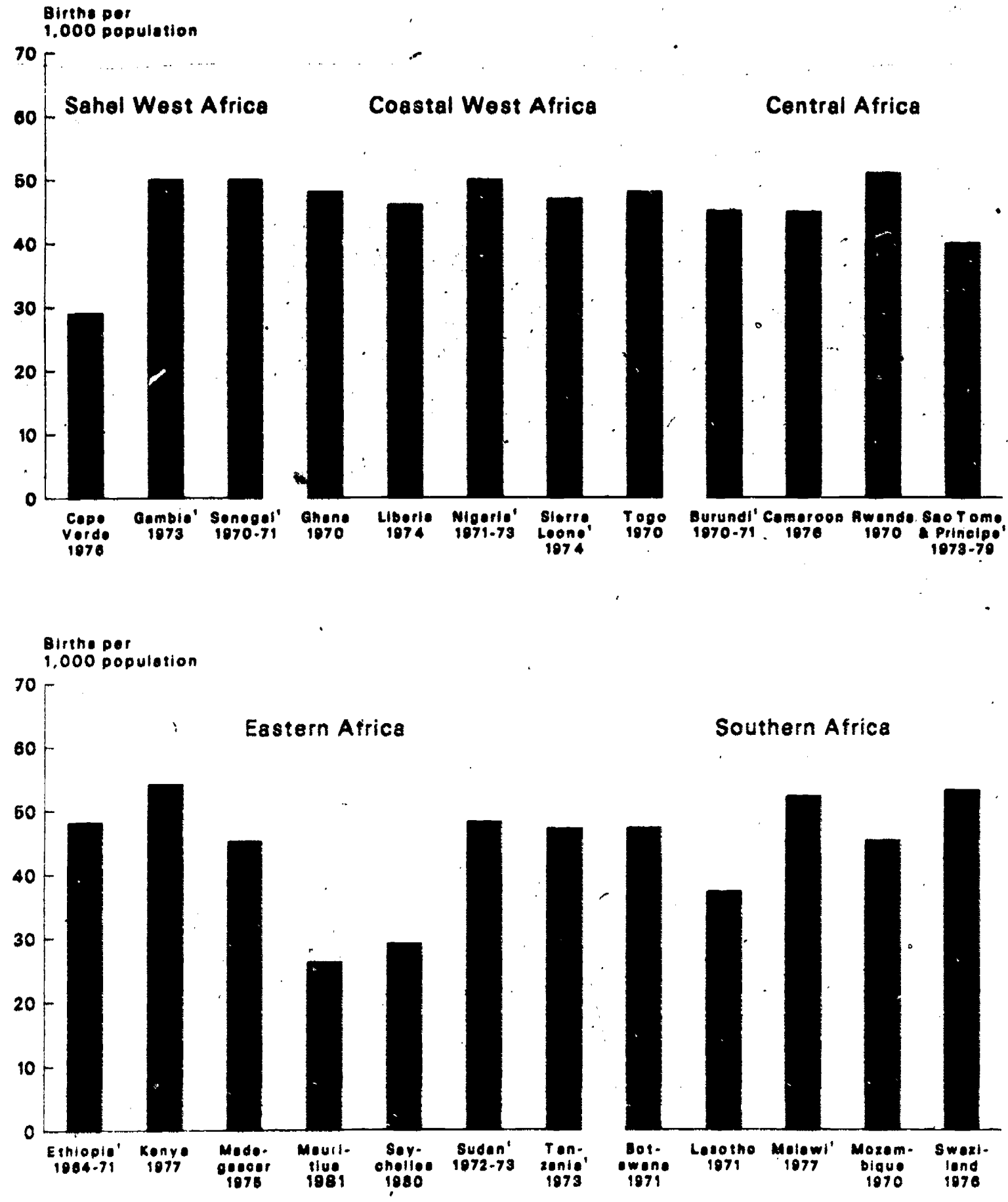
This expectation is confirmed by statistics in the WID Data Base. In table 7.4, the distribution of lifetime fertility by mother's age is presented for 27 of the 40 countries; this distribution is illustrated in figure 7.4 for the 20 countries with more recent data. In 18 countries overall, the distribution peaks among

[10]For information on the age pattern of natural fertility, see Leridon and Menken (1979) and Page and Lesthaeghe (1981). For the effect of modern contraception on this age pattern, see Mosley, Werner, and Becker (1982) and Page and Lesthaeghe (1981).

women ages 25 to 34 years, with those under 25 years also contributing 30 percent or more of total fertility. In four countries (Chad, Sierra Leone, Zaire, and Ethiopia), fertility is highest among women under 25 years of age. In both these age patterns, fertility is lowest among women over age 35 years. In the remaining five countries (Burundi, Rwanda, Botswana, Malawi, and Mozambique), although the distribution peaks at ages 25 to 34 years, older women contribute a share which is about equal to or greater than that of the youngest women, those under age 25 years.

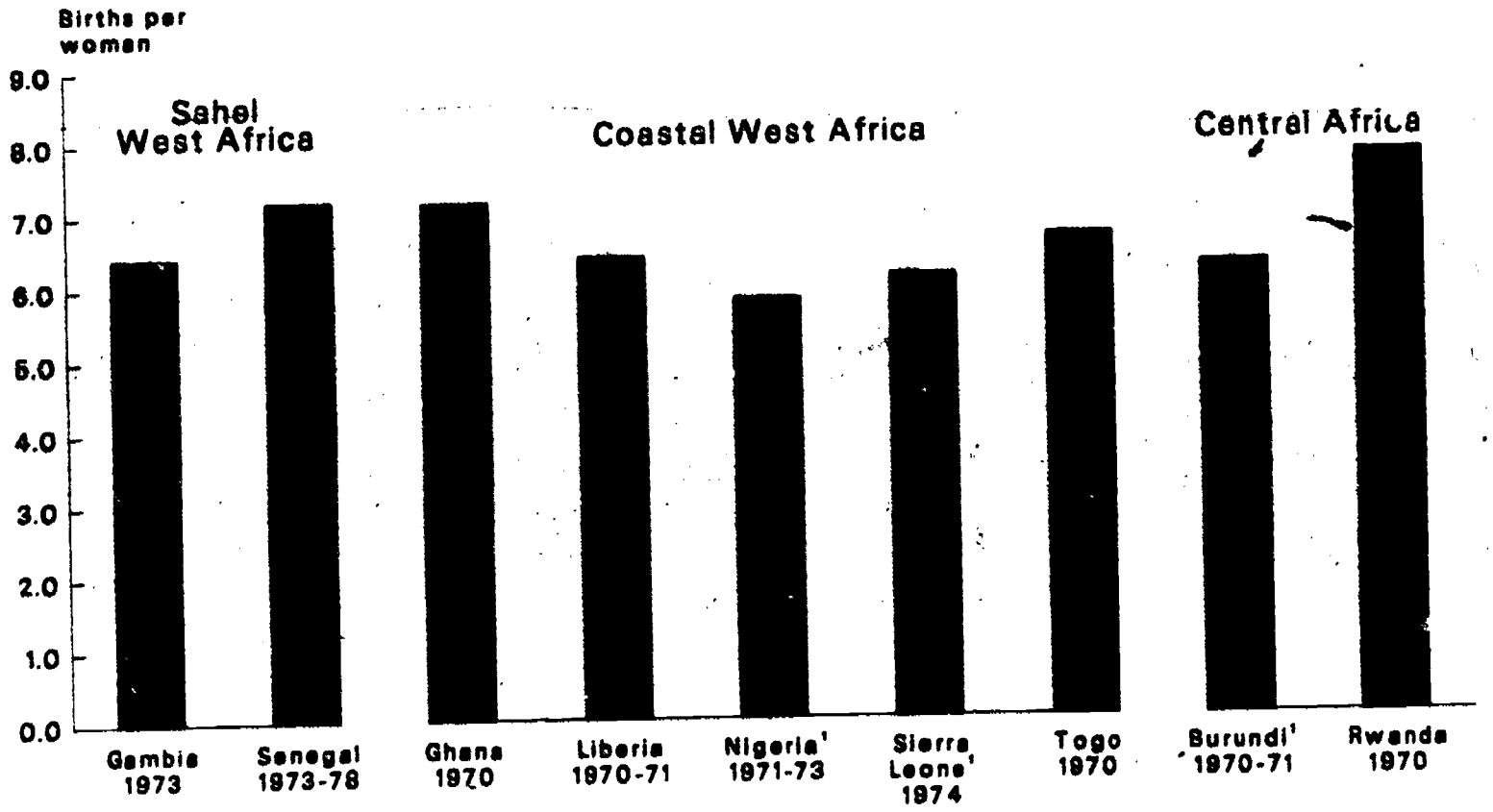
Rural/Urban Differences. Information on the age pattern of fertility is available for rural areas in only seven countries, and for urban areas in only four of these (Chad, Mali, Benin, and Rwanda); see table 7.5. These are too few to draw any inferences except to note that in three of four cases where both rural and urban distributions are available, they differ primarily in the share of fertility attributable to the youngest women; in two of the three it is higher in rural areas, in one it is lower. In the fourth case, there are virtually no differences at all between the two distributions.

Figure 7.1. Crude Birth Rate



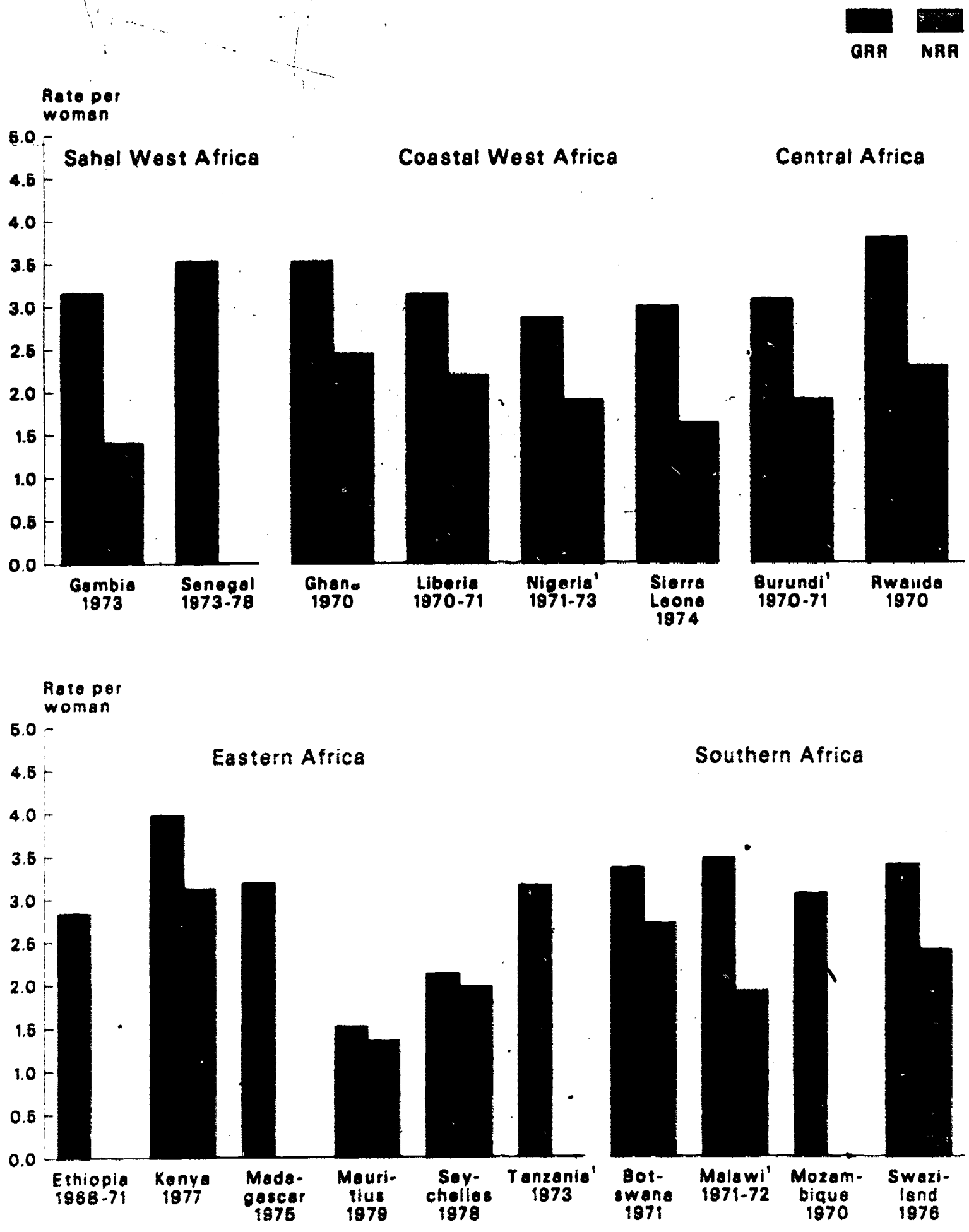
¹ Data refer to the average of a range of estimates.

Figure 7.2. Total Fertility Rate



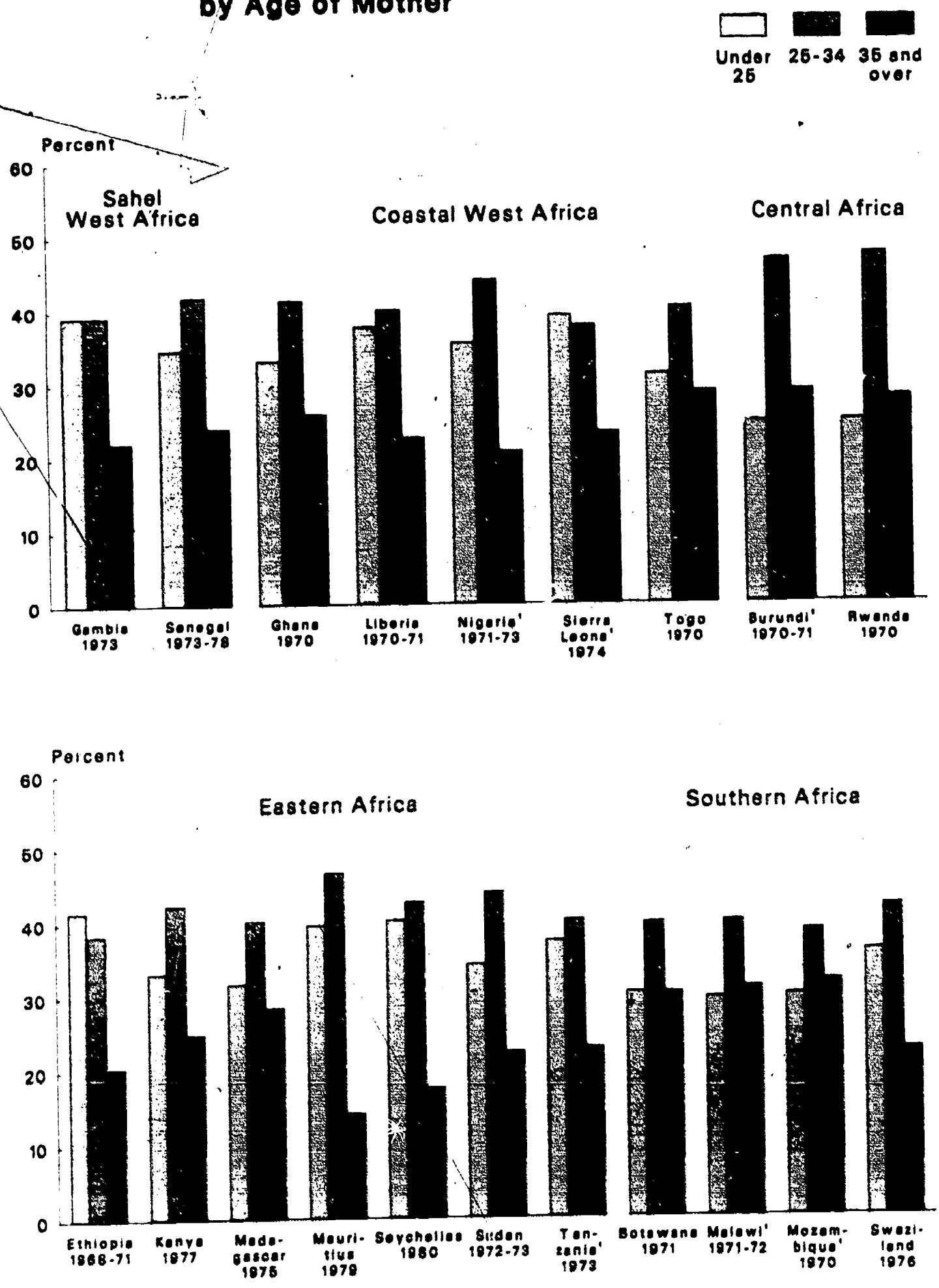
¹ Data refer to the average of a range of estimates.

Figure 7.3. Gross and Net Reproduction Rates



' Data refer to the average of a range of estimates.

Figure 7.4. Distribution of Lifetime Fertility, by Age of Mother



' Data refer to the average of a range of estimates.

Table 7.1. Number of Countries With Data on Fertility, by Type of Fertility Measure and Recency of Data

Fertility measure and residence	Total	Before 1970	1970 or later
Crude birth rate:			
Total country.....	34	10	24
Rural.....	7	5	2
Urban.....	4	3	1
Distribution of lifetime fertility:			
Total country.....	27	7	20
Rural.....	7	5	2
Urban.....	4	3	1
Total fertility rate:			
Total country.....	27	7	20
Rural.....	7	5	2
Urban.....	4	3	1
Gross reproduction rate (total country).....	27	9	18
Net reproduction rate (total country).....	18	5	13

Table 7.2. Crude Birth Rate, Total Fertility Rate, Gross Reproduction Rate, and Net Reproduction Rate

Region and country	Year	CBR	TFR	GRR	NRR
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1976	29	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Chad	1963-64	45	5.13	2.50	1.40
The Gambia	1973	49-50	6.40	3.15	1.40
Mali[1]	1960-61	55	7.45	3.63	1.95
Mauritania[2]	1965	42	(NA)	2.80	1.46
Niger[2]	1960	50-55	(NA)	3.10	1.65
Senegal	1973-78	[3]48-52	7.15	3.52	(NA)
Upper Volta	1960-61	50	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	49-54	6.21-6.88	3.06-3.39	(NA)
Ghana	1970	48	7.14	3.52	2.44
Liberia	1970-71	[4]46	6.38	3.14	2.19
Nigeria	1971-73	49-51	5.68-5.90	2.80-2.91	1.86-1.94
Sierra Leone	1974	44-50	5.70-6.50	2.80-3.20	1.52-1.74
Togo	1970	48	6.64	(NA)	(NA)
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	42-47	5.90-6.57	2.92-3.25	1.81-2.01
Cameroon	1976	45	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Rwanda	1970	51	7.74	3.80	2.30
Sao Tome and Principe	1973-79	38-42	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zaire	1955-57	43-46	5.91	2.91	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1968-71	[5]43-52	5.75	2.83	(NA)
Kenya	1977	54	8.05	3.97	3.11
Madagascar	1975	45	6.39	3.18	(NA)
Mauritius	1979	26	3.07	1.50	1.34
Seychelles	1980	29	4.16	2.05	[6]1.97
Sudan	1972-73	46-49	[1]6.77	(NA)	(NA)
Tanzania	1973	45-49	6.40-6.60	3.12-3.22	(NA)
Uganda	1969	46-50	6.93-7.70	3.41-3.79	2.36-2.62

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 7.2. Crude Birth Rate, Total Fertility Rate, Gross Reproduction Rate, and Net Reproduction Rate—Continued

Region and country	Year	CBR	TFR	GRR	NRR
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	47	6.81	3.35	2.70
Lesotho	1971	37	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Malawi	1971-72	50-54	6.66-7.36	3.28-3.63	1.81
Mozambique	1970	42-48	5.78-6.60	2.85-3.25	(NA)
Swaziland	1976	53	6.87	3.39	2.40
Zambia	1969	48-51	6.70-7.06	3.30-3.48	(NA)
Zimbabwe	1969	47-51	7.80-7.89	3.84-3.89	(NA)

[1]Refers to the settled population only.
[2]Refers to rural areas only.
[3]Refers to 1970-71.
[4]Refers to 1974.
[5]Refers to 1964-71.
[6]Refers to 1978.

Table 7.3 Total Fertility Rate and Crude Birth Rate for Rural and Urban Areas

Region and country	Year	Total fertility rate		Crude birth rate	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad	1963-64	5.15	5.00	45	44
Mali[1]	1960-61	7.48	7.14	54	58
Mauritania	1965	5.65	(NA)	42	(NA)
Niger	1960	6.11	(NA)	50-55	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	6.24-6.96	6.01-6.05	49-54	48
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Rwanda	1970	7.76	7.07	51	48
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Malawi	1971-72	6.54-7.23	(NA)	50-53	(NA)

[1]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 7.4. Percent Distribution of Lifetime Fertility, by Age of Mother

(Percentages may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Chad	1963-64	100.0	42.0	36.6	21.4
The Gambia	1973	100.0	39.1	39.1	21.8
Mali[1]	1960-61	100.0	38.2	40.1	21.6
Senegal	1973-78	100.0	34.5	41.7	23.8
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Benin	1961	100.0	39.9	40.3	19.8
Ghana	1970	100.0	33.0	41.2	25.7
Liberia	1970-71	100.0	37.6	39.9	22.5
Nigeria	1971-73	100.0	35.4	44.0	20.6
Sierra Leone	1974	100.0	39.1	37.7	23.2
Togo	1970	100.0	31.1	40.2	28.7
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	100.0	24.6	46.6	28.7
Rwanda	1970	100.0	24.7	47.3	27.9
Zaire	1955-57	100.0	44.7	44.5	10.8
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1968-71	100.0	41.5	38.3	20.3
Kenya	1977	100.0	33.1	42.2	24.7
Madagascar	1975	100.0	31.6	40.1	28.3
Mauritius	1979	100.0	39.5	46.5	14.0
Seychelles	1980	100.0	40.1	42.5	17.4
Sudan	1972-73	100.0	34.1	43.8	22.2
Tanzania	1973	100.0	37.2	40.0	22.7
Uganda	1969	100.0	35.6	40.1	24.3
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1971	100.0	30.2	39.6	30.1
Malawi	1971-72	100.0	29.4	39.8	30.8
Mozambique	1970	100.0	29.8	38.5	31.7
Swaziland	1976	100.0	35.8	41.8	22.4
Zambia	1969	100.0	34.2	39.1	26.7
Zimbabwe	1969	100.0	31.5	40.3	28.3

Note: For countries with estimated ranges of fertility, the distribution of lifetime fertility is calculated on the basis of averages of these ranges.

[1]Refers to the settled population only.

Table 7.5. Percent Distribution of Lifetime Fertility, by Age of Mother, for Rural and Urban Areas

(Percentages may not add to totals due to rounding)

Region and country	Year	Rural				Urban			
		All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over	All ages	Under 25 years	25 to 34 years	35 years and over
SAHEL WEST AFRICA									
Chad	1963-64	100.0	42.1	36.6	21.3	100.0	37.7	38.0	24.3
Mali[1]	1960-61	100.0	37.9	40.5	21.6	100.0	41.1	37.6	21.4
Mauritania	1965	100.0	31.1	40.3	28.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger	1960	100.0	36.4	39.8	23.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA									
Benin	1961	100.0	40.3	40.0	19.7	100.0	35.4	43.4	21.1
CENTRAL AFRICA									
Rwanda	1970	100.0	24.8	47.3	28.0	100.0	25.4	47.0	27.7
SOUTHERN AFRICA									
Malawi	1971-72	100.0	29.0	39.6	31.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Note: For countries with estimated ranges of fertility, the distribution of lifetime fertility is calculated on the basis of averages of these ranges.

[1] Refers to the settled population only.

Chapter 8

Mortality and the Status of Women

Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa is higher than elsewhere in the developing world. Estimates show a 1983 regional crude death rate of 17 per 1,000 population, versus 11 per 1,000 population for all developing countries (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c) and a life expectancy at birth for both sexes of 48.6 years for the region compared to 57.0 years for the developing country average (UNESA, 1982).[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census (1983c) estimates for 1983 indicate that 32 (80 percent) of the 40 Sub Saharan African nations have infant mortality rates in excess of 95 per 1,000 live births, compared to only 22 percent of the world's other developing countries. Given such high rates, the control of premature mortality is an important policy objective for all governments of the region.

The status of women is closely associated with mortality in Africa in two ways: through age-sex mortality differentials that depart from those characteristic of countries where mortality rates for both sexes are low, and through the impact that modernization has on women's own health and on the mortality of infants and young children. This chapter examines the evidence for age-sex patterns of mortality which reflect on women's status in Africa, and for the effect on mortality of women's participation in the development process.

Age-Sex Mortality Differentials

Age Pattern of Mortality in Africa. Sixteen years ago, Clairin (1968)[2] asked whether tropical areas, and tropical Africa in particular, were not subject to an age schedule of mortality which differs from that incorporated in the model life tables used for estimating population parameters. Mortality data were neither then nor now adequate to answer this question definitively, but the discussion has continued among African demographers. Fragmentary information indicates that the decline of mortality from age 1 to age 4 is not as fast in Africa as observed elsewhere in the world, although after age 5 it accelerates until about 10 years of age. Then, as is usual, African mortality starts a gradual rise which becomes more rapid by about age 50 to 55. Furthermore, some demographers have suggested that during the first year of life, African mortality decreases rapidly during the first few months as expected, but then rises again sometime between the sixth and tenth months.[3] This elevation of early childhood mortality rates in Africa and other tropical areas was apparently not characteristic of nontropical countries during their periods of early modernization.

The reason for the high vulnerability of young children in the tropics lies in part in a climate which is favorable to the multiplication of disease-causing organisms; frequent infection can then lead to malnutrition, which in turn makes a child more vulnerable to additional infection, and a downward spiral may be set off. Children are particularly vulnerable during the period of weaning, before new sources of food are well established, and it is the synergism between malnutrition and infection which is considered by most observers to be responsible for much of the high mortality among small children in the tropics.[4]

[1] For other detailed mortality data, see Adegbola (1977), Anker and Knowles (1977), Caldwell (1979), Cantrelle (1974), Gaisie (1979a and 1979b), Habtemariam (1979), Haupt and Kane (1978), Kandeh (1979), Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978), McGregor and Williams (1979), Mehary (1979), Mott (1982), Okonfo (1979), Olusanya (1979), Page (1974), Population Reference Bureau (1980), Rizgalla (1979), Tawiah (1979), UNECA (1980b), UNECOSOC (1982), U.S. Bureau of the Census (1977, 1978, 1981, and 1982), World Bank (1980c, 1981, 1982), and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982).

[2] See also Cantrelle (1974), Coale and Demeny (1966), and UNECOSOC (1967).

[3] For discussions of a distinctive African mortality pattern, see Adegbola (1977), Cantrelle (1974), Clairin (1968), Condé (1980), Page (1974), Preston (1976), and UNECA (1979b). For examples from individual countries, see Cantrelle (1974), Gaisie (1979b), Habtemariam (1979), Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978), McGregor and Williams (1979), Mott (1982), and UNECA (1980b). For reference to the early European pattern, see Cantrelle (1974).

[4] The literature on the synergism between malnutrition and infection and its role in pre-school mortality is large. See Jelliffe (1968), Newman (1979), Puffer and Serrano (1973), and Scrimshaw, Taylor, and Gordon (1959).

Sex Differences in Mortality. As in the rest of the world, African female mortality at nearly every age is lower than male; at birth an African baby girl can expect on the average to live 2 to 6 years longer than a boy can. The female mortality advantage differs by age; although the pattern of very high mortality among the under 5 year-olds mentioned in the previous section affects both girls and boys, for reasons which are not well understood, boys are particularly vulnerable during the first year of life. In many countries of Africa, a disproportionately large share of the female lifetime mortality advantage comes from a lower infant mortality rate.[5] But the situation is quite different when young adult mortality is considered. Although the data are far from reliable, a number of countries report mortality levels among women in the childbearing ages which exceed those of men in the same ages, a pattern which almost certainly reflects the increased risks asociated with reproduction.[6] Data on cause of death by sex and age are inadequate to test this hypothesis directly. Nevertheless, since the levels of mortality in the young adult ages are similar for men and women in Africa and the differentials are greater in other ages, it is likely that death related to pregnancy is the main contributor to the small mortality sex differential in the young adult ages.

Data Availability. As is the case with fertility, considerable effort has been spent to develop methods of assessing levels and trends in mortality. Nevertheless, mortality data are even more difficult to obtain with confidence. Investigators are not now agreed, for example, whether infant mortality in Africa is continuing to decline, or whether in the face of drought and world recession the decline has leveled off.[7] Mortality data come from national censuses and demographic surveys, supplemented by special studies of particular areas or population subgroups. Vital registration systems are as yet too incomplete to provide national estimates, although they may indicate the relative importance of the several causes of death in particular areas among those few deaths attended by medically trained personnel. Because the raw data are rarely adequate, they must be adjusted and measures must be derived using one or more of the estimating models.[8]

Estimates in the WID Data Base are derived from a variety of sources. Most are calculated from census data, but a substantial minority have been estimated using data from national demographic surveys.

In the case of the infant mortality rates, base data are often not precise enough to establish a point estimate, and so a range is used within which the true rate may reasonably fall. In some cases, this range is quite wide but still may be used to conclude at least that infant mortality is, for example, very high or moderately high in a particular country. As indicated in table 8.1, 30 of the 40 Sub-Saharan African countries under consideration have data on infant mortality, but for only 16 of these are the data available by sex. Futhermore, estimates for one-third of the countries (3 of the 16, for data by sex) relate to a time period prior to 1970. Data on the other mortality measures are available for fewer countries. Information on life expectancy at birth and at age 1 is available for only just over half of the countries, and fairly recent information for only 15; all of the data for these measures are disaggregated by sex. Statistics on child mortality (proportion dying before age 5) are available by sex for 17 countries overall, but for only 10 countries for any date since 1970. Given these constraints, the available statistics are analyzed below.

Country Data. In every country in the WID Data Base, the expectation of life at birth is greater for women than for men, usually by 2 to 6 years. The range in these data for women is from a low of 32 years in Upper Volta (1960-61) to 71 years in the Seychelles (1974-78). For men, the range is from 29 years in Chad (1964) to 65 years in the Seychelles. The median values are approximately 46 years for women and 42 years for men.

Estimates of expectation of life at birth and at age 1 are shown in table 8.2, together with the female/male ratio of these estimates. Life expectancy at birth is illustrated in figure. 8.1 for the countries with more recent data. Examination of thse data suggests the presence of regional differences in life expectancy at birth. Except for Ghana and Liberia, mortality levels are higher (and life expectancy lower) in Western and Central Africa than in the Eastern and Southern subregions. The female/male ratios of life expectancy indicate the relative advantage that women have over men in length of life; in only one country (partial data for Upper Volta, 1960-61) do men have a slight advantage over women. Overall, the female/male ratios show more variability within than among subregions, with life expectancies in most subregions ranging from near parity between the sexes (ratios near 1.00) to female values that are 10 percent or more above the male values (ratios of 1.10 or higher). In some other countries (notably Benin, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Malawi, and certain regions of Nigeria), where life expectancies of benchmark quality are not available, some data by sex and age suggest that mortality rates among women in the childbearing years are higher than those among men of the same ages (see Habtemariam, 1979; Mehary, 1979; and UNECA, 1979b).

Expectation of life at age 1 is also shown in table 8.2, together with the corresponding female/male ratios. The range for women is from 38 years, again in Upper Volta, to 73 years in the Seychelles, with a median of about 51 years. For men, the range is from 34 years in Chad to 66 years in the Seychelles, with a median of about 50 years. Sex differentials in mortality usually have narrowed by the time children reach their first birthday. As shown in table 8.3, in just over one-third of the countries with available data, the gap has narrowed by one-half year or more of life expectancy between birth and 1 year of age. In

[5] For discussions of male pre school vulnerability, see Gaisie (1979a), Mott (1982), Olusanya (1979), Page (1974), Tawiah (1979), and UNECA (1979b). Gaisie (1979a) suggests that 50 percent of the female advantage in expectation of life at birth in Ghana is due to lower female mortality among children under age 5.

[6] For discussions of female vulnerability, especially during the childbearing ages, see Gaisie (1979a), Habtemariam (1979), Ito (1979), McGregor and Williams (1979), Mehary (1979), Okonfor (1979), Olusanya (1979), Tawiah (1979), UNECA (1974a and 1979b), and WHO (1978b).

[7] For discussions of recent mortality trends in Africa, see Adegbola (1977), Gaisie (1979a and 1979b), Habtemariam (1979), Ohadike (1979), Olusanya (1979), and UNECA (1979b).

[8] For demographic concepts appropriate to the African context, see UNECA (1978b). For a review of the availability of mortality data for Africa, see Condé (1980) and Waltisperger (1978). For estimating methods, see Brass (1968), Brass, et al. (1975), Coale and Demeny (1966), Haupt and Kane (1978), and UNECOSOC (1967).

several other countries, however, the male gain was smaller, and in four countries there was no change at all. In four others, the female advantage actually increased.

The tendency towards a convergence in life expectancy values for the two sexes is consistent with the suggestion above that African women are experiencing relatively greater mortality than expected in the childbearing years. It is also consistent with the suggestion that parents may tend to favor their pre-school boys in seeking medical care for potentially fatal childhood illnesses, on the not unreasonable grounds that it is harder to hold the male children.[9]

Mortality during the first year of life is shown in table 8.4 for the 30 countries with information, and for 16 of them separately by sex. Figures 8.2 and 8.3 illustrate the infant mortality rates and female/male ratios of the rates for countries with available data for 1970 or later.

The number of deaths under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births for both sexes ranges from only 30 in the Seychelles (1975-80) and 33 in Mauritius (1980) to over 200 in The Gambia (1973), Mali (1960-61), Niger (1960), Upper Volta (1960-61), and Sierra Leone (1974). Among countries with data by sex, the infant mortality rate for girls is invariably lower than the rate for boys. The range for girls is from a low of 28 in the Seychelles to a high of 207 in Sierra Leone; for boys, the range is from 32 to 235 in the same countries. Overall, the level of infant mortality for girls is usually 80 to 90 percent of the level for boys.

Although there is considerable variation in the infant mortality rate within each subregion, the lower rates are more frequently found in the Eastern and Southern portions of the African continent. The female/male ratios, however, are fairly even and do not seem to show any geographic pattern.

In table 8.5, the proportions of children who die before their fifth birthday are presented separately by sex, together with the corresponding female/male ratios of these proportions; these are illustrated in figure 8.4 for countries with data in the 1970's. For girls, the proportions range from 5 percent in the Seychelles (1971-75) to 36 percent in Upper Volta (1960-61). For boys, the range is also from 5 to 36 percent, with the higher figure representing The Gambia and Sierra Leone as well as Upper Volta. Inasmuch as the sex differentials in mortality have narrowed considerably by age 1, the relative differences between the two sexes shown in table 8.5 reflect in large measure those associated with infant mortality. In any event, the differences are slight except in a few cases, notably Botswana, Kenya, and Sudan among the countries with relatively recent data.

On balance, the use of mortality differentials as indicators of the status of women is hampered by the absence of adequate data by sex, age, and cause of death. There are hints, from the relatively small sex differentials in expectation of life at age 1 in the WID Data Base and from special studies, that in some countries the normal female advantage in mortality does not apply, perhaps due to differential child care practices, but more likely by higher female mortality during the childbearing years. Improvement in the situation of women would tend to shift sex differentials in mortality toward those which are characteristic of low mortality populations.

Impact of Female Status on Health and Mortality

The data show that the very high mortality of pre-school age children is primarily responsible for the low expectation of life characteristic of the region. It follows that mortality in Africa will not be reduced significantly until the mortality of the population under age 5 is brought under control. And because of the critical role of malnutrition and infection, much of which is preventable or readily treatable at home or in the community,[10] the control of infant and child mortality will depend in large measure on whether Africa's women have access to the knowledge and resources they need to provide their children with adequate care and nutrition. However, for women to be successful in reducing the mortality of their pre-school age children under situations currently prevailing in Africa, a number of difficult conditions must be met: "They must know what constitutes adequate child nutrition, what must be done to provide a safe and sanitary home environment, what kinds of treatments are appropriate for a given set of disease symptoms, and when and where to go for medical help. They must have access to resources in cash or kind: for food, water, fuel; for soap, disinfectant; for insecticides, netting, storage containers; for latrines; for home remedies, drugs; for health services, fees, transport, etc. They must have sufficient time available in their daily routine, and/or adequate assistance for proper child care. They must have the motivation and the power to carry through a program of good child care, i.e., the community and family (including husband, mother-in-law, co-wives, other relatives) must provide a supportive social environment for adequate child care; and finally, essential supplies and appropriate health services must be both availabe and accessible to women" (Newman, 1979). For all of this to happen, the level of women's education will have to be improved.

Changes in the situation of women during the process of modernization will have a profound impact upon women's ability to improve their life chances and those of their children. Some of these changes may have negative effects. The World Health Organization (1978b) has identified a number of specific areas for concern, including the increased use of abortion and its contribution to high maternal mortality, increased stress and fatigue as supportive family structures weaken and women carry more responsibiliy alone, isolation of migrant women in alien environments, exposure to occupational hazards as women move into new working roles, inadequate arrangements for child care for those in modern sector employment, and all the problems associated with the relative poverty of households headed by women.

But on the positive side, increased access to education may be the single most important change in the situation of women which improves the life chances of their children. Studies across

[9]Based on the author's personal observation at the Family Health Project, Institute of Child Health, Lagos University, Lagos, Nigeria.

[10]For discussions of a strategy for providing primary health care in developing countries and the importance of home and community in prevention and treatment, see Evans, Hall, and Warford (1981); Jelliffe (1968); Kielmann and McCord (1977); Newman (1979); Walsh and Warren (1979), and WHO (1978a).

the continent document the consistent association between a mother's literacy or educational attainment and improved child survival.[11] A woman's education has an effect on mortality even when her husband's education and/or occupation are statistically controlled. Specifically what it is about women's literacy and education which leads to a reduction in the mortality of their children is not clear. Education provides specific information and a socialization to new attitudes and ways of seeing. It may also increase a woman's status and self confidence in relation to her husband and relatives, and thus empower her to act on what she has learned. It may improve her income-generating capacity. It may be that all of these, and others, are important aspects of the education-mortality relationship. But whatever it is about education and literacy which influences a woman's success in raising her children, the association is clear.

This association is also found in the WID Data Base. In simple correlational analyses between the mortality measures of tables 8.2 to 8.5 and the indicators of women's status presented in chapters 4 to 6, that is, adult literacy, percent of women ages 15 to 19 years enrolled in school, female labor force participation rates, and proportion of women employed in agriculture, only female literacy and education were shown to have a consistent, significant, and strong negative association with mortality. Moreover, female literacy and education were positively associated with the female/male ratios of mortality; that is, the higher the proportion of literate and/or educated women, the more nearly their mortality advantage relative to men approached the standard set by the low mortality countries. Although expectation of life and literacy/education are both associated with increasing per capita GNP, the association between the two is stronger than that between either and the income variable. Moreover, when separate analyses are made on countries grouped by per capita GNP, the association with literacy remains significant at the 0.01 level among the 18 lowest income countries (1979 per capita GNP under $300 U.S.) and just fails to reach significance among the 10 with incomes of $300 or more. Per capita GNP, on the other hand, ceases to be significantly associated with either life expectancy or literacy/education within the two income groups. The implication of this is that women's education has an effect which is separate from that due to income.

[11]Many studies report that women's education and literacy are significant predictors of lower infant and child mortality. See Anker and Knowles (1977), Caldwell (1979), Gaisie (1979a and 1979b), Habtemariam (1979), Kandeh (1979), Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978), Mott (1982), Ohadike (1979), Okorifor (1979), Olusanya (1979), Puffer and Serrano (1973), Rizgalla (1979), Tawiah (1979), UNECA (1979b and 1980b), and World Fertility Survey (1981a, 1981b, 1981c, and 1982). All report rural/urban differentials. Some report other differentials less directly related to the status of women; for example, religion (mortality is lower among Christian women in Ghana) (Gaisie, 1979, and Tawiah, 1979); polygamy (in Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Ghana, mortality is higher in polygamous marriages) (Kandeh, 1979; Mott, 1982; and Tawiah, 1979); seasonality (mortality is higher in The Gambia when mothers are away in the fields from dawn to dusk) (McGregor and Williams, 1979).

Figure 8.1. Life Expectancy at Birth for Women and Men

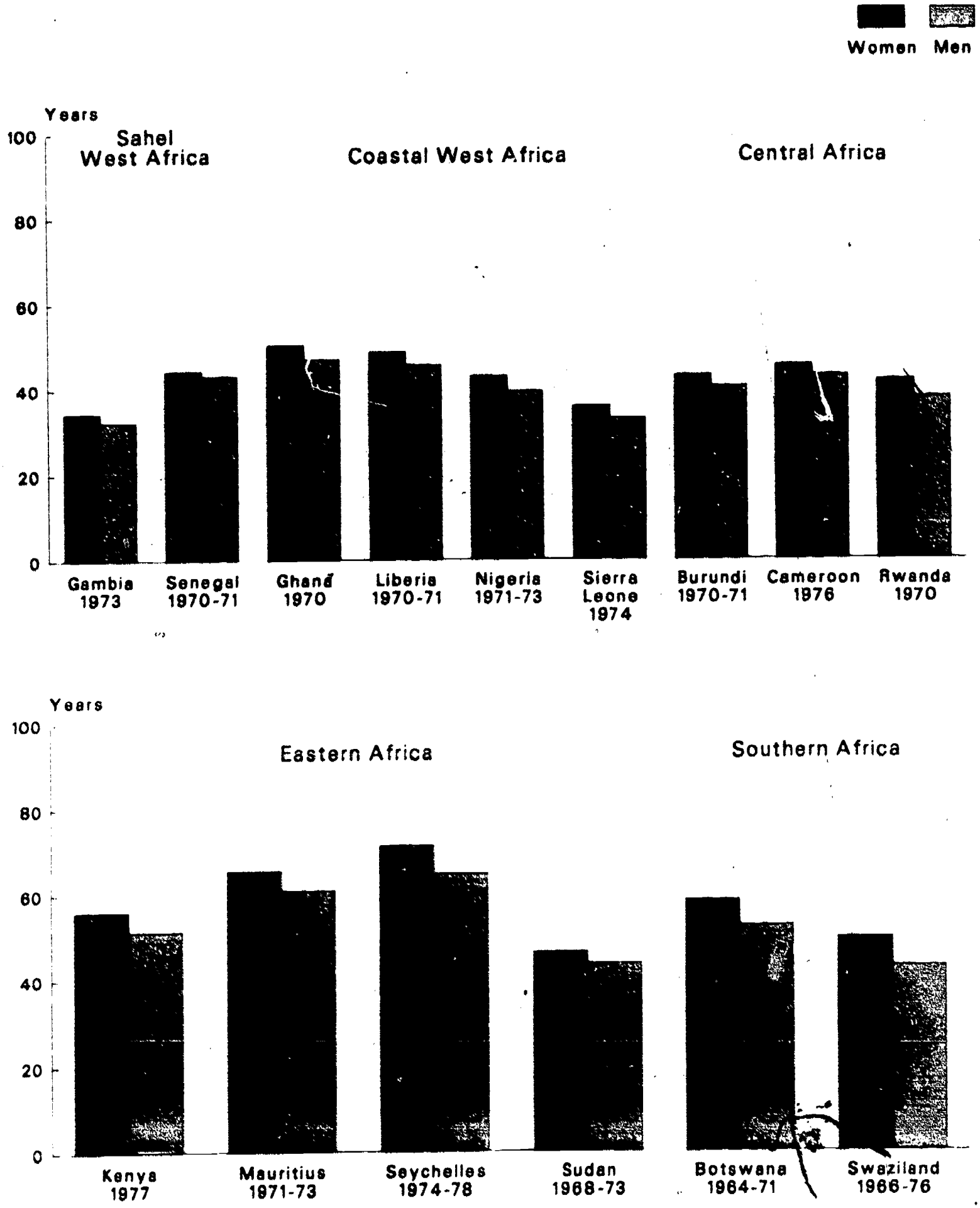
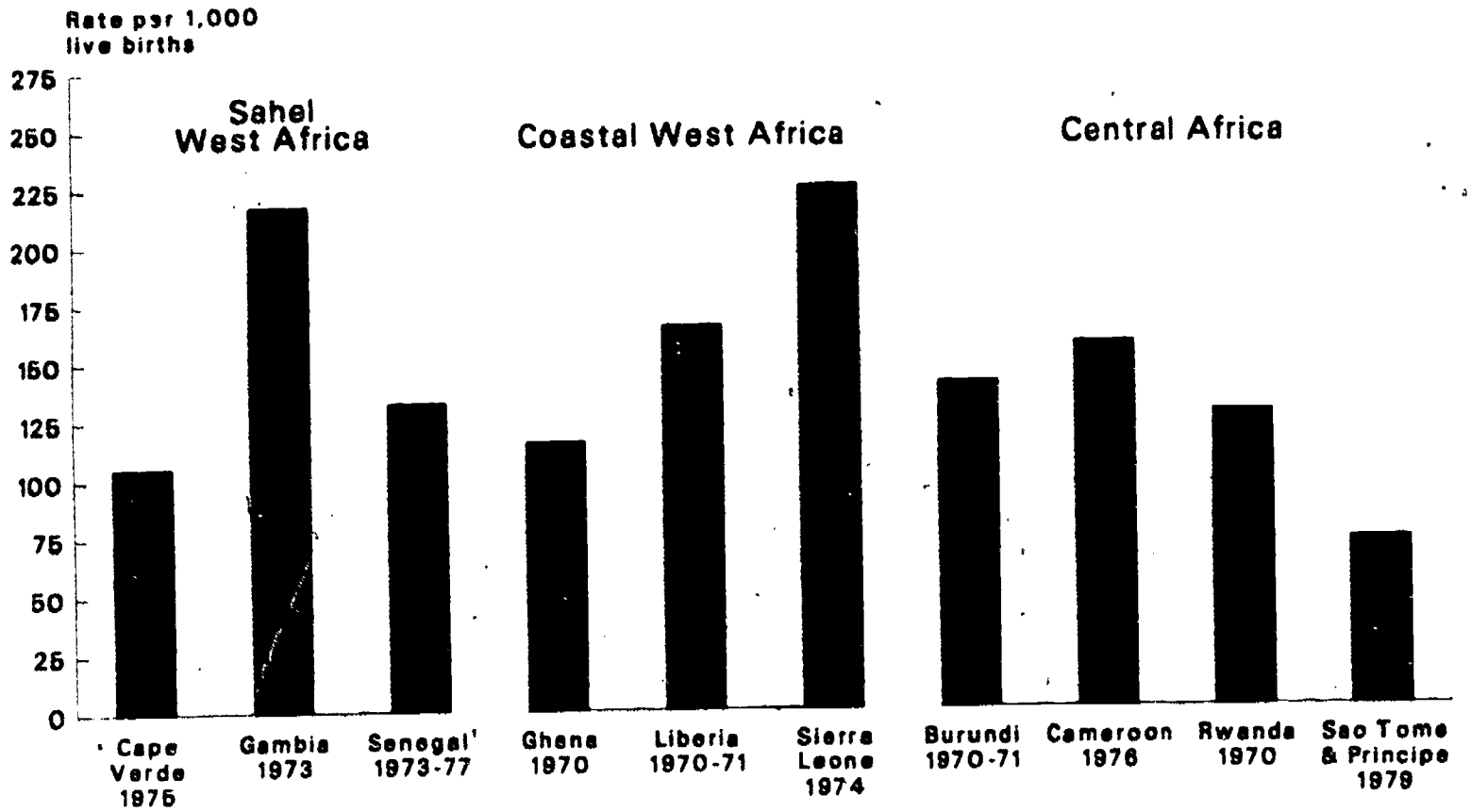
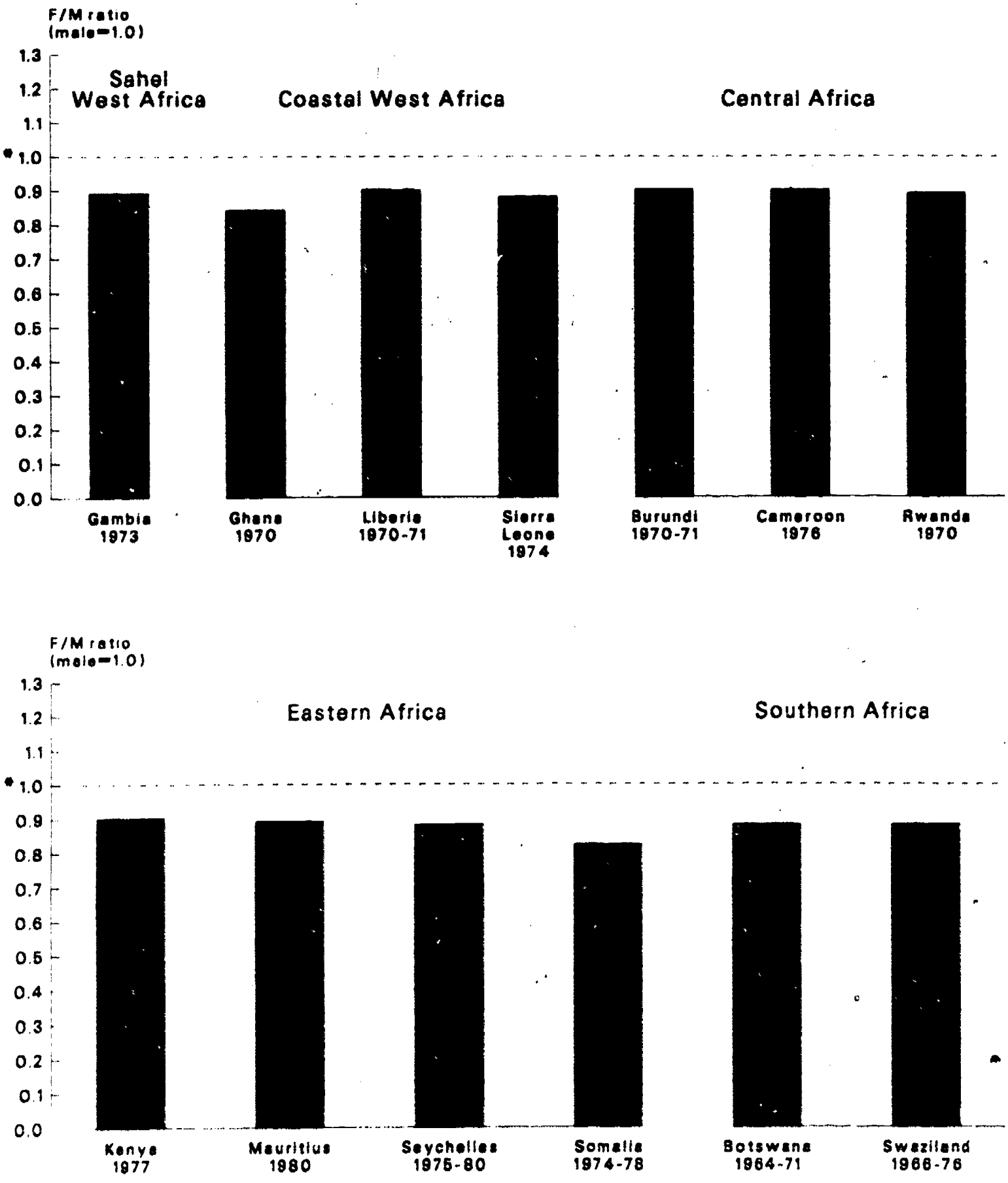


Figure 8.2. Infant Mortality Rates



' Data refer to the average of a range of estimates.

Figure 8.3. Female/Male Ratio of Infant Mortality Rates



* Female rate equals male rate.

Figure 8.4. Proportion of Children Dying Before Their Fifth Birthday, by Sex

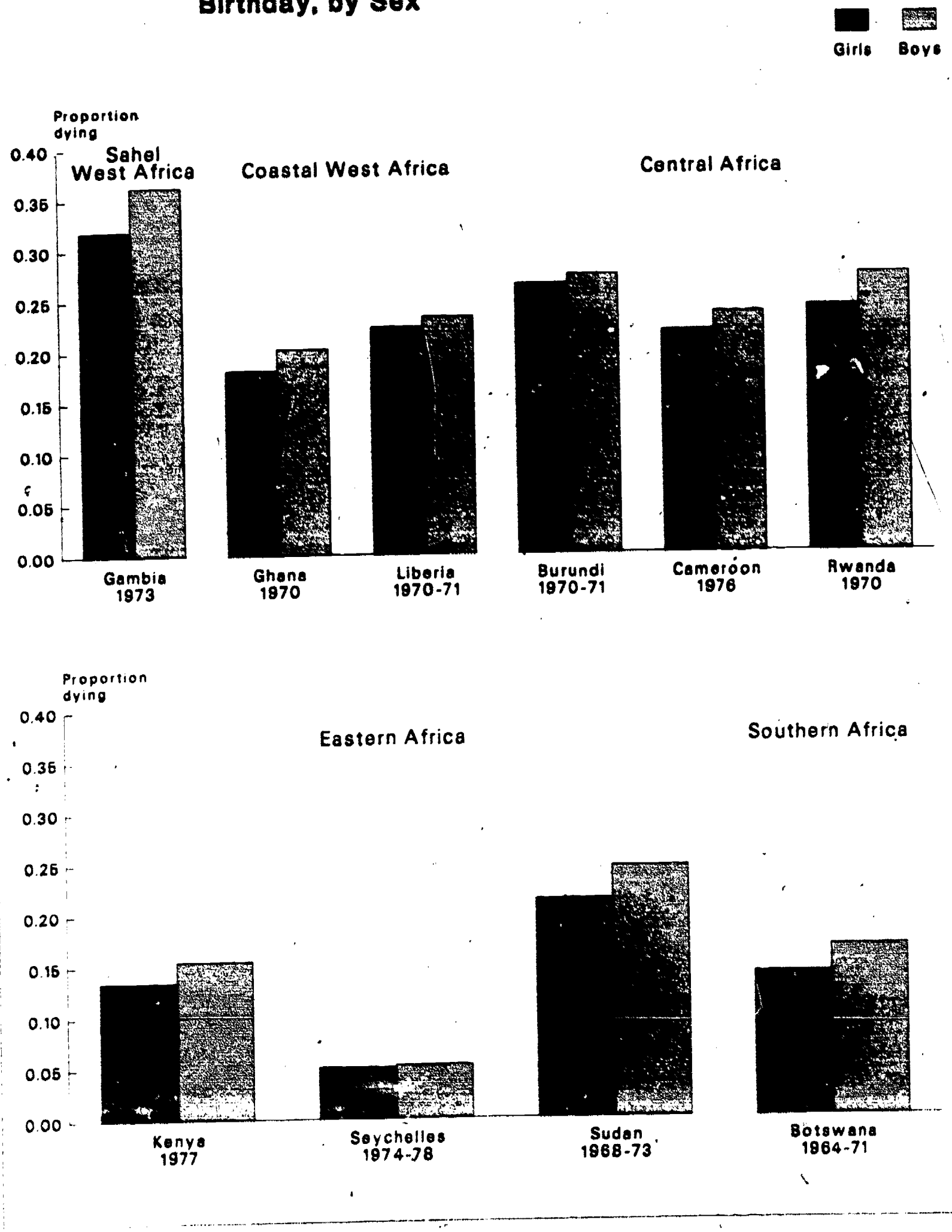


Table 8.1. Number of Countries With Data on Mortality, by Type of Mortality Measure and Recency of Data

Mortality measure	Total	Before 1970	1970 or later
Life expectancy at birth.....	23	8	15
Life expectancy at age 1 year.....	21	6	15
Infant mortality rate:			
Both sexes.....	30	10	20
By sex.....	16	3	13
Proportion dying before fifth birthday.....	17	7	10

Table 8.2. Life Expectancy at Birth and at Age 1 Year for Women and Men, and Female/Male Ratio of Life Expectancies

Region and country	Year	At birth			At age 1		
		Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)	Women	Men	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA							
Chad	1964	35.0	29.0	1.21	40.0	34.0	1.18
The Gambia	1973	34.3	32.2	1.07	42.0	40.8	1.03
Mali	1960-61	35.7	33.7	1.06	40.3	38.3	1.05
Mauritania[1]	1965	36.0	32.0	1.13	42.0	37.0	1.14
Niger[1]	1960	40.1	37.0	1.08	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970-71	44.2	43.0	1.03	49.2	48.1	1.02
Upper Volta[2]	1960-61	31.9	33.0	0.97	38.0	39.0	0.97
COASTAL WEST AFRICA							
Ghana	1970	50.2	46.9	1.07	55.1	52.5	1.05
Liberia	1970-71	48.6	45.6	1.07	56.5	54.1	1.04
Nigeria	1971-73	43.0	39.5	1.09	47.1	43.4	1.09
Sierra Leone	1974	35.9	33.0	1.09	44.2	42.1	1.05
Togo	1961	42.7	41.8	1.02	49.7	49.3	1.01
CENTRAL AFRICA							
Burundi	1970-71	43.1	40.5	1.06	48.6	46.3	1.05
Cameroon	1976	45.5	43.1	1.06	52.4	50.6	1.04
Rwanda	1970	42.0	38.0	1.11	46.0	42.0	1.10
EASTERN AFRICA							
Kenya	1977	55.8	51.2	1.09	59.4	55.0	1.08
Mauritius	1971-73	65.3	60.7	1.08	68.0	63.8	1.07
Seychelles	1974-78	71.1	64.6	1.10	72.6	66.0	1.10
Sudan	1968-73	46.2	43.5	1.06	51.9	50.3	1.03
Uganda	1969	46.9	45.8	1.02	51.8	51.5	1.01
SOUTHERN AFRICA							
Botswana	1964-71	58.3	52.3	1.11	63.1	57.3	1.10
Swaziland	1966-76	49.5	42.9	1.15	56.9	50.3	1.13
Zambia	1969	[3]46.5	[4]43.0	1.08	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1]Refers to rural areas only.
[2]Refers to rural and semi-urban areas only.
[3]Midpoint of an estimated range of 45.0 to 47.5 years.
[4]Midpoint of an estimated range of 41.8 to 44.3 years.

Table 8.3. Number of Years Women May Expect to Outlive Men at Birth and at Age 1 Year, and Male Gains in Life Expectancy Between Birth and Age 1 Year

Region and country	Year	Female/male difference at birth (years)	Female/male difference at 1 year (years)	Male gains between birth and 1 year
SAHEL WEST AFRICA				
Chad	1964	6.0	6.0	0.0
The Gambia	1973	2.1	1.2	0.9
Mali	1960-61	2.0	2.0	0.0
Mauritania[1]	1965	4.0	5.0	-1.0
Niger[1]	1960	3.1	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1970-71	1.2	1.1	0.1
Upper Volta[2]	1960-61	-1.1	-1.0	-0.1
COASTAL WEST AFRICA				
Ghana	1970	3.3	2.6	0.7
Liberia	1970-71	3.0	2.4	0.6
Nigeria	1971-73	3.5	3.7	-0.2
Sierra Leone	1974	2.9	2.1	0.8
Togo	1961	0.9	0.4	0.5
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	1970-71	2.6	2.3	0.3
Cameroon	1976	2.4	1.8	0.6
Rwanda	1970	4.0	4.0	0.0
EASTERN AFRICA				
Kenya	1969	4.3	4.0	0.3
Mauritius	1971-73	4.6	4.2	0.4
Seychelles	1974-78	6.5	6.6	-0.1
Sudan	1968-73	2.7	1.6	1.1
Uganda	1969	1.1	0.3	0.8
SOUTHERN AFRICA				
Botswana	1964-71	6.0	5.8	0.2
Swaziland	1966-67	6.6	6.6	0.0
Zambia	1969	3.5	(NA)	(NA)

Note: The concept of male gains refers to the narrowing of the gap between female and male life expectancy between birth and 1 year of age.

[1]Refers to rural areas only.
[2]Refers to rural and semi-urban areas only.

Table 8.4. Infant Mortality Rates, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Infant Mortality Rates

Region and country	Year	Total	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA					
Cape Verde	1975	105	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Chad	1963-64	160	144	175	0.82
The Gambia	1973	217	204	230	0.89
Mali	1960-61	210	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mauritania[1]	1965	186	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Niger[1]	1960	212	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Senegal	1973-77	117-146	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Upper Volta[2]	1960-61	263	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
COASTAL WEST AFRICA					
Ghana	1970	115	107	127	0.84
Liberia	1970-71	165	156	174	0.90
Nigeria[1]	1965-66	178	172	184	0.93
Sierra Leone	1974	225	207	235	0.88
Togo	1966	142-154	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
CENTRAL AFRICA					
Burundi	1970-71	140	132	147	0.90
Cameroon	1976	157	148	165	0.90
Rwanda	1970	127	120	135	0.89
Sao Tome and Principe	1979	72	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Zaire	1955-57	165-177	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
EASTERN AFRICA					
Ethiopia	1964-71	155-200	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Kenya	1977	83	78	87	0.90
Mauritius	1980	33	31	35	0.89
Seychelles[3]	1975-80	30	28	32	0.88
Somalia[4]	1974-78	163	144	176	0.82
Sudan	1968-73	140-144	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Tanzania	1973	120-130	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Uganda	1969	120	111	129	0.86
SOUTHERN AFRICA					
Botswana	1964-71	97	91	103	0.88
Lesotho	1971	114	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Swaziland	1966-76	156	146	165	0.88
Zambia	1969	127-160	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

[1]Refers to rural areas only.
[2]Refers to rural and semi-urban areas only.
[3]Represents averages of yearly rates from 1975 through 1980.
[4]Refers only to the settled population in the Benadir, Bay, and Lower Shebelle areas.

Table 8.5. Percent of Children Dying Before Their Fifth Birthday, by Sex, and Female/Male Ratio of Percent Dying

Region and country	Year	Female	Male	F/M ratio (male=1.00)
SAHEL WEST AFRICA				
Chad	1964	23.1	27.6	0.84
The Gambia	1973	31.8	36.2	0.88
Mali	1960-61	29.8	29.8	1.00
Mauritania[1]	1965	28.9	28.9	1.00
Upper Volta[2]	1960-61	35.8	36.2	0.99
COASTAL WEST AFRICA				
Ghana	1970	18.1	20.2	0.90
Liberia	1970-71	22.3	23.3	0.96
Sierra Leone	1966	32.5	36.3	0.90
Togo	1961	28.4	28.7	0.99
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	1970-71	26.5	27.4	0.97
Cameroon	1976	21.8	23.6	0.92
Rwanda	1970	24.2	27.4	0.88
EASTERN AFRICA				
Kenya	1977	13.3	15.4	0.86
Seychelles	1971-75	4.9	5.2	0.94
Sudan	1968-73	21.2	24.5	0.86
Uganda	1969	19.1	21.2	0.90
SOUTHERN AFRICA				
Botswana	1964-71	13.9	16.6	0.84

[1]Refers to rural areas only.
[2]Refers to rural and semi-urban areas only.

Chapter 9

Conclusions: National Level Data and the Situation of Women

Planning for the full participation of women in development must address women's need for education and training, for income and productive work, for housing and satisfactory living arrangements, and for health and nutrition. Programs to develop a healthy, skilled, and productive female population will also need to be targeted to specific population subgroups of women, such as rural women, urban female household heads, and women in particular age groups or in particular ethnic, linguistic, religious, or socioeconomic groups. National level data, by showing where people live, what work they do, what skills or education they have, and how well their children survive, describe the status of women and their situation relative to men at a given time, thus providing information for current planning and a baseline for the measurement of change.

The Sub-Saharan Africa region is statistically as well as economically disadvantaged, and for many of the same reasons. Nevertheless, since the 1960's, most countries have invested a considerable share of their statistical resources in one or more national censuses and/or surveys, and have established a permanent statistical infrastructure to carry out a continuing program of data collection at more or less regular intervals. With all of their limitations, these national level data sets are the best available and the most comprehensive. As this handbook has demonstrated, careful analysis of data from these sources can yield a surprising amount of information about a country's women and their situation, both absolutely and in relation to their male compatriots.

Because the coverage of national censuses or surveys of population and housing is nearly universal and the data obtained on the social and economic characteristics of the population are comprehensive, during the 3 to 4 years following the period in which they were gathered these data offer four major advantages to the planner and decisionmaker concerned with the integration of women into the development process. First, they afford a periodic snapshot of the situation of women with respect to the indicators discussed in the preceding chapters: education and training; employment and occupation; urbanization and migration; housing and living arrangements; and marital status, fertility, and mortality. Levels and patterns of these indicators among women signal to the planner the need for special attention to a particular sector, and where female/male ratios are a routine part of the analysis, point out those sectors in which women are facing particular problems or are at a particular disadvantage.

Second, national level data permit a greater level of disaggregation by geographic area and/or ethnic or other socioeconomic or cultural characteristics, which makes it possible to identify for further analysis population subgroups with special problems. For example, women urban migrants may be of particular concern to the decisionmaker; although data bearing directly on migration may not be included in the census, census data would generally permit one to identify for further analysis those urban women whose current residence differs from their place of birth. Such disaggregation allows a more focused program planning, and may also identify subgroups or subjects about which more detailed studies may be needed.

Third, when such data are gathered, analyzed, and published with reasonable promptness, regularity, and consistency, they permit the planner to distinguish between persistent and newly arising problem areas and to chart the nation's progress, or lack thereof, in improving access to its resources for the female half of the population. Finally, because most countries follow international guidelines for census definitions, concepts, and data collection methods, the data themselves may be internationally comparable to some extent, affording the planner and decisionmaker insight into the situation of the nation's women relative to women in other countries at a similar level of economic development.

Many indicators have been suggested, some requiring new data, or new definitions and concepts, but a number of useful

indicators of women's situation can be developed by disaggregating data currently being collected. Disaggregation by sex, age, and rural/urban residence is fundamental to better planning for women's participation and for the measurement of long term trends in accomplishment. Among the indicators proposed by Powers (1983), one might cite the following:

For literacy and education:

1. Illiteracy rates for men and women and a ratio of female to male literacy, by rural/urban residence.

2. The percent of youth ages 15 to 19 years enrolled in school, by sex, and a female to male enrollment ratio, by rural/urban residence.

3. Median years of school completed among the adult population, by sex, age, and rural/urban residence.

For economic activity:

1. Labor force participation rates, by sex and age, and a ratio of female to male participation, by rural/urban residence.

2. Unpaid family workers as a proportion of all persons in the labor force, by sex, and a ratio of female to male proportions.

3. Unemployment, by sex and age, and where possible, by rural/urban residence.

4. Unemployment rates for the paid labor force, by sex.

5. The proportion of economically active women in professional and managerial positions relative to that of men.

For urbanization and migration:

1. The proportion of women and men residing in urban areas.

2. The concentration of age groups in urban areas, by sex.

3. The proportion of women and men currently residing in a location other than their birthplace, cross classified by the urban and rural nature of the two locations.

For living arrangements, households, and families:

1. Heads of households, by age and sex.

2. Households consisting of women ages 15 to 49 years, children under 15 years, and no adult male.

3. Median age at first marriage, by sex.

4. Proportion single at ages 20 to 24 and 45 to 49 years, by sex.

5. Number of children ever born to women ages 15 to 49 years.

6. Ratio of children under age 5 to women ages 15 to 44 years, for all women and by employment status.

Others could be suggested, but these are illustrative of the kinds of indicators available to national planners and decision-makers from existing national level statistical series, were the data appropriately disaggregated. They reflect the status of women and their situation relative to men at a given period of time, and are useful both for program and policy development and for tracking the long term success of those policies.

There are, however, a number of problems with the use of national level data as a planning tool to monitor changes in the status of women and to help ensure their full integration in the development process. The first problem arises from the need for time-series data in order to track changes in the situation of women. Most African countries have taken only one or two national censuses or surveys, but the problem of mere numbers should correct itself in time as the countries proceed with plans for periodic data collection activities.

More critical is the question of comparability among the data sets, both within a single country and among countries in the region. Comparability has a number of dimensions: data collection procedures, concepts and definitions, subjects covered, eligibility of respondents, wording of the questions and the order in which they are asked, amount of probing allowed or encouraged, training of enumerators, data processing procedures, preparation of tabulations (variables, cross tabulations, levels of geographic disaggregation, population subgroups, and so forth), and reports made available to the public.

The growing literature on indicators of the status of women has identified a number of conceptual and operational problems in existing data series, particularly in the identification of economic activity in developing countries and the delineation of family and household. Countries often differ in the operational definition of an urban place or change the definition from one census or survey to the next. There is a great deal of age misreporting and undercounting, particularly of young females. Data collection methods, too, often are not comparable on one or more of the dimensions discussed above. One of the important suggestions for change to emerge from this literature is the enlargement of the concept of economic activity to include part-time and multiple income-generating activities. If such a definition is to find its way into national labor surveys, however, a concise operational definition will need to be formulated and tested extensively.

As pressure builds for more adequate treatment of data describing women's situation, and for changes in concepts, operational definitions, data collection procedures, and tabulation programs, additional concerns for comparability as well as for costs arise. Clearly the monitoring of change requires a certain level of comparability among data collected at different

times, yet if they are to be useful, data also must be relevant to current policy decisions, and the freezing of concepts and methods is neither possible nor desirable. Since a trade-off between stability and change is inevitable, observers concerned with monitoring the situation of women as development proceeds have the responsibility of identifying what is essential in both and of making that case in a convincing fashion.

A second problem arises from the need for data on population subgroups in order to monitor changes in the status of women. At a minimum, data on education, economic activity (including employment, occupation, and industry), household income, household composition, and household heads must be available separately by sex, along with the data on marital status, fertility, and mortality that are already available. At a second level of disaggregation, as many of these variables as feasible need to tabulated by rural/urban residence if differences between the traditional and modern sectors in the situtation of women are to be followed over time. At a third level of disaggregation, cross tabulations using three or more of the relevant variables would be desirable. Such tabulations as employment by age, marital status, and/or household headship for rural and urban areas, for example, would be invaluable in monitoring the level of women's participation in modern sector employment under social change and in planning for potential social and economic consequences. The appropriate data are normally collected in national censuses and surveys, but very little is made available by sex or for some of the other important population subgroups. But more tabulations and more categories in cross tabulation, even of existing data, are costly; their utility must be demonstrated, usually by those who are most directly concerned with the outcome. It may well be that for many of the desirable detailed investigations of population subgroups, reliance on special studies and smaller scale surveys is more appropriate than asking for extensive cross tabulation of national data.

A third problem is inherent in the concept of a periodic national census itself. A census or national survey is a snapshot of the entire country at some moment in time. It is a major undertaking involving a considerable investment of resources, and as such cannot be carried out except at fairly long intervals. The resulting volume of data is large, and a long delay between data collection and publication is normal. As a consequence, where conditions are changing, such data cannot be expected to provide feedback rapidly enough for responsive policy and program development. National level data provide baseline information, track the longer term trends in the situation of women, and assist in long-term planning. But except in the first few years after its population, a national census or survey cannot serve as an efficient monitoring tool. Again, special-purpose smaller scale studies and surveys are needed in addition to a census to complete the monitoring function.

The consequences of failure to enlist women's full potential in the tasks of development are serious. As the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa has written:

> We have noted six possible effects of allowing the present situations to be perpetuated: economic productivity is depressed, part of the coming generation is neglected, one-half of the labor force may be driven out of economic production, opportunities for development are missed, the rural-urban balance is exacerbated, and the social goals of development may be retarded (UNECA, 1975).

Adequate information on the situation of women is a critical step in the development of realistic national policies, plans, and programs for women's participation in social and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. But the availability of information can merely facilitate such participation. Only the concern, commitment, and demands of the women and men of Africa themselves can ensure that women will be able to make their full contribution to a better life for all the people of the region.

Appendix A

References

Adegbola, O. 1977. "New Estimates of Fertility and Child Mortality in Africa South of the Sahara." *Population Studies* 31 (3): 467-486.

Anker, Richard. 1981. *Research on Women's Role and Demographic Change: Survey Questions for Households, Women, Men, and Communities with Background Explanations.* ILO. Geneva.

Anker, Richard, Mayra Buvinić, and Nadia Youssef, eds. 1982. *Women's Roles and* Population Trends in the Third World. Croom Helm. London.

Anker, Richard, and J.C. Knowles. 1977. *An Empirical Analysis of Mortality Differentials in Kenya at the Micro and Macro Levels.* Population and Employment Working Paper No. 60. ILO. Geneva.

1978. "A Micro Analysis of Female Labor Force Participation in Africa." In G. Standing and G. Sheehan, eds., *Labor Force Participation in Low Income Countries.* ILO. Geneva.

Azefor, M. 1982. *Family-Household Statistics and Change in Zambia.* Paper prepared for Feedback Seminar on Joint ECA/Government of Zambia Survey on Interrelationships Among Infant and Childhood Mortality, Socio Economic Factors and Fertility, April, Kabwe. ECA/PD/WP/1982/2.

Baum, Samuel, et al. 1974. *World Fertility Survey Inventory, Africa 1960-73.* Occasional Paper No. 4, World Fertility Survey. London.

Benería, Lourdes. 1981. "Conceptualizing the Labor Force: The Underestimation of Women's Economic Activities." In Nici Nelson, ed., *African Women in the Development Process.* Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Birdsall, Nancy. 1980. "Measuring Time Use and Non-Market Exchange." In William Paul McGreevey, ed., *Third World Poverty.* Lexington Books. Lexington, Mass.

Bongaarts, J. 1979. *The Fertility Impact of Traditional and Changing Child Spacing Practices in Tropical Africa.* Center for Policy Studies, The Population Council, Working Paper No. 42. New York.

Boserup, Ester. 1970. *Woman's Role in Economic Development.* St. Martin's Press. New York.

1975. "Employment of Women in Developing Countries." In Leon Tabah, ed., *Population Growth and Economic Development in the Third World.* Ordina. New York.

Boulding, Elise. 1983. "Measures of Women's Work in the Third World: Problems and Suggestions." In Mayra Buvinić, et al., eds., *Women and Poverty in the Third World.* The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Bovill, E.W. 1968. *The Golden Trade of the Moors.* Second edition, revised with additional material by Robin Hallett. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Brass, William. 1975. *Methods for Estimating Fertility and Mortality from Limited and Defective Data*. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill.

_____, et al. 1968. *The Demography of Tropical Africa*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

Braun, Armelle. 1978. "Escaping the Passive Past." *Ceres* 11 (4): 40-44.

Bryson, Judy C. 1981. "Women and Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Development." In Nici Nelson, ed., *African Women in the Development Process*. Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Buvinić, Mayra, and Ilsa Schumacher, eds. 1981. *Women and Development: Indicators of Their Changing Role*. UNESCO, Socio Economic Studies No. 3. Paris.

Buvinić, Mayra, and Nadia H. Youssef, with Barbara Von Elm. 1978. *Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning*. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

Buvinić, Mayra, and Nadia Youssef, eds. 1980. *Priorities in the Design of Development Programs: Women's Issues*. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

Buvinić, Mayra, et al. 1979. *Women and Poverty in the Third World*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Caldwell, John C. 1969. *African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns*. C. Hurst and Co. London.

_____. 1974a. *Population Growth and Socio-Economic Changes in West Africa*. Columbia University Press. New York.

_____. 1974b. *The Study of Fertility and Fertility Change in Tropical Africa*. Occasional Paper No. 7, World Fertility Survey. London.

_____. 1979. *Education as a Factor in Mortality Decline: An Examination of Nigerian Data*. Paper presented at the WHO Meeting on the Socio-Economic Determinants and Consequences of Mortality, June, Mexico City. DSI/SE/WP/79.3 Rev. 1.

_____, and C. Okonjo, eds. 1968. *The Population of Tropical Africa*. Longmans. London.

Cantrelle, Pierre. 1974. "Is There a Standard Pattern of Tropical Mortality?" In P. Cantrelle, et al., eds. *Population in African Development*. 2 vols. Ordina. Liège.

_____, et al., eds. 1974. *Population in African Development*. 2 vols. Ordina. Liège.

Caplan, Pat. 1981. "Development Policies in Tanzania - Some Implications for Women." In Nici Nelson, ed., *African Women in the Development Process*. Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Carter, Gwendolen M., and Patrick O'Meara, eds. 1977. *Southern Africa in Crisis*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

Caughman, Susan. 1980. *Women at Work in Mali: The Case of the Markala Cooperative*. Prepared for the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of Mali. Bamako, Mali.

Clairin, Remy. 1968. "The Assessment of Infant and Child Mortality from Data Available in Africa." In J.C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, eds. *The Population of Tropical Africa*. Longmans. London.

Clignet, Remi. 1970. *Many Wives, Many Powers: Authority and Power in Polygamous Families*. Northwestern University Press. Evanston.

_____. 1974. *Liberty and Equality in the Educational Process*. John Wiley Sons. New York.

Coale, A.J., and P. Demeny. 1966. *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

Coale, A.J., and J. Trussell. 1974. "Model Fertility Schedules: Variations in the Structure of Childbearing in Human Populations." *Population Index* 40: 185-258 (Erratum, *Population Index* 42: 572).

Cochrane, Sally Hill. 1979. *Fertility and Education. What Do We Really Know?* World Bank Staff Occassional Paper No. 26. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Condé, Julien. 1980. *Mortality Research in Africa.* Paper prepared for the Expert Group Meeting on Mortality Research in Africa, Ile Ife, Nigeria. The Population Council. Unpublished.

Coombs, Philip H., with Manzoor Ahmed. 1974. *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-Formal Education Can Help.* The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Dadson, J.A. 1981. "Women and Farm Credit in Ghanaian Agriculture. A Preliminary Exploration." Paper presented at the workshop on Women's Contribution to Food Production and Rural Development in Africa, June. Lomé.

Davidson, Basil. 1959. *The Lost Cities of Africa.* Houghton Mifflin. Boston.

Dey, Jennie. 1981 "Gambian Women: Unequal Partners in Rice Development Projects?" In Nici Nelson, ed., *African Women in the Development Process.* Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Dixon, Ruth. 1982. "Women in Agriculture: Counting the Labor Force in Developing Countries." *Population and Development Review* 8 (3): 539 566.

DUALabs. 1980. *Census Data on Women: An Analysis of Data Needs, Availability and Use.* Prepared for the Office of Population, USAID. Washington.

1981. *Framework for Preparing Census Reports on Women's Status and Roles in National Development.* Prepared for the Office of Population, USAID. Washington.

Ekechi, Felixe. 1976. "African Polygamy and Western Christian Ethnocentrism." *Journal of African Studies* 3 (3): 329-349.

Elias, Misrak. 1981. *Training for Development Planning and Women: An African Perspective.* Annual Report and Report of the First Training Programme, 16 September 1980 - 15 September 1981. Eastern and Southern Management Institute. Arusha, Tanzania.

Evans, J R., K L Hall, and J. Warford. 1981. "Health Care in the Developing World: Problems of Scarcity and Choice." *New England Journal of Medicine* 305 (19): 1117-1127.

Gaisie, S.N. 1979a *Mortality, Socio-Economic Differentials and Modernization in Africa.* Paper prepared for the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/251.

. 1979b. *Some Aspects of Socio Economic Determinants of Mortality in Tropical Africa.* Paper prepared for presentation at the WHO Meeting on Socio-Economic Determinants and Consequences of Mortality, Mexico City. DSI/SE/SP/79.13.

Gay, Judith S. 1982. *Women and Development in Lesotho.* Paper prepared under contract with U.S.A.I.D. Maseru, Lesotho.

Gordon, Elizabeth. 1981. "An Analysis of the Impact of Labour Migration on the Lives of Women in Lesotho." In Nici Nelson, ed., *African Women in the Development Process.* Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Grundy, Kenneth W. 1973. *Confrontation and Accommodation in Southern Africa: The Limits of Independence.* University of California Press. Berkeley.

Habtemariam, Tesfaghiorghis. 1979. *Estimates of Mortality Levels, Differentials and Patterns in Ethiopia.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/216.

Hafkin, Nancy, and Edna G. Bay, eds. 1976. *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change.* Stanford University Press. Stanford.

Hance, William A. 1971. *Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa.* Columbia University Press. New York.

1975. *The Geography of Africa.* Second edition, revised. Columbia University Press. New York.

Hanger, Jane, and Jon Morris. 1973. "Women and the Household Economy." In R. Chambers and J. Morris, eds., *Mwea: An Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya*. Afrika-Studien No. 83. Weltforum Verlag. Munich.

Haupt Arthur, and Thomas T. Kane. 1978. *Population Handbook*. Population Reference Bureau. Washington, D.C.

Hull, Richard W. 1976. *African Cities and Towns Before the European Conquest*. W.W. Norton and Co. New York.

International Labour Office. 1972. *Employment Income and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya*. ILO. Geneva.

. 1981. *Employment Problems of Rural Women in Kenya*. ILO/JASPA/ECA. Nairobi.

. 1982. *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*. Geneva.

Iro, M I 1979 *Sex Differences in Mortality in Rural Nigeria and Their Implications for Health Care in the Eighties*. Paper presented at a workshop on Population and Development. University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Jamison, Ellen, and Samuel Baum. 1982. "Female Labor Force Participation and the Status of Women in Developing Countries." Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Demographic Group, October, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Jelliffe, D.B. 1968. *Infant Nutrition in the Subtropics and the Tropics*. WHO. Geneva.

Kandeh H.B.S. 1979 *Infant and Childhood Mortality Differentials in Sierra Leone*. Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/225.

Kebede, Hanna. 1975. "The Role of Women in the Agricultural Sector." Paper presented at a seminar held by the Ministry of Land Reform, January. Chilalo Agricultural Unit, Ministry of Land Reform, Government of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa.

Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics. 1978. *Women in Kenya*. Nairobi.

Kerven C 1979 *Urban and Rural Female Headed Households' Dependence on Agriculture*. National Migration Study. Botswana Central Statistical Office. Gaborone.

Kielmann, A A , and C. McCord. 1977. "Home Treatment of Childhood Diarrhea in Punjab Villages." *Journal of Tropical Pediatrics* 23 197 201.

Kindervatter, Suzanne. 1980. "Education for Out of-School Youth: Promoting the Participation of Women." In Mayra Buvinić and Nadia Youssef, eds., *Priorities in the Design of Development Programs: Women's Issues*. International Center for Research on Women Washington, D.C.

Kossoudji, S., and E. Mueller. 1981. *The Economic and Demographic Status of Female Headed Households in Rural Botswana*. Population Studies Center Research Report 81 10. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor.

Lele, Uma. 1975. *The Design of Development Lessons from Africa*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Lesthaeghe, Henri, and Jane Menken, eds. 1979. *Natural Fertility*. Ordina. Liège.

Little, Kenneth. 1973 *African Women in Towns. An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Mair, Lucy 1969. *African Marriage and Social Change*. Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Mars, Jacob van Luijsenburg, and Geert Criel 1982 *Distribution of Primary School Enrollments in East Africa*. World Bank Working Paper No 511 Washington, D C

McGreevey, William Paul, ed. 1980. *Third World Poverty* Lexington Books. Lexington, Mass.

McGregor I A and K Williams 1979. *Mortality in a Rural West African Village (Keneba) with Special Reference to Deaths Occurring in the First Five Years of Life*. Proceedings of the Conference on Medical Aspects of African Demography. Cambridge University.

McSweeney, Brenda G. 1979. "An Approach to Collecting and Examining Data of Rural Women's Time Use and Some Tentative Findings: The Case of Upper Volta." Working paper prepared for the session on Rural Women and the Sexual Division of Labor, March, The Population Council. New York.

Mehary, Tesfa Yesus. 1979. *Mortality and Causes of Death in Ethiopia.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/217.

Mosley, W.H., L.H. Werner, and S. Becker. 1982. *The Dynamics of Birth Spacing and Marital Fertility in Kenya.* Scientific Reports No. 30, World Fertility Survey. London.

Mott, Frank L. 1982. *Infant Mortality in Kenya. Evidence from the Kenya Fertility Survey.* Scientific Reports No. 32, World Fertility Survey. London.

Nelson, Nici, ed. 1981. *African Women in the Development Process.* Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. London.

Newman, Jeanne S. 1979. *Nutrition, Disease, and Mortality in Young Children.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/251.

. 1983. "Some Indicators of Women's Economic Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, August. Toronto.

Nortman, Dorothy L. 1982. *Population and Family Planning Programs: A Compendium of Data Through 1981.* 11th edition. The Population Council. New York.

Ohadike, P. 1979. *Correlational Variations in the Determinants of Death and Infant Mortality Rates in Africa.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/148.

Okediji, F.O., and A. Bahri. 1974. "A New Approach to Population Research in Africa: Ideologies, Facts and Policies." In P. Cantrelle, et al., eds., *Population in African Development.* 2 vols. Ordina. Liège.

Okonfo:, A.E. 1979. *Mortality Differentials in Nigeria.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/153.

Olusanya, P.O. 1979. *Evidence for the Variation and Decline of Mortality in Nigeria.* Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/152.

Oppong, Christine. 1983. *Female and Male in West Africa.* George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London.

Page, Hilary J. 1974. "Infant and Child Mortality." In P. Cantrelle, et al., eds., *Population in African Development.* 2 vols. Ordina. Liège.

, and R. Lesthaeghe, eds. 1981. *Child Spacing in Tropical Africa.* Academic Press. London.

Pala, Achola O. 1975. *A Preliminary Survey of the Avenues for and Constraints on Women in the Development Process in Kenya.* Unpublished

Palmer, Ingrid. 1979. *The Nerrow Case. Case Studies of the Impact of Large Scale Development Projects on Women: A Series for Planners.* International Programs, The Population Council, Working Paper No. 7. New York.

Paulme, Denise, ed. 1963. *Women of Tropical Africa.* University of California Press. Berkeley.

Phillips, A., and H.F. Morris, eds. 1971. *Marriage Laws in Africa and Asia.* Oxford University Press. London.

Population Council. 1979. *The Measurement of Women's Economic Participation: Report of a Study Group.* Beirut. The Population Council. Cairo

ulation Reference Bureau. 1980. *World's Women Data Sheet.* In collaboration with UNICEF. Washington, D.C.

Population Reports. 1979. *Age at Marriage and Fertility*, by Alice Henry and Phyllis T. Piotrow. Population Information Program, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Powers, Mary. 1983. *Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women: Technical Report*. Paper presented to the Expert Group on Improving Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women, Statistical Office of the United Nations, April. ESA/STAT/AC.17/2. New York.

Preston, S.H. 1976. *Mortality Patterns in Natural Populations*. Academic Press. New York.

Puffer, R., and C.V. Serrano. 1973. *Patterns of Mortality in Childhood*. Scientific Publication No. 262, Pan American Health Organization. Washington, D.C.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., and Daryll Forde, eds. 1967. *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. Oxford University Press. London.

Recchini de Lattes, Zulma, and Catalina Wainerman. 1982. *Female Workers Undercounted: The Case of Latin American and Caribbean Censuses*. Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, The Population Council, Working Paper No. 12. Mexico City.

Rizgalla, M.K. 1979. *Mortality Levels and Differentials in the Sudan*. Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Mortility Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E/CN.14/POP/INF/230.

Romaniuk, A. 1980. "Increase in Natural Fertility During the Early Stages of Modernization: Evidence from an African Case Study, Zaire." *Population Studies* 34: 193 310.

Safilios Rothschild, Constantina. 1983. *The State of Statistics on Women in Agriculture in the Third World*. ESA/STAT/AC.17/7. New York.

Scrimshaw, N.S., C.E. Taylor, and J.E. Gordon. 1959. "Interactions of Nutrition and Infection." *American Journal of Medical Science* 237 367 403.

Sebstad, Jennefer, Mayra Buvinic, and Ilsa Schumacher. 1980. "Credit for Rural Women: Some Facts and Lessons." In Mayra Buvinic and Nadia Youssef, eds., *Priorities in the Design of Development Programs: Women's Issues*. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

Setse, Theo. K. 1974. *Foundations of Nation Building: The Case of Achimota School*. Presbyterian Press. Accra.

Smith, Peter, Siew Ean Khoo, and James T. Fawcett. 1983. "The Migration of Women to Asian Cities: A Comparative Perspective." Paper prepared for the 1983 meetings of the Association for Asian Studies, March 25 27. San Francisco.

Smock, Audry C. 1981. *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcomes*. Praeger. New York.

Standing, G., and G. Sheehan, eds. 1978. *Labor Force Participation in Low Income Countries*. ILO. Geneva.

Staudt, Kathleen. 1976. "Women Farmers and Inequities in Agricultural Services." *Rural Africana* 29: 81-94.

Szalai, Alexander, ed. 1972. *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries*. Mouton. The Hague.

Tabah, Leon, ed. 1975. *Population Growth and Economic Development in the Third World*. Ordina. New York.

Tawiah, E.O. 1979. *Some Demographic and Social Differentials in Infant and Early Childhood Mortality in Ghana*. Paper presented at the Expert Meeting on Fertility and Mortality Levels, Patterns and Trends in Africa and Their Policy Implications, Monrovia, Liberia. E.CN.14.POP.INF.244.

Tommy, Joseph L. 1980. *The Role of Women in Paddy Production: A Comparative Study of Decision-Making Aspects of Women in Agricultural Production in Moyamba District, Sierra Leone*. Njala University College, University of Sierra Leone.

Udo, A.A., and E. Weiss. 1980. *The Calabar Rural MCH-FP Project: 1975 79. What We Have Learned About Family Planning*. Unpublished.

United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (UNESA). 1980. *Sex Based Stereotypes, Sex Biases and National Data Systems*. ST/ESA/STAT/99. New York.

. 1982. *Demographic Indicators of Countries: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1980*. ST/ESA SER.A/82. New York.

. 1983. *Revision of the International Standard Classification of Occupations and Statistics of the Economically Active Population, Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment. Excerpts from the Report of the Thirteenth International Conference of Labor Statisticians (1982)*. ESA/STAT/AC.17/5.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). 1981. *Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development*. Supplement I. *Activities Designed to Improve the Data Base for Planning . . Women's Participation in Development*. UNDP. G3100-1. New York.

United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC). 1967. *Manuals on Methods of Estimating Population*. Manual IV. *Methods of Estimating Basic Demographic Measures from Incomplete Data*. Population Studies No. 42. UN.ECOSOC. ST/SOA/Series A/42. New York.

. 1982. *Levels and Trends of Mortality Since 1950*. UN.ECOSOC. New York.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). 1974a. *Data Base for Discussion of the Interrelations Between the Integration of Women in Development, Their Situation and Population Factors in Africa*. E/CN.14.SW/37. Addis Ababa.

. 1974b. *Women in Food Production and Development in Africa*. Paper prepared by ATRCW for inclusion in a paper for the World Food Conference by the Joint FAO/ECA Division. ECA/ATRCW. Addis Ababa.

. 1975a. *Employment of Women in the Sudan*. Paper prepared for the ILO Comprehensive Employment Mission, January, Sudan. ECA ATRCW.

. 1975b. "Women . . . National Development in African Countries: Some Profound Contradictions." *African Studies Review* 18 (3): 47-70.

. 1978a. *Appropriate Technology for African Women*. ECA/SDD/ATRCW/VTGEN.78. Addis Ababa.

. 1978b. *Manual of Demographic Concepts and Definitions Suitable for African Conditions*. Revised Draft. E/CN.14/POP/143. Addis Ababa.

. 1978c. *Organization of Household Survey Programmes*. Discussion Paper No. M78-2040.

. 1978d. *The Role of Women in Alternative Patterns of Development and Life Styles in the Africa Region*. ATRCW. ECA SAP 1979-3. Addis Ababa.

. 1978e. *The Role of Women in the Utilization of Science and Technology for Development*. Africa Regional Meeting of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD), 24-29 July, Cairo. ECA/ATRCW. Addis Ababa.

. 1979a. *Law and the Status of Women in Nigeria*. ECA ATRCW/RES 01.79.

. 1979b. *Mortality Differentials and Their Correlates in Africa*. Population Division. Paper presented at the WHO Meeting on Socio Economic Determinants and Consequences of Mortality, Mexico City. ECA/PD WP 79/77.

. 1979c. *Women and the Fishing Industry in Liberia: Measures of Women's Participation*. ATRCW/SDD RES 79-04.

. 1979d. *Women Textile Workers in Ethiopia*. Research Series. ECA/ATRCW/RES 79-03. ECA and ILO. Addis Ababa.

. 1979e. *Women Workers in Ghana Kenya Zambia. A Comparative Analysis of Women's Employment in the Modern Wage Sector*. Research Series. ATRCW/SDD/RES 02/79.

. 1980a. *Potters: A Study of Two Villages in Ethiopia*. ECA/ILO/SIDA.

. 1980b. *The Relationship Between Changing Roles and Status of Women and Childbearing and Child Survival in Tanzania.* National Seminar on Population and Development, Arusha, Tanzania. E/CN.14/POP/INF/253. Addis Ababa.

, 1980c. *Women and Cooperatives: Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and the Sudan.* Research Series. ECA/ATRCW/RES/02/80.

. 1981a. *The Critical Needs of African Women and Appropriate Strategies in the Framewnrk of the Gisenyi and Lusaka MULPOCs.* Research Series. ST/ECA/ATRCW/81/05. Addis Ababa.

. 1981b. *Les Indicateurs Socio-Economiques de l'Intégration des Femmes au Développement: Cas du Mali.* Série de Recherche. ST/ECA/ATRCW/81/17.

. 1981c. *Out-of-School Programmes for Girls and Young Women in Sierra Leone.* Expert Meeting for English-Speaking Personnel Involved in Programmes for Out-of-School Girls, 17 30 August, Lusaka, Zambia. ECA/ATRCW/EXPT.MTG/W.P.1.

. 1981d. *Training and Employment Opportunities for Out-of-School Girls in the City of Dar-es-Salaam. A Planner's Point of View.*

. 1981e. *Training and Employment Opportunities for Out-of-School Girls in Ethiopia.* Expert Meeting for English-Speaking Personnel Involved in Programmes for Out of-School Girls, 17-30 August, Lusaka, Zarnbia. ECA/ATRCW/EXPT.MTG/W.P.2.

. 1981f. *Women and Agriculture in Nigeria.* Research Series. ST/ECA/ATRCW/81/11.

. 1981g. *Women in African Development.* Paper prepared for the ACOSCA Bilingual Regional Seminar on Increasing Women's Access to Credit Through Credit Unions in West Africa, March, Dakar.

. 1982a. *A Socio-Economic Overview: Zimbabwe Women.* Research Series. ST/ECA/ATRCW.81.10.

. 1982b. *An Inventory of Social Science Research on Women's Roles and Status in Sub-Saharan Africa Since 1960.* (Draft) UNECA/ATRCW. Addis Ababa.

1982c. *Le Rôle de la Femme dans le Développement Agricole en Afrique.* ECA/ATRCW.

1982d. *Women, Planning and Policy in Malawi.* (Draft) Research Series. ECA/ATRCW.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1975. *Statistical Yearbook.* Paris.

. 1976. *The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning.* Paris.

. 1982. *Statistical Yearbook.* Paris.

United Nations Industrial Development Office (UNIDO). 1980. *Women in the Redeployment of Manufacturing Industry to Developing Countries.* UNIDO Working Papers on Structural Changes No. 18. July. UNIDO/ICIS.165.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1977. *Country Demographic Profiles: Ghana,* by Patricia M. Moran and Marilyn K. Sharif. Washington, D.C.

. 1978. *Country Demographic Profiles: Kenya,* by Sylvia D. Quick. Washington, D.C.

. 1979. *Illustrative Projections of World Populations to the 21st Century.* Current Population Reports. Special Studies: Series P 23, No. 79. Washington D.C.

. 1980 *Illustrative Statistics on Women in Selected Developing Countries.* Revised. Washington, D.C

. 1981 *Country Demographic Profiles: Botswana,* by Glenda S. Finch and Peter O. Way. Washington.

. 1982. *Country Demographic Profiles: Liberia,* by Paul R. Campbell. Washington, D.C.

. 1983a "Estimating Fertility from Data on Children Ever Born by Age of Mother," by Eduardo E. Arriaga. *International Research Document No. 11.* Washington, D.C.

1983b. "Fertility Decline in Developing Countries," by Ellen Jamison. *International Research Document* No. 9. Washington, D.C.

1983c. *World Population 1983: Recent Demographic Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World*. ISP-WP-83. Washington, D.C.

Walsh, J.A., and K.S. Warren. 1979. "Disease Control in Developing Countries." *New England Journal of Medicine* 301 (18): 967-974.

Waltisperger, D. 1978. *Mortality Project. Annotated Bibliography on the Sources of Demographic Data*. Vol. I. *Africa - Near East*. OECD. Paris.

Ware, Helen. 1974. *Ideal Family Size*. Occasional Paper No. 13, World Fertility Survey. London.

1977. *Language Problems in Demographic Field Work in Africa: The Case of the Cameroun Fertility Survey*. Scientific Report No. 2, World Fertility Survey. London.

Welch, Charles E., and Paul C. Glick. 1980. *The Incidence of Polygamy in Contemporary Africa*. Unpublished

Wilson, Francis. 1972. *Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

World Bank. 1980a. *Demographic Aspects of Migration in West Africa*. 2 vols. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 414. Washington, D.C.

1980b. *Women in the Urban Labor Markets of Africa: The Case of Tanzania*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 380. Washington, D.C.

1980c. *World Tables. The Second Edition (1980) from the Files of the World Bank*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

1981. *Accelerated Development in Sub Saharan Africa. An Agenda for Action*. Washington, D.C.

1982. *World Development Report 1978*. Oxford University Press. New York.

World Fertility Survey. 1981a. *The Kenya Fertility Survey, 1978. A Summary of Findings*. London.

1981b. *The Lesotho Fertility Survey, 1977. A Summary of Findings*. London.

1981c. *The Senegal Fertility Survey, 1978. A Summary of Findings*. London.

1982. *The Sudan Fertility Survey, 1979. A Summary of Findings*. London.

World Health Organization (WHO). 1978a. *Declaration of Alma Ata*. Report on the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma Ata, USSR. Geneva.

1978b. *Report of the Meeting on Women and Family Health*. Geneva.

Young, Kate, and Caroline Moser. 1981. "Women and the Informal Sector." Special Issue of the *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin* No. 12

Youssef, Nadia H. 1980a. "A Review of the 'Rural Development, Women's Role and Fertility' State of the Art Paper." In Mayra Buvinić and Nadia Youssef, eds., *Priorities in the Design of Development Programs: Women's Issues*. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

1980b. "Sex Related Biases in Census Counts: The Question of Women's Exclusion from Employment Statistics." In Mayra Buvinić and Nadia Youssef, eds., *Priorities in the Design of Development Programs. Women's Issues*. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

1982 "The Interrelationship Between the Division of Labour in the Household, Women's Roles and Their Impact on Fertility." In Richard Anker and Nadia H. Youssef, eds., *Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World*. Croom Helm. London.

1983 *Improving Concepts and Methods for Statistics and Indicators on Women: Technical Report*. Paper presented to the Expert Group Meeting on Improving Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women, Statistical Office of the United Nations. April. ESA STAT/AC.17/3. New York.

Appendix B

Tables in the Women in Development Data Base

The Women In Development Data Base (see discussion in chapter 2) contains the following tables for each of 120 countries worldwide. For most tables, statistics for each country refer to the latest available year. Exceptions are tables 1 and 2, which are presented for the latest two census years, and tables 8, 14A, and 14B, for which data are presented for a series of years. For some countries, updated tables are included if new information became available after the initial data were compiled. For further information on the WID Data Base, write the Chief, Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Tables

1. Unadjusted Population by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____. (earlier census)

2. Unadjusted Population by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____. (latest census)

3. Adjusted Population by Age and Sex, 19____. (earlier census)

4. Adjusted Population by Age and Sex, 19____. (latest census)

5. Population by Province, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6A. Population by Ethnic Group, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6B. Population by Religion, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6C. Population by Nationality, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

6D. Population by Language, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

7. Life Expectancy at Selected Ages, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

8. Selected Mortality Measures, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

9. Percent of Native-born Population Born Outside of Province of Current Residence, by Age and Sex, 19____.

10A. Total Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

10B. Urban Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

10C. Rural Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Marital Status, Age, and Sex, 19____.

11. Minimum Legal Age at Marriage and Age at which Specified Percent Are Ever Married, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

12. Number of Households by Size, Mean Size, and Median Size, by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

13. Heads of Household 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19

14A. Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1000 women), by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

14B. Selected Fertility Measures, by Urban/Rural Residence, 19____ to 19____.

15A. Number of Literate Persons 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

15B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 15C, 19____.

15C. Percentage Literate 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

16A. Number of Persons Enrolled in School 5 to 24 Years Old, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

16B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 16C, 19____.

16C. Percentage Enrolled in School 5 to 24 Years Old, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

17A. Number of Economically Active Persons 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

17B. Population Bases for Percentages in Table 17C, 19____.

17C. Percentage Economically Active 10 Years Old and Over, by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

18. Economically Active Population by Status in Employment, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

19. Income Distribution and Median Income, by Sex and Urban/Rural Residence, 19____.

Appendix C

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence

Many of the tables and figures in this report present rates and ratios for the population in particular age groups. This appendix provides the populations upon which such rates and ratios are based.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sahel West Africa						
CAPE VERDE: 1960 [1]						
All ages.....	107,211	92,691				
Under 1 year.....	3,496	3,678				
1 to 4 years.....	15,647	15,359				
5 to 9 years.....	15,402	15,421				
10 to 14 years.....	8,378	8,292				
15 to 19 years.....	7,458	6,815				
20 to 24 years.....	9,367	7,405				
25 to 29 years.....	8,035	6,343				
30 to 34 years.....	6,955	5,710				
35 to 39 years.....	4,455	3,755				
40 to 44 years.....	4,469	3,732				
45 to 49 years.....	4,716	4,075				
50 to 54 years.....	5,261	4,591				
55 to 59 years.....	3,455	2,511				
60 to 64 years.....	2,831	1,553				
65 years and over.....	6,280	2,925				
Unknown age.....	1,006	526				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
CAPE VERDE: 1970[1]						
All ages.....	140,786	131,785				
0 to 4 years.....	21,066	20,989				
5 to 9 years.....	22,866	23,073				
10 to 14 years.....	20,192	19,710				
15 to 19 years.....	15,516	15,041				
20 to 24 years.....	7,690	8,278				
25 to 29 years.....	6,321	5,490				
30 to 34 years.....	7,842	6,231				
35 to 39 years.....	7,710	6,159				
40 to 44 years.....	6,234	5,675				
45 to 49 years.....	4,396	3,886				
50 to 54 years.....	4,196	3,501				
55 to 59 years.....	4,318	3,894				
60 to 64 years.....	4,545	4,108				
65 years and over.....	7,572	5,385				
Unknown age.....	322	365				
CHAD: 1964						
All ages.....	1,326,170	1,198,200	1,237,980	1,113,180	88,190	85,020
0 to 4 years.....	243,910	245,140	228,880	229,800	15,030	15,340
5 to 9 years.....	216,250	234,860	202,700	221,320	13,550	13,540
10 to 14 years.....	90,310	120,730	82,620	110,180	7,690	10,550
15 to 19 years.....	93,910	74,990	86,900	67,360	7,010	7,630
20 to 24 years.....	115,540	59,970	107,740	55,620	7,800	4,350
25 to 29 years.....	133,940	82,020	123,860	75,280	10,080	6,740
30 to 34 years.....	109,870	77,970	101,800	71,280	8,070	6,690
35 to 39 years.....	99,250	82,090	92,720	75,660	6,530	6,430
40 to 44 years.....	63,650	59,200	59,580	54,600	4,070	4,600
45 to 49 years.....	54,180	56,300	51,380	52,320	2,800	3,980
50 to 54 years.....	35,890	35,500	34,260	33,600	1,630	1,900
55 to 59 years.....	24,710	24,230	23,280	23,100	1,430	1,130
60 years and over.....	44,760	45,200	42,260	43,060	2,500	2,140
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
THE GAMBIA: 1973[2]						
All ages.....	243,113	250,386	205,537	209,379	37,576	41,007
0 to 4 years.....	41,751	41,232	35,547	35,135	6,204	6,097
5 to 9 years.....	36,435	36,825	31,306	32,127	5,129	4,698
10 to 14 years.....	22,868	24,587	18,499	21,138	4,369	3,449
15 to 19 years.....	21,354	19,419	17,198	16,020	4,156	3,399
20 to 24 years.....	22,420	20,817	18,535	16,193	3,885	4,624
25 to 34 years.....	42,749	40,382	37,025	32,307	5,724	8,075
35 to 44 years.....	24,146	26,395	20,947	21,985	3,199	4,410
45 to 54 years.....	14,244	18,070	12,099	15,101	2,145	2,969
55 to 64 years.....	7,870	11,249	6,682	9,591	1,188	1,658
65 years and over.....	8,336	10,545	7,132	9,304	1,204	1,241
Unknown age.....	940	865	567	478	373	387
MALI: 1976						
All ages.....	3,271,185	3,123,733	2,723,571	2,594,518	547,614	529,215
Under 1 year.....	115,441	116,236	95,243	95,655	20,198	20,581
1 to 4 years.....	473,953	470,779	394,598	390,944	79,255	79,835
5 to 9 years.....	482,851	492,272	400,186	411,456	82,665	80,816
10 to 14 years.....	321,959	342,807	256,884	282,160	65,075	60,647
15 to 19 years.....	333,508	308,607	272,743	249,945	60,765	58,662
20 to 24 years.....	265,842	218,391	218,355	172,152	47,487	46,239
25 to 29 years.....	267,018	200,095	223,875	163,705	43,143	36,390
30 to 34 years.....	225,950	185,729	190,446	154,834	35,504	30,895
35 to 39 years.....	165,949	161,383	137,444	133,457	28,505	27,926
40 to 44 years.....	147,829	139,426	125,822	116,947	22,007	22,479
45 to 49 years.....	98,453	111,330	83,008	93,466	15,445	17,864
50 to 54 years.....	103,607	104,619	90,369	89,927	13,238	14,692
55 to 59 years.....	62,917	77,578	53,989	66,919	8,928	10,659
60 to 64 years.....	81,466	76,620	72,129	67,990	9,337	8,630
65 years and over.....	124,068	117,464	108,099	104,689	15,969	12,775
Unknown age.....	374	397	281	272	93	125

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
MAURITANIA: 1965[3]						
All ages.....			461,420	500,146		
Under 1 year.....			14,904	18,558		
1 to 4 years.....			57,213	67,502		
5 to 9 years.....			76,829	85,387		
10 to 14 years.....			49,521	55,098		
15 to 19 years.....			32,789	43,270		
20 to 24 years.....			36,828	35,674		
25 to 29 years.....			42,213	40,867		
30 to 34 years.....			32,597	34,520		
35 to 39 years.....			26,828	31,347		
40 to 44 years.....			22,693	24,328		
45 to 49 years.....			18,751	19,520		
50 to 54 years.....			14,231	13,558		
55 to 59 years.....			8,750	9,616		
60 to 64 years.....			9,808	9,904		
65 years and over.....			15,578	13,078		
Unknown age.....			-	-		
NIGER: 1960[3]						
All ages.....			1,313,910	1,297,560		
0 to 4 years.....			254,980	253,050		
5 to 9 years.....			204,480	239,160		
10 to 14 years.....			74,590	117,310		
15 to 19 years.....			140,210	107,680		
20 to 24 years.....			128,510	84,030		
25 to 29 years.....			154,060	111,310		
30 to 34 years.....			69,400	72,330		
35 to 39 years.....			84,770	82,270		
40 to 44 years.....			39,870	46,140		
45 to 49 years.....			50,210	57,250		
50 to 54 years.....			25,910	33,510		
55 to 59 years.....			27,570	31,100		
60 to 64 years.....			16,760	20,010		
65 years and over.....			42,320	42,220		
Unknown age.....			270	190		

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
NIGER: 1977.[1]						
All ages.....	2,584,435	2,513,992				
0 to 4 years.....	489,040	494,996				
5 to 9 years.....	385,520	432,007				
10 to 14 years.....	219,303	273,775				
15 to 19 years.....	303,541	204,065				
20 to 24 years.....	271,857	174,789				
25 to 29 years.....	236,014	180,610				
30 to 34 years.....	198,398	169,751				
35 to 39 years.....	103,299	129,052				
40 to 44 years.....	112,987	128,655				
45 to 49 years.....	44,388	6[illegible],125				
50 to 54 years.....	70,793	82,133				
55 to 59 years.....	21,058	37,610				
60 to 64 years.....	49,417	55,764				
65 years and over.....	70,478	78,048				
Unknown age.....	8,342	4,612				
SENEGAL: 1970						
All ages.....	2,007,996	1,948,620	1,399,303	1,362,932	608,693	585,688
Under 1 year.....	79,838	79,669	55,930	55,811	23,908	23,858
1 to 4 years.....	239,541	242,531	156,319	156,346	83,222	86,185
5 to 9 years.....	289,567	304,695	197,731	213,759	91,836	90,936
10 to 14 years.....	218,871	225,699	146,959	159,242	71,912	66,457
15 to 19 years.....	206,703	190,460	138,380	132,830	68,323	57,630
20 to 24 years.....	177,984	130,460	123,618	88,262	54,366	42,198
25 to 29 years.....	156,990	121,983	113,584	84,864	43,406	37,119
30 to 34 years.....	139,702	112,374	99,547	78,462	40,155	33,912
35 to 39 years.....	120,763	112,299	86,386	78,518	34,377	33,781
40 to 44 years.....	96,441	97,823	70,616	68,161	25,825	29,662
45 to 49 years.....	68,643	79,369	50,231	55,189	18,412	24,180
50 to 54 years.....	61,360	65,900	46,138	47,901	15,222	17,999
55 to 59 years.....	48,299	58,514	35,991	43,840	12,308	14,674
60 to 64 years.....	38,814	41,844	29,269	31,733	9,545	10,111
65 years and over.....	64,451	84,865	48,604	68,000	15,847	16,865
Unknown age.....	29	135	-	14	29	121

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
SENEGAL: 1976[1]						
All ages.....	2,583,886	2,501,502				
0 to 4 years.....	452,180	456,524				
5 to 9 years.....	361,486	379,228				
10 to 14 years.....	297,147	303,682				
15 to 19 years.....	269,241	247,399				
20 to 24 years.....	231,775	167,350				
25 to 29 years.....	205,161	150,340				
30 to 34 years.....	166,661	129,828				
35 to 39 years.....	138,496	125,826				
40 to 44 years.....	124,026	117,571				
45 to 49 years.....	86,819	100,560				
50 to 54 years.....	78,033	90,554				
55 to 59 years.....	59,429	77,797				
60 to 64 years.....	47,285	64,539				
65 years and over.....	66,147	90,304				
Unknown age.....	-	-				
UPPER VOLTA: 1975						
All ages.....	2,810,625	2,827,578	2,633,189	2,642,404	177,436	185,174
Under 1 year.....	79,610	80,626	72,827	73,639	6,783	6,987
1 to 4 years.....	399,041	416,747	372,967	389,675	26,074	27,072
5 to 9 years.....	444,707	484,646	415,997	454,789	28,710	29,857
10 to 14 years.....	299,454	350,375	277,306	327,909	22,148	22,466
15 to 19 years.....	262,647	281,434	244,634	261,127	18,013	20,307
20 to 24 years.....	223,512	187,295	207,884	171,499	15,628	15,796
25 to 29 years.....	237,766	182,154	222,291	168,282	15,475	13,872
30 to 34 years.....	185,518	150,809	173,802	139,856	11,716	10,953
35 to 39 years.....	149,933	136,708	140,468	126,469	9,465	10,239
40 to 44 years.....	129,739	115,071	123,516	107,299	6,223	7,772
45 to 49 years.....	96,397	99,059	92,093	93,394	4,304	5,665
50 to 54 years.....	91,054	93,120	87,464	88,864	3,590	4,256
55 to 59 years.....	53,932	67,244	51,731	64,221	2,201	3,023
60 years and over.....	153,145	178,061	146,822	172,262	6,323	5,799
Unknown age.....	4,170	4,229	3,387	3,119	783	1,110

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Coastal West Africa						
BENIN: 1961						
All ages.....	1,061,953	1,020,558	962,893	925,488	99,060	95,070
Under 1 year.....	56,727	54,009	52,167	49,109	4,560	4,900
1 to 4 years.....	149,790	151,460	135,380	135,810	14,410	15,650
5 to 9 years..	167,740	181,877	150,770	163,977	16,970	17,900
10 to 14 years.....	89,308	107,011	79,528	94,421	9,780	12,590
15 to 19 years.....	75,126	69,017	68,166	62,427	6,960	6,590
20 to 24 years.....	98,397	59,961	89,187	54,721	9,210	5,240
25 to 29 years.....	97,662	71,146	88,102	64,496	9,560	6,650
30 to 34 years.....	73,432	56,246	66,082	50,986	7,350	5,260
35 to 39 years.....	62,860	62,549	57,220	57,409	5,640	5,140
40 to 44 years.....	44,904	43,320	41,034	39,680	3,870	3,640
45 to 49 years.....	39,958	42,895	37,15	39,605	2,800	3,290
50 to 54 years.....	28,413	30,626	26,493	23,236	1,920	2,390
55 to 59 years.....	24,901	26,685	23,031	24,785	1,870	1,900
60 to 64 years.....	18,105	20,217	16,805	19,057	1,300	1,160
65 years and over.....	34,630	43,539	31,770	40,769	2,860	2,770
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
BENIN: 1979 [1,2]						
All ages.....	1,737,728	1,600,512				
0 to 5 years.....	417,452	419,358				
6 to 14 years.....	373,205	423,820				
15 to 49 years.....	752,461	562,091				
50 years and over.....	192,268	193,700				
Unknown age.....	2,342	1,543				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
GHANA: 1970						
All ages.....	4,311,504	4,247,809	3,072,871	3,013,986	1,238,633	1,233,823
Under 1 year.....	143,940	142,547	104,650	103,120	39,290	39,427
1 to 4 years.....	641,129	635,514	469,744	466,137	171,385	169,377
5 to 9 years.....	721,881	728,284	522,274	545,723	199,607	182,561
10 to 14 years.....	488,206	514,464	325,629	375,164	162,577	139,300
15 to 19 years.....	379,038	399,017	250,703	273,189	128,335	125,828
20 to 24 years.....	375,545	305,586	252,730	185,224	122,815	120,362
25 to 29 years.....	341,481	289,945	236,352	175,373	105,129	114,572
30 to 34 years.....	296,867	263,630	214,326	171,296	82,541	92,334
35 to 39 years.....	216,855	221,446	158,161	150,079	58,694	71,367
40 to 44 years.....	175,626	174,420	131,875	124,774	43,751	49,646
45 to 49 years.....	128,052	144,014	97,480	105,560	30,572	38,454
50 to 54 years.....	111,777	119,660	85,380	91,057	26,397	28,603
55 to 59 years.....	66,043	76,473	49,895	57,794	16,148	18,679
60 to 64 years.....	71,076	75,302	55,033	59,889	16,043	15,413
65 years and over.....	153,988	157,507	118,639	129,607	35,349	27,900
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
GUINEA: 1954-55						
All ages.....	1,346,900	1,223,300	1,238,800	1,118,500	108,100	104,800
Under 1 year.....	66,200	63,100	61,500	58,600	4,700	4,500
1 to 4 years.....	169,700	169,700	156,500	156,400	13,200	13,300
5 to 9 years.....	195,800	210,600	179,900	195,500	15,900	15,100
10 to 14 years.....	91,700	115,000	83,100	104,500	8,600	10,500
15 to 19 years.....	127,900	101,100	115,900	91,500	12,000	9,600
20 to 24 years.....	123,900	74,900	113,000	66,500	10,900	8,400
25 to 29 years.....	133,800	85,800	122,200	75,500	11,600	10,300
30 to 34 years.....	90,800	63,900	83,500	56,800	7,300	7,100
35 to 39 years.....	98,200	77,700	90,700	70,400	7,500	7,300
40 to 44 years.....	63,000	59,000	58,500	53,800	4,500	5,200
45 to 49 years.....	59,800	58,200	55,900	53,800	3,900	4,400
50 to 54 years.....	34,800	38,600	32,500	36,100	2,300	2,500
55 to 59 years.....	30,900	37,600	29,000	35,100	1,900	2,500
60 to 64 years.....	19,400	22,000	18,200	20,600	1,300	1,400
65 years and over.....	39,900	45,600	37,300	42,900	2,500	2,500
Unknown age.....	1,100	500	1,100	500	-	200

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
IVORY COAST: 1975						
All ages.....	3,229,280	3,484,760	2,244,580	2,294,580	984,700	1,190,180
0 to 4 years.....	622,860	625,106	434,887	430,562	187,950	194,357
5 to 9 years.....	514,007	542,694	366,590	398,147	147,320	144,144
10 to 14 years.....	319,818	372,909	206,851	254,158	113,124	118,667
15 to 19 years.....	330,459	309,497	196,936	162,081	133,855	147,828
20 to 24 years.....	297,207	316,596	180,532	159,679	116,939	157,400
25 to 29 years.....	296,975	295,731	198,192	165,558	98,867	130,461
30 to 34 years.....	216,829	229,637	157,117	141,104	59,647	88,632
35 to 39 years.....	180,565	201,299	134,244	129,395	46,232	71,935
40 to 44 years.....	127,957	168,100	100,161	118,319	27,683	49,706
45 to 49 years.....	98,534	133,037	79,196	98,157	19,230	34,775
50 to 54 years.....	74,311	94,090	61,978	73,743	12,329	20,230
55 to 59 years.....	46,853	72,146	39,568	58,496	7,215	13,541
60 to 64 years.....	40,475	51,905	34,636	43,379	5,774	8,435
65 years and over.....	62,430	72,013	53,792	61,802	8,535	10,069
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
LIBERIA: 1974						
All ages.....	744,259	759,109	539,031	526,166	205,228	232,943
Under 1 year.....	17,897	18,750	11,776	12,442	6,121	6,308
1 to 4 years.....	94,576	96,502	67,517	68,241	27,059	28,261
5 to 9 years.....	109,330	114,597	78,293	83,581	31,037	31,016
10 to 14 years.....	75,801	87,537	52,731	60,780	23,070	26,757
15 to 19 years.....	83,475	75,571	55,650	49,206	27,825	26,365
20 to 24 years.....	67,046	54,473	43,519	30,748	23,527	23,725
25 to 29 years.....	66,938	53,717	46,050	31,467	20,888	22,250
30 to 34 years.....	57,639	47,107	43,365	29,020	14,274	18,087
35 to 39 years.....	45,946	47,344	35,345	31,424	10,601	15,920
40 to 44 years.....	30,864	36,109	24,821	25,729	6,043	10,380
45 to 49 years.....	25,345	31,689	20,820	23,481	4,525	8,208
50 to 54 years.....	20,135	26,076	16,959	20,756	3,176	5,320
55 to 59 years.....	11,742	17,775	9,909	14,459	1,833	3,316
60 to 64 years.....	14,717	19,118	12,603	16,176	2,114	2,942
65 years and over.....	22,808	32,744	19,673	28,656	3,135	4,088
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
SIERRA LEONE: 1963[1]						
All ages.....	1,099,232	1,081,123				
0 to 4 years.....	190,018	187,317				
5 to 9 years.....	135,060	145,589				
10 to 14 years.....	66,411	76,009				
15 to 19 years.....	111,511	82,867				
20 to 24 years.....	115,256	75,528				
25 to 29 years.....	114,203	93,550				
30 to 34 years.....	90,411	81,772				
35 to 39 years.....	63,929	72,455				
40 to 44 years.....	51,777	62,981				
45 to 49 years.....	35,626	49,905				
50 to 54 years.....	30,270	39,687				
55 to 59 years.....	17,602	24,158				
60 to 64 years.....	25,818	30,136				
65 years and over.....	51,340	59,169				
Unknown age.....						
SIERRA LEONE: 1974[1]						
All ages.....	1,375,838	1,359,321				
0 to 4 years.....	223,328	216,701				
5 to 9 years.....	208,002	209,682				
10 to 14 years.....	116,783	135,156				
15 to 19 years.....	128,553	109,930				
20 to 24 years.....	111,279	92,802				
25 to 29 years.....	124,653	108,214				
30 to 34 years.....	97,959	86,759				
35 to 39 years.....	83,167	82,537				
40 to 44 years.....	62,798	65,754				
45 to 49 years.....	49,708	58,747				
50 to 54 years.....	40,225	47,223				
55 to 59 years.....	25,764	32,232				
60 to 64 years.....	31,535	34,937				
65 years and over.....	70,014	76,195				
Unknown age.....	2,070	2,452				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
TOGO: 1970						
All ages.....	1,012,544	936,949	881,024	814,425	131,520	122,524
Under 1 year.....	40,429	39,209	35,949	34,745	4,480	4,464
1 to 4 years.....	165,313	164,768	146,530	146,169	18,783	18,599
5 to 9 years.....	178,460	191,300	155,656	170,618	22,804	20,682
10 to 14 years.....	86,176	105,001	69,986	90,507	16,190	14,494
15 to 19 years.....	68,864	70,321	55,853	55,648	13,011	14,673
20 to 24 years.....	78,080	50,709	66,056	38,447	12,024	12,262
25 to 29 years.....	94,947	56,032	83,034	46,918	11,913	9,114
30 to 34 years.....	65,838	44,459	57,608	37,556	8,230	6,903
35 to 39 years.....	63,498	49,709	56,803	43,890	6,695	5,819
40 to 44 years.....	37,436	33,036	33,079	28,849	4,357	4,187
45 to 49 years.....	37,394	35,669	33,810	32,272	3,584	3,397
50 to 54 years.....	22,451	22,683	20,020	20,414	2,431	2,269
55 to 59 years.....	18,662	19,406	16,955	17,764	1,707	1,642
60 to 64 years.....	14,450	13,710	12,974	12,439	1,476	1,271
65 years and over.....	40,532	40,928	36,700	38,184	3,832	2,744
Unknown age.....	14	9	11	5	3	4

Central Africa

BURUNDI: 1970-71[1]		
All ages.....	,782,100	1,617,900
0 to 4 years.....	280,000	289,100
5 to 9 years.....	248,700	233,900
10 to 14 years.....	224,500	222,900
15 to 19 years.....	186,700	176,500
20 to 24 years.....	138,400	122,400
25 to 29 years.....	127,300	99,100
30 to 34 years.....	120,800	102,200
35 to 39 years.....	104,500	91,800
40 to 44 years.....	87,100	73,000
45 to 49 years.....	73,000	64,900
50 to 54 years.....	64,400	46,400
55 to 59 years.....	48,500	36,000
60 to 64 years.....	37,000	29,000
65 years and over.....	41,200	30,700
Unknown age.....	-	-

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
CAMEROON: 1976						
All ages.....	3,640,400	3,491,433	2,674,773	2,451,837	965,627	1,039,596
Under 1 year.....	124,116	125,349	84,969	85,063	39,147	40,286
1 to 4 years.....	480,704	485,632	347,335	350,207	133,369	135,425
5 to 9 years.....	532,765	543,506	391,766	403,189	140,999	140,317
10 to 14 years.....	379,178	423,169	269,937	303,549	109,241	119,620
15 to 19 years.....	352,567	335,324	237,497	207,835	115,070	127,489
20 to 24 years.....	297,714	252,827	197,800	139,712	99,914	113,115
25 to 29 years.....	272,882	222,434	195,657	136,664	77,225	85,770
30 to 34 years.....	232,903	189,011	172,895	125,413	60,008	63,598
35 to 39 years.....	223,931	192,647	166,817	132,474	57,114	60,173
40 to 44 years.....	179,772	162,181	141,267	117,415	38,505	44,766
45 to 49 years.....	149,061	145,654	118,695	106,985	30,366	38,669
50 to 54 years.....	119,137	116,995	98,828	92,285	20,309	24,710
55 to 59 years.....	87,212	90,785	72,721	73,023	14,491	17,762
60 to 64 years.....	75,249	75,546	64,364	63,989	10,885	11,557
65 years and over.....	131,414	128,412	112,963	113,020	18,451	15,392
Unknown age.....	1,795	1,961	1,262	1,014	533	947
RWANDA: 1970						
All ages.....	1,815,180	1,757,370	1,758,970	1,699,320	56,210	58,050
0 to 4 years.....	333,780	341,940	323,330	331,280	10,450	10,660
5 to 9 years.....	303,720	298,000	294,970	289,220	8,750	8,780
10 to 14 years.....	263,160	276,080	255,630	268,360	7,530	7,720
15 to 19 years.....	149,860	168,720	144,540	162,330	5,320	6,390
20 to 24 years.....	136,540	123,750	131,100	117,850	5,440	5,900
25 to 29 years.....	102,950	80,840	99,230	76,690	3,720	4,150
30 to 34 years.....	131,360	95,680	127,710	92,040	3,650	3,640
35 to 39 years.....	105,570	73,080	102,930	70,530	2,640	2,550
40 to 44 years.....	105,670	84,300	103,070	82,050	2,600	2,250
45 to 49 years.....	50,420	63,800	48,810	62,220	1,610	1,580
50 to 54 years.....	55,710	61,550	53,900	59,870	1,810	1,680
55 to 59 years.....	27,420	32,910	26,390	31,870	1,030	1,040
60 to 64 years.....	24,850	27,460	23,980	26,650	870	810
65 years and over.....	24,170	29,260	23,380	28,360	790	900
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
RWANDA: 1978[1,2]						
All ages.....	2,480,860	2,364,430				
Under 15	1,110,530	1,096,530				
15 to 19 years.....	289,590	291,850				
20 to 24 years.....	232,640	236,530				
25 to 29 years.....	171,510	165,000				
30 to 44 years.....	334,200	273,050				
45 to 49 years.....	82,360	70,380				
50 to 54 years.....	74,840	61,960				
55 to 59 years.....	61,270	49,880				
60 to 64 years.....	50,810	44,000				
65 years and over.....	73,110	75,250				
Unknown age.....	-	-				
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE: 1970[1]						
All ages.....	36,614	37,017				
0 to 4 years.....	6,033	5,917				
5 to 9 years.....	5,887	5,657				
10 to 14 years.....	4,640	4,405				
15 to 19 years.....	3,307	3,264				
20 to 24 years.....	2,328	2,408				
25 to 29 years.....	1,920	1,983				
30 to 34 years.....	2,292	2,676				
35 to 39 years.....	2,317	2,499				
40 to 44 years.....	1,865	2,041				
45 to 49 years.....	1,464	1,602				
50 to 54 years.....	1,098	1,235				
55 to 59 years.....	882	952				
60 to 64 years.....	784	767				
65 years and over.....	1,797	1,611				
Unknown age.....	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
ZAIRE: 1955-57[2]						
All ages.....	6,551,284	6,182,306	5,993,138	5,526,180	558,146	656,126
0 to 4 years.....	1,099,108	1,050,850	973,351	926,295	125,757	124,555
5 to 9 years.....	837,896	803,448	760,005	729,669	77,891	73,779
10 to 14 years.....	538,478	681,197	497,376	629,380	41,102	51,817
15 to 19 years.....	470,934	402,800	423,056	362,260	47,878	40,540
20 to 24 years.....	542,794	437,332	474,477	368,898	68,317	68,434
25 to 29 years.....	603,427	527,305	536,734	437,236	66,693	90,069
30 to 34 years.....	692,947	499,028	639,171	430,209	53,776	68,819
35 to 44 years.....	890,711	786,023	843,844	703,357	46,867	82,666
45 to 54 years.....	534,296	622,233	513,839	580,226	20,457	42,007
55 years and over.....	340,693	372,090	331,285	358,650	9,408	13,440
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
ZAIRE: 1970[1]						
All ages.....	11,081,940	10,555,936				
0 to 4 years.....	1,891,687	1,999,294				
5 to 9 years.....	1,519,334	1,558,056				
10 to 14 years.....	1,298,803	1,308,936				
15 to 19 years.....	1,122,601	1,107,318				
20 to 24 years.....	966,345	929,978				
25 to 29 years.....	827,821	774,806				
30 to 34 years.....	705,920	643,912				
35 to 39 years.....	597,316	533,075				
40 to 44 years.....	504,228	438,071				
45 to 49 years.....	421,114	353,624				
50 to 54 years.....	350,189	282,899				
55 to 59 years.....	284,806	219,563				
60 to 64 years.....	221,639	163,617				
65 years and over.....	370,137	242,787				
Unknown age.....	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Eastern Africa						
ETHIOPIA: 1968[4]						
All ages.....	11,665,000	11,997,000	10,592,000	11,028,000	1,073,000	969,000
Under 1 year.....	2,171,000	2,209,000	478,000	496,000	156,000	158,000
1 to 4 years.....			1,537,000	1,555,000		
5 to 9 years.....	3,194,000	3,284,000	1,599,000	1,599,000	250,000	240,000
10 to 14 years.....			1,345,000	1,345,000		
15 to 19 years.....	2,278,000	2,253,000	1,123,000	1,125,000	212,000	180,000
20 to 24 years.....			943,000	948,000		
25 to 29 years.....	2,736,000	2,826,000	773,000	816,000	340,000	301,000
30 to 34 years.....			644,000	684,000		
35 to 39 years.....			537,000	562,000		
40 to 44 years.....			442,000	463,000		
45 to 49 years.....	1,286,000	1,525,000	348,000	375,000	115,000	90,000
50 to 54 years.....			275,000	298,000		
55 to 59 years.....			212,000	243,000		
60 to 64 years.....			148,000	176,000		
65 years and over.....			188,000	343,000		
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
ETHIOPIA: 1970[3]						
All ages			8,760,400	9,123,000		
0 to 4 years.....			1,646,300	1,666,400		
5 to 9 years.....			1,534,800	1,671,400		
10 to 14 years.....			760,900	989,200		
15 to 19 years.....			640,200	746,000		
20 to 24 years.....			674,900	522,900		
25 to 29 years.....			836,800	646,600		
30 to 34 years.....			696,600	605,200		
35 to 39 years.....			525,400	561,900		
40 to 44 years.....			448,000	449,100		
45 to 49 years.....			254,200	306,100		
50 to 54 years.....			272,800	293,200		
55 to 59 years.....			104,800	177,600		
60 to 64 years.....			156,900	195,700		
65 years and over.....			168,000	261,900		
Unknown age.....			39,800	29,800		

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
KENYA: 1969 [5]						
All ages	5,460,324	5,482,381	5,007,692	4,855,105	452,632	627,276
Under 1 year	180,506	181,280				
1 to 4 years	865,874	876,822	1,790,139	1,822,978	149,600	151,723
5 to 9 years	893,359	916,599				
10 to 14 years	663,808	714,707	617,038	667,834	46,770	46,873
15 to 19 years	544,847	560,152	490,137	502,610	54,710	57,542
20 to 24 years	450,096	428,015	391,636	344,223	58,460	83,792
25 to 29 years	411,245	349,594	365,521	274,561	45,724	75,033
30 to 34 years	299,241	280,948	514,664	422,544	49,396	110,540
35 to 39 years	264,819	252,136				
40 to 44 years	201,936	193,936	341,499	307,151	24,289	59,293
45 to 49 years	163,852	172,508				
50 to 54 years	139,072	132,466	228,805	221,005	12,502	26,130
55 to 59 years	102,235	114,669				
60 to 64 years	94,508	102,466	268,253	292,199	11,181	16,350
65 years and over	184,926	206,083				
Unknown age	-	-	-	-	-	-
KENYA: 1979 [1]						
All ages	7,719,948	7,607,113				
0 to 4 years	1,421,385	1,422,021				
5 to 9 years	1,244,749	1,247,091				
10 to 14 years	1,023,839	1,050,932				
15 to 19 years	887,722	854,123				
20 to 24 years	686,003	641,401				
25 to 29 years	541,261	514,451				
30 to 34 years	412,691	405,385				
35 to 39 years	325,367	290,227				
40 to 44 years	273,702	261,480				
45 to 49 years	221,965	218,914				
50 to 54 years	191,022	182,908				
55 to 59 years	134,534	140,777				
60 to 64 years	109,518	107,710				
65 years and over	232,357	254,041				
Unknown age	13,833	15,652				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
MADAGASCAR: 1975						
All ages.....	3,823,418	3,745,159	3,194,286	3,134,849	629,132	610,310
0 to 4 years.....	666,259	673,371	574,002	578,499	92,257	94,872
5 to 9 years.....	560,264	537,184	469,971	446,185	90,293	90,999
10 to 14 years.....	439,126	461,524	358,609	381,070	80,517	80,454
15 to 19 years.....	431,554	400,997	350,623	324,189	80,931	76,808
20 to 24 years.....	348,271	310,205	282,751	251,089	65,520	59,116
25 to 29 years.....	264,989	234,545	217,586	192,664	47,403	41,881
30 to 34 years.....	196,849	181,584	163,529	150,813	33,320	30,771
35 to 39 years.....	204,421	181,584	172,125	151,160	32,296	30,424
40 to 44 years.....	174,136	158,886	147,791	133,259	26,345	25,627
45 to 49 years.....	143,851	143,754	122,099	122,912	21,752	20,842
50 to 54 years.....	121,138	135,188	103,830	118,087	17,308	18,101
55 to 59 years.....	90,854	113,489	77,595	100,010	13,259	13,479
60 to 64 years.....	68,140	75,660	57,550	65,051	10,590	10,609
65 years and over.....	113,566	136,188	96,225	119,861	17,341	16,327
Unknown age.....	-	-	-	-	-	-
MAURITIUS: 1972						
All ages.....	425,118	425,850	240,905	245,385	184,213	180,465
Under 1 year.....	10,229	10,246	6,649	6,637	3,580	3,609
1 to 4 years.....	42,242	43,282	26,926	27,692	15,316	15,590
5 to 9 years.....	60,654	62,036	36,167	37,207	24,487	24,829
10 to 14 years.....	56,746	57,810	32,942	33,322	23,804	24,488
15 to 19 years.....	51,626	51,362	28,894	28,887	22,732	22,475
20 to 24 years.....	40,567	41,051	22,863	23,762	17,704	17,289
25 to 29 years.....	27,769	26,971	15,154	15,180	12,615	11,791
30 to 34 years.....	22,279	21,884	11,907	11,806	10,372	10,078
35 to 39 years.....	21,088	21,373	11,210	11,613	9,878	9,760
40 to 44 years.....	18,153	18,821	9,490	9,949	8,663	8,872
45 to 49 years.....	18,801	20,535	10,026	11,271	8,775	9,264
50 to 54 years.....	13,515	14,850	7,361	8,375	6,154	6,475
55 to 59 years.....	12,775	12,900	6,790	7,165	5,985	5,735
60 to 64 years.....	9,842	9,446	5,111	5,219	4,731	4,227
65 years and over.....	18,325	12,821	9,048	6,932	9,277	5,889
Unknown age.....	507	462	367	368	140	94

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
SEYCHELLES: 1977[1]						
All ages.....	30,727	31,171				
0 to 4 years.....	4,033	4,099				
5 to 9 years.....	3,979	4,096				
10 to 14 years.....	4,207	4,126				
15 to 19 years.....	3,570	3,869				
20 to 24 years.....	2,361	2,794				
25 to 29 years.....	1,639	2,064				
30 to 34 years.....	1,396	1,555				
35 to 39 years.....	1,518	1,463				
40 to 44 years.....	1,367	1,357				
45 to 49 years.....	1,207	1,284				
50 to 54 years.....	1,193	1,100				
55 to 59 years.....	1,014	913				
60 to 64 years.....	840	746				
65 years and over.....	2,346	1,637				
Unknown age.....	57	68				
SUDAN: 1973						
All ages.....	6,975,626	7,137,964	5,752,583	5,755,111	1,223,043	1,382,853
Under 1 year.....	182,196	190,089	137,622	144,212	44,574	45,877
1 to 4 years.....	1,009,025	1,058,686	843,140	888,322	165,885	170,364
5 to 9 years.....	1,186,663	1,277,744	991,734	1,081,215	194,929	196,529
10 to 14 years.....	736,241	823,958	592,617	669,070	143,624	154,888
15 to 19 years.....	613,730	603,477	490,518	464,040	123,212	139,437
20 to 24 years.....	547,046	453,394	438,387	323,559	108,659	129,835
25 to 29 years.....	673,196	539,613	559,602	402,437	113,594	137,176
30 to 34 years.....	474,775	429,502	399,960	333,151	74,815	96,351
35 to 39 years.....	448,219	471,565	375,013	378,445	73,206	93,120
40 to 44 years.....	306,985	334,505	258,747	272,739	48,238	61,766
45 to 49 years.....	220,074	267,451	183,099	220,059	36,975	47,392
50 to 54 years.....	184,484	208,918	154,599	174,380	29,885	34,538
55 to 59 years.....	92,237	116,605	76,109	96,332	16,128	20,273
60 to 64 years.....	110,889	130,663	92,811	110,576	18,078	20,087
65 years and over.....	178,714	215,842	147,967	181,842	30,747	34,000
Unknown age.....	11,152	15,952	10,658	14,732	494	1,220

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
TANZANIA: 1967						
All ages.....	6,290,073	6,016,012	5,979,334	5,655,312	310,739	360,700
0 to 4 years.....	1,114,911	1,090,990	1,063,925	1,040,866	50,986	50,124
5 to 9 years.....	968,180	976,427	926,920	938,409	41,260	38,018
10 to 14 years.....	590,866	657,147	564,233	628,857	26,633	28,290
15 to 19 years.....	570,595	512,657	535,539	475,927	35,056	36,730
20 to 24 years.....	542,974	378,435	506,460	339,694	36,514	38,741
25 to 29 years.....	572,000	461,270	536,226	415,183	35,774	46,087
30 to 34 years.....	401,795	358,608	378,660	326,239	23,135	32,369
35 to 39 years.....	334,742	341,101	317,359	312,896	17,383	28,205
40 to 44 years.....	236,334	221,936	224,960	204,961	11,374	16,975
45 to 49 years.....	231,284	252,613	222,328	237,660	8,956	14,953
50 to 54 years.....	183,571	178,102	176,294	168,511	7,277	9,591
55 to 59 years.....	102,632	108,992	99,062	103,048	3,570	5,944
60 to 64 years.....	117,424	110,566	113,234	105,552	4,190	5,014
65 years and over.....	320,161	364,027	311,720	354,720	8,441	9,307
Unknown age.....	2,604	3,141	2,414	2,789	190	352
TANZANIA: 1978[1,2]						
All ages.....	8,931,613	8,595,951				
0 to 4 years.....	1,621,483	1,558,162				
5 to 9 years.....	1,412,838	1,392,768				
10 to 14 years.....	1,035,924	1,066,979				
15 to 24 years.....	1,621,398	1,431,200				
25 to 34 years.....	1,210,036	1,070,020				
35 to 44 years.....	795,887	761,746				
45 to 54 years.....	549,070	554,399				
55 to 64 years.....	350,662	377,974				
65 years and over.....	334,315	382,703				
Unknown age.....	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
UGANDA: 1969						
All ages.....	4,730,398	4,818,449	4,395,783	4,420,210	334,615	398,239
Under 1 year.....	139,231	135,122	865,717	847,062	63,100	61,390
1 to 4 years.....	789,586	773,330				
5 to 9 years.....	734,371	736,169	688,657	695,208	45,714	40,961
10 to 14 years.....	522,759	573,723	489,802	541,661	32,957	32,062
15 to 19 years.....	415,243	415,970	372,911	374,569	42,332	41,401
20 to 24 years.....	382,283	338,311	339,746	285,022	42,537	53,289
25 to 29 years.....	380,901	352,284	345,696	300,006	35,205	52,278
30 to 34 years.....	300,463	305,756	277,743	268,566	22,720	37,190
35 to 39 years.....	238,729	259,617	233,512	233,307	15,217	26,310
40 to 44 years.....	192,470	199,129	182,006	182,899	10,464	16,230
45 to 49 years.....	150,312	170,264	143,497	157,640	6,815	12,624
50 to 54 years.....	144,965	149,483	139,129	141,231	5,836	8,252
55 to 59 years.....	81,673	98,073	78,934	92,992	2,739	5,081
60 to 64 years.....	91,182	99,448	87,881	95,279	3,301	4,169
65 years and over.....	159,558	205,907	154,917	199,886	4,641	6,021
Unknown age.....	6,672	5,863	5,635	4,882	1,037	981

Southern Africa

ANGOLA: 1970 [1]		
All ages.....	2,526,500	2,723,700
0 to 4 years.....	438,543	444,216
5 to 9 years.....	394,741	441,277
10 to 14 years.....	284,550	341,878
15 to 19 years.....	215,097	247,979
20 to 24 years.....	216,486	231,936
25 to 29 years.....	193,735	196,537
30 to 34 years.....	200,029	182,676
35 to 39 years.....	151,557	151,579
40 to 44 years.....	130,796	135,166
45 to 49 years.....	80,006	88,962
50 to 54 years.....	75,744	73,756
55 to 59 years.....	47,613	51,990
60 to 64 years.....	46,015	55,395
65 years and over.....	51,549	80,340
Unknown age.....	-	-

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
BOTSWANA: 1971						
All ages.....	311,973	262,121	282,246	233,123	29,727	28,998
0 to 4 years.....	49,880	48,293	45,432	44,065	4,448	4,228
5 to 9 years.....	45,829	45,207	42,149	41,965	3,680	3,242
10 to 14 years.....	38,288	37,033	34,942	64,787	3,346	2,246
15 to 19 years.....	30,838	24,467	27,116	22,030	3,722	2,437
20 to 24 years.....	24,443	13,313	20,911	10,401	3,532	2,912
25 to 29 years.....	19,566	11,862	16,890	9,080	2,676	2,782
30 to 34 years.....	16,010	10,997	14,044	8,564	1,966	2,433
35 to 39 years.....	14,724	10,264	13,207	8,275	1,517	1,989
40 to 44 years.....	12,016	9,519	10,953	7,838	1,063	1,581
45 to 49 years.....	11,825	9,644	10,926	8,294	899	1,350
50 to 54 years.....	8,495	7,936	7,919	6,976	576	960
55 to 59 years.....	7,295	6,417	6,909	5,828	386	589
60 to 64 years.....	6,090	5,282	5,773	4,887	317	395
65 years and over.....	17,262	13,796	16,603	13,144	659	652
Unknown age.....	9,412	8,091	8,472	6,989	940	1,102
LESOTHO: 1966[1]						
All ages.....	484,106	368,255				
0 to 4 years.....	61,709	60,550				
5 to 9 years.....	62,781	63,352				
10 to 14 years.....	60,861	61,137				
15 to 19 years.....	48,602	39,831				
20 to 24 years.....	37,301	16,526				
25 to 29 years.....	31,492	14,338				
30 to 34 years.....	31,299	15,289				
35 to 39 years.....	23,800	14,158				
40 to 44 years.....	20,435	13,137				
45 to 49 years.....	23,499	17,388				
50 to 54 years.....	19,502	13,499				
55 to 59 years.....	13,558	10,402				
60 to 64 years.....	12,117	8,203				
65 years and over.....	35,518	19,070				
Unknown age.....	1,632	1,375				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
MALAWI: 1977						
All ages.....	2,873,871	2,673,589	2,656,758	2,420,044	217,113	253,545
Under 1 year.....	121,991	120,891	117,650	110,660	10,341	10,231
1 to 4 years.....	423,575	407,659	389,602	373,818	33,973	33,841
5 to 9 years.....	416,669	408,644	384,751	378,493	31,918	30,151
10 to 14 years.....	276,800	293,848	251,040	271,559	25,760	22,289
15 to 19 years.....	280,018	260,816	256,543	236,650	23,475	24,166
20 to 24 years.....	254,149	194,803	229,157	166,351	24,992	28,452
25 to 29 years.....	233,239	203,824	212,274	174,693	20,965	29,131
30 to 34 years.....	161,081	145,086	148,219	124,774	12,862	20,312
35 to 39 years.....	144,989	131,581	135,074	114,826	9,915	16,755
40 to 44 years.....	109,000	94,683	102,638	83,266	6,362	11,417
45 to 49 years.....	113,341	105,322	108,185	95,676	5,156	9,646
50 to 54 years.....	81,076	65,768	77,679	60,361	3,397	5,407
55 to 59 years.....	66,808	64,704	64,343	60,630	2,465	4,074
60 to 64 years.....	54,771	48,820	52,993	46,429	1,778	2,391
65 years and over.....	126,150	122,239	122,947	118,397	3,203	3,842
Unknown age.....	4,214	4,901	3,663	3,461	551	1,440
MOZAMBIQUE: 1970[1]						
All ages.....	4,130,384	4,038,549				
Under 1 year.....	103,881	96,290				
1 to 4 years.....	619,196	601,532				
5 to 9 years.....	664,363	706,699				
10 to 14 years.....	409,629	497,498				
15 to 19 years.....	260,778	311,030				
20 to 24 years.....	344,649	322,527				
25 to 29 years.....	330,850	267,878				
30 to 34 years.....	336,923	270,667				
35 to 39 years.....	272,541	240,399				
40 to 44 years.....	228,667	207,516				
45 to 49 years.....	165,037	159,484				
50 to 54 years.....	131,219	114,507				
55 to 59 years.....	92,025	79,349				
60 to 64 years.....	93,128	83,640				
65 years and over.....	77,498	79,533				
Unknown age.....	-	-				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
SWAZILAND: 1976[1]						
All ages.....	262,673	231,861				
Under 1 year.....	9,542	9,127				
1 to 4 years.....	35,667	34,066				
5 to 9 years.....	39,876	39,422				
10 to 14 years.....	33,783	33,055				
15 to 19 years.....	28,543	23,560				
20 to 24 years.....	23,255	15,286				
25 to 29 years.....	19,626	13,776				
30 to 34 years.....	14,111	11,248				
35 to 39 years.....	13,232	11,863				
40 to 44 years.....	9,640	8,872				
45 to 49 years.....	8,936	8,801				
50 to 54 years.....	6,299	5,688				
55 to 59 years.....	5,258	4,903				
60 to 64 years.....	4,182	4,027				
65 years and over.....	9,840	7,419				
Unknown age.....	883	748				
ZAMBIA: 1969[1]						
All ages.....	2,069,984	1,987,011				
0 to 4 years.....	381,715	367,313				
5 to 9 years.....	326,879	324,592				
10 to 14 years.....	221,604	236,725				
15 to 19 years.....	183,880	172,676				
20 to 24 years.....	189,445	132,325				
25 to 29 years.....	161,368	125,438				
30 to 34 years.....	142,553	115,955				
35 to 39 years.....	118,803	117,189				
40 to 44 years.....	85,929	87,327				
45 to 49 years.....	76,410	85,163				
50 to 54 years.....	53,819	59,464				
55 to 59 years.....	40,714	62,980				
60 to 64years.....	25,638	29,161				
65 years and over.....	39,699	48,974				
Unknown age.....	21,528	21,729				

See footnotes at end of table.

Population by Age, Sex, and Rural/Urban Residence—Continued

Country, year, and age	Total country		Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
ZAMBIA: 1974						
All ages.....	2,401,474	2,275,272	1,595,459	1,418,074	806,015	857,198
0 to 4 years.....	455,518	450,904	282,124	276,579	173,394	174,325
5 to 9 years.....	369,611	370,765	233,009	236,344	136,602	134,421
10 to 14 years.....	286,886	293,534	182,602	192,566	104,284	100,968
15 to 19 years.....	237,376	211,755	137,823	124,599	99,853	87,156
20 to 24 years.....	170,252	136,507	[illegible],435	67,978	76,817	68,529
25 to 29 years.....	146,506	116,794	87,204	53,388	59,302	63,406
30 to 34 years.....	118,561	101,751	77,391	50,896	41,170	50,855
35 to 39 years.....	103,576	86,649	70,228	46,817	33,348	39,832
40 to 44 years.....	78,216	85,536	57,793	48,516	20,423	37,020
45 to 49 years.....	54,810	64,893	43,101	39,070	11,709	25,823
50 to 54 years.....	45,064	58,037	38,424	39,452	6,640	18,585
55 to 59 years.....	30,548	37,409	27,187	28,791	3,361	8,618
60 to 64 years.....	28,820	44,196	26,377	37,348	2,443	6,848
65 years and over.....	41,097	52,727	38,194	48,051	2,903	4,676
Unknown age.....	234,633	163,815	200,867	127,679	33,766	36,136
ZIMBABWE: 1969						
All ages.....	2,532,263	2,567,081	2,178,518	2,064,016	353,745	503,065
Under 1 year.....	39,065	36,840	376,585	356,323	49,630	50,712
1 to 4 years.....	327,150	370,195				
5 to 9 years.....	432,574	435,549	383,366	387,151	49,208	48,398
10 to 14 years.....	340,557	343,977	299,816	303,205	40,741	40,772
15 to 19 years.....	256,222	258,942	220,677	213,895	35,545	45,047
20 to 24 years.....	223,282	188,731	184,478	133,229	38,804	55,502
25 to 29 years.....	188,255	171,982	155,882	114,306	32,373	57,676
30 to 34 years.....	155,531	157,890	128,244	104,784	27,287	53,106
35 to 39 years.....	134,038	142,912	112,405	98,726	21,633	44,186
40 to 44 years.....	94,808	110,403	79,007	77,891	15,801	32,512
45 to 49 years.....	90,148	106,592	77,248	79,629	12,900	26,963
50 to 54 years.....	56,641	77,068	48,408	60,673	8,233	16,395
55 to 59 years.....	40,301	56,674	34,021	45,556	6,280	11,118
60 to 64 years.....	23,471	28,455	19,139	23,040	4,332	5,415
65 years and over.....	52,670	59,204	45,068	52,139	7,602	7,065
Unknown age.....	17,550	21,667	14,174	13,469	3,376	8,198

[1]Data are not available by rural/urban residence.
[2]Data are not available in conventional 5-year age groups.
[3]Data are available only for rural areas.
[4]Data are not available in conventional 5-year age groups for total country nor for urban areas.
[5]Data are not available in conventional 5-year age groups for rural and urban areas.