Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Rape, a profound violation of a woman’s bodily integrity which can be a form of torture, is a common phenomenon in all over the world particularly in developing countries. Reports from various parts of the world indicate that rape of women and young girls has increased considerably, especially in recent years. The actual number of instances of rape is far from being recorded in full since the unreported number is extremely high (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2006). Almaz (1996) in her study of Rape and Abduction; pointed out that even if rape cases are increasing still it is one of the highly underreported crimes of the world. For instance, in South Africa which has high numbers of reported rapes, the police have estimated that only one in 35 incidents is actually reported. Additionally, estimates from France suggest that out of 25,000 cases of rape committed every year, only 8,000 are reported to the police (European Women’s Lobby, 2001 cited in Amnesty International, 2004). For this, many researchers have identified the causes. Yohannes (2003) in his study of sexual violence identified that shame, fear of stigma by the society and embarrassing questions asked by the police or later in a court as the major reasons hindering victims’ report to the police.

Many researchers classified rape into different groups. Bessmer (1984) in his study of the laws of rape classified rape into three categories: statutory rape, forcible rape, and marital rape. A statutory rape is a condition in which sexual intercourse occurs with a female under the age of 18 years (with or without her consent). Sexual intercourse with a person who is mentally deficient or unconscious and therefore incapable of giving consent is also sometimes considered as statutory rape because her consent or submission doesn't have legal validity. Forcible rape in its general legal meaning, sexual intercourse which is accomplished by sufficient force to overcome the resistance of the victim or by threats of injury sufficient to place a non-consenting person in such fear as to cause the person to submit. The other type, marital rape, is a kind of rape where a husband forces his wife to have sex without her will. However, women in many countries like Ethiopia don’t consider forced sex as rape if they are married or cohabiting with the perpetrator. Thus, the prevalence of marital rape in Ethiopia is not documented due to legal, cultural and
religious barriers that are inhibiting the victims from reporting to the police. The other fact for the unreported of marital rape is the fear of retribution from their abusers and lack of remedies for their situation. Generally, the cultures, traditions and religions that operate in most communities in Ethiopia dictate that women are subordinate to their husbands in the marital relationships. This attitude is so deep rooted that women themselves commonly accept it as normal (EWLA, 2006).

Nowadays, the issue of rape has received increased attention as the number of victims is increasing dramatically every year all over the world. It seems that rape is considered everywhere as a major social and public health concern and a human rights issue. It can be said now that the prevalence of rape has gone even out of imagination since children of two years of age are being raped (Almaz, 1996). Accordingly, she further mentioned that though the rate of prevalence varies, all groups of women can be victims of rape, ranging from infants up to old women, poor to rich, illiterate to educated, single or married, etc. Similarly, Amnesty International (2004) confirmed that women face discrimination and violence at the hands of the state, the community and the family from birth to death, in times of peace as well as war.

Rape can occur in victims' house, neighbor's home, rapist's house, on the street, in hotels and institutions such as school, working place, etc. Regarding the perpetrators, women can be raped by strangers, close relatives, employer, neighbor, boy-friend, step-father, father, and brother which have overwhelming impact on social and mental well beings of victims. They can be raped by one man or many, and can be beaten, threatened, kidnapped or killed. Men are also victims of rape; however, the prevalence as it compared with women victims is very low (Hailu, 2007). Tjadan and Thoennes (2006) in their findings, most rape victims are women and most rapists are men. The study also shows that victim-perpetrator relationship patterns which varied across the lifespan of women. Women who were raped as children (before age 12) tended to be victimized by relatives; as adolescents (between ages 12 and 17); women tended to be raped by intimate partners and acquaintances; and as adults (after their 18th birthday) women tended to be raped by intimate partners. Women are raped by men who have various socio-economic backgrounds. Nowadays, the problem is getting worse and frightening as perpetrators are doctors, teachers,
priests, policemen, etc. who are responsible to safeguard individuals from violence (Almaz, 1996).

In order to prevent violence, it is very important to identify and understand causes that put female children/women at risk for violent victimization. Various researchers of different disciplines have revealed that there are interrelated causes that increase women's vulnerability to rape. Among them, cultural norms, poverty, breakdown of the family, alcohol and drug use, trafficking, lenient of enforcement bodies, pornography and instability of the community are identified to be the major causes of rape (Yohannes, 2003; Hailu, 2007; Mitike, 2000; Almaz, 1996; Brownmiller, 1975). Rape is a sexualized form of wielding power and control. It is deeply-rooted in patriarchal cultures. This can be seen from the representation of rape that women are perceived as passive and submissive while men are active and dominant (Brownmiller, 1975).

The consequences of rape, which are one of the central issues to be dealt with in this study, are mentioned by different researchers as a fast growing phenomenon worldwide and in Ethiopia. Rape results in serious and often life threatening consequences on physical, psychological and social development including stigma, blame, unwanted pregnancy, abortion and sexually transmitted infections (STDs) including HIV/AIDS (Heiberg, 2001). Rape serves to humiliate and intimidate women. It causes terrible pain at the time of the assault and leave great scare for victims' next life. It is used to control women and keep them in a subordinate position (Brownmiller, 1975).

Furthermore, rape is a violation of constitutionally guaranteed rights of individuals such as, 'the right to protection against bodily harm, the right to respect human dignity, reputation and honor and the right to privacy' (FDRE Constitution of 1995, article 34 and 35). So, rape is a serious crime that violates these inalienable rights of women.

Therefore, taking into consideration the above mentioned facts, it is imperative and worthwhile to identify causes of rape and its devastating effects. This, in turn, will have significant importance in the prevention effort.
1.2 Statement of the problem

Rape is the most extreme form of sexual violence that degrades and humiliates women's life. Sexual violence against women is both a public health problem and a human rights violation. The day-to-day reality is that women’s lives are constantly being affected by the possibility and actuality of violence. This shapes and affects women’s lives from birth through old age. Rape is also known to undermine the pursuit of internationally agreed public health objectives to deal in a positive way with their sexuality and to reduce unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS. For young girls, it severely limits their ability to achieve their educational potential (Judith et al, 2003, cited in Rahel, 2006).

Hailu (2007) in his study of Child Sexual Abuse mentioned that the potential victims as well as the actual victims are suffering from the threat of rape and they build up new way of life to keep away from the perceived dangers. Accordingly, Amnesty International (2004) identified that fear of rape affects the day-to-day life of most women in all countries. They limit the extent of their activity and freedom of movement and their ability to participate in public decision making and affecting their standard of living. From this point of view, it can be understood that rape has a political effect because it violates political rights of human beings by restricting and controlling the lives of women due to fear of being raped.

Many research findings show that rape is highly associated with a range of gynecological and reproductive health problems with both immediate and long term consequences. Abortion is also another risk after pregnancy from rape. It is taking the lives of many girls from unsafe abortion especially for those underage girls are at more danger because of their premature body (Rahel, 2006).

As it is mentioned above, rape has a great negative impact on victim's social life. In Ethiopia, where masculinity plays a great role, raped women are stigmatized by their families as well as communities because the acceptance of traditional masculine gender roles in a patriarchal society is closely associated with scaling up of violence towards women and children (Sara, 2001).
Generally, being raped leaves the victims, family members as well as the society in a devastating and humiliating situation (Almaz, 1996).

In Ethiopia, there are very limited studies conducted in the areas of rape. The studies that were conducted before mainly discussed rape as a single part of sexual violence or sexual assault. However, there are very few studies undertaken rape as a particular and a major topic of the study. Furthermore, they focused on a particular group of women such as adolescent women (Yohannes, 2003; Mitike, 2000; Rahel, 2006)) and female students (Bekele, 1998; Kasaye, 1997; Seblework, 2004). Many of them were conducted from the point of health problems and lack gender issues. Therefore, this research, intends to fill this gaps by looking at rape from the perspective of legal bodies, victims of rape, officials from different organization/institutions that have been working on related subjects and health institution to see major causes that exposed young girls and women to rape and its long lasting impacts.

1.3 Objectives of the study

General objective

The overall objective of the research is to understand causes of rape and to find out the socio-health effects of rape that affect victims’ entire life in kirkos sub-city, Addis Ababa.

Specific objectives

The following are the specific objectives of the research.

- To identify major causes of rape.
- To assess the long-term and short-term socio-health problems of rape.
- To explore the demographic profile of rapists from the victims point of view.
- To identify the coping strategies used by female victims of rape.
1.4 Research questions

To achieve the objectives mentioned above, the study will answer the following questions:
1. What are the causes that increase females’ vulnerability to rape?
2. What are the negative outcomes that female rape victims experience during and after the incident?
3. What are the demographic profiles of rapists from victims’ point of view?
4. What are the coping mechanisms used by female victims of rape?

1.5 Operational definitions

**Sexual violence:** is a term used to describe any type of sexual activity including forced touching or kissing or coerced intercourse committed by one person without the consent of the other. It involves the use of threats, force, or violence, or any other form of coercion or intimidation.

**Gender based violence:** is the act of violence which reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. It encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including sexual abuse of children, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, trafficking of women and girls and several harmful traditional practices.

**Rape:** is one form of sexual violence. It is a forced or coerced sexual intercourse against the will of the victim.

**Attempted rape:** is when a person tries to commit rape but does not quite manage to put his penis into vagina.

**Victim:** A person who suffers from the incident of rape.

**Statutory rape:** refers to Sexual intercourse with a female below the age of consent, which varies from state to state.

**Forcible rape:** refers to sexual intercourse involving forceful acts against the will of the other person.
Marital rape: is when the husband forces his wife to have sexual intercourse against her consent.

Acquaintance rape: is non-consensual forced, manipulated or coerced sexual intercourse where the victim knows the perpetrator.

Stranger rape: is a nonconsensual or forced sex committed by someone that the victim doesn’t know.

Consent: Words or overt actions by a person who is legally or functionally competent to give informed approval, indicating a freely given agreement to have sexual intercourse or sexual contact.

Fistula: In medicine, a fistula is an abnormal connection or passageway between two epithelium-lined organs or vessels that normally do not connect.

Rapist: is someone who commits forced sexual intercourse against the person’s consent.

1.6 Rationale for the study

Various studies show that the number of rape victims is increasing from time to time. Yohannes (2003) found out that among the 90 victims who reported to have been raped, 21% of them have experienced unwanted pregnancy, 10% had abortion and 16.7% experienced unusual discharge from the genitalia. Accordingly, 57% of the victims reported their perceived risk of acquiring HIV/AIDS. A similar study conducted by Bekele (1998) on the effects of rape on female students in Addis Ababa indicated that 16.3% of the respondents admitted having been raped at least once. Given the magnitude of the problem, this research makes inquires if there is lack of awareness of the law, issue that put women at risk of rape and severe impacts of rape and finds this out by looking at major causes of rape and its socio-health effects from victims’ point of view and officials from different organizations/associations which have been working on the subject matter.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

The study is delimited among specific groups and in a specific area. It focuses on female rape victims who have reported to the Children’s Protection Unit office and Ethiopian Women
Lawyers Association in ‘kirkos’ sub-city, Addis Ababa. It doesn’t include men’s experience of rape as it is not as a grave problem as the case of females, in our country. Specifically, the study limits itself on 12 female rape victims above 12 years old.

1.8 Limitation of the study

This study is undertaken within a limited time (February to April, 2008). The researcher had to spend much time to establish good rapport with informants as the type of the issue is very sensitive and the questions raised needed more time and effort. Thus, the researcher encountered lack of enough time to stay long time with informants. The other limitation encountered relates to the difficulty faced in getting informants as many of them were not volunteer to participate in this study due to the sensitivity of the issue and fear of reprisal actions.

1.9 Significance of the study

Since committing rape is discriminatory against female children/women and violates the basic human rights of individuals, such a study will be important in ensuring protection of their rights as incorporated in the FDRE constitution and other international declarations or conventions like CEDAW, DEVAW, etc. Several studies indicated that rape has multidimensional impact on the victims and the society at large. Hence, the researcher has found it essential to deal with causes of rape and its devastating socio-health effects that involve economic, educational, social, physical and psychological damages. This may in turn;

- Indicate causes and consequences of rape and possible solutions to alleviate the problem.
- Used as a source of information for researchers, councilors, governmental and non governmental organizations which have been working on the subject matter.
- Contribute to further in-depth research work on rape.
- Add some points to the limited knowledge of rape.
Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks of the study

2.1.1 Rape: Definition, Prevalence and Perpetrators

A study conducted by Brownmiller (1975) on Women and Rape, mentioned that originally rape was the illegal destruction of virginity outside marriage contract and later the concept became broader to cover the ruination of wife's chastity as well, thus extending the law’s concern to nonvirgins too. A female was considered the property of her father to be bartered in marriage and her virginity was valued as the principal asset. Thus, rape was considered theft of a father’s daughter’s virginity and a crime against the husband's exclusive sexual right. This definition is still the norm among many African societies. However, as a result of women's movement during the 1970s in most parts of the world, the crime of rape is redefined as a crime of violence against females. It is clearly stated as:

“Rape is a deliberate, hostile, violent act of degradation and possession on the part of the would be conqueror, designed to intimidate and inspire fear. It is both a blow to the body and a blow to the mind and a 'taking' of sex through the use of threat of force. In rape the threat of force obtains a highly valued sexual service and the intent is not merely to 'take' but to humiliate and degrade” (Brownmiller, 1975: 376-378).

Rape is legally forced sexual intercourse with a person who at the time of intercourse does not consent to it (Kelly, 1988). Some scholars argue against the legal definition of consent as absence of resistance. The victims may be afraid to fight against the man because of fear or victims knowledge that resistance would be useless, but that doesn't mean consent (Mitike, 2000). Furthermore, the legal resource foundation in Zimbabwe (1989) stated that it is rape even if the woman does not fight against her attacker as long as it is clear that she doesn't agree to have sex. However, there are conditions where consent is irrelevant if the act of sexual intercourse is committed against juveniles and unconscious or mentally deficient women which refer to
statutory rape. This is because they are not capable of understanding what is proposed because of their level of maturity, developmental level and experiences which is an essential element in assessing the issue of consent.

Rape occurs across all societies. Irrespective of their culture, status and ethnicity, young girls and women are subjected to such kinds of crime. Clark and Lewis (1997) revealed that rape victims can be any age and any class, despite their appearance, age, and position. What they have in common is their female gender and thus their vulnerability to male violence. Brownmiller (1975) mentioned that because of the ever present danger of rape, all female victims and potential victims fear all rapists and potential-rapists. Moreover, Anne (1991, cited in Bart and Moran, 1993) found out that women have reported fear of rape that are three times those of men due to the existence of greater physical and social vulnerability. Consequently, Clark and Lewis (1997) identified that women have various ways to prevent themselves from rape by modifying their lives, for example not walking alone at night. However, the problem is not women who prefer the safe place because they have a right to go and to stay wherever they want. Rape and other gender based violence is a barrier to women’s full participation in society by restricting their movement and participation in public life and their ability to control their own lives.

Most females are raped by men they know but some are raped by strangers (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2006). This is confirmed by many researchers. For instance, a study conducted by Bekele (1998) on “The Impact of Rape among Female Students” mentioned that out of nine rape victims four were raped by relatives, two by neighbors, one by a boy whom she has considered like brother and the remaining two by strangers. Another study made by Tesfaye (2003) mentioned that among the total respondents of 80 students 20% have ever been subjected to rape. From these victims, 79.25% their perpetrators are someone they know. Beside this, Rahel (2006) in her study of “Sexual Violence among Female Adolescents”, 80.4% of rape victims are raped by the person whom they know. Among them, 20.3% by close relatives, 20.3% by family friends, 26.6% by neighbors, 10.9% by their boyfriends, 2.3% by their teachers, and only 10.9% by unknown persons and the rest 8.9% mentioned other than the above. Furthermore, the 2005 National Crime Victimization Survey in USA found that 73% of rape victims knew their rapists. Approximately, 38% of victims are raped by a friend or acquaintance; 28% of victims by an
intimate partner; 26% of victims by a stranger; 7% of victims by another relative; and in 2% of cases the relationship is unknown (Catelano, 2006). Accordingly, Warshaw (1988) described this acquaintance rape as an act of violence that violent sex offender men do to women. In her study, from the rapists’ point of view, women they are dating or whom they already know are 'safe' victims, that is, unlikely to offer serious resistance or to report the crime after the incident. This is due to the fact that women are socialized to be passive, unassertive and dependent on men for physical and economic protection. They are also thought to view their sexuality as the barter with which to buy that protection. Men, on the other hand, are thought to be self-centered and single-minded in their pursuit of sex. She further comments that men ‘view their relationships with women as adversarial challenges and learn to use both their physical and social power to overcome these smaller, less important people’.

Perpetrators of rape have been classified into different types based on their different behavioral, motivational, and cognitive characteristics; however, these characteristics are frequently combined without differentiating among them (Douglas and Mark, 1999). Accordingly, Groth (1979) identified three common types of rapists:

1. The anger rapist-uses rape to degrade or humiliate women; expresses much profanity; attacks often prompted by some marital conflict, occupational or financial problem.

2. The power rapist-uses rape to express sexual conquest, establish masculine identity, and likely to kidnap victim for repeated assaults over an extended period of time.

3. The sadistic rapist-uses torture or bondage to experience sexual arousal over victim's suffering; frequently targets prostitutes, promiscuous women or those who symbolize something he wants to destroy or punish.

Regarding, the age differences between rapists and victims of rape, most victims of rape are the same age as or younger than their attacker and women are especially at risk between the ages of ten and twenty-nine. The victim is typically smaller than her attacker in weight and height and this is both a physical and psychological factors that contribute to increase the incident of rape (Clark and Lewis, 1997). In the United States, most rapists are below the age of thirty and are older than their victims (Drieschner and Lange, 1999).
2.1.2 Theoretical Framework of the study

Various theoretical viewpoints have struggled to identify the causes of rape. A brief account of some of the theories is given below.

2.1.2.1 Feminist views towards rape

Most feminists believe that rape is motivated by a desire to exert control over women and not out of lust. Rape, according to feminist theories, is not necessary a sexual act, but an act of violence. Violence asserts power and men use this to dominate women. This theory views rape as emerging from a social framework that emphasizes group conflict. Since males have constructed a patriarchal society in which men are holders of wealth and power, they engage in behaviors that maintain this control. Physically, men are stronger and have sexual anatomy that makes rape possible (Kelly, 1988).

Furthermore, feminists have reconceived rape as central to women's condition in two ways. Some see rape as an act of violence, not sexuality, the threat of which intimidates all women. Others see rape, including its violence, as an expression of male sexuality, the social imperatives of which define all women (Bart and Moran, 1993). Radical feminists believe that rape functions as a mechanism of social control. They believe that rape and the fear of rape enable men to assert their power over women and maintain the existing system of gender stratification. They also believe that pornography causes rape by reflecting and encouraging male dominance, objectifying women and serving as a behavioral model for the perpetration of misogynists’ acts. Radical feminists’ view the root cause of women’s oppression as male control of women’s bodies. Regarding on sexuality, these feminists view rape as a political act in the sense of making women’s bodies into pawn of men. Patriarchal ideology fills women’s lives and conditions to accept certain social roles which benefit men. They further believe that as a political act, rape constitutes oppression against women along individual as well as societal dimensions. It is a form of mass terrorism for the victim of rape, but the propagandists for male supremacy broadcast that it is women who cause rape by being unchaste or in the wrong place at the wrong time. Generally, radical feminists believe that ‘Rape is an effective political devise. It is not an
arbitrary act of violence by one individual on another; it is a political act of oppression exercised by members of a powerful class on members of the powerless class’ (Weisberg, 1996:411).

Radical feminists consider rape as a social concept, and therefore are shaped by society. They believe that rape might occur each time a man and woman have sex when it was not freely initiated by the woman. Even if woman initiates sex, the act is still rape if she were acting under social pressure. Perhaps some feminists said that rape is the assertion that no women can freely give their consent to have sexual intercourse in a patriarchal society. According to this definition, any act of sex between a male and female in a particular society is rape (Moore and Reynolds, 2004).

Regarding liberal feminists, they stress on the autonomous individual and choice that sexual coercion came to be viewed as individual and gender neutral rather than institutional and sex specific. Moreover, it is violent rather than its sexual aspects were emphasized. According to liberals, coercion consists of force or threat of force that violate natural human rights. Because liberalism established that women should be treated as individuals, not as women classified by their sex (Weisberg, 1996).

On the other hand, Marxists emphasize the interrelationship of rape with sexual inequality and capitalist systems. They disagree with the radical feminists’ view of the universality of rape. They conclude that the act of violence among male is neither inborn nor universal rather rape is related to levels of violence that vary from society to society. They hypothesis that the social mechanisms that give rise to rape operates in societies dominated by capitalist modes of production. Rape is an act that symbolizes the political and economic oppression of women in capitalist society. Their solution to the problem of rape is to direct social policies at changing the socio-economic factors that contribute to violence: improving the opportunities and working conditions of unemployed men and reducing female dependency at home and in the labor force, to provide women with greater power (ibid).
2.1.2.2 Evolutionary theory

This theory is based on natural selection and adaptation which is concerned with behaviors of genes, personality, physiology and environmental stimuli. According to this theory, males are typically more eager to mate than females who are then enabled to choose the best partner from among the males who are competing for them. In rape, however, the female is not given this opportunity to choose and instead is taken by force. Females have been sexually selected to secure a mate with whom they have bonded and can together be responsible for the offspring. Therefore, females have adapted to resist sexual intercourse with an unbolded partner and be more selective regarding their sexual partners. If females were selected to be willing to mate under any circumstances, rape would not occur (Thornhill and Palmer, 2001).

The evolutionary theory of rape doesn't reject the notion that learning socialization may play a role in rape behaviors. Not all men have rape behavior. This suggests that there are likely clues in the environment or during development that prohibit rape behavior. Additionally, there are two likely explanations for ultimate causes of rape. First, increasing female partners’ increases man’s reproductive success, it may be an adaptation that was directly favored by selection. Secondly, it may instead be a by product of other adaptations such as a sexual desire of males to have multiple partners without commitment (ibid).

2.1.2.3 Social learning theory

The theory sees cultural traditions such as imitation or modeling, sex violence linkages, rape myths such as women secretly desire to be raped. It postulates that rape is the result of male acquisition of attitudes and vicarious learning experiences favorable to males to behaving aggressively toward women. Consistent with this theory was evidence that rapists were more prone to respond sexually to depictions of rape and aggression toward women than were other males (Ellis, 1989).

Furthermore, Mitike (2000) mentioned that the theory emphasizes the influence of variables such as occupational status and parental modeling on the onset of violence. Studies showed that an
unsatisfactory employment status strongly increased the likelihood of violence in young subjects (aged less than 40 years). Additionally, men who were abused as a child or witnessed violence will be more likely to involve in violence than those who don't have this experience.

Among the above mentioned theories, what feminist theory and social learning theory stated are assumed to be the basic cause of rape in Ethiopia where patriarchy and masculinity are practiced in many societies. Hence, in feminist theory, this study endorses the views of radical feminists in that it strongly believes that rape is the result of patriarchy and power domination of men over women, Marxist feminists who believes in lack of economic empowerment among females exposed to sexual violence which is the root cause of women’s’ oppression in every aspects of life and also the views of social learning theory which believes that parental modeling and imitation plays a role for developing the behavior of violent sex offenders.

2.2 Legal frameworks of the study

2.2.1 Rape under the Human Rights Convention and International Law

The International human rights conventions provided different rights for women to be protected against gender based violence by the reason of their vulnerability to such offences. Ethiopia is signatory to many international conventions for the promotion and protection of women's rights. The Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1995) is one of the major ones which focuses specifically on women's human rights and contains detailed provisions on gender discrimination. Specifically, article 1 defines 'discrimination against women' as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. This shows that rape is one of the crimes that violate the International human rights standards. It results in physical and psychological trauma and injury. Health consequences are horrible and may include death, injury, unwanted pregnancy, abortion, chronic and life threatening diseases, as well as a host of emotional and mental health issues including depression and sexual dysfunction.
The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (2003) in article 4 states that "rights of human beings are inviolable. Every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of this right." Furthermore, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) in article 1 defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. Moreover, article 2 states that "violence against women shall be understood to encompass physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution." Thus, rape is one of the violence against women that invade the rights of integrity and self determination of women. Therefore, rape is not simply a women's issue left for especial feminist groups only who struggle for bringing changes among women’s right. It is rather a problem worthy of international attention and action as it is an integral part of the human rights of women which in general would be the birth rights of half of human beings (Bekele, 1998).

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) defined rape as the sexual penetration, however slight: (a) of the vagina or anus of the victim by the penis of the perpetrator or any other object used by the perpetrator: (b) of the mouth of the victim by the penis of the perpetrator: where such sexual penetration occurs without the consent of the victim. Consent for this purpose must be consent given voluntarily, as a result of the victim's free will, assessed in the context of the surrounding circumstances. Furthermore, the widest definition of rape in international law is provided by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) which stated that rape consists of a physical invasion of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive and is not limited to the insertion of a penis into a victim's vagina or anus or the insertion of a penis in the mouth of the victim. This is somewhat too broad than the first one (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002).
Taken together, these treaties provide comprehensive guarantees of the rights of women and girls to protect them from sexual violence and abuse. However, still now sexual violence like rape subjected to women is widely prevalent in developed as well as in developing countries.

2.2.2 Legal aspects of rape in Ethiopia

Article 35 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia’s constitution (1995) discussed about rights of women that ensures women's equal right with men in every aspects of life. Moreover, Ethiopian Criminal Code (2005) article 620 (1) ‘defined rape as whoever compels a woman to submit to sexual intercourse outside wedlock, whether by the use of violence or grave intimidation, or incapable of resistance is punishable with rigorous imprisonment from five years to fifteen years. (2) where the crime is committed: a) on a young woman between thirteen and eighteen years of age; or b) on an inmate of an alms-house or asylum or any establishment of health, education, correlation, detention or internment which is under the direction, supervision or authority of the accused person or on anyone who is under the supervision or control of or dependent upon him; or on a woman incapable of understanding the nature or consequences of the act, or of resisting the act, due to old age, physical or mental illness, depression or any other reason; or d) by a number of men acting in consent, or by subjecting the victim to act of cruelty or sadism, the punishment shall be rigorous imprisonment from five years to twenty years.(3) where the rape has caused grave physical or mental injury or death, the punishment shall be life imprisonment. (4) Where the rape is related to illegal restraint or abduction of the victim, or where communicable disease has been transmitted to her, the relevant provisions of this code shall apply concurrently.’

As mentioned above, the Ethiopian Criminal Code (2005) considers rape a crime only if it is committed out of wedlock. This has been the traditional definition of rape. In most countries, the non-penalization of marital rape is opposed by women's rights activists and many countries are revising their laws. For instance, the South African law defined rape as ‘intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman or a girl-child without her consent’. Besides, in their Prevention of Family Violence Act specifically penalized the rape of a wife by her husband (Hillina and Rakeb, 1999). Similarly, in Mauritius, the 1997 Protection from Domestic Violence Act
discreetly included in its list of ‘domestic violence acts’, as 'compelling the spouse by force or threat to engage in any conduct or act sexual or otherwise, from which the spouse has a right to abstain’ (Hilina, 1997). In the Ethiopian case, when the amendment proposal of the present Ethiopian criminal code of 2005 prepared, Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association has argued that rape should be accredited as a crime if it occurs in marriage. However, the idea was rejected by the lawyers. It is argued that the sexual relations between a man and his wife are considered to be personal and not a matter of criminal law (Emebet, 2004). However, Ethiopia is one of the countries which ratify the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) which states that marital rape is one form of violence against women.

Mitike (2000) pointed out the shortcomings of the previous Ethiopian criminal code of 1957 which is still the same in its definition with the present criminal code. She mentioned that the crime of rape is understood to be forced vaginal sexual intercourse, other forms of sexual intercourse or the introduction of objects mostly fall under the much more slightly admonished penal crime of ‘sexual coercion’, though the victim probably experiences all forms of sexual abuse which equally degrade them. Moreover, the definition of the law is confined on rape committed on women. However, especially in recent years there is widely prevalence of rape committed on men (Hailu, 2007). Mitike (2000) further stated that even if perpetrators are proved to be guilty the penalty imposed is inadequate. Accordingly, Hilina (1997) revealed that in most countries committing rape is condemned as a serious offence. For example, in Uganda having sexual intercourse with a girl under 18 is punishable with death, irrespective of the girls' consent. In Tanzania, actual rape and attempted rape carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.

Furthermore, Rakeb (1997) mentioned problems concerning implementations of the Ethiopian criminal law. As she mentioned that there is a distinction made by law enforcement bodies. According to the police's classification, the criminal act of rape is divided into those that have resulted in the loss of the virginity of the victim and those that have not. However, the law classified it based on the victim’s age not by loss of virginity. As a result, greater and more serious attention is given to the investigation of rape cases that have resulted in the loss of virginity than to those that have not.
Generally, the above mentioned facts show that the Ethiopian penal code and the enforcement bodies bears a number of shortcomings and hence, can be a contributory factor that discourages the actual and potential victims of rape to seek help from the police. Therefore, these weaknesses can increase the prevalence of rape as the crime kept from legal bodies.

2.3 Prevalence of rape in Addis Ababa

Measuring the incidence of rape is depends on reports by victims. Many researchers' stated that rape is the most under-reported crimes in the world. Brownmiller (1975 cited in Johnson, 1980) mentioned that estimates of the percentage of rapes that are reported range from 5% to a high of 50 %. This means that as many of actual rapes may be unreported. Not only does this make it difficult to estimate single year's incidence, but it also makes the establishment of trends over time impossible. In addition to this, data gathered by the Walta Information Center (a private media center) in cooperation with Ethiopian Women's Affairs Offices on violence committed against women in the different parts of the country with in the year 2000 indicated that in Addis Ababa 168 women were raped and the percentage of rape cases reported was only 7.4% (Original et.al., 2004). This is also confirmed in a study conducted by Bekele (1998) from his finding with the exception of 12.5%, all 87.5% of victims have never taken any measure of reporting the incidence of rape. The reasons for not reporting are, 35.71% were because of fear of warning given by the perpetrator and 28.57% were fear of labeling by anybody else. The other 21.13% and 14.29% of victims were because of believing that no change will bring and fear of stigmatization respectively.

Though, much is not done in this area, police report and some of the existing studies show the magnitude of the problem in Addis Ababa. Among the few existing studies, a study conducted by Kasaye (1997) on the “Prevalence of Rape in Addis Ababa and Showa” mentioned that among 58.5% sexually active girls 5.1% have reported being a victim of rape. Among these, 26% of rape victims encountered rape more than one times. Attempted rape and abduction, which is always followed by rape, was reported by 141(10.1%) and 63(4.5%) of female high school students respectively.
Another study undertaken by Chelchesa (1998 cited in Mitike, 2000) from 1995 to 1997 E.C assessed the incidence of child abuse in four woredas in Addis Ababa, it was found that only in one woreda (woreda 5) there were 24 (3.7%) reported rape cases and 0.2% attempted rape cases.

Mitike (2000) made an analysis on sexual violence among female street adolescents in Addis Ababa. According to her findings, the prevalence of rape was 102(15.6%) and repetitive for 61(60%) of victims. Of those who survived repeated attack 41(40.2%) were victimized 2-4 times while 20(19.6%) reported to have been victimized more than five times.

A study made by Tesfaye (2003) on the assessment of the incidence, causes and effects of sexual harassment/sexual assault; he found that among those women who started sexual intercourse, 23.3% have started sexual relation on account of marriage and also 23.3% is because of their thinking as they are in maturity age. The remaining 52.94% have started sexual relations on account of forced sex. From this finding, he concluded that there is high prevalence of those female students who have started sexual relation because of rape.

A study conducted by Rahel (2006) from the total of 1240 respondents, 313 (25.2%) are sexually experienced. Among these 313 of sexual experienced female high school adolescents, 106(33.9%) have experienced because of forced sex against their consent. 63(20.1%) of sexually experienced respondents age at first sex is before age 14. Among these 90.5% had experienced their first sex was rape or against their will. While 49 (15.7%) sexually experienced students had first sex at the age of 14 and 15. Among them 44.9% had forced first sex. And the rest 64.2% had first sex at the age of 16 and above. Among them only 13.4% are coerced first sex. The following is the last five years police report of rape cases in Addis Ababa.
Table 1. Statistic of reported rape cases in Addis Ababa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rape whose victims were virgin</th>
<th>Ordinary rape</th>
<th>Total no. of victims</th>
<th>Total no. of rapists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of victims</td>
<td>No. of rapists</td>
<td>No. of victims</td>
<td>No. of rapists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The year is written in Ethiopian calendar.

The above table indicates the prevalence of rape over the past five years in Addis Ababa in terms of the number of victims, accused men and the type of rape they committed. In all reported rape cases whose victims were virgin are being committed at a higher rate. Number of rapists are higher than number of victims. This is because of cases where the perpetrators are more than one, as in group rape. The statistic doesn't indicate the number of single and pair rape cases.

2.4 Causes of rape

There is no single cause to account for rape committed on women. Several studies focused on the interrelatedness of various causes that lead females to be more vulnerable to Rape. The following are the major causes of rape.

- **Socio-Cultural causes**

The conduct of individuals be it rape or other aspects of human conduct, is highly influenced by the norms of the society (Andargachew, 1996). Regarding societies view towards rape victims Bekele (1998) revealed that there is a widely held societal view that the rape victim is supposed to be an appealing tempting who deserves what she has got. This leads to the conclusion that in case a woman is raped, either she has committed fault or she wanted it. Besides, in the
investigation process, to free the accused, defense lawyers shift the burden of guilt to the victim using the myth that the victim consciously or sub-consciously encouraged the assault by being dressed provocatively or through other external visible and enticing behaviors (Andargachew, 1996).

Furthermore, people believe that men by nature can’t control their sexual feelings. It is common that men blame women for arousing their sexual interest by wearing short skirts or other types of tempting dresses or walking alone in the night or in silent places (Sara, 2001). This is also confirmed by Clark and Lewis (1997) that one of the most common misconception concerning rape victims is that they are attractive women who dress in a provocative or enticing manner. But there is no any justification for this assumption. Due to these misconceptions, the community doesn’t encourage the victims to bring their cases to justice rather the victims are stigmatized and pointed at by every one. This makes victims to keep the incident as secret and hinder them to get support from legal bodies and health institutions. Hence, as the crime kept from public and penalty, actual and potential rapists will be encouraged to commit the crime.

Furthermore, culture has power to dominate social, political and academic thought and can be a reason for many social injustice acts (Almaz, 1996). Particularly, in developing countries like Ethiopia culture is characterized by male superiority thus the society encourage powerful myths to justify male violence against females and consider rape as an act of maleness (Yohannes, 2003). Moreover, Sara (2001) mentioned that these cultural factors contribute highly to the ever increasing number of rape victims in Ethiopia. Rape is mainly prevalent in a society that believes in gender roles and masculinity which is associated with aggressiveness and male dominance. Furthermore, Burt (cited in Holmstram and Burges, 1994), in the findings, which is obtained through interviews with a random sample of 598 adults in Minnesota state shows that many people do believe many of the rape myths such as, ‘only bad girls get raped’, ‘any healthy women can resist a rapist if she really wants to,’ and ‘rapists are sex starved, insane, or both’. And their attitudes toward rape are strongly associated with other strongly held attitudes. Among these, the person's acceptance of interpersonal violence is found to be the strongest attitudinal predictor of his /her acceptance of rape myths. Additionally, the dynamics of all male groups can contribute to sexual assault by creating a ‘groupthink’ environment that reinforces rape supportive attitudes.
and fosters conformity. For example, the study identified that peer pressure to perform forced sexual intercourse and fear of ‘losing face’ as factors that encourage participation in gang rapes.

Moreover, in Ethiopia people still accept violence as part of their culture like abduction and early marriage which are followed by rape because such practices are the ways of getting wife. The social acceptance of this practice puts all women and children in a state of fear (Sara, 2001).

Holmstram and Burges (1994) have suggested that rapists are driven by a combination of motives. They are motivated by power, anger, and sexuality. Their collected data from victims and rapists suggested that power, anger and sexuality are present, in varying degrees, in all rape cases or at least in all reported rapes. Sexual gratification doesn't appear as the dominant motivation. The tradition/culture and social structural conditions which dominate women in every aspects of life are conducive to producing such motivations in a significant segment of the male population.

In many societies, men have more power, more status, etc., in the realm of interpersonal relations and in the stratification system of the broader society. Men's possession of greater power contributes to the rape of women. In turn, rape and the fear of rape support men's power (Holmstram and Burges, 1994). Furthermore, Andargachew (1996) pointed out that there are two cultural features relevant for rape. One is the prevalence of inequality between men and women and other is men’s attitude towards women as sexual property.

- Alcohol and Drug use

Using alcohol and other different drugs increases the risk of sexual assault or rape through several pathways. For example, a person may use alcohol as an excuse to engage in sexually aggressive behavior or as a coercive tactic to obtain sex. In addition, alcohol may result in increased misperceptions of the women's sexual interest, decreased concern about her experience and decreased ability to evaluate accurately whether consent has been obtained. Many men believe alcohol increases sexual arousal and legitimates non consensual sexual aggression (Martin and Bachman, 1997). Consuming alcohol or drugs is difficult for women to protect and
handle themselves from rapists. Under alcoholic situation, women are more at risk of being unable to resist potential sex offender. It also provokes aggressive and violent male behavior towards women and children because they don't consider that they will be accountable for their behavior (Rickert and Weimann, 1998 cited in Yohannes, 2003). Furthermore, the report on college drinking showed that more than 70,000 students between the ages of 18 and 24 experience alcohol-related sexual assault or date rape each year in the United States (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2000).

Moreover, Koss et. al., (1993, cited in Yohannes, 2003) revealed that alcohol has a psychopharmacological effect of reducing inhibitions, right decisions and weaken the ability to interpret the indications of forced sexual intercourse. It affects men's perception of women's sexual intent and many alcohol-using men perceive alcohol as a sexual cue. Additionally, National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (2000) stated that alcohol use sometimes fosters a double standard in which women are held more responsible, and men held less responsible, if an assault occurs.

- **Poverty**

Women’s lack of economic resources and education increase their vulnerability to violence (Heise et al., 1994). Poverty leads women into different unconducive activities like commercial sex workers which increases their vulnerability to sexual assault. In rural parts of Ethiopia, women are migrated to urban areas due to the prevalence of early marriage, poverty and for seeking better lives. In the town most of them become housemaids or prostitutes where they are more often raped as they make their jobs as prostitutes or street girls and even at the homes what they serve as maids (Mitike, 2000). Additionally, females who came from low income families are observed to be deceived by gifts, money and promise of marriage which is some of the ways that increases their exposure to being raped (Yohannes, 2003).

Regarding perpetrators, within any given community, poor men are far more likely to rape than middle class and successful men. Surveys of the socioeconomic status of rapists in the United States indicated that the vast majority of offenders come from lower socioeconomic classes and
are unemployed or unskilled laborers with only an elementary school education or less. Cross cultural studies from Denmark and Australia also confirm that unskilled, unemployed and poorly educated males are more often rapists than other men (Allison, 1993). This is also observed in the following past five years’ occupational and educational level of rapists in Addis Ababa.

### Table 2. Occupational status of rapists in Addis Ababa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government org.</th>
<th>Private org.</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Self employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*The year is written in Ethiopian calendar.

Regarding occupational level, the above table indicates that most rapists in Addis Ababa were unemployed.

### Table 3. Educational status of rapists in Addis Ababa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Secondary education</th>
<th>Above secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Addis Ababa police commission (2000)

*The year is written in Ethiopian calendar.

The above table (Table 3) indicates that most rapists were in the level of primary educational status. Those who were illiterate and above secondary educational level are very few in number. On the other hand, female living in the inner city has more chance of being raped in her life time. In more affluent areas, the risk of being raped becomes smaller than in slum areas (Allison,
1993). Furthermore, Yohannes (2003) mentioned that poor women and girls may be more at risk of rape in the course of their daily tasks than those who are better off, for example, when they walk home on their own from work late at night, or work in the fields or collect firewood alone.

- **Lack of information**

In developing countries like Ethiopia, the traditional culture dictates that talking about sexual violence is a taboo. They view that such violence’s are normal as many of them are perpetuated by men. Almaz (1996) mentioned that it is not usual to discuss any events related to sexual violence within the family members. And many of them are not conscious of their legal rights and hence don’t bring rapists into public for their criminal acts. Many are reluctant and don’t know where to go as they face violence. Furthermore, at the grass root level many Ethiopian are not usually aware of the basic human rights that all human beings are equal irrespective of sex, race, religion, color, etc (ibid).

- **Rape as a weapon of war**

During conflicts, rape is often used as a weapon of war, in order to dehumanize the women themselves or to prosecute the community to which they belong. It is used as a form of torture to extract information, punish and terrorize. The wars in Bosnia - Herzegovina and Rwanda in the 1990s drew public attention to the horrific levels of violence against women committed in conflict. Murder and widespread rape and other forms of sexual violence were used not only to destroy the morale of the enemy, but also to literally devastate them. In Iraq, hundreds of women have been abducted and raped by armed groups (Amnesty International, 2004).

Instability and armed conflict lead to an increase in all forms of violence, including genocide, rape and sexual violence. Women are targeted for such violence because of their roles as community activists and leaders, or those of male relatives. Of course, men and boys are also victims of rape in war; however, in cases where men, rather than women, are disproportionately targeted, women constitute the majority who face such kinds of problems as a result (Heise et. al., 1995).
• **Pornography**

The introduction of pornographic videos and films often degrade the status of women and portray as sex object. This enhances young people, teenagers and adolescents to perform the act as displayed in the films (Sara, 2001). Men who see those violent movies are more likely to commit rape and to approve rape myths (Yohannes, 2003).

Feminists view pornography as an important element in a larger system of sexual violence; they see pornography as an expression of a rape-prone culture in which women are seen as objects available for use by men (Morgan, 1980; Wheeler, 1985, cited in Bart and Moran, 1993).

• **Social disintegration and family breakdown**

Mitike (2000) in her study discussed that social disintegration is one of the causes of rape. Sexual abuse is common in a society where there is an increasing separation. Segregation facilitates sexual abuse into two ways: It reduces the intensity of general social supervision and that all society sanctioned forms of support and intimacy. Sexual abuse is a system of pervasive loneliness.

A study conducted by Yilma (2007) found out that lack of supervision due to family breakdown make girls vulnerable to different forms of sexual abuse. The data showed that all female street children who live on the street and don’t have family supervision are raped and sexually exploited.

Due to various reasons like family disintegration and poverty in rural areas a number of girls migrate to Addis Ababa where they are, in turn, at risk for different forms of sexual abuse like rape as they become alone and unfamiliar with the physical environment (Yohannes, 2003).
2.5 Socio-Health effects of rape

Several studies revealed that rape has a profound impact both on the victim and the society at large. The following are the major effects of rape.

2.5.1 Social effects

The social problems consequent upon rape are multidimensional. It affects the social well-being of the victims (Rahel, 2006). In Ethiopia, where patriarchy plays a great role in the social life, victims are socially unacceptable and are considered as worthless. It is very difficult to participate in any of the social life so they are forced to alienate themselves from the society. They are ostracized and stigmatized by their own families as well as communities. Since rape affects the honor of the parents of the victim in the eyes of the public, they blame her for causing them ‘shame and humiliation’ (Bekele, 1998).

Alongside, he further mentioned that if a husband finds out that his wife has been raped, he mainly decide to divorce her and break up the family because she is no more a good woman. Moreover, in rural areas victims couldn’t get a husband and additionally forced her to marry the rapist himself. Thus, victims are mainly forced to run away to another area. This also increases their vulnerability for being raped because when they came to new area, most of them engaged in prostitute life, street life and other marginalized activities. Rape, therefore, apart from aggravating social disorder by itself, breads other related social ills (Almaz, 1996).

Furthermore, in the case of rape by a stranger, a woman can feel thoroughly defenseless. Because the attack can be perceived as unprovoked and random, the victim survivor is played by the lack of safety that becomes an intractable part of all human contact. Especially when the assault is perpetuated by an acquaintance or family member, communal ties are severely fractured. In either case, awareness of the tremendous potential for harm from other can erode every aspect of her relational life (West, 1999).
A study conducted by Bekele (1998) in his findings 74.5% of the respondents believe that parents have negative attitudes while only 18.2% replied parents have sympathetic attitudes. From this, he concluded that most likely, this is because they think that she has willingly participated in the act committed against her, and caused them shame and dishonor in the eyes of the society. Then the researcher compares this finding with the public attitudes towards rape victims. 81.8% of the respondents replied that the public has a negative attitude towards rape victims whereas 12.7% felt the public has sympathetic attitude. From these he found out that the public has negative feeling than parents. Hence, the researcher comes up with the idea that because of the negative attitude of the parents and the society, the victims do not dare to report being raped and a great deal of rape cases remains unreported. This can be a contributory factor for the widely prevalent crime of rape.

Shame is often a crucial ingredient in women's response to rape as a result of society’s negative attitude towards victims. Some of the respondents revealed that they would rather die than be raped and live. This shows that shame has an especially poisonous effect. Self blame is another big problem among victims. They often wonder why perpetrator chose to assault them rather than someone else. A woman may decide that something about who she is caused her to be selected which idea is reinforced by gender stereotypes (West, 1999).

2.5.2 Health effects

Mitike (2000) mentioned that the health consequence on women due to rape is a serious problem which hinders women from participating in every aspects of life. Health effects are related with an increased risk of sexual and reproductive health problems with short and long term consequences. The impact puts women’s at risk of unwanted pregnancy which is a double humiliation of the victim, being raped and a mother of a child conceived under such circumstances. Illegal abortion and maternal mortality are also the results of unwanted pregnancy. A study made by Rahel (2006) regarding the physical consequences, her finding indicate that among 128 girls who reported to experience rape, 7(5.7%) and 5(4.1%) had pregnancy and abortion respectively. And the other 48(39.0%) and 32(26.0%) experienced lower abdominal pain and genital swelling respectively. A similar study conducted by Yohannes (2003)
indicated that 21% of rape victims became pregnant and 10% had practiced abortion. It is the same to the prevalence of unwanted pregnancy as a result of rape in the study made among female streets in Addis Ababa, 23% of rape victims reported unwanted pregnancy (Mitike, 2000).

Furthermore, risks are associated with gynecological problems, sexually transmittable diseases like HIV/AIDS, pelvic inflammatory disease, headaches, and self injuries behavior like smoking and unprotected sex, vaginal bleeding, genital irritation and urinary tract infection (Yohannes, 2003; Seblework, 2004; Almaz, 1996). Regarding HIV/AIDS, raped women are in risk of being infected with it and victims who are infected with HIV due to rape may put themselves to revenge other human beings by transmitting the virus which is the worst part of rape (Rahel, 2006).

Regarding psychological problems on victims of rape includes the immediate effect of wide range of emotion and misbehavior followed by anger, self blame, anxiety, feeling of guilt, immense shock and disbelief, confusion, feeling of worthlessness, fear of being alone is experiences in the first week. Later, it is followed by a change in long life style with phobias, sexual dysfunction, suicidal attempt, lack of confidence, difficulty in making decisions, hatred towards men, low self esteem and desire for revenge. The duration of psychological trauma varies from individual to individual; most feel the effects for years even with considerable supportive therapy (Yohannes, 2003; Almaz, 1996).

Moreover, Mitike (2000) revealed that after being raped it is common for the victim to experience intense and sometimes unpredictable emotions and they may find it hard to deal with their memories of the event. Besides, a study made by Tesfaye (2003) on the assessment of sexual harassment/sexual assault found out from his findings all victim respondents have been distressed emotionally. Among them 50% feel humiliated, 12.5% experience intense fear that the perpetrator would return and 18.75% and another 18.8% have been distressed of feeling violent and anger turned inward inside which they can't express easily respectively.
Chapter Three
Research Methodology

3.1 Research Approach

The overall objective of this study is to find out major causes of rape and its socio-health effects on victims entire life in kirkos sub-city. The study more of depends on the participants' opinions, experiences and perceptions. Hence, qualitative research method was found to be the appropriate one. Qualitative method helps the researcher to undertake deep exploration of the subjects and to present the findings from participants’ perspective. With regard to this method, Brayman (2004) reveals that qualitative research tends to be concerned with the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants. With in this methodology, the researcher employed case study. Concerning case study, McQueen and Knussen (2002), mentions that in a certain research which has access to a few subjects or unusual events, for example, trying to explore coping behaviors or the memory problems of people, a case study approach is often the better option available to the researcher. Moreover, Reinharz (1992) states that for a feminist researcher, case study has a power which conveys the different dimensions of a female’s life with fully developed description of a single or group event. For this reason, the researcher believed that such method allows the victims to express their experiences fully in their own words as they are situated in their own reality.

3.2 The study area

The research area is Addis Ababa which is home of various kinds of people having different social, cultural, educational and economical status. So, there is a possibility to get participants who have different backgrounds to come up with diversified responses. Additionally, in Addis Ababa, more number of victims tends to disclose or report rape cases than other regions due to the accessibility of the information and awareness of the problem of rape.

Among the ten sub-cities in Addis Ababa, kirkos sub city is selected for this study. The rationale for selecting this area is according to the sub cities police department, many female children and women have been raped in this sub city as the majority of inhabitants are poor and living in slum
areas. Hence, from the previous cross sectional studies poverty is one of the factors that exposed women and girls to rape. The other reason is that the CPU officials mentioned that out of 27 ‘woredas’ in Addis Ababa, ten were selected to open the CPU office based on the intensity and the prevalence of different crimes including rape. Thus, areas around ‘kirkos’ (the present ‘kirkos’ sub city) was one of the selected areas for the establishment of the CPU office in order to tackle the problem and protect the rights of human beings in general.

3.3 Participants of the study

The participants of the study are the female rape victims in kirkos sub-city. Furthermore, officials of organizations who have been working on the issue at hand participated as key informants. In an attempt to find out how these victims are supported and the problems victims encountered due to rape, it was very essential to include these key informants as a target group of the research. It was very difficult to study the whole population of female rape victims so the researcher tends to concentrate only in a smaller version of a population i.e. sample; twelve female rape victims were selected.

3.4 Procedure of data collection

In the beginning the researcher planned to get all informants of female rape victims who reported to Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA). The researcher contacted EWLA through letters from the Institute of Gender Studies. After a long time conversation they allowed the researcher to contact the informants based on their address from their files. However, from the observation of the files there was less number of reported rape cases and additionally, officials from EWLA mentioned that more number of rape cases are found in police office than EWLA. Then after, the researcher went to Children’s Protection Unit (CPU) and the police officers were volunteer to access to informants whose files are there in CPU office. Hence, the researcher enabled to select both cites EWLA and CPU office in the police department which both are under the jurisdiction of ‘Kirkos’ sub city.
Initially, 17 female rape victims were asked if they would like to take part in the study. Among these five females declined. One of them due to lack of consent from her parents, the other two were due to the sensitivity of the issue in that they did not want to remember the incident and the other one was due to frustration of the investigation process and one dropped out after starting an interview for fear of reprisal acts. With this in mind, all the participants were informed at the outset about the use of pseudonyms which they had the opportunity to choose for themselves as well as the fact that they will have a chance to read through the interview transcript.

First, face-to-face informal conversations were held with all informants. Issues discussed in the initial contact included establishing rapport by telling them about the researcher, finding out about them, what the research was about, indicating what would be required of them and asking if they were willing to participate in the research.

Some gap was left between this and second contact with them when the researcher did the interview. The time and place of the interview was selected to suit their convenience. For example, they were asked if they would prefer the researcher to meet them somewhere that is convenient for them, in which case the researcher would pay their travel costs. Two interviews took place in the participants' preference of places; two were in Family Guidance Association Ethiopia, one was in the organization of Tsotawi Tikat Tekelkay Mahbir and three were in EWLA. In four interviewees’ cases who have a new born baby as a result of rape, because of insecurity for those who are in the investigation process and those whose perpetrators are in prison fear attacks from their perpetrators’ friends or their family members, they preferred the interview to be held in their own house. Although, the primary focus of the research was on the causes of rape and its negative outcomes, participants were asked to talk about their personal biographies during the interview in order for them to have some control in what was discussed and to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the females’ lived experiences. All interviewees, except one, were in one-to-one direct communication. One mentally-retarded woman was interviewed through a sign language interpreter.

The interviews were taped. During first contact the researcher asked if they would mind my taping our conversation. None of the informants did. The advantages of taping were that the
researcher was left free to listen and respond to what they were saying without worrying about taking notes and being accurate. Interview times ranged from an hour to two and a half hours. All interviews were conducted from February to April, 2008.

3.5 Selection of the sample

In the absence of a suitable sampling frame for the random selection of female rape victims, as stated before, combination of organizational/institutional contacts in kirkos sub-city were used to obtain access to and select young girls and women for interviewing. Using purposive sampling techniques the researcher selected participants from the files found in EWLA and CPU office in kirkos sub-city. Accordingly, MaQueen and Knussen (2002) mentioned that purposive sampling is a form of sampling in which the selection of the sample is based on the judgment of the researcher as to which subjects best fit the criteria of the study. Hence, the researcher set some criteria for selecting participants. The first criterion was victims' age (informants who are above 12 years old). This is to generate various responses and they can express themselves well. The second criterion was to include females who were raped by different perpetrators of strangers and acquaintances so as to get diversified ideas and opinions. The third criterion was that the researcher focused on females who are unmarried, widowed or separated. This is because officials from EWLA and CPU mentioned that currently married women are mainly doesn’t report rape cases due to the grave social consequences. Selecting participants was also based on the files that are believed to have detailed information.

Having this idea in mind, a total of 12 participants, six from EWLA and the other six from CPU office in ‘kirkos’ sub-city were purposefully selected for this study.

3.6 Sources of data

This study employed both primary and secondary data sources so as to obtain the desired information. Primary data collection is achieved through in-depth interview and key informants interview. With regard to secondary data sources documents, books, publications, research papers, internet, reports etc. were reviewed.
3.7 Methods of Data collection

3.7.1 In-depth interview

To get the desired information relevant to the study, in-depth interview was conducted. The in-depth interviews were conducted among young girls and women who are victims of rape. According to Reinharz (1992), it is important for feminist researchers as it offers them access to people's ideas, memories and thoughts in their own words rather than the words of the researcher. To clarify, it is more visual to be told by the females themselves as they see it and not as how the researcher sees it. Therefore, the researcher interviewed twelve voluntary female rape victims. An interview guide was organized to collect specific information about the issue under study.

In order to get adequate and full information, semi-structured interview was preferable. Brayman (2004) stated that questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined in the schedule. Questions that are not included in the way outlined in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees. For this reason, the researcher employed an interview of semi structured (see Annex I).

3.7.1.1 Preparation of the interview guide line

Based on review of the related literature the interview guide of thematic questions was prepared in line with the objectives of the study. It has the following three parts.

1. Profiles of the victims that include age, place of birth, marital status, current job and level of education.
2. Causes and socio-health effects of rape. Besides, it includes victims’ coping strategies.
3. Demographic profile of rapists from victims’ point of view.
3.7.1.2 Validity and Reliability of the interview guide line

Through an assessment of the interview guide, the instrument was tried out in a pilot study. The pilot study was conducted with two female rape victims in the CPU office. This helped the researcher to get a lot of useful ideas on the identification and selection of samples, to test reliability and relevance of the interview questions and generally for collecting more meaningful data. The participants of the pilot study were not included in the main study in order to avoid response biases.

3.7.2 Key informants interview

Key informants from different governmental and non governmental organizations were selected using purposive sampling techniques. The key informants are selected as they have been working on the related issues and their responsibilities towards such events. Moreover, it is believed that they could have more information about what are the causes that make females more vulnerable to rape and what victims faced during and after the incident. An organization such as Ethiopian Women Lawyer’s Association was selected due to its objectives that provide free legal advice and counseling in civil and criminal cases to women who have been victims of violence. Tsotawi Tikat Tekelakay Mahber (TTTM) was another selected key informant because of its provision of temporary shelter house for victims of violence like rape who don’t have a place to stay. Children’s Protection Unit (CPU) office and Federal Supreme Court (FSC) were identified because of their responsibility to safeguard individuals from any kinds of violence and crime. Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia (FGAE) was also selected since victims of rape are sent to this association for health examination and hence, for medical evidence in the investigation process. Therefore, a total of 10 key informants were selected, among these, two polices, two councilors, two coordinators, gynecologist, clinical nurse and two lawyers.

Interview guideline for key informants is specifically focused on their roles in supporting victims of rape and their challenges in fulfilling their roles and responsibilities towards rape victims, the
factors that increase women's vulnerability for being raped and its negative consequences on victims as well as the society as a whole (see Annex II).

3.8 Data analysis

The information gained through in-depth interview and key informant interview were conducted in Amharic language and after data collection it translated into English. The collected data were organized in line with the objectives of the research and analyzed using qualitative data analysis procedures that involve breaking down the information into different themes and categories. Transcription and coding of the information from the data collected were carried out. Transcription is the graphic representation of the selected aspects of the interview that has taken place and coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing the collected data. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990 cited in Brayman, (2004). And all categories are integrated and analyzed systematically relating with review of related literature. Then, cases were prepared according to the analytical categories. Based on the cases prepared, a detail interpretation was undertaken.

3.9 Ethical consideration

During the planning stage, it was important to consider the principles of what the researcher was proposing to do. It was very essential to collect the data ethically that can answer the research questions properly since the subject-matter of the research is very sensitive. In view of that, McQueen and Knussen (2002:205) mentioned that it is essential that ethical issues are addressed at the planning stage of a qualitative study and ethical guide lines are adhered to. Hence, before collecting the data the researcher provided full information about the study ahead of time and allowing them to ask questions and can refuse to participate. By obtaining the consent of volunteers to participate in this study the researcher started to collect the data. In order to safeguard the privacy of participants, the researcher was able to assure each participant of anonymity by not identifying the participants by their own names and keeping the results confidential. In addition to this, the researcher informed participants that they have also the opportunity to terminate the interview at any point.
Other research principles were also employed like socializing rather than individualizing. For example, locating the causes of their 'problems' in the structures of an oppressive society, which gives power for men, rather than blaming the individual is very important (Oliver, 2003). This was done in a variety of ways: by a careful phrasing of the questions asked in the interview, by sharing my experiences of others where it was relevant so that they felt they were not alone in what they had experienced. Generally, the above mentioned ethical issues was very significant to the development of trust and thus to the quality of the research rather than exploiting the interviewees.
Chapter Four
Analysis of the Data

In this chapter the researcher tried to address the research questions using the data collected from in-depth interviews with female rape victims, key informants interviews from different organization or associations who have been working on related issues and secondary sources.

4.1 Description of the study area

Kirkos sub-city is one of the most destitute areas in Addis Ababa with the highest population concentration comparing with other sub-cities. The total area of the sub city is 14.72 Sq. km. The total population of the sub-city is around 354,000. The female number holds about 184080 and males are 169920. Kirkos sub-city consists eleven ‘kebeles’ i.e. 01/19, 17/18, 15/16, 13/14, 20/21, 11/12, 05/06/07, 08/09, 10, 04, 02/03 (Addis Ababa City Administration, 2008). The following table shows the last four years number of reported rape cases in ten sub-cities in Addis Ababa.

Table 4. Statistics of reported female rape victims in ten sub-cities of Addis Ababa from 1996-1999E.C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-city</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>16-18</th>
<th>19-30</th>
<th>31-50</th>
<th>Above 50</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kirkos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>26-18</td>
<td>9-30</td>
<td>31-50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arada</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addis-Ketema</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lideta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates the prevalence of rape among female victims over the past four years in ten sub-cities in Addis Ababa. The statistic indicates that the number of victims has been increasing from time to time. In fact, these statistical increases may not indicate the actual increase of the problem but it may rather indicate that women are having information’s and awareness of the incident as the problem of rape is becoming more and more a topic of discussion in different media.

In most reported rape cases whose victims were virgin at the time of the incident are being higher than ordinary rape for example, in Gulele, Bole, Kolfe Keranyo, Addis Ketema, Nifas Silk, Yeka, Bole and Akaki Kaliti sub-cities. This is due to the fact that many of the victims are children who were found under 18 years old. On the other hand, in Lideta and Kirkos sub-cities ordinary rape cases are greater than number of female victims who were virgin. This may be due to victims’
age that many of them are found in the age group of 19-30 and 31-50. Regarding to the age of victims in each sub-city, females who are under the age group of 16-18 constitute large portion of the age category. This is also confirmed in reviewed literature that young girls are more vulnerable to rape.

4.2 Socio-Economic background of participants

This session deals with background characteristics of participants. A total of 12 female rape victims were involved to conduct in-depth interview. All participants were asked about their age, place of birth, parents’ level of income, level of education, current job, marital status and number of children. The age of participants ranged from 14 to 39. The educational status of participants varied from illiterate to college certificate. Among all participants one had college certificate and the other one had completed secondary education, 7 of them had primary education, one had secondary education, one is illiterate and the remaining one is Kindergarten student.

Concerning victims’ current job, females’ employment situation has its own contribution to the occurrence of rape. As table 5 shows that many of them are engaged in low paid occupations like being domestic servant and daily laborer which makes them more vulnerable to different kinds of violence including rape. This is due to the fact that in most of the cases females are burdened with domestic responsibilities, domestic chores and income generating activities; it would be very difficult for them to succeed in their education and consequently, engaged in less paid activities.

Regarding to marital status, majority of the participants’ i.e. nine are single. Two victims were separated from their husbands and the remaining one is widowed. Only three each participant had one child and the majority of participants had no children.

Concerning to their parent’s level of income, the data shows that majority of participants’ parents are living in low economic status. Many literatures indicated that poverty is one of the major causes that lead females to be more vulnerable to sexual victimization. The following table summarizes the demographic profile of female rape victims.
Table 5. Demographic profile of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Parents’ income/month in birr</th>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Current job</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case study 1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Butajira</td>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>Domestic worker</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>200-300</td>
<td>College certificate</td>
<td>Purchaser</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Gonder</td>
<td>500-600</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>Daily laborer</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>800-900</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Grade 5</td>
<td>Domestic worker</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12 complete</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>Kg 2</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>700-800</td>
<td>Grade 8</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Arsii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>Domestic worker</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Harrer</td>
<td>600-700</td>
<td>Grade10</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Gojjam</td>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>Domestic worker</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case study 12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>600-700</td>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Causes of Rape

Based on the findings of the research there are multitudes and interconnected causes that increase females’ vulnerability to rape. Thus, guided by the data collected from fieldwork, it was possible to identify major causes that are responsible for rape victimization of females in ‘kirkos’ sub city, Addis Ababa.

- Poverty
The research findings indicated that poverty and lack of economic resources are one of the major factors which eventually expose females’ to rape. It can also be the consequence of rape. Majority of the poor in the world are women. Women participate in less paid work like domestic employment since many of them are uneducated and under the dominance of men. Likewise, Yilma (2007) mentions that girls are exposed to street way of living, due to poverty which often expose them to different forms of sexual abuse.

Poverty forces young girls and women to migrate from rural areas to cities seeking for better lives. The following story was given by one of the informants during in-depth interview that describes the reason why she is being victims of rape:

*I came from ‘Butajira, southern part of Addis Ababa. My parents have nine children. My father is a poor farmer and my mother is a house wife. So, the income could not support all the family members, even there were days which we could not eat. Hence, this problem forced me to leave home and came to Addis Ababa seeking for job. After some days, I was obliged to work in ‘tejbet’ a place where Ethiopian traditional alcohol made and sold. At the beginning everything was okay and earned some money. The owner considers me like his family member and allowed me to sleep with his daughter too. I was happy because I could save more money. But this did not last long. In Feb. 7, 2008 he raped me when there was no one in his house (Case study 1, age 27, April 14, 2008).

The above case study and the data gathered through interview and observation show that due to poverty women and young girls are exposed to sexual victimization by various groups of people in supporting themselves and their poor families. The observation made, during interview with informants, in their homes, it was possible to identify their poor living situations. All of them were living in slum areas like ‘cherkos’ and what is commonly called as ‘arogew kera’. Besides, most of them are from illiterate and poor families who live below the poverty line. This is also confirmed by one informant’s story:

*My father has got a panic disease on his right leg 13 years ago. Now he can’t walk properly. He is always on bed. My mother is the bread winner of the house. We are seven in number in this
very small house. I am the older one and also share the burden of my mother. Our income is generated from informal sector that is ‘gulit’, selling of different vegetables. When I was in school my mother is at the market place and when I came back from school I replace her and she will go to bring the vegetables from the main market that is ‘piassa’. One day at night when I was on the way to home from ‘gulit’ one of our customers who took vegetables in credit said that ‘let me give you the money from my house’ and then took me there at around 1:30 PM. Afterwards, he forced me to have sexual intercourse using different forceful mechanisms like tightening my hands back and gagged cloths in my mouth for avoiding any sound (Case study 8, Age 15, March 18, 2008).

Similarly, key informant from EWLA mentioned that female victims that came to EWLA for getting legal aid services are more of in low living standard. There are many victims who don’t have even transportation costs for the investigation process. It is extremely difficult for women living in poverty to escape abusive situations, to obtain protection, and to access the criminal justice system to seek redress. Hence, poverty is one of the causes that make victims to discontinue their legal process of investigation which has a challenge for the victims themselves and investigator bodies and hence for justice. In view of that, key informant from CPU explained that:

*One of our challenges is victim’s dropout of cases. Without the evidence from the victims we couldn’t do any thing. Here, there are so many closed files due to withdrawal of victims from the process, since each victim is the one who is witness for herself. Especially for those victims who live on the street and domestic workers as they do not have permanent residence are very difficult to get them and are forced to continue the investigation processes.*

Besides, one of the key informants from EWLA explained that they provide some financial support in order to minimize their problems and to precede the investigation process. Additionally, the CPU office and TTTM offer counseling services and advise to continue the legal process.
In line with this, the key informant from FSC mentioned that most victims that came to court are from low income families. This is due to the fact that in our community it is common to live with cousins, niece, uncle, and other family members in a very crowded house. And it is also observed that this extended family member share the same bed which increases females’ vulnerability to being raped by their own family members. In this case, if rape committed by family members the victims are mainly keep the crime as secret rather than going to the police because the man is a family member and not considered as a criminal person. Additionally, they consider that it may raise disagreement between the members of the family and fear stigmatization and rejection. Moreover, it is mainly resolved through mediators of elder men. This ultimately encourages the other potential rapists and increase more number of offenders.

On the other hand, key informant from FGAE revealed that there are cases of rape on young girls and women from higher living standards. Especially, gang rape is more likely committed on young girls who are from economically well-off families.

- **Patriarchy and Gender role socialization**

The findings of the study reveals that social and cultural norms that deny women equal rights with men make women more vulnerable to sexual abuse as well as rape. In many cases gender roles and practices aggravate the violence women experience and increase women’s vulnerability to further violence. In Ethiopia, as in many other countries, men are socialized to be dominant and believe that men are sexually uncontrollable thus consider as nature has endowed men with less control over their sexual urge than women. This cultural believe has socialized women to accept men’s sexual advances as part of men’s nature. This finding is confirmed by Kelly (1988) who mentioned that feminists consider the power men have over women by virtue of being men as fundamental or primary. That power is reinforced by men’s occupation of other social roles which are accorded specific forms of authority: for example, husband, boss, father etc. This combination of levels of gender power has been used to explain the particular power dynamics involved in sexual assault/rape. Rape is the most important form of patriarchal power and control. Thus, in patriarchal society like Ethiopia, subordination and exploitation of women by men
institutionalized in culture, social, economic and political structures. This is what an informant said regarding to masculinity:

*My step father is very rude person. My half two sisters and me were living in misery. He was the one who decides and controls every aspects of our life. My mother had no any power in the house. Beside this, my mother also had no power in the family. Without any reason, he was always insulting and beating. She did not have any right to go away from home. She was the only one who takes care of us. We including his own daughters felt insecure whenever he stays at home. I suffered a lot from his sexual assault since I was eight. No one identified this until he actually raped me at the age of 18 (Case study 2, Age 18, April 8, 2008).*

This story clearly illustrates how the power difference based on gender manifest through aggressiveness and dominance which leads to sexual violence and how culture transmits from generation to generation. It is also proved that the more power a man can claim over particular women/girls, the more likely it is that some level of sexual aggression will be considered legitimate which, in turn, to portray as normal phenomena.

Similarly, the key informant from FGAE explained that in most of our society masculinity is highly practiced in that the children imitate the ways how their father treats their mother. Thus boys will behave like their father by being aggressive and dominance. For daughters, on the other hand, they would develop the same behavior like that of their mothers being submissive which forced them to accept the violent nature of men. . This is also confirmed by many research findings. For example, Marya et. al., (1999 cited in Amnesty International, 2004) mentioned that the repercussions of violence against women reverberate throughout the family and community. Children exposed to violence are more likely to become both victims and perpetrators and children who witnessed their father beating their mother were more than twice as likely as other children to have learning, emotional and behavioral problems. This is what social learning theory supports; parental modeling has a great influence on children to develop a behavior of violent sex offender.
Sexuality in our society is defined in masculine terms. And moreover, hostility and domination are central to the construction of masculine sexuality. Masculinity draws on notions of power and domination and these themes are reflected in gender relations; sex and aggression are linked for most men which lead them to commit different kinds of crime as that of rape. Bart and Moran (1993:79) in their study of violence against women mentions, “the violence and abuse men perpetuate against women and girls is rooted in a tradition of male supremacy that teaches boys and men that females are worthless; are less deserving, and may be treated poorly or worse”

In this study, the existence of masculinity and patriarchal structure in the society are proved to be one of the causes of rape. Female victims of rape are the products of this male constructed patriarchal society in which men see their abusive behavior as within their cultural given male rights. They are manifested through men’s power and control, aggressiveness and dominance over women. This culture becomes inherent in the manner in which the sexes are socialized that women are thought to be passive, while men are instructed to be active and aggressive. This makes men to adapt masculinity and act aggressively against women. This is also supported by MacKinnon, 1982 cited in Caputi, 1993:7) that “rape is not primarily an act of violence but is a sexual act in a culture where sexuality itself is a form of power, where oppression takes sexual forms, and where sexuality is the very key player of gender inequality”.

With regard to culture and traditional beliefs of the society as a factor that increases females’ vulnerability to rape; key informant from CPU mentioned that men thought that they can get every thing what they want. Hence, when they commit the crime they resolve it through mediation. This also hinders the problem not to reach on public and a challenge for preventing the crime of rape.

The preceding information implies that rape isn’t about a man strongly desiring sex and being unable to get it consensually. As most experts agree and the collected data indicated that rape of all types is primarily motivated by a desire for power and control, not out of unmet sexual desire. Having this idea in mind, many men have been raised with ideas from other men that their part in sex is all about masculinity, domination and power, about subduing or making them surrender
which certainly doesn’t help men to develop sexual ethics which don’t incorporate some of those qualities

- Weakness of law enforcement bodies

The data collected through in-depth interview and key informants interview indicated that the weaknesses of law enactment bodies are the other cause of rape. The findings identified the shortcomings of law enforcement bodies which are an obstacle to justice and hence, contributory factor for increasing more number of perpetrators. As it mentioned before, in the legal definition of rape the existence of consent is the central issue that whether the victim has consented to the sexual intercourse or not. In judging this consent, the law requires the victim to try her best to resist the offence (Tadesse, 1985 cited in Bekele, 1998). The cross examination of the victim’s previous sexual behavior is also relevant in judging the likelihood of that consent. Accordingly, Gunda, on a charge of rape, the accused person tells the court that the sexual act between him and the victim took place with the consent of the latter. Thus, the victim would have to add more evidence like corroboration and witnesses which is very difficult since the nature of the crime is committed always in hidden place. In this study, this problem is mainly observed in victims who are above 18 years old and because victims bellow 18 are considered to be virgin and no need to identify their consent due to the fact that a girl under the age of 18 is incapable of consenting.

Concerning the weakness of enacting bodies, informants mentioned that it is very difficult to produce evidence, if no serious injuries were imposed or if victim know the perpetrator before and if she was not virgin at the time of rape. Judges and polices insist on evidence that prove the victim’s resistance against the perpetrator or her laud voice which should be heard by the neighbors at the time of rape. Some police investigating officers may even demand such proof before they start the investigation process. This is also supported by Amnesty International (2004) that unless a woman can show physical evidence of the violence she has suffered, police and other law enforcement bodies may be unwilling to believe and assist her. However, Taylor and Stewart (1991) in their study of sexual and domestic violence stated:
‘It is sex with a woman that any time a man has with a woman when she doesn’t agree. It is rape, even if the man does not use physical violence to force himself on the woman. It is rape if the man has no weapon. It is rape even if the woman does not have cuts and bruises. It is rape even if the woman does not fight against her attacker, as long as it is clear that she does not agree to have sex. A woman may be afraid to fight against a man because she is afraid he will hurt or kill her. She has still been raped’ (Taylor and Stewart, 1991:6).

Furthermore, the data shows that victims have been suffering from the long court process and unlawful acts of the police officers. Because of this, most of the informants’ explicit complaints about losing their interest to the point where they no longer care what happen. The following extract also gives further evidence for the weaknesses of law enacting bodies:

I was raped by two strangers in Sep.16, 2007 at around 5:30 PM when I was trying to find police. I have been living with my boyfriend who is very rude. He always mistreats me. Both of us are daily laborers. One day, without any reason he forced me to leave the house. I didn’t have any money and couldn’t tolerate his bad tempered then I went out to find police. At the beginning, I met with two polices but they said that ‘we are now leaving so you can report to others’. I begged them a lot but they ignored me. When I was on my way to find another policemen on the street and these two strangers appeared from the back and caught me. First, they put their hands on my mouth and took me to a corner place. I tried to escape but I couldn’t. In the nearby houses two women who were observing the incident through the window called the police but they arrived after they raped me. Then, the police caught both of us including the eye witness to take our own words. However, after the assailants gave their word the female police was nagging me by saying that ‘you are the one who bring this event so what are you doing here?’ Now perpetrators are in prison. I opened the accusation file six months ago but nothing is going on, the judges always appointed us for another day to examine the case and even my file returned back to the police from the court, I don’t know why. Besides, my eye witnesses also suffered a lot by going and coming from the court. I came here to find job to help myself and my poor family who are in rural area. Now I want to go back to my place of birth and live with my poor family (Case study 3, Age25, April 12, 2008).
Similarly, the other informant said:

*I reported to the police after two months of the incident. Now, it accounts about two years. The court always gives us the appointment day to appear offender and eyewitnesses. Usually the perpetrator is not present on the date of appointment. The court ordered the police before one year to bring the perpetrator from wherever by arresting him however, still now nothing happened to him. I heard that he is in town. Additionally, my witnesses refused to present in court. I also heard that an assailant gave them some money* (Case study 1, Age 27, April 14, 2008).

The above mentioned delayed reactions of the court increase the financial and time losses for victims, friends and relatives who accompany the victim to court. Each delay means losing work, money or school time. One of the informant’s said that ‘I don’t feel good to go to court any more, I lost every thing; money, tolerance and health’ (Case study 10, Age 21, April 7, 2008). This also creates a challenge in their other duties as they are absent in their work places or school. Regarding this, one informant mentioned that her additional problem is to be absent in class to go to court and other concerned institutions. She is in a challenge with denying the school principle (Case study 4, Age 14, March 6, 2008).

Regarding the above mentioned problems, the researcher asked the key informant from the court about the complaints from the informants. The judge justified that the long process of the court is due to lack of enough evidence from the victims to punish offender. It takes a long time to collect all the available evidences that can be able to prove the suspected man is actually committed the crime. The other reason for the delayed investigation process is that victims came to the police after a long time of the incident happened to them.

Key informants from EWLA, TTTM and FGAE indicated that the weakness of enactment bodies cause a big problem on the victims. As they revealed most polices are reluctant to find and bring perpetrators to court, lack of enough police investigators, taking long time to take medical evidence from hospital and to examine it are some of the problems identified. These are also their
challenges to fulfill their objectives and support rape victims. Accordingly, when the researcher collects the information one of the rape victims was not volunteer to participate in this study. She explained the reasons that ‘no one brought anything to me either the police or EWLA. The rapist released after three months on bail and now I am with the baby because of rape so, I don’t want to tell you anything and I never expect changes to come’.

Furthermore, one of the informants revealed:

*Currently, because of the incident of rape by my step father, my mother and I together with her two little daughters are out of the house. We are suffering a lot. The court released the perpetrator (my step father) on bail by paying only 3000 birr after three months. Starting from the day my step father was released from prison, we are out of the house. The accusation process started two years ago but nothing happened to him. The judge gave order to the police investigators to bring the perpetrator to court. Even the police did not take out the order from the court; we were the one who did it. They are so reluctant and I don’t expect further things from them (Case study 2, Age 18, April 8, 2008).*

During the interview, the researcher observed that in CPU a police even do not know what the law exactly say and do not have confidence to tell about the problems what victims face from legal bodies. In addition, still now the Addis Ababa Police Commission Central Intelligence Department uses an old recording format that classified rape in to victims with virginity and not at the time of rape which is contrary to the existing penal code that classified by age (See table 1). Regarding this, the key informant from CPU staff also believed that for those victims who were virgin at the time of rape, punishment of rapists should be greater than those who were not. In view of this, from the informants it is revealed that even if the victim was virgin, rapists insist that she was not virgin at the time of rape. The other controversial issue is that the punishment is minimized if a perpetrator is under the age of 18. In some cases from the in-depth interview, perpetrator and his family are observed in minimizing offender’s real age.

It was vital to point out that improvements have been observed. The police from the CPU said that in the previous time there were a lot of problems among polices due to lack of awareness and
knowledge but these days undisciplined act is highly minimized. Nowadays, training has been given throughout the country for law enforcement bodies regarding sexual violence like rape, abduction, FGM, early marriage, etc, and put female polices in every police stations aiming at victims telling their story freely. Besides, key informant from EWLA revealed that EWLA provide training for law enforcement bodies to be sensitive to such kinds of issues and to increase their awareness.

Generally, from the collected data, prosecution, conviction and incarceration of rapists are substantially lower. Especially, for cases involving intimacies were less likely than those involving strangers to be prosecuted. Once they were referred for prosecution, rapists who were known by victims before were significantly less likely than rapists who were strangers to be convicted of a crime. Besides, all participants suggest that the punishment which is stated on the criminal code is not enough as compared with the long lasting pain of rape.

Thus, the above mentioned problems among the law enforcement bodies discourage actual and potential victims of rape to report to police. This can encourage and increase more number of potential rapists and actual offenders. On the other hand, lack of awareness and knowledge about the existing law among the society is another problem in reporting to the police and need remedial actions.

• **Living conditions and Lack of protection**

The findings of the study revealed that girls/women are exposed to rape due to their living arrangement and lack of supervision. Family breakdown reduces the intensity of supervision and monitoring what parents make for their children. For instance, a step father, according to one of the interviewee, committed the crime in the absence of her mother. She was in Arab country i.e. Beirut. This also indicated that rape is a deliberate act rather than an accident because her step father started sexual abuse 10 years ago and later when he got the ‘appropriate’ time, committed the crime. As informant mentioned that ‘he was just waiting for the day that my mother would go out for a long time’ (Case study 2, Age 18, April 8, 2008).
According to key informant from Court, lack of supervision is highly prevailed on most rape victim children. Especially, in many families when parents go to work or other places they gave responsibility for neighbors to take care of their children which enhance their vulnerability, since neighbors are the one who commit the crime.

Moreover, divorce plays a big role in minimizing protection and economic empowerment. This is exacerbated in daughters who are living with only their mothers as female headed households are highly susceptible to poverty and negative social attitude. Thus, considering the fact that female-headed-households are trivialized in Ethiopia due to the acceptance of male dominance, there can be the highest risk of rape experiences against their daughters. As one informant who was living with her mother explained that a raped daughter from female-headed-household believed that because she is ‘ye set lij’ meaning that she is from FHH (Case study 4, Age 14, March 6, 2008). Further more, she revealed regarding the negative impacts of family breakdown and lack of supervision.

*I am living with my mother in a condominium house. My mother divorced four years ago. Now we are living alone. As you know that the living way of people in a condominium house, there are so many neighbors in the compound. The man who raped me is one of our neighbors who was next to us. My mother spent the whole day at work place until 12 p.m. In Nov.24, 2007 when this man recognized that there is no one in the house he called me to buy beverages from the nearby shop. Then, when I brought beverages immediately he pushed me down on the bed and gagged cloths in my mouth to avoid screaming. Then he committed what he wanted.*

The above story shows how lack of supervision and living style pave the way for rapists to commit such kind of crime which is usually done out of eye witnesses. This is confirmed by Mechleton (1992 cited in Yohannes, 2003) that female children and adolescent girls who live away from both of their natural parents have been found to be at increased risk for being sexually abused. Besides, being alone and unfamiliar with their physical environment increase women’s vulnerability to rape. This is clearly observed in one of the informants:
I lost my father and mother when I was 8 years old child. I have been living with my grand mother for long period of time. Last year, I missed my grand mother too. At this time things are changed. My grand mother’s daughters wanted to sell the house and told me that to find job and leave. After some time, by the help of broker I got job i.e. housemaid around ‘riche’ which is far from where I was. One day the family members where I served as servant went to their place of birth in rural areas. On the next day, the man who recognized this, came to the house at night around 2:45 pm and raped me (Case study 5, Age 24, Feb.29, 2008).

As it mentioned in chapter two, regarding perpetrators, men who had experience of poor parental child rearing, poor supervision, physical abuse, neglect, live in abusive situations and separation from their parents are likely to be violent sex offender. This is also supported by social learning theory that believes in imitation and parental modeling which has an impact on the future life setting of individual. In this study, an investigation was made to find out the demographic profile of perpetrators. However, it was very difficult to get such information especially for informants who were raped by strangers and those informants who were raped by acquaintances have little knowledge about their rapists’ prior relations with parents. Regarding this, one informant said that: He is rude and arrogant. He is always in discrepancy with his sisters and brothers, even with his mother. So, no one in the family approaches him. Prison is like his own home, he is frequently sentenced to prison committing different types of crimes including rape (Case study 6, Age 39, March 21, 2008).

- Society’s negative attitude towards rape victims

The research findings also show that how victims are stigmatized and ostracized by the community members that deter them to seek legal aid and health services which in turn increase the prevalence of rape crime. According to the finding, most victims did not report the case immediately because of fear of stigmatization from the family members and the society at large. It is believed that women’s sexual integrity has a great value in the society. If a girl is raped she would be regarded as valueless object. Instead of being considered as a victim, she would be degraded. In effect the social sanction is a second pain by itself. There is also a general attitude that women who dress provocatively welcome the incidence of rape. It is believed that women
who dress like that is to get men’s sexual attention. Hence, victims fear to disclose the incident. This kind of attitude effectively hold back women from seeking help from legal bodies and health institutions. But this attitude is far from being true because it has been observed that Muslim women who cover their hair and who put on long cloth are also victims of rape. This society’s view made victims to feel that they were somehow responsible for the incident, either through their way of dressing, behavior or appearance or by somehow inviting an assault to occur. The following story was given by one informant regarding society’s perception of victims:

*I was raped by the neighbor whom I know for about two years. I didn’t tell anybody. I thought that if my family knows this they will kill me and don’t believe me. Besides, I was frightened of the stigma from our neighbors. However, after two months when my second time menstruation did not come I realized that I was pregnant from that cruel man (rapist) but still now I was acting like nothing happened to me. Through time my pregnancy became recognized by the students and community members in my surrounding but not by my family members until six and half month. After this time, I was forced to discontinue my education (Case study 8, Age 15, March 18, 2008).*

The above story evidently illustrates that victims did not report the problem immediately due to the negative attitude of the society and particularly the family towards rape victims. The key informant from CPU confirmed that most of the time victims came to the legal bodies after a long period of time of which the incident happened when mostly they became in chronic health problems, being pregnant and denying pregnancy or new born baby by perpetrators. In fact women are more likely to report rape today than previously. This is a result of changes in people’s attitude. It was vital to point out that people are becoming so sensitive in these kinds of issues and treat victims well. This is because of the existence of awareness campaign through different mass media. Furthermore, the key informant from CPU revealed from his experience that there is a case in which neighbors reported the event of a girl raped by her own father. Here, EWLA has been playing a role in providing public education by caring out training and advocacy workshops for different groups of individuals like students, civil servants, law enforcement bodies, etc, for raising consciousness to fight against such kinds of violence against women/girls.
Because of fear of isolation and stigmatization, victims don’t report immediately. Victims not coming early or immediately after the incident to the legal bodies is a challenge for justice because it is very difficult to identify the man is perpetrator or not since the nature of the crime is committed out of the eyewitness. In this regard, the key informant from FGAE said that: victims came to FGAE after a long time of the incident happened to them; thus, it can only check whether she is virgin or not and related reproductive health problems: however, those victims who came with in twenty four hours is possible to make many examinations like the state of her clothing; whether it is torn, muddy or blood stained, her emotional state, the presence of bruises, and other injuries in any site, the state of her fingernails, the condition of the vulva, hymen, and vagina, matting of the public hair or staining of the clothing with semen, the microscopic demonstration of semen on the vulva or on the clothing, the presence of loose hairs which can be shown to be similar with those on the pubes of the accused and the presence of venereal diseases. This medical evidences are vital to facilitate police’s investigation and hence able to finish the legal process in short period of time. Besides, it avoids victim’s withdrawal of accusation process. Furthermore, key informant from EWLA said that it is observed in some cases perpetrators have this information about the investigation mechanisms so they keep victims in the house for some days.

• **Approaches or ways to commit rape**

It was identified in this study that in addition to the above mentioned factors, perpetrators threatened victims using different mechanisms like weapons, knife, and other harmful materials during the time of rape and after the incident is one of the immediate contributory factors for females to being raped. Using perpetrator’s authority is also one of the ways that contribute to the silence that continuous to surround crimes of rape. For instance, one informant said:

*At the time of rape and after the incident he threatened me using different forceful mechanisms like knife. Beside, he was the breadwinner of the house. Thus he told me that if my mother knew the incident he would threw us out of the house which would be terrible to us because we would not have a place to stay, feed and couldn’t continue our education. That’s why I kept it underground (Case study 2, Age 18, April 8, 2008).*
The other informant said: *After he raped me he was threatening me by saying that ‘if I heard any thing from neighbors, I will send you to your parents in rural area’. However, I didn’t want to return back at that time. Additionally, no one would believe what happened to me as it is a taboo to talk about forced sexual acts in our society which is directly related with the lose of virginity. So, I was forced to keep it as secret until I found another job* (Case study 11, Age 28, March 16, 2008).

Furthermore, young girls and women are more to be deceived by perpetrators especially in the case of acquaintance rape. One informant clarified how the perpetrator tricked her: *in our community I know the man that he can send females to Arab countries without any fee which will pay back from my salary after I went there. One day, I met the man and he told me to come to his home next day. In the next day, I went to his home with my younger sister. When we arrived there he told us to go away my little sister by saying that ‘you are the one who wants the job so she must go out’. Then he closed the door and raped me forcefully* (Case study 10, Age 21, April 7, 2008).

Besides, the collected data indicates that rape is also committed against young and mentally retarded girls; offenders are observed in trying to deceive them by giving different materials like chewing gums, chocolate, pen, pencil and other materials which make children excited. One of mentally retarded and couldn’t speak informant whom the researcher met after one month of the incident said that:

*I know the perpetrator three months ago. When I came from school he always gave me pencil, chocolate and money. At that day also by giving me chocolate he took me to unknown places and raped me* (Case study 7, Age 18, April 15, 2008).

The above testimony also shows how perpetrators are violent and how a great tragic that mentally retarded girl raped by a person who supposed to help her. Generally, the above discussions that perpetrators’ approach before, during and after committing the crime play a great role in keeping the incident from legal bodies which indirectly hinder to find remedies for the problem. Thus,
this encourages further intimidation and sexual victimization against female children and women as the crime keep as secret.

- **Alcohol and Drug consumption**

Alcohol is a frequently cited situational contributor to sexual violence. In this study also using alcohol and different drugs like ‘chat’, ‘shisha’, cocaine, etc, found as another cause that contributes to females’ vulnerability to rape. Alcohol and drug consumption play a great role in motivating offenders to perform the crime. It can be due to the fact that in most of the time the incident is occurred during the night time after the perpetrators ‘get drunk and used drugs.

Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey in US indicated that drugs and alcohol play an important role in rape victimization, substantiate this finding. About two thirds of the women who were raped said their rapist was using drugs and/or alcohol at the time of rape. In addition, 19.8% of the female victim said they themselves were using drugs and/or alcohol at the time of rape (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2006). However, in this study all informants were not drunk at the time of the incident. As indicated from an in-depth interview regarding perpetrators, some of them were drunk but many of them were not drunk at the time of rape. One participant telling her story as “the day was Sunday, Feb.24, 2008. It was unusual for the man who was the owner of the house to stay at home in weekends. He raped me while I was making his bed around 4:30 in the morning. He didn’t take any alcohol or drugs (Case study 2, Age 18, April 8, 2008). From this point it is possible to say that rape is committed deliberately without taking any initiative substances.

- **Lack of information**

As mentioned earlier, in Ethiopia it is a taboo to discuss about sexual violence in the family. All informants mentioned that they didn’t discuss things related to sexual abuse in the family. As informants respond the reasons that if the family exposes the idea for their children, they may consider that it will occur with in family members. One of the informants revealed that ‘even they
don’t allow us to discus more on such kinds of issues after we heard such kinds of cases from police program of the Ethiopian television (Case study 4, Age 14, March 6, 2008).

According to the data gathered, females are exposed to rape due to the existence of big gap between parents and children and hence, lack of information. One of the informants revealed that her mother always says that ‘if I see you with any man I will kill you including the guy whom I see with you then I will make suicide’ (Case study 7, Age 18, April 15, 200). From this, it can be understood that families consider by frightening their children save from rapists rather than telling the causes that makes females being raped and the remedial actions. Besides, mainly it is not common that families talk about sexual assaults and their negative impacts with their sons.

4.4 Demographic profile of rapists from victims’ point of view

It was vital to discuss the general characteristics of rape and background history of rapists that may have influence on perpetrators to develop behavior of violent sex offender. The findings of this study show that for the majority of rapes, most victims know their rapists. Statistics from a wide variety of sources show that rapists are most often known to the women they rape. Accordingly, Tjaden and Thoennes (2006) mention that 8 out of every 10 rape cases, the victim knows their rapists. This is also supported by key informants from EWLA and FGAE. This is another way that making rape all about danger, it doesn’t help to keep females from being victimized by strangers. More common form of rape is so invisible but can do many females real harm. Even in some cases in the in-depth interview the perpetrator told the victim that he raped her because of love and wants to marry her in the future.

Regarding the age of rapists, as revealed in many literature, rapists rape younger people more often than they do older people. This is also confirmed in this study that all participants mentioned that perpetrators are older than them. Additionally, the key informant from CPU staff pointed out that young girls or women are at risk of rape. However, young girls who are in the age group of 15-25 are more exposed to forced sexual intercourse. Besides, very young children are also exposed to sexual victimization because of their age as they can’t control themselves from offenders’ and less effort to resist the incident. In this regard, age is one of the factors
which can contribute females to be more vulnerable to different sexual abuse like rape (WHO, 2002). This may be because perpetrators of rape consider that very young girls would not tell what happened but if victims are in the older ages they might go to the concerned bodies and the rapist would be arrested.

Regarding perpetrators from informants point of view their socio-economic and educational background are different. It is vital to note that this information was gathered from informants raped by acquaintances. Some informants’ perpetrators are well in economy and others are not. It is also the same to their educational status. According to the police from CPU, there are all types of perpetrators concerning their economic and educational status. The key informant from court pointed out that in most of the cases perpetrators are unemployed and who are in low living standard. Additionally, key informant from FGAE revealed that most of the time rapists are in middle class and jobless, though there are cases while perpetrators are teachers, police men, medical personnel, priests and deacons (religious men) and managers from different private and governmental organizations.

Rapist’s marital status, as information’s from the collected data revealed, many of them are unmarried. However, married men who have children are also observed as criminals of rape. Key informant from court revealed that married men who are in abusive family relationship with their wives, divorced and personally aggressive men are mainly criminals of rape.

Concerning types of perpetrators as it mentioned in chapter two, the anger rapist and the power rapist types are victims’ perpetrators in this study. Both believe in power and control which is the manifestation of masculinity.

4.5 Socio-Health effects of rape

The consequences of rape vary, being more extensive for some victims than for others. All informants in this study are victims of forceful sexual acts by different individuals who were closed to them or not and as a result they endured various damaging consequences in their life time. The assault of rape on the body does not end with the conclusion of the attack it self.
Rather, bodily, mentally, socially and economic/education risks to the victim continue. Therefore the negative consequences of rape have been documented and discussed in this section.

4.5.1 Social effects

Living with the rape is particularly stressful for the victim. In most societies, raped girls/women don’t obtain the support of their family, friends or society, rather the victim is often held to be partially guilty while the offender tends to be free in contrast. This attitude is not just widespread within the population but also amongst personnel in the courts and the police. Besides, if the young girls/woman lives in a society where the virginity of unmarried girls has high social value like Ethiopia, victims are abused and stigmatized because loss of virginity is perceived as ruinous to the prospects of women and girls. This perception makes victims to alienate themselves from the society and leave to another unknown place which also opens the ways for further intimidation, as it mentioned before being alone and stranger prevail more threat to victims. Moreover, Warshaw (1988) mentioned that the socialized 'deafness' of men toward women, and the likelihood that a man will interpret a situation to have stronger sexual overtones than a woman will leads to the belief among many men and some women in justifiable rape.

Moreover, Heise et. al. (1994) revealed that traditional gender roles prescribing female submission and male dominance are linked to rape. In Australia, Germany, and Japan, rates of violent sexual offenses were related to national levels of dominant masculinity. Studies in several countries have suggested that rigid gender roles and promotion of an ideology of male toughness are related to violence against women. In many cultures the stigma associated with rape is extremely damaging to victims. In some Asian cultures, women are driven to suicide or are killed by family members in order to relieve the family of their shame.

Similarly, in this study, all victims were vulnerable to social stigma. As one informant who became pregnant as a result of rape explained regarding stigmatization of the society:

Every student pointed up their hands on me and everybody was talking about the incident which they consider it as because of me due to the fact that rapist and me knew each other before. In addition to this, neighbors’ rumor is that it wasn’t rape rather I gave consent to the perpetrator
and the incident could never be identified unless I was pregnant. Some said I deserve it and I got what I wanted. My mother was the only one who was by my side; the other family members especially, my father did not want to see my face and even tried to attack me. He was always insulting me verbally by saying that 'simen atefashew’ meaning you spoiled my name in the community (Case study 8, Age 18, March 8, 2008).

The above story indicated how the family as well as the society perceives female victims of rape that consider as faults of the victim herself. This is due to the fact that in our society, the behavior of woman is considered to reflect on her family and community. If a woman is seen to be defying her cultural roles, she may be held to have brought disgrace and shame on her family and community.

The above mentioned social effects of rape are a cause for girls/women to face economic problems and withdraw from education. The negative reactions of the society towards rape female victims make victims to alienate themselves from the environment and hence from education. Especially, those who were pregnant because of rape are mainly gone through terminating their education due to the pregnancy itself and stigmatization of the school community as well as the society. As one of the informants said that I went back to school after two weeks of the incident of rape. Everybody was talking about me including teachers. The girl’s club in the school tried to give me counseling services: however, I couldn’t tolerate and continue my education (Case study 4, Age 14, March 6, 2008). One can understand from such phrases, being raped causes victims to take any risks related to their life. In our country education is mandatory to improve economic standard and consequently bring economic progress in the society as well as in the country, thus rape is one of the problems which hinder girls/women from economic and education benefit. A study conducted by Heise et. al. (1994) showed that in developing countries, an estimated five percent of the working time lost by women because of disability or sickness results from gender based violence and rape. Generally, any kinds of violence against women impoverish society economically, politically and educationally, by limiting the active role that women can make in the development of their community.
4.5.2 Health effects

Health consequences of rape include physical injury, psychological trauma, pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

- **Physical injury**

The data in this study indicated that all female victims face physical pain and injury during forced sexual intercourse as all cases of rape involve force. From the reviewed literature the physical effects of unwanted sexual intercourse are bleeding, bruises, urinary tract infection, fistula, pain around joints, blindness, losing their teeth, wound around uterus, losing virginity, vaginal trauma, unusual discharge from vagina, fungus infection around vagina and widening up of uterus. The key informant from FGAE said that most of the female victims who reported being physically injured sustained relatively minor injuries such as scratches, bruises and welts. Relatively few sustained more serious types of injuries such as broken bones, dislocated joints, sore muscles, strains and chipped or broken teeth.

The data collected from an in-depth interview confirms that all informants are vulnerable to one or more than one of the above mentioned physical effects and all were verbally threatened. To exemplify, one informant said about the pain: *that forced sexual intercourse was very painful and horrible. I was crying but the man did not want to stop. I tried to escape and impede his reaction. He didn’t consider all my reactions and feelings. I was irritated and shocked. I was just like a dead one* (Case study 9, Age 32, March 26, 2008).

One can understand from the above quotation rape causes terrible physical pain at the time of the assault. In addition to this, rape is commonly committed with the involvement of beating from offenders. Mentally retarded informant said:

*During the incident first the perpetrator hit my two legs and I fall on a very dirty ground around the toilet then gagged my mouth with clothes. He tied my hands back together. He slapped and*
beat me so many times. I am still feeling it around my knees (Case study 7, Age 18, April 15, 2008).

Furthermore, all of the interviewees disclosed that they suffered from genital pain during the incident since sex and the presence of power come together. One of the key informants from FGAE from her experience mentioned that children who are especially below 5 years are suffering from fistula as a result of rape.

The foregoing discussion shows that raped females are subjected to physical violence. Physical beating is common during the incident in which scares are left on the victims that makes it difficult to forget the event.

- **Unwanted pregnancy**

This study disclosed that unwanted pregnancy is one the results of forced sexual intercourse. Whether it dawns on victims immediately or later, the possibility of pregnancy clearly is one of the top concerns of rape victims. Even if pregnancy is not a concern to victims at that instant, it seems to prey on their minds in the next few weeks. Informants who were pregnant because of rape made their mental recovery more difficult. Women who had experienced suicidal thoughts after the rape were likely to have pregnancy and abortion, which may indicate that they suffered particularly humiliating trauma. According to the results of findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey, rape-related pregnancy rate is 5.0% per rape among victims of reproductive age, i.e. those aged 12-45 years (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2006).

The researcher observed that victims were visibly shaken at a thought of pregnancy from the rape. Still now extremely painful for the women who were pregnant and made abortion to talk about it. One informant mentioned concerning pregnancy:

*I became pregnant as a result of rape from the owner of the house where I served as housemaid. I told him that I am pregnant. First he denied it, and then he thought that I might tell to neighbors so before my pregnancy recognized by others he told me that he will help me but should leave the*
house. I went to another place and rented a new house. He paid the first three months house rent then he stopped. I went to his home to ask about the money while I was seven months pregnant. He was not there. The neighbors told me that he left the house two weeks ago. At that time, the whole thing was dark to me because I didn’t have any place to stay. Then after, an old lady who knows my story allowed me to stay until I deliver the baby. Now, I am with this son. I generate income from washing cloths, baking ‘enjera’ and other kinds of work (Case study 9, Age 32, March 26, 2008).

The above testimony shows how females are suffering from being pregnant as a result of rape and what they faced after they deliver their baby. In line with this, the key informant from court said about the pregnancy from rape, in most of the time it is observed that perpetrators are denying the pregnancy. Nowadays, this is becoming a great problem because in our country there is no any biological mechanisms for identifying being father or not unless there is an eye witness or other tangible documents. Though there is DNA examination in our country still now the court doesn’t accept it officially. This is very difficult in the case of rape since it is committed behind the lock.

The other informant explained what happened to her after the incident with dark face:

I was raped by our neighbor two years ago. After two weeks the police arrested the perpetrator. However, he released from prison on bail by paying 2000 birr. Then after, the same perpetrator took me while I was on the way to school and went to Harer, eastern part of Ethiopia. In that area there was a widely spread diseases called ‘malaria’. I was also infected and suffered from this disease. I couldn’t resist it. When I was on the verge of death, the perpetrator brought me to Addis Ababa. The next day early in the morning he left me on the front door of my family’s house. At that time I was five months pregnant. My family took me to hospital to abort it but it couldn’t. The doctor told us that it is better to give birth otherwise my life would be at risk. Now I have this baby. I am living with my parent (Case study 12, Age 16, April 2, 2008).

The above testimony illustrates that rape followed by abduction and early pregnancy which is very painful. She is now in a serious uterus pain. In Ethiopia, still now in rural areas young girls
are abducted on the way as they go to fetch water or school. The society forced the victim to marry the abductor. This is because once they lose their virginity without marriage; they are considered non-marriageable (NCTPE, 2003). Due to fear of stigma, these young girls consent to the marriage to their abductors which is another pain to live with the perpetrator and rapist himself.

Pregnant women as a result of rape and who deliver a baby alienate themselves from the society due to fear of stigmatization. As informants reveal that they feel shame, anger and depressed due to being pregnant from rape and also after they deliver their baby. The physical consequence of pregnancy is also observed in informants. One of the informants who was 15 years old, she faced early pregnancy and hence her labor took long time (Case study 8, Age 15, March 18, 2008). Economically, they become out of the job and school and even forced to join street life or prostitution. From the observation, those victims having a baby as a result of rape, living standard and living situation are very dispassionate. The families are many in number in a very small house. They could not even support themselves rather than adding another unexpected new born baby. This also increases the family burden.

It was vital to point out the perception of rape victims towards their baby as a result of rape. All informants revealed that they loved their children and care them as a parent. One of the informants who was in TTTM said sorrowfully: ‘I gave my new born baby with the collaboration of TTTM to one of the NGO for adoption. They told me that he will go to America in the next five months. I love my son because he was growing inside of me. If I had the money I wouldn’t have given them. He is my part and half (Case study 5, Age 24, Feb.29, 2008). In this regard the organization, TTTM plays a great role in helping the victims by giving temporary shelter house for those who don’t have a place to stay after the incident. In addition, the organization offers education and short term training like house keeping and making dress.

- Abortion

Abortion is another grave health consequence of rape. Informants mentioned that they choose to have abortion because of the related social, psychological, economical and physical consequences
of rape. Besides, they could not separate the potential child from the circumstances of its conception. An informant revealed the reasons for making abortion is she didn’t want any part of her rapist and don’t want to remember the incident (*Case study 11, Age 28, March 16, 2008*).

For rape victims abortion is legally allowed thus many of them have gone through abortion. An informant who is mentally retarded and became pregnant from rape didn’t know even what abortion is and as she mentioned that it was very painful (*Case study 7, Age 18, April 15, 2008*).

Accordingly, key informant from FGAE mentioned that victims who came early provide Emergency Contraceptive Pills (ECPs) which prevent unwanted pregnancies if used with in seventy two hours of the incident of rape. As described by WHO, Emergency Contraceptive Pills (ECPs) work by interrupting a woman’s reproductive cycle--by delaying or inhibiting ovulation, blocking fertilization or preventing implantation of the ovum (WHO, 2005). However, most victims go to FGAE after a long time of which the incident happened to them. Thus, most victims are unable to use it and hence unable to escape from making abortion. All informants said that they didn’t have any awareness and knowledge before.

In this study, the informant who made an abortion because of rape shared her experience as: *making abortion is horrible. When I thought about it I feel guilty and desperate. But I hadn’t any choice. However, if I knew about emergency contraceptive pills before, I would not do that in my life* (*Case study 11, Age 28, March 16, 2008*).

- **Sexually Transmitted Disease**

The possibility of STD is another top concern of rape victims especially HIV/AIDS. In this study, the researcher tried to identify rapists who used condom or not at the time of rape from victims perspective. Many of them were raped by out of condom. This is also confirmed in a study conducted by Rahel (2000) that 87% of rape victims reported that they were raped without using condom which can put them at a risk of STD including HIV/AIDS. One informant said that *’at the beginning one of the rapists used condom, however, the second one took condom from the first one which was used by the first guy and raped me* (*Case study 3, Age 25, April 12, 2008*).
Statistics from studies by UNAIDS in 2003 have shown that girls in sub-Saharan Africa between the ages of 15 and 19 are six times more likely to be HIV positive than boys of the same age, in large part due to rape, coercion and the inability to negotiate safer sex practices (Amnesty International, 2004).

For victims who should wait until three months after the incident for finding out the results of HIV, during this time they are in stress and fraught. The researcher observed one of the rape cases file in EWLA that victims raped on March 3, 2008. This victim attached the letter with her file which indicates a request for making HIV blood test of rapist because as she said that she couldn’t tolerate until three months, she is in fear and generally she is facing panic disorder. This indicates that how victims are worried and afraid of infected by HIV/AIDS from rapists.

Regarding the society’s perception towards HIV/AIDS related with rape victims she further said that: The community in my surrounding talks about me that I am infected with HIV/AIDS. Even my boy friend who has been living with me insulted me by saying that I brought the disease without taking any blood test. However, after three months of the incident I made blood test and the result was negative but still now the neighbours consider me as positive (Case study 3, Age 25, April 12, 2008).

The key informant from FGAE also mentioned the misconception of perpetrators what they believe that children are cure from HIV/AIDS. Additionally, Amnesty International (2004) stated that in some societies, girls have been subjected to forced sex because of the fallacy that sex with a virgin will cure a man of HIV/AIDS.

- **Psychological effects**

As many literature notified regarding psychological consequences, the common immediate effects are shock and withdrawal that victim may be unable to speak about the experience, victim may be very distraught and show signs of extreme fear, recurrent and intrusive flash backs of the assault, sleeplessness and nightmares, hyper vigilance that a tendency to startle easily,
inappropriate calm and rationality that behaving as if nothing unusual had happened, obsessive washing that victim may feel dirty and tainted (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2006).

The common long term effects that happened in victims are recurrent and intrusive recollections of the assault, unsafe feelings even in familiar places, deep emotional pain that they experience strong feelings of anger, sadness, impaired concentration and memory and difficulty in coping with normal routines.

One of the informants explained regarding mental disorder as a result of rape said that she has been suffering from sleeplessness and stress. Besides, she tried to make suicide while she was six months pregnant as a result of the pregnancy itself from unknown rapist and burdened of too much work where she was served as cooker in one of the hotel around ‘piazza’ (Case study 5, Age 24, Feb.29, 2008).

Fear of reprisal actions is identified by informants particularly for those of victims who are on the investigation process and their rapists are in prison. This put them in stress and lack free movement. As they mentioned that due to this they lack confidence.

The findings of this study also indicate that all victims’ attitudes to men had been affected by the incident. By far the most common response was distrust of all men or certain groups of men. Many victims expressed regret at feeling so distrustful of men, but, given that the many had been raped by men they knew and had trusted.

Accordingly, Kelly (1988), in her study of surviving sexual violence, found out that for a larger number of women, sex became linked to being used and/or it triggered memories of abuse. Similarly in this study, informants reveal that they don’t have any interest to sexual intercourse.

Kelly (1988) regarding the psychological trauma mentioned that blaming oneself is inextricably linked to ideas about provocation and suggestions that it is relatively easy to prevent or limit abuse. In this study, some of the informants had never blamed themselves however, some of them blamed themselves. The process of reviewing ones own behavior, in terms of aggravation, risk
taking and avoiding rape, was also evident where women were raped by men they didn’t know. In this case of stranger rape, there is a feeling of guilty being in the wrong place at the wrong time. This demonstrates the power of the ideology that women are responsible for men’s violence. One informant reveals that she felt responsible for walking alone to night at around 5:30 PM (Case study 3, Age 25, April 12, 2008). Furthermore, Kelly (1988) noted that self-blame involves engaging in an examination of the circumstances of an assault in order to discover if it could have been prevented. Generally, feelings of shame, guilt, having been violated and self blame all negatively affected women’s sense of self. The impact of victimization on women’s self respect and self image can be seen as the cumulative outcome of all the other impacts.

In this study, lack of available counseling services is a challenge to resolve the above mentioned psychological and other problems related with rape. Though the service is given by EWLA, FGAE, TTTM and CPU office, it has been observed that victims get counseling service for one or two times. There is no consecutive counseling service that follows up the progress of victims from time to time.

4.6 Coping strategies

The above mentioned impacts which occurred at the time of rape or afterwards have long term implications on victims. Hence, victims used a variety of coping strategies to come to terms with the experience and its consequences. Glynis Breakwells cited in Kelly (1988) defined coping strategies as ‘any thought or action which succeeds in eliminating threat to the self…whether it is consciously recognized as intentional or not’. Coping may be limited to reassessments of the self (no longer blaming oneself), may involve an individual moving to a safer situation (leaving an abusive man), or a more fundamental shift in one’s social context (limiting interactions with all men).

This study found out that informant develops various types of coping mechanisms to adjust themselves with their situation. As the key informant from TTTM revealed that rape victims mainly tried to cope their condition by staying alone and keep silent as they compared with the other
victims of violence in this shelter house. This is not a good coping strategy that as they alienate themselves from the society they became more frustrated.

In line with this, informants have been using coping strategy by going to church when they feel bad and in stress. They get relieve from remembering the incident. This coping way seems good that helps them to get better. Besides, one of the informants said: in order to forget the incident I engaged my self in a very routine activity. As I told you that I am a daily laborer in that I tried to spend the whole day at work cite (Case study 3, Age 25, April 12, 2008).

Crying is also another identified coping strategy by informants. As they mentioned that after deep crying they feel good. For students also going to library is one ways of coping mechanisms. Disclosing their victimization for someone is identified by informants. However, one informant said that: telling my story to others brought positive and negative consequences. I got relieve when I shared my pain to my friends and discuss the issues related with the investigation process but, I have been also stigmatized by the society (Case study 9, Age 32, March 23, 2008).

The foregoing discussions imply that in order to cope, many informants bury the memory of victimization or attempt to suppress the feelings it evokes. Coping through forgetting is used for getting relieve for some time not for prolonged way out. Other strategy like being able to talk through the experience seems as helpful, particularly; talking to supportive friends is an important factor in helping them cope. However, many informants stressed that they don’t want to remember or think about their past incident Remembering, acknowledging and working through experiences of sexual violence is a very crucial process if victims are to be able to deal positively with their past. However, it is extremely painful and requires considerable personal strength and determination. Glynis Breakwell cited in Kelly(1988) pointed out that forgetting, cutting off and minimizing as an attempt to cope with threat, useful as a short term ‘holding strategy’ and not for recalling initial pain or trauma. But acute disruption to the self is controlled; the threat remains and has to be dealt with at some later point.
Chapter Five
Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

This study has focused on the causes of rape that make females more vulnerable and its socio-health effects on female rape victims in ‘kirkos’ sub-city, Addis Ababa. To collect the data the researcher has employed qualitative research approach in which the primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with informants of female rape victims and key informants from different organizations/associations that have been working on the related matters and responsible to maintain human rights.

Rape is a complicated interplay of social and cultural factors. Its incidents result from a combination of perpetrator and victim socialization experiences, beliefs and attitudes toward sexuality and societies misconceptions of the victim's intent. Additionally, men's likelihood of committing rape is associated with several factors related to tradition or culture that women are believed to be submissive and passive and men are perceived as dominant and powerful. In a country like Ethiopia where gender role socialization plays a great role, greater acceptance of using force in relationships and beliefs that relationships are based on exploitation and manipulation are prevalent that lead women to be more exposed to rape. In these kinds of societies, it is a taboo to discuss about violence related to sexual events. Lack of information and the presence of a big gap between parents and children were also identified as a reason for women to be vulnerable.

In a male dominated world culture dictated that being raped or faced with other violence; it is women’s own fault and take responsibility for it. Therefore, the society blamed victimized women having different wrong perception like wearing proactive dresses. In Ethiopia, the
community does not seem ready to accept the need to provide their full support for victims of rape. Rather they stigmatize and considered victims to be "spoiled" by their communities. People lay the blame for being raped at the feet of women themselves. As a result they alienate themselves and forced to leave to another places whom they are unknown which indirectly enhance further intimidation as they become alone and new to that community. There have been in fact improvements in the way rape victims are treated in the house and in the society. However, still victims are more likely to be blamed and stigmatized.

Stigma and rejection have profound effects for the widely prevalence of rape as the crime kept from public which pave the way for perpetrators to continue their actions and hence increase more number of potential rapists. Due to these societies negative reaction; victims of female children/women are reluctant to report to the police immediately that, in turn, impede them to get support from legal bodies and health institutions. It was identified that victims came to legal bodies mainly when they face different critical problems on their health or denying pregnancy or the newborn baby as a result of rape by their perpetrators. Coming late to report to the police was also identified as a challenge in the investigation process. This is also more complicated in the case of acquaintance rape than stranger rape. Being raped by family members make the crime invisible because due to fear of disagreement between the family members the crime kept as secret or tried to resolve by mediators or arbitrators. However, silence on anyone’s part when it comes to rape never helps and always does harm.

The 2005 revised penal code of Ethiopia has problems on the definition of rape that confined only in vaginal penetration of rape. Regarding punishment as stated in the penal code, the findings of this thesis indicated that it is not enough for rapists as compared with the devastated effects of rape on victim’s entire life. The lenient characteristic of the enforcement bodies is a great challenge for justice and bring rapists for persecution. Delayed reaction of the court and being reluctant among the enactment bodies discourages victims to continue the investigation process. Besides, if there was no injury and who were not virgin at the time of rape need much effort to convince and bring evidence to the court. In general, the findings found out that prosecution, conviction and incarceration of rapists are very few in number. Perpetrators are released before they finish their given penalty on bail. This frustrates the other potential victims
of rape to report to the police and need help which contribute for the increment of the crime of rape.

The study has also shown that poverty and economic constraints are causes that put women into risky situations which exposed them to rape. Moreover, they face severe economic problems as a result of rape. Women who came to the city to help themselves and their poor families are more vulnerable to the crime as mainly they become housemaid and engaged in low paying works. Raped women particularly who became pregnant as a result of rape are forced to leave their work and school due to fear of stigma and the pregnancy itself. The poor living condition of women who has been living in slum areas and with extended family members are exposed to forced sexual intercourse.

Different forceful materials and verbal threats are usually part of the incident of rape since power and unwillingness are combined together. They prevailed at the time of rape and after the incident which makes victims to keep the crime from public and hence contribute for the increasing number of perpetrators. Fear of reprisal action was identified as a major obstacle for victims to move freely and creates stress.

Alcohol and drugs are the most commonly used to facilitate rape. Alcohol in many individuals tends to increase aggressive behavior. As identified in the findings some of them were raped by men who were drunk and not for many of them. It is widely believed that the drunken man couldn’t control himself, which can be used as an excuse. There is also overwhelming evidence that drinking and aggression are related to each other. If alcohol caused violent behavior only by making individuals behave more aggressively, violence would be equally common in all places where drinking occurs, however, in reality it isn’t true. It is observed that a drunken man doesn’t commit a crime of rape or other violent actions and on the other hand, a man who doesn’t drink alcohol can be seen as a rapist. Thus, it is very difficult to conclude that using alcohol and drugs make individuals more violent and prone to commit the crime.

There are many consequences of rape which have immediate and long-term effects on young girls and women, beyond the actual physical violation it constitutes. Young girls and women who have been raped bear physical injuries. It has serious consequences on women’s reproductive
system. Genital pain is common at the time of the assault and after the incident and fistula is another grave consequence of rape on very young girls.

Women who become pregnant as a result of rape are most likely to suffer further abuses of their rights and severe economic problems. Early pregnancy due to rape is also identified as creating a complicated reproductive health problem which affects the rest of victims’ life. There is the trauma of the rape itself as well as the difficulties associated with carrying and caring with a child who is the result of forced sexual intercourse. This also leads young girls and women to a situation of further ostracism and trauma. Having a newborn baby as a result of rape increased the burden of the family.

The physical, economical and psychological as well as the social effects of rape on women who are pregnant as a result of rape lead them, as the testimonies in the finding showed, to abort and lose their baby. Making abortion is mainly observed on pregnant women as a result of rape. Lack of knowledge and awareness about emergency contraceptive pills is a factor for young girls and women who undergone abortion. What exacerbate the problem is victims don’t report to the concerned bodies and health institutions immediately due to fear of stigma and rejection.

Sexually transmitted disease, especially HIV/AIDS, is the primary concern of rape victims. It is very painful for victims to be HIV positive as a result of forceful sexual intercourse. Mainly most rapes are committed with out the use of condom. Hence, there is a wide chance to be infected with HIV/AIDS. For victims who didn’t take blood test after the incident, stress and panic disorder are their part of life.

It was identified that rape is the most traumatic experience that victims had in their lifetime. The most frequent psychological consequences were depressiveness, avoidance of conversations associated with the trauma, and feelings of self-accusation. Whereas, suicidal ideas and sexual dysfunctions were present after the traumatic incident. These disorders were often combined with social phobia. Victims develop a new behavior like hostility and distrust towards all men especially for rape committed by a friend, partner, or spouse involves a violation of trust and often makes victims doubt their judgment and hence, live always in a state of fear. Self blaming
is also prevalent in which feeling of guilty to be in the wrong places at wrong times. This is the manifestation of the power of the ideology that women are responsible for men’s violence. The lack of psychological care facilities to deal with survivors of rape in the society was also identified as a problem.

The cumulative social, physical and psychological impacts of rape lead victims of young girls and women to encounter economic problems and discontinue their education. Victims are forced to leave their works especially who were served as housemaid exposed to further victimization as they became prostitute and street girls. Nevertheless, the problem is not only confined on the victims rather it affects the family, the society and the country as a whole in creating unsecured and desperate generation. Generally, rape is the most aggressive demonstration of unjust power relationships as a form of personal violence and it is not only a physical assault and degradation of women kind, but also a violation of the most sensitive part of females’ mental well-beings.

Young girls and women are raped by men who have different socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. However, men who are unemployed and in low living standard are highly observed in committing such kinds of crimes. Rapists are mainly older than victims who enable them to control and submit victims easily. Many of perpetrators are known by the victims before. Among the three mentioned types of rapists, the anger and the power rapist seems the major perpetrators of rape in this study. Generally, all elements that consist in each type of rapists are part of rape and the motivation to rape. In many ways, all of these elements are also parts of how men enable rape.

Concerning coping strategies, informants use various mechanisms to forget the incident like being alone, crying, going to church and library. Remembering and working through the past which is a crucial aspect of coping was also identified by the informants that they cope their situation by sharing their story to someone who is supposed to help them and discuss about the investigation process.

5.2 Conclusion
Though there are a number of identified causes of rape that increase young girls and women’s vulnerability, all are being manifestations of unequal power relation between men and women in terms of control over women’s own bodies and their physical, psychological and mental well-beings. The traditional gender role socialization encourages males to associate power, dominance, strength and superiority with masculinity and submissiveness, passivity, weakness and inferiority with femininity. Because of this men are socialized to devalue women’s status in doing sexual violence like rape. This is supported by radical feminists who believe in power and patriarchy that combine to urge rape. Patriarchal norms not only level women as the sexual and economic properties of men but also facilitate rape incidents. In that the ideology is reproduced and passed on to the next generation through the socialization process and institutions such as the family, school and religion, etc. The social learning theory believes that imitation and modeling plays a role for developing abusive behaviors. As a result, this vicious cycle never comes to an end, unless there is change at all levels including change in the perception and mindset of both genders.

Rape in itself is a violation of human rights, but the victims are likely to suffer further because of the shame and the stigma associated to it. The stigma attached to women who have been raped has far-reaching physical and economic consequences on the raped victims. Additionally, the blame for being raped lay on the feet of women themselves. This sexist 'blame culture' is the main challenge for the prevention effort of the problem. This exacerbated in the case of acquaintance rape which is referred as ‘hidden rape’. The set of beliefs and misunderstanding about acquaintance rape that many victims are actually willing or consenting participants are often present serious obstacles as they attempt to get help from legal bodies and health institutions.

Regarding the coping approach forgetting or curing off is an important aspect of coping in the immediate period following the incident of rape. However, remembering and working through the past is a crucial aspect of coping for last long resolutions. Forgetting can only be helpful in the short term but it has negative impacts on the long run, because they may raise it or remember in later when they heard about the event.
5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research and other related literature, the following recommendations are forwarded.

- Most important is the need to address the root causes of rape. Working for gender equality in the social, economic and political spheres is very important. Both men and women should work for changes starting from in their families.
- A special emphasis should be given to education designed to make women aware of their rights and to make society at large conscious of their duty to respect the human rights, existing laws and fundamental freedoms of women and girl-children. Education in the human rights of women and girl-children should be integrated in all education and existing policies of different sectors at the national level.
- The government and the concerned institutions should take preventive measures through educating the society so as to change attitudes of the society towards female rape victims and socially and culturally constructed beliefs which have been taken as normal and harmless. The society should also challenge victim-blaming remarks and myths of rape that no one deserves it.
- Great efforts are needed to increase awareness on the seriousness of the crime among all groups of societies.
- The society should encourage and help victims to bring their cases to justice and to speak out their situations to public or legal bodies because it is only then that the problem can be solved.
- All men and women should struggle to take out rapists to the public irrespective of their close relations or family ties.
- Young girls and women should learn how to defend themselves from rapists.
- Parents have to make sure that they aware of every action and daily schedule of their children.
- The society should support measures to ensure that all those responsible for the human rights abuses are brought to justice.
The government ensures that legal aid, medical and progressive psychological counseling is made available to victims of rape.

The government should strengthen the criminal laws and increase the penalty for rapists.

Governments should ensure all law enforcement personnel and other government agents receive adequate training on national and international standards which protect the human rights of all women and how to enforce them properly.

The criminal code should be revised and the classification of rape cases should be made on the basis of victim’s age rather than on her virginity.

Throughout the country, many emergency care facilities for providing immediate needs for rape victims must be established.

Governmental and NGOs should provide support for women survivors of rape through legal, economic, psychosocial and reproductive health services.

The related government and NGOs should enhance their efforts in fighting drug use and prevent offenders using drugs as a mean of committing crime.

Generally, the community in general, health services providers and law enforcement bodies should work in collaboration to help rape victims as well as to prevent the incident of rape.
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Annexes

Annex I - Interview Guide

A. Interview with victims of rape

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This study is being conducted to gather data and information on raped women in kirkos sub-city. It is believed that your participation in giving full information is highly crucial and base for good outcome of the thesis. The information that you give will be kept strictly confidential.

Thank you
I. Background information
Kebele: _______________________
1. Age _______________________
2. Place of birth _________________
3. Religion _____________________
4. Level of education ______________
7. Current job ____________________
8. Marital status ______________________
9. Number of children _________________
10. Your or your family's average monthly income _________________

II. Questions on the causes and socio-health effects of rape

1. With whom do you currently live?
2. What is your parents living condition?
3. When you were forced to have sexual intercourse, with whom you were living?
4. Where did this incident happen?
5. What approach did the perpetrator use to rape you?
6. Did the rapist use any forceful acts? By what kind of materials?
7. What was your reaction to that incident?
8. When did it happen?
9. Who raped you? (Stranger, close relative, employer, neighbors, boy friend, father, step father, brother, family's friend or other)
10. If you know the perpetrator before the incident, how long did you know him?
    Do/did you develop a new thinking or new attitude as you are raped by someone you know before?
11. What are the causes that forced you to have unwanted sexual intercourse?
12. Did you drunk at the time of rape?
13. Did your rapist drunk at the time of rape?
14. Did you disclose the incident to your family or friends immediately?
If your answer for question number 15 is yes, how did they treat you?
If your answer for question number 15 is no, what things stopped you from doing so?
15. Did you go to the police or health institution immediately as the incident occurred?
   If your answer for question number 16 is yes, how did they treat you?
   If your answer for question number 16 is no, what things stopped you from doing so?
16. Did you get the necessary support when ever you report or appeal?
17. What was/is the reaction of your family and your intimate friends after the incident?
18. What was/is the reaction of the society in your surrounding after the incident?
19. Have you ever discussed any events related to sexual violence with your family members?
20. Do you think that the punishment for rapists which stated in the penal code is enough?
21. Could you explain the kind of problems that you come across during the incident and after the incident?
22. Have you got any reproductive health problems because of rape?
23. Have you got unwanted pregnancy as a result of rape?
   If your answer is yes, have you come across with any related problems during the pregnancy?
24. What was your reaction when you recognize that you were pregnant?
25. Have you made an abortion? If, yes, why did you prefer it?
26. If you have a baby as a result of rape, what is your perception towards this baby?
27. Did/do you blame yourself after the incident?
28. Does the incident change your attitude towards men?
29. Did the incident affect your sexual intercourse feeling?
30. Have you developed any behavioral change after the incident? If yes, what are they?
31. Have you taken emergency contraceptive pills after the incident? If no, why?
32. What did/do you do to cope with your situation?
33. Did the rapist use condom when he raped you?
34. Did you made HIV blood test after the incident? What was the result?
35. What is the current condition of your rapist? Is/are he/they in prison?
   If your answer is no, why?
   If your answer is yes, for how many years?
36. Have your rapist ever been in prison before?
37. In your opinion what should be done by the government or any NGO's to solve this problem?
III. Demographic profile of rapists from victims’ point of view

1. Age _____________________________
2. Level of education ________________
3. Marital status _______________________
4. Current job _________________________
5. Monthly income _____________________
6. If you know about your rapist/s tell me his/their background story (parent condition, living arrangement, living condition etc.)

B. Interview with key informants

Introduction

This study is being conducted to gather data and information on women rape victims in ‘kirkos’ sub-city. The purpose is to get detailed information as possible to supplement the data gained from the victims. Your participation is very essential for the success of this study. All information that you provide will be kept confidential.

Thank you

1. Name of the organization___________________
2. Sex _____________________
3. Age _____________________
4. Educational status _________
5. Position ___________________
6. In your opinion what are the major causes of rape that increase women's vulnerability?
7. What is the attitude of the families and society towards female rape victims?
8. What are the problems that raped young girls and women encountered?
9. How does your organization support female rape victims?
10. What challenges have your organization faced in the effort of supporting victims of rape?
11. Who are the perpetrators most of the time (their age, educational status, economical status, marital status, etc.)?
12. Who are female rape victims mostly (their age, economical status, etc.)?
13. What do you think should be done to reduce the problem?

Annex II-Profile of key informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organization</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational status</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Supreme Court</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>LLB</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>LLM</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
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<td>EWLA</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>LLB</td>
<td>Councilor (legal aid office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>LLB</td>
<td>Councilor (legal aid office)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPU</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>Police officer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGAE</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Diploma in clinical nursing</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Gynecologist</td>
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<td>TTTM</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Degree in sociology</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Degree in sociology</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
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**DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned declared that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of information used for the study have been duly acknowledged.

Name: _________________________
Signature: __________________________

Date: ________________

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

Name: __________________________

Signature: __________________________

Date: ________________

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AN ASSESSMENT OF CAUSES OF RAPE AND ITS
SOCIO-HEALTH EFFECTS: THE CASE OF FEMALE
VICTIMS IN KIRKOS SUB-CITY, ADDIS ABABA

BY: SINIDU FEKADU

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN GENDER STUDIES

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ADDIS ABABA

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

91
AN ASSESSMENT OF CAUSES OF RAPE AND ITS SOCIO-HEALTH EFFECTS: THE CASE OF FEMALE VICTIMS IN KIRKOS SUB-CITY, ADDIS ABABA

BY:
SINIDU FEKADU
INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS:

Chairman of department

Signature
Date

Advisor

Signature
Date

External examiner

Signature
Date

Internal examiner

Signature
Date

Acknowledgements
My deepest thanks go to my advisor Dr. Hydervali whose intellectual guidance and keen insight immensely helped me to come up with this study. I would also like to thank Addis Ababa University for sponsoring this thesis.

I am also very thankful to my family for making me who I am now, especially my mother whose value for education is beyond measure. My sincere gratitude goes to my husband who had been there throughout the whole process of my study in giving me unlimited supports and moral encouragement. I would also like to thank Tseddy, Rahel and Tewodros for their valuable support and comments.

Finally, I would like to thank all the informants who participated in the in-depth interview for sharing their deepest and darkest secrets and key informants for their overall collaboration.

Above all my deepest thanks go to Almighty God who is the source of my strength and every achievement in my life.
1

Abstract

The study has focused on the causes of rape and its socio-health effects. Moreover, it attempted to identify the demographic profile of rapists from victims’ point of view and coping mechanisms that victims used to adjust themselves with the problems they encountered due to rape. The target population of the study is females who are victims of rape in ‘kirkos’ sub-city. The researcher employed qualitative data in which in-depth interview and key informants interview were held to collect comprehensive and detailed information.

The study has found that all causes of rape are the manifestation of unequal power relation between men and women. Patriarchy and gender role socialization were prominent issues that have emerged as a major cause of rape. The study has also found out that poverty is one of the causes as well as the consequence of rape.

The study has found that the stigma and wrong perceptions associated with raped females are identified as major challenges to seek help from legal bodies and health institutions. Furthermore, the thesis found evidence that the difficulty in protecting women’s human rights and bring rapists for prosecution are laid on the weakness of law enactment bodies; delayed reaction of the court, being reluctant and undisciplined acts were identified as contributory factors that discourage actual and potential victims to report to the legal bodies. Thus, it increases more number of offenders and potential rapists as the crime kept as secret. Lack of information and supervision, strategies used by rapists to commit rape and using alcohol/drugs were also explored as causes of rape.

The study has found that rape has a devastating effect on victims’ social, physical, psychological, educational and economical well beings. Unwanted pregnancy, abortion and sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS are the immediate consequences of rape. All impacts left deep and lasting consequences on the mental health of the victims, their families as well as the society as a whole.
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Glossary of local terms

Chat—is fresh young leaves of the plant called ‘Cathea edulis’. When chewed stimulates and causes excitement and euphoria.

Shisha—is tobacco mixed with molasses and fruit flavors and smoked in a water pipe called hookah.

Woreda—the second administrative tier in local government in Ethiopia. It is composed of two or more ‘kebeles’.

Kebele—smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia which shall have a council and social court and different executive bodies.

Gulit—is small market place in which people go and buy items such as vegetables, spices, charcoal etc.

Engera—is a local food of Ethiopia which is made from teff.
### List of Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPU</td>
<td>Children Protection Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVAW</td>
<td>Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECP</td>
<td>Emergency Contraceptive Pills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWLA</td>
<td>Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGAE</td>
<td>Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCTPE</td>
<td>National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIAAA</td>
<td>National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism</td>
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<tr>
<td>NVAWS</td>
<td>National Violence Against Women Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Disease</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTTM</td>
<td>Tsotawi Tikat Tekelakay Mahber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAIDS</td>
<td>Joint United Nations Program of HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to all
Female Rape Victims