

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**CROSS SECTIONAL ASSESSMENT OF VIOLENCE
AGAINST FEMALE DOMESTIC WORKERS IN GULELE
SUB-CITY FOR LOCAL LEVEL INTERVENTION**

A **thesis** submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of Master in Social Work

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

There has been growing public and professional concerns in Ethiopia on the issue of violence against women. Though domestic workers had been among the most vulnerable groups to violence in the country, it has hardly got the research attention of the ongoing nation wide activities of anti-violence campaign.

The present study has tried to contribute to filling in the research gap in the area in the country by aiming at undertaking a comprehensive assessment of the context, magnitude and consequences of violence being committed against female domestic workers in Gulele Sub-city of Addis Ababa.

A total of 82 female domestic workers were purposively selected for the study from different sites in the sub-city. The assessment was made using adapted Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2), Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSC-25), structured interview schedules and unstructured interviews.

The following were among the major findings of the study: The reasons given by most of the domestic workers for becoming domestic workers were escape from violence or lack of subsistence in their family and marriage life or both. The results of the study on the involvement of intermediaries and the use of the un-kept promises (i.e. deception) in the process of turning the target subjects into domestic workers was found to involve - trafficking, which was not only gender based violence but also major crime in the penal code. It was observed that most of the target domestic workers have experienced sexual violence as well as economic violence by the brokers. The results of the study on the work conditions of the domestic workers, the absence of legally binding work agreement by the employers and the very meager amount of salary being paid while they were working all day long without little or no break seem to demonstrate the prevalence of major violation of the rights of the domestic workers. It was observed that the work relationship between the domestic workers and their employers found to be characterized by negative behaviors that strongly suggest the high level of mental cruelty of the latter. The results seem to confirm the violation of the rights of domestic workers i.e. citizenship, political, social and cultural rights. The very high prevalence rate results observed in all the violence assessment subscales strongly suggest that the target domestic workers had had experienced pervasive violent behaviors examined in the study namely; psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual harassment/abuse and mental cruelty by their employers in the last 12 months. As to the chronicity of violence, it was observed that the extent of violent behaviors experienced by the domestic workers over the past year was 'most chronic'. The statistically significant gender difference observed in both the prevalence and chronicity of violence committed against the domestic workers suggest the higher rate of involvement in the perpetration of the violence behaviors by female employers than male employers. The results of the self-ratings of the domestic workers on HSC-25 showed that most of them have been experiencing the symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorders. Likewise the results on PTSD assessment indicated that the majority of the domestic workers (i.e. above 70 percent) experienced the symptoms of the post-traumatic stress disorders. The study also identified the major risks and vulnerabilities, social networks, coping mechanisms and strengths of female domestic workers and came up with recommendations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Historical Genesis of Female Servants in Ethiopia

In Ethiopian ancient literature, reference to female servants (or gered in Amharic) has been made in various classic documents that go as far back as Old Testament. For instance, the 15th century manuscript of Psalms and Canticles, cited in Abbadie (1980: 105) - in the narrative on King Solomon it was stated about 'the female servants at his service' in the Palace of Queen of Sheba of Ethiopia.

However, written documents that address servants/slaves, as 'topical issues for discussion' seem to have become more common in the in eighteenth and nineteenth century social history of Ethiopia. For instance, Ruppell cited in Pankhrust (1985: 45) wrote that innumerable women served throughout the country as slaves or household servants. Slave owning in the early nineteenth century was widespread, and most well-to-do families, according to Ruppell, would have several slaves, male and female, engaged in household chores. Similarly, Arnauld d' Abbadie (1980:152) noted that among the rich the mistress of the house would spend much of her time lying on an alga, or bed, and perhaps spinning, while she directed the work of her many servants or slaves. Meanwhile, still another writer, (Krapf: 1943: 120) recorded many slave women were to be found at royal palaces. "Several hundreds of slaves, particularly females," were employed in each of Sahla Sellase's residences, at Ankobar, Angolala, Dabra Berhan and Qundi.

According to yet another writer Harris (1943: 306), the king's "household slaves, male and female," were said to have exceeded "eight thousand." Such women slaves were occupied in most of the duties that

normally befell their sex, notably water-carrying, grinding of grain, the preparation of food and drink, and serving at table.

Meanwhile, in his historical account of Ankobar, Johnston (1944:79) touched on the number of slave women who were serving in the palace of the king. He judged that about two hundred slave women at Ankobar were engaged in supplying the king's household with water, and "at least" a hundred more in grinding flour, brewing alcoholic drinks, and making pepper sauce.

'Grinding Women' and 'Water Girls'

A common feature of the day's description of female servants/slaves in the nineteen-century in Ethiopia was identifying them by the type of household chores they 'specialize'. For instance, Krapf (1943), noted about the King's 'grinding- women', he wrote, were "three hundred in number," and the 'water girls', who carried "all the necessary water for the King's household".

Perhaps a unique piece of record on the subject might be that of Johnston (1949). Unlike others, he tried to give a vivid description of the social interaction, feelings, and emotions etc of the female slaves whom he called 'water girls'. He wrote: "....noisy crowd of chatting, romping girls, with large jars slung between their shoulders by a leather belt, or rope ... across the

breast. “these “water-girls”, he explains: “were the slaves of the Negoos, and their chief employment consisted of this daily duty of carrying water from the stream to the palace at the summit of the hill . . . they supply all water required for the use of the courtiers and guests, beside a body-guard of three hundred gunmen, all of whom are daily fed at the royal table.” The slave women engaged in cooking, preparing alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks and other domestic chores were likewise described by the inimitable Captain Harris (1943) in the writing of the “daily Labors” at Ankobar of “three thousand slaves” and their supervision by a palace eunuch.

Concubines and/or 'Spinning Women'

There were also at the palace, it was said, numerous concubines: two hundred on Johnston’s (1949) estimate, and three hundred on that of Harris (1943). These women, according to the former observer, were “kept in the strictest seclusion,” under the supervision of several eunuchs.

Though described by foreign observers as “concubines” they had in fact other functions, for they were responsible, Johnston stated, for spinning “the more elaborately-spun cotton thread used for the finer descriptions of cloths, which are presented by the Negoos to his greatest favorites and governors.”

'Camp-Followers'

An interesting account of subjugated female servants who, in addition to the household chores, reportedly play important roles during the warfare. These were known as 'Camp-Followers'. They often called their men folk to arms accompanied them to battle, and incited them to fight with valor. The encouragement given by women to the soldiers in the civil wars of the early nineteenth century is recalled by Pearce who states that Ras Walda Sellases camps in Tegre were “full” of Amhara women. Composed of “gangs” of girls in one, and grown women in the other, they sang to the sound of a drum, which a woman carried slung with a string about the neck, and beat at both ends.

The Shanqellas as Servants - the Ethnic dimension in the history of Servants in Ethiopia

Like other African countries of the day, slave-raids were common practices in Ethiopia. The captives were turned into slaves or servants. Since the slave raids were usually made on neighboring people of different ethnic makeup, the ethnic identity of the people raided as slaves figure prominently in their newly constituted identity as slaves in the hands of their occupiers. The Shanquellas were the common victims to the slave-raids of the Ethiopian state of the time.

According to Pearce cited in Pankhurst (1985:241) both female and male Shenqellas conveyed to the Sudan were sometimes shackled at night, so that they could only move about by taking short jumps with both feet together.

According to Pankhurst, the principle of slavery received recognition, in the Fetha Nagast, was generally accepted by Ethiopian society of this period. The missionary Samuel Gobat Cited in Pankhurst (1985:241) recalls that while teaching at Gondar in 1830 “among other things, that the same god who created

us created the shangalas (Negroes), and that they are children of Adam as well as well as we." On hearing this revelation one of his young disciples struck his breast, and exclaimed, "What! The Shangalas then are our brethren! And why do we make slaves of them?"

In the same vein, *Le Monde Inconnu* (1882) cited in Pankhurst(1985:113) recounted the dramatic story of a slave girl called Mahabuba which was the outcome of slave-raids of the time on the local Oromo's. Mahabuba was an early nineteenth century Oromo from Guma, who was seized as a slave during the local fighting and taken by slave merchants to Cairo where she was purchased by a German nobleman, Prince Hermann Von Puckler-Muskau

The Employment Situation of Household Servants

Household servants were by all accounts far less numerous than slaves, and for the most part no better remunerated, for they received little more than their subsistence, an occasional gift of clothes, and a very small number of amoles. Servants in Tegre, according to Pearce, cited in Pankhurst (1976), were thus paid in salt, but were given the equivalent of only three Maria Theresa dollars a year besides their upkeep. This, Pearce felt, was indeed the maximum they could judiciously be given, for, he declares: "I have often observed, that if though their faithfulness ad attention the master may think fit to make them an addition to their pay, or any present, they become immediately ungovernable and insolent, the least indulgence spoiling them for good servants." When not so indulged they were, he says, "very submissive", and "never received anything from their master's hand without bowing and kissing the article" (Pankhurst, 1976:247).

Pearce's was of course an employers view- what the servants themselves felt is not recorded.

‘Wither those who were heard Saying Servants’: the Pro-Marxist Regime

The 1974 revolution might be taken as a turning point in the history of servants in this country. The pro-Marxist military government put domestic servants in the list of the oppressed and officially banned using the derogatory terms used to refer to servants (i.e. *gered* in Amharic for female servants and *ashker* in Amharic for male servants) (PGE, 1976). It was by this time that the now national parlance of *yebet serategna* (which literally translated in Amharic as domestic workers) came into being.

The government further introduced a system that allow domestic workers to establish their association with their assumed oppressed compatriots that mainly consisted of prostitutes, waitresses, bartenders, daily laborers etc (Workers Federation of Ethiopia, 1979). Although the new political participation had stayed strong for the latter members of the group, at least in the heyday of the revolution, as to the domestic workers no similar documents that confirm their active political participation could be obtained.

2. The Current Status of Violence against Women in Ethiopia

In both urban and rural areas, crime and violence against women is a common phenomenon in Ethiopia. (WAO, 2003; EWLA, 2004) The practice appeared to be accepted and tolerated by the society, by the victims themselves and even by the law. The 1960 Civil Code subtly legitimizes such behavior. Article 644 (2) of the Code under the heading 'Husband to give protection,' provides; "He may watch over her relations and guide her in her conduct, provided this is in the interest of the household, without being arbitrary and without vexation and other abuses." As elsewhere in the world, violence against women has a structural basis; it is the manifestation of gender power relations.

According to (EWLA, 2004;2001), in most parts of the country, talking in public about issue like rape, sexual abuses and harassment have been considered as taboo and hence victims and family members preferred to be silent since ridiculed by the society. Such cases therefore have not been reported to the police and remained hidden though are painful psychologically and morally, particularly to the victims. Although some cases used to be reported to the responsible institutions, they were down played and most of the time never taken seriously. This was thought to be due to the negative attitude that the society has had towards women's rights and on the other hand upholding the supremacy of men (EWLA, 2001).

Social policy and development research around the world shows that domestic violence is found in every socio-economic group, ideology and class. However, some agencies including the UN promote the idea that violence is a way of life in poor households (World Bank, 2003). Despite the lack of a well-established data on the prevalence of domestic violence in Ethiopia, cases coming to the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association confirm this trend of women's economic dependence and male violence. Out of an average of 30 women visiting caseworkers daily, about 22 report physical violence. Emotional and psychological violence is usually inevitable even for those victims who are not subjected to physical attack. the fact that most of the clients coming to EWLA are poor women with no income at all or very little income and that the majority of them are objects of male violence could tempt one to conclude that social violence is common in under-privileged societies. (EWLA, 2004) However, this kind of assertion has been argued to be dangerous and could strengthen the social apathy that exists towards male violence (Mama, 2002; Razavi, 2001). This is because it might encourage policy makers to condone violence by attributing it to poverty.

The most recent nationwide empirical data on the problem of violence against women in the country, The Demographic and Health Survey (DHS, 2000),

appears to indicate that violence against women to be 'accepted' by the victim women themselves. Illustrative findings of the survey include the following: eighty eight percent of women respondents believed that husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one reason. Sixty six percent of women respondents also believed that husband is justified in beating his wife if she burns the food she prepares for the family or 'neglects' the children. Sixty eight percent of women respondents also believed that wife should be beaten if she argues with her husband and 59 percent of women respondents believed that husband's beating of his wife is justified if she goes out of their house without telling or getting permission from the husband. The differences were more notable by level of education and urban-rural residence.

The apparently compelling need to take practical action to curb women's violence mentioned above might entail identifying and studying the population most affected by the problem. In spite of the inadequacy in empirical data, most researchers agree that violence against women is a highly pervasive socio-cultural phenomenon and in all parts of the country it is a well established norm. Moreover, there is a consensus among researchers that violence against women is mostly 'the untold truth' of the Ethiopian society where the existing limited research attempts in the country couldn't be able to capture the depth and magnitude of the problem (EWLA, 2004).

As to the question to identify a geographic area in the country most affected by the problem, the existing scant studies in the country, instead of trying to identify a given geographic area, have focused on showing the disparity on the level of reported violence among various sections of the society i.e. the disparity between rural and urban; uneducated and educated population; population with low socio-economic and that of middle/ high socioeconomic level. According to the recent national Demographic and Health Survey all the former groups i.e. rural -uneducated -low socio-economic, populations were found to have higher prevalence of reported violence than the latter counterparts. According to DHS

(2000) some forms of violence were found to be more prevalent in one geographic and population groups. For instance while Marriage by abduction was found to be highest in Oromia Regional State, early marriage was found highest in Amhara Regional State.

Meanwhile, some researchers have tried to examine the historical development of the problem (ACAWV, 2001). However, other writers (Mama, 2002) argued that although it is difficult to find research evidence that links the problem of violence against women in this country to a given historical event, time or situation, some factors have been found to exacerbate violence against women. While some factors such as poverty, war and conflict indicated to exacerbate violence, some other factors were found to be linked with the reduction of violence such as urban life, modern education, human rights movement and democratization. In Ethiopia although there has been a growing awareness among the public about the problem due to violence against women, there has not been empirical evidence that indicates a decrease in the incidence of violence over the years in the country (EWLA, 2004).

3. Actions that have been Taken in Ethiopia to Curb Violence against Women

Against the backdrop of the above discussion, the next important issue would be to examine closely what have actually been done in Ethiopia to address the issue. The existing empirical research evidence indicates the legal, administrative and political measures that have been taken in the country. As to the legal measures, among the major actions taken in the country include pointing out the limitation of the existing legal instruments in the country. In this regard it was found that there is no law specifically regulating violence against women in Ethiopia. The general chapter in the Penal Code applicable to offences against person and health regulates all bodily injuries irrespective of gender of the victims. This principle enshrined in Article 537, which reads, "whosoever intentionally or by negligence, cause bodily injury to another or impairs his

health, by any means, is punishable in accordance with the provisions of this chapter."

Meanwhile, Ethiopia is a party to many international conventions dealing with the rights of women including The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women.

Furthermore, Article 35(4) of FDRE Constitution has prohibited harmful customs, laws as well as practices that cause physical and/or mental harm to women. Article 13 also underscores that fundamental rights and freedoms specified in the chapter shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenants on Human Rights and the International instruments adopted by Ethiopia.

In order to protect the human and constitutional rights of women and the society as a whole, discriminatory and outdated laws have been identified and are being revised and amended by the responsible government organizations. The Ministry of Justice and The Justice and Law Research Institute have been entrusted with the responsibility of coordinating the tasks and hence have been acting accordingly.

In addition to the legal actions, some Political and Administrative Responses were observed. Women's Affairs Office (WAO), along with Women's Affairs Departments (WAD) of public administration systems and Women's Affairs Bureau (WAB) of the regional states as well as the Women's committee in the House of Representatives have reportedly been participating in the national campaign meant to identify and eventually eliminate the violence being committed against women. The major activities of the campaign include creating /raising awareness among the public on human and constitutional rights of women and building capacity of relevant segment of the society mainly law enforcing institutions. This was through conducting various seminars and workshops. According to the WAO, incidents of violence are being taken to the police, courts and local governments such as Kebeles and are also reported through the respective media outlets of the public institutions.

Recently, a Committee comprising WAO, Women's Committee in the Peoples Representatives as well as other pertinent organizations reportedly agreed to coordinate and be able to collectively wage an all-out war against violence committed against Ethiopian women.

Furthermore, women's associations and concerned individuals have also been campaigning for actions to be taken with the view to discarding the norms of violence against women. Among those in the 1996 established Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association (EWLA), which has as one of its objectives advocating remedial and affirmative measures for women, to redress accumulated consequences of discrimination. The activities carried out by EWLA up to the present were mainly counseling, submitting legal briefs to courts and law enforcement institutions, representing clients in courts as well creating/ raising awareness among the society. EWLA has committees in some districts visited in the regions. However, they don't have yet the capacity to do their job effectively. In the situations where local committees were established to work with EWLA on legal rights of women and children; EWLA is addressing domestic violence issues in some of the districts.

In spite of the various attempts that have been made so far, a cursory look into the practical reality of the situation of domestic violence in Ethiopia reveals that the achievement attained are quite insignificant given the complexity and enormity of the problem. To begin with, women in Ethiopia have rarely been in a position to ensure the protection of their rights stipulated in the existing international and national provisions to address victimization by husband or intimate partner. With the exception of femicide, which usually leads to a minimum sentence through using marriage or intimacy as a mitigating circumstance, there were quite a few reporting, charging or convicting on other forms of domestic abuse.

There are many reasons for this. First, women are not comfortable in reporting their partner's abuse to the criminal justice system: they do not want to humiliate themselves and their children by bringing a 'private family affair' to public view. The violator is most likely the breadwinner of the family and male violators usually have the capacity to instill fear that destroys the confidence of the victim to report the crime, while victims do not have confidence in the criminal justice system and fear that it would lead to further victimization. Secondly, the justice system is not welcoming even for those women who are forthcoming. The system usually discourages them by advising them to settle their problems amicably. Under the law, the police should support the compliant with evidence and forward it directly to the public prosecutor, but this seldom happens. For those rare cases reaching the public prosecutor, pressing charges takes an average of two years, conviction takes more years, and the outcome is unpredictable. For the victim, staying out of her home without any money, pursuing a case mostly disapproved by the village elders and even her own parents and relatives, couldn't be an easy choice to make.

Based on what have been discussed thus far and the observation of the practical reality in the country it may be possible to discern the following gaps and priorities:

- Most of the efforts made concerning violence against women depend on top-down structures established by the government under Women's Affairs Offices and sectoral ministries. At local level, except for the local women's offices in the government structures, there is lack of a bottom-up and integrated local level framework to implement the nationwide plan.
- The fact that the health services are strategically placed to bring about change in the campaign of violence against women hasn't been recognized and identified in the program documents of WAO, the Federal/Regional Health Sector Development Programs in the country and other program documents of both government and concerned NGOs such as EWLA.

- Although the inadequacy in reporting and research attempts on various forms of violence against women were widely indicated, no attempt was made to indicate the *inappropriateness of the existing reporting and research approaches* on violence against women (e.g. most of the existing data were not only very few in number but also were demographic and victimization surveys that couldn't capture the dynamics of violence in the family i.e. through family assessment, and community i.e. through community assessment, in an integrated framework and hardly reflect victim's perspective.)
- lack of programs directed at involving community leaders, religious leaders and other community resources in the campaign to end violence against women
- lack of monitoring and evaluation in program implementations (This reportedly is due to inadequate tools, formative research, inadequate community participation)

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The literature on domestic workers in Ethiopia is scant (Abiy, 2002; IOM, 2003). Though they had been among the most vulnerable groups in Ethiopia to be exposed to diverse forms of violence, the nature and dynamics of the violence victimization appeared to be least understood.

More importantly, the nation wide campaign against the elimination of violence against women by the Ethiopian government and the related multi-sectoral anti-violence activities in the country discussed in the previous section have rarely addressed the violence against female domestic workers.

Perhaps better research attention was given to violence against Ethiopian female migrant domestic workers who had been abused while working in several Arab and Middle East countries, following the shocking news on the killings,

suicides and various severe violence committed against them (Emebet, 2001;EWLA,2000).

Recently, however, some research attempts were observed that touched on the violence against domestic workers in Ethiopia But all of the existing very few studies on the violence against domestic workers in Ethiopia were carried out in relation to child labor (Abiy, 2002, ILO, 2001; MPE,2001,2000), migration, and human trafficking. (Raceb, 2000; Atsdewoine &Tsehay, 2000; IOM, 2001; ILO, 2000)

In addition to the very scant attention being given to the situation and violence against domestic workers in the country, the nature and methodology of the research works seem to be inadequate to reflect the reality of the problem. For instance, while some of the studies were crime investigation reports and crime statistics surveys of international and governmental organizations, most others were human rights violation reports.

All the violence studies about domestic workers focused on the 'pathologies' of the victims and disregarded their strengths. Moreover, the research approach of the violence studies were focused on particular aspect of the victims and thus lacks integration and comprehensiveness.

More importantly, none of the violence studies against domestic workers in the country addressed what scholars on gender-based violence call 'interseccionality' i.e. the dynamics of class, religion, race, ethnicity etc in putting the socially disadvantaged victims of violence under multiple jeopardy.

In a modest attempt to fill in the research gap in discussed above, the present study has made a comprehensive and cross sectional assessment of the violence being committed against female domestic workers in Gulele Sub-city of Addis Ababa and come up with the possible ways of curbing the violence with appropriate interventions at a local level.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study was to assess the context, nature, magnitude and consequences of the violence being committed against female domestic workers in Gulele Sub-city of Addis Ababa.

The specific objectives of the study were:

- to explore the violence against female domestic workers in the process of becoming domestic workers and in their living and work situations
- to find out the violation of female domestic workers' citizenship, political, social and cultural rights by their employers
- to find out the prevalence rate and chronicity of violence being committed against female domestic workers by their employers expressed in terms of the psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual harassment and abuse and mental cruelty.
- to explore the injury and mental health outcomes of the violence being committed against female domestic workers.
- to find out whether there was gender difference among the perpetrators of violence (i.e. between female and male employers) in the prevalence and chronicity of violence
- to identify and describe the risks and vulnerabilities, social networks and support, quality of life, coping mechanisms, and strengths and needs of the domestic workers
- to come up with practical ideas about the implications of all of the above for local intervention in Gulele sub-city to alleviate or curb the

violence being committed against female domestic workers, especially from social work perspective.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study has been thought to have the following significance:

- The study has been believed to have generated a comprehensive set of empirical information on abused female domestic workers that can be used as important input for local intervention in Gulele Sub-City, in particular and in the whole of Addis Ababa in general.
- the study could be thought to be significant in trying to apply an integrated conceptual framework to capture the multi level and class-based violence being committed against female domestic workers by their female employers; and also introduce the need to include the assessment of the strengths of the victims of violence in violence studies.
- the study may initiate further research attempts on one of the most vulnerable but least understood disenfranchised group in Ethiopia

DEFINITION OF IMPORTANT TERMS

The term ‘violence against women’ refers to many types of harmful behavior directed at women and girls because of their sex. In 1993 the United Nations offered the official definition of such violence when the General assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. According to Article 1 of the declaration, violence against women includes: Any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual

or psychological harm or suffering to, including threat of such acts, coercion arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

There is increasing consensus, as reflected in this declaration that abuse of women and girls, regardless of where and how it occurs, is best understood within a ‘gender’ framework because it stems in part from women’s and girls’ subordinate status in society.

Article 2 of the UN Declaration clarifies that the definition of violence against women should encompass, but not be limited to, acts of physical, sexual and psychological violence in the family and the community. These acts include spousal battering, sexual abuse of female children-dowry related violence, raped including marital rape and traditional practices harmful to women, such as female genital mutilation (FGM). They also include non-spousal violence, sexual harassment and intimidation at work and I school, trafficking in women, forced prostitution and violence perpetrated or condoned by the state such as rape in war.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

THE CONTEXT, SITES OF THE STUDY AND PARTICIPANTS

The geographic focal area of the present study was Gulele Sub-city in Addis Ababa. However, the selection of the sub-city was made partly for practical reasons i.e. Gulele Sub-city was the project area of the local NGO whose major activities was providing shelter, rehabilitation and skills training programs for abused domestic workers recently returned from Middle East and Arab countries and at present envisaging to start similar programs for abused domestic workers from within the country.

Moreover, Gulele Sub-city had been among the oldest and peripheral regions of Addis Ababa in close proximity with the neighboring rural areas from where large number of rural girls and women come and stay with their urban intermediaries and contacts while seeking job as domestic workers.

Five sites were identified purposively based on the pre-study reconnaissance exploration to find out the better way of getting adequate number of domestic workers for the study. These were:

Shiromeda Site: this was a broker house where 7-10 job seeking domestic workers stays every day and wait for employers. A total of 19 willing domestic workers were identified and included in the study. Additional 7 willing domestic workers were also identified through two mobile brokers in the area and included in the study.

Mehane Alem School Site: this was where many domestic workers regularly come accompanying the young children of their employers. By waiting for the domestic workers in the main gates of the schools in the mornings of the data collection period and approaching them personally and asking for their cooperation to participate in the study, 18 willing domestic workers were found and included in the study

Eyesus Area Site: this was a brokerage service being offered in the private residence of the broker. 3-5 domestic workers come every week through intermediaries to the house seeking job. From this study site, 11 willing domestic workers were found during the data collection period and included in the study.

Italian Community School Site: the same as Medhane Alem Public School Site. 12 willing domestic workers were identified from this site and included in the study.

Addissu Gebeya Site: this was an open-air broker stand where 5-8 domestic workers come every day seeking job. 18 willing domestic workers were identified from the site and included in the study.

SAMPLING

Purposive sampling method was used to select participating domestic workers. Since the domestic workers were not found in large number in a given place at a fixed time, the only chance of getting adequate number of participants for the study was by contacting the available domestic workers who happened to show up in the study sites during the data collection period. Thus all domestic workers who agreed to participate in the study up on the request of the researcher during the data collection period were included in the study.

A total of eighty-two domestic workers were purposively selected as indicated above from the five data collection sites identified in Gulele Sub-City.

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND MEASURES

A total of five major data collection tools were used in the study. These were:

Structured Interview Schedule: This was used in the preliminary assessment of background variables and current situation of the domestic workers. It was

prepared based on the literature on violence and previous research violence research inside and outside Ethiopia.

Adapted Conflict Tactics Scale (CST2- abridged version): The assessment of violence against the domestic workers was made using (and adapting) a more objective and standardized tool i.e. based upon the 22-item version of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (RCTS2). The original CTS2 includes five subscales namely; negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion and injury subscales. For the present study some major adjustments were made in the scale. These were: although the revised version incorporated all CTS2 items relating to psychological and physical assault items, the severe psychological aggression items found more in tune with the violence between partners thus replaced by items that have been thought to reflect the violence against domestic workers based on previous empirical studies. Moreover, three additional scales were also included. These were: injury scale (with some modifications on the original injury subscale of CTS2. This was mainly because the nature of injuries expected to be inflicted up on domestic workers have some aspects that were not covered in the original scale). The other adjustment was the addition of mental cruelty subscale (based on the feminist critique of CST2 that CST2 failed to include this dimension). Yet another inclusion was sexual harassment/abuse subscale (for CST2's sexual coercion subscale which was prepared for sexual violence between partners does not reflect the sexual violence against the domestic workers). The negotiation subscale was cancelled out altogether for it didn't seem to be relevant for the present study. The last adjustment was the omission of the binary (i.e. victimization versus perpetration) which were meant to capture the interlocking violent behaviors of both partners, since these didn't seem to have relevance to the violence committed by employers on the domestic workers as the relationship between the two didn't presuppose symmetrical relationship.

Using adapted Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2), the most widely used measures of CTS2 i.e. Past Year Prevalence (percentage of violence victims who experienced at least one violent event described within each subscales in the last twelve months), Chronicity (i.e. examining how chronic the violent behaviors committed against the domestic workers by their employers were), and Severity (as indicated by distinguishing the minor and severe violence in the subscales) were used in assessing the violence committed against the domestic workers by their employers. Unique to the present study, the gender difference among the perpetrators was assessed, including the violence of female employers against female domestic workers.

Hopkins Symptoms Checklist-25 (HSC-25): Consistent with previous similar research works on assessing the mental consequences of violence, the assessment in the present study tried to find out whether the target domestic workers exhibited the symptoms of major depression, anxiety disorder, and PTSD. To assess the symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorder Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL-25) one of the most widely used tool in cross cultural studies including among Ethiopians (Tedla, 1992) was used. To assess PTSD symptoms items from the Structured Diagnostic Interview Schedule of DSM-IV that dealt with PTSD were used with HSCL-25. Based on the standard HSCL-25 cut off point of >1.5 , in the scale that ranges between 1-5, the percentage of domestic workers who rated their experience of the symptoms above the cut off point were the criteria used to identify the group of respondents with major depression, anxiety disorder and asymptomatic as per the guideline of the HSCL-25

.

Interviewers Observation Checklist: Interviewers' Observation Checklists were used by the researcher to assess the observable signs and symptoms in the behaviors of the domestic workers during the process of assessment interview, as it was customarily done in similar studies.

Unstructured Interview: Unstructured interview was employed to undertake an in-depth qualitative assessment of variables that couldn't be captured by objective data collection tools. These include: assessment of risk and vulnerabilities, social networks and support, quality of life, coping mechanisms and strengths and needs of the domestic workers.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

So as to ensure the validity and reliability of the tools used in the study, it was not feasible to fulfill tests as per psychometrical standard. In addition to the fact that most of the tools were validated in cross- cultural studies for several decades and that of HSCL- 25 was used among Ethiopian subjects. The Structured Interview Schedule and unstructured interview were developed based on scientific literature on the area and previous research works on violence.

However, two major attempts were made to further assess the validity and reliability of the tools:

Expert Judgment:

13 experts in gender violence which have postgraduate training in helping professions i.e. Psychology, sociology, social anthropology and who have had long years of work experience in gender related practices were asked to judge the adequacy of the items in the tools. Inter-judge reliability of 0.97 was obtained. Items that were poorly judged i.e. rated between 2-3 points in the scale that ranges from 1-5 were revised based the feedback obtained in post- judgment discussions held with the experts; and those items rated below 2 were discarded.

Try Out:

The final version of the tools was administered among 21 domestic workers found in a broker house around 5- kilo area. Based on the outcome of the

pilot testing revisions were made on the items of the tools, especially the practical problems observed on few items that were ambiguous and lacked clarity.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The data collection was carried out for two months i.e. in April and March. The data collection procedure involved the following stages:

Engagement: finding adequate number of domestic workers that could participate in the study was problematic for the repeated attempt to get the approval of the employers proved unsuccessful. Since brokers were found to be the most ideal sources to get to the domestic workers, attempt was made to identify brokers in *Gulele sub-city*. Five types of brokers were identified. These were: brokers with broker-houses, brokers who work in broker-stands (fixed places in one corner of business areas and provide service in their open-air stands); mobile brokers who provide service by moving from place to place to find job seeker domestic workers and/or employers; Guards in different public and private organizations who juggle their brokering job with their main job; Some residents in *Gulele sub-city* who maintain strong contact with people from countryside from where they were born and brought up and need the fees they charge from employers to support their meager income.

Moreover, some attempt was also made to directly contact domestic workers without involving brokers. This was possible by waiting for and approaching the domestic workers around the main gates of two schools i.e. Italian Community School and Medhane Alem Public School where they regularly come accompanying the young children of their employers.

Female Research Assistants: due to the difference between the researcher and the domestic workers in sex, class, language use etc it was necessary to facilitate the rapport with the participant domestic workers with the help of three female research assistants who had had similar experience and training in community-

based house-to – house projects in local NGOs that focus on improving the livelihood of poor women. However, orientation was given on the study and their expected roles in the data collection processes.

The researcher, in addition to presenting self as ‘real person’ -by communicating who the researcher was and the real purpose of the data collection, the ethical principles the researcher would strictly adhere to such as confidentiality, there were also some other cautions taken during the data collection process. As much as possible attempt was made to conduct the assessment in an environment in which the domestic workers can relax. Domestic workers were interviewed individually identifying quiet places in public parks and in the backyards of the broker houses and schools. Attention to the fact that the assessment process meant to maximize the domestic workers opportunity to voice their concerns

Relationship Building:

Assessment was preceded by the process of relationship building which involved getting the full cooperation of the domestic workers. Until the domestic workers were perceived to be comfortable and ready to open themselves up the attempt to establish rapport had continued. The three female research assistants and the brokers were used to facilitate the relationship building process.

Assessment:

The actual assessment was carried out in three tiers that progressively increase in the depth of assessment and the methods of data collection used. The first, a preliminary survey concerned more general and background information undertaken using a structured interview schedule. The second part of the assessment was carried out using objective and standardized tools such as CTS2 and HSCL-25. The third part of the assessment was an in-depth qualitative assessment of the risks/vulnerabilities, social networks and supports, quality of life, coping mechanisms, strengths and needs of the domestic workers.

DATA ANALYSIS

Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were employed. The results of the Structured Interview Schedule and HSC-25 were analyzed simple descriptive statistics mainly percentages. The gender difference in the prevalence rate of violence committed against the domestic workers Chi Square was use to test the statistical significance of the difference between the percentages of male and female employers.

The gender difference in the chronicity of violence – after the means and standard deviations of the number of violent incidents reportedly committed by male and female employers were calculated, the mean difference were tested by calculating F- Ratio using One-Way ANOVA in the standard SPSS.

The results of the unstructured interviews were analyzed qualitatively in line with the underlying theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the respective issues.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Three major limitations were recognized in the study. The first one is the problem and inability to include the views of the employers of domestic workers and other relevant stakeholders concerned with alleviating the violence being committed against the domestic workers. The limitation to employ in the study more qualitative research approaches especially personal history, narratives and discourse analysis.

Yet another limitation of the study was the problem to cover large and representative sample of domestic workers that would enable make accurate generalizations about the violence being committed by the employers.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Overview of Current Research on Gender-Based Violence

There have been growing public and professional concerns about the issue of violence against women in both developed and developing countries. This interest has resulted in a growing body of research evidence that has examined the prevalence and correlates of this type of violence (Archer, 2002; Fagan & Browne, 1994; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Recently, the scholarly discourse on gender-based violence has established that violence is relatively common, that both men and women are perpetrators and victims of such violence, and that domestic violence tends to be more common among individuals from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, living in dysfunctional family circumstances, and among those who are subject to a range of personal problems including criminality, substance abuse, mental health problems, and related conditions. (Hastings & Hamberger, 1997; Magdol, Moffitt, Caspi, & Silva, 1998; Straus & Gelles, 1986; White & Widom, 2003).

The discovery of domestic violence in the context of the concerns of the Women's movement has meant that domestic violence has been presented as a gender issue and used as an exemplar of patriarchy and male dominance over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Johnson, 1995; Walker, 2000). These claims appear to be supported by homicide, hospitalization, arrest, and refuge attendance data (Archer, 2002; Leibrich, Paulin, & Ransom, 1995), and in crime studies where women have high rates of domestic violence victimization (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). For example, Leibrich and colleagues (1995) argued that violence against women by men was a significant social problem, citing national data, which showed that approximately half of female homicide victims were killed by either a former or current male partner, and one third of females hospitalized for assault were victims of domestic violence.

In contrast, population-based surveys have led to a different perspective on this issue. These surveys have made it clear that violence against women is not exclusively perpetrated by men and that women are not exclusively victims. Indeed, in a growing number of studies there has been evidence to suggest that

rates of domestic violence victimization and perpetration are similar among men and women (Coker et al., 2002; Magdol et al., 1997; Straus & Gelles, 1986). For example, Magdol and colleagues (1997) interviewed a large representative sample of young men and women about their violence experiences. They found that 21.8% of men reported at least one act of physical violence perpetration, a result closely resembling the findings of Leibrich and colleagues (1995). They also found, however, that 37.2% of women reported some form of physical violence perpetration.

A recent meta-analysis by Archer (2002) examined gender differences in survey data using the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS, Straus, 1979). The major findings of this study were that men were more likely to engage in more severe acts such as choke/strangle and beat up, which may account for the high rates of death and hospitalization for women victims. Women were more likely to engage in minor acts of violence. The analysis also suggested that gender differences in the direction of increased female perpetration were more evident in younger (student) samples than in general community samples. This may suggest either age or cohort differences in gender violence. The overall conclusions from this study were that perpetrators of physical aggression can be men or women and that a substantial number of endorsements for both minor and severe CTS items are made by women perpetrators.

The dissonance between expectations that violence against women is predominantly perpetrated by men on woman victims and the research evidence has led to a number of criticisms of the methodology used to assess violence against women. It has been variously suggested that measures such as the CTS: (a) do not assess the full range of coercive tactics and abuse to which women may be exposed, (b) fail to take into account incidents after separation and divorce, (c) fail to take into account the context in which violence takes place, and (d) do not fully assess the consequences of domestic violence in terms of psychological threat and injury (Fagan & Browne, 1994; Saunders, 2002; Taft, Hegarty, & Flood, 2001).

2. Consequences of Violence against Women

There is huge research literature on the consequences of violence against women. For the consumption of this paper only basic studies were reviewed below.

Physical Consequences of Violence against Women

Not surprisingly, violence is a major cause of injury to women, ranging from relatively minor cuts and bruises to permanent disability and death. Population-based studies suggest that 40% to 75% of women who are physically abused by a partner are injured by this abuse at some point in life (Campbell, 2002; Golding, 1999). The consequences of such injuries can be severe: for instance, in Canada 43% of women injured by their partners had to receive medical care and 50% of those injured had to take time off from work (WHO, 2001).

In its most extreme form, violence kills women, worldwide; an estimated 40% to over 70% of homicides of women are committed by intimate partners, often in the context of an abusive relationship (WHO, 2001).

By contrast, as the above study confirmed, only a small percentage of men who are murdered are killed by their female partners, and in such cases the women often are defending themselves or retaliating against abusive men.

Nevertheless, researchers (Hines and Malley-Morrison, 2001) observed that injury is not the most common physical health outcome of gender-based Violence. As confirmed by several experimental studies (WHO, 2002; DEVAW, 1993) Abuse may lead to any number of physical ailments including irritable bowel syndrome, gastrointestinal disorders, and various chronic pain syndromes. According to several studies reviewed in the above documents, such disorders

have consistently been linked to a history of physical or sexual abuse. Furthermore, the studies revealed, abused women also have reduced physical functioning, more physical symptoms, and spend more days in bed than non abused women.

Violence against Women and the Mental Outcomes

Many women consider the psychological consequences of abuse to be even more serious than its physical effects. The experience of abuse often erodes women's self-esteem and puts them at greater risk of a variety of mental health problems, including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicide, and alcohol and drug abuse (Coker et al, 2002; Stets and Straus, 1990)

Depression: Depression is becoming widely recognized as a major health problem around the world (WHO, 2002). The situation is particularly acute among adult women, who in most countries suffer depression at nearly twice the rate seen in men. Some researchers have suggested that most of the difference between the incidence of depression in women and men may be due not to biology, but rather to poverty, gender-based discrimination, and gender-based violence (Cascardi, O'Leary, and Schlee, 1999).

Women who are abused by their partners suffer more depression, anxiety, and phobias than women who have not been abused, according to studies in Australia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, and the US (WHO, 2002). Abused women were six times more likely to experience emotional distress, as measured on an international mental health scale, than were other women. Physical abuse was the single most important risk factor for emotional distress in this study, accounting for roughly 70% of mental health problems among women. Sexual assault in either childhood or adulthood is also closely associated with depression and anxiety disorders (White and Widom, 2003; Hotelling and Sugarman, 1986). Most

likely to lead to psychological disorders are sexual abuse occurring before age seven or eight, abuse by more than one perpetrator, abuse that includes genital or anal penetration, and abuse that is frequent or continues over a long period of time.

Post-traumatic stress disorder: Many abused women experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), an acute anxiety disorder that can occur when people go through or witness a traumatic event in which they feel overwhelming helplessness or threat of death or serious injury (WHO,2002). The symptoms of PTSD include mentally reliving the traumatic event through flashbacks, or “flooding” trying to avoid anything that would remind one of the traumas; becoming numb emotionally; experiencing difficulties in sleeping and concentrating; and being easily alarmed or startled.

Rape, childhood sexual abuse, and domestic violence are among the most common causes of PTSD in women (Magdol, Moffitt and Caspi, 1998; Hines and Malley-Morrison, 2001). The chances that women will develop PTSD after being raped are between 50% and 95% according to studies in France, New Zealand, and the US (WHO, 2002). One study in the US found that the psychological effects of being raped were comparable to the effects of being tortured or kidnapped (APA, 2003).

Suicide: For some women the burden of abuse is so great that they take their own lives or try to do so; studies from a number of countries, including Nicaragua, Sweden, and the US have shown that domestic violence is closely associated with depression and subsequent suicide (Hines and Malley-Morrison, 2001). Battered women who develop PTSD appear to be most likely to try suicide.

Women who have experienced sexual assault either in childhood or as adults are also more likely to attempt suicide than other women. The link is strong even after controlling for such individual risk factors as women’s sex, age, and

education and for presence of PTSD symptoms and psychiatric discords (Walker, 2001; Stets and Straus, 1990).

Alcohol and drug use. Victims of partner violence and women sexually abused as children are more likely than other women to abuse alcohol and drugs, even after controlling for such other risk factors as prior use, family environment, or parental alcohol abuse (White and Widom, 2003; Hotelling and Sugarman, 1986). In a survey among women seeking primary care, those who had been abused by their partners within the previous year were three times more likely than those not recently abused to be drinking large amounts of alcohol and four times more likely to be using drugs (Walker, 2001)

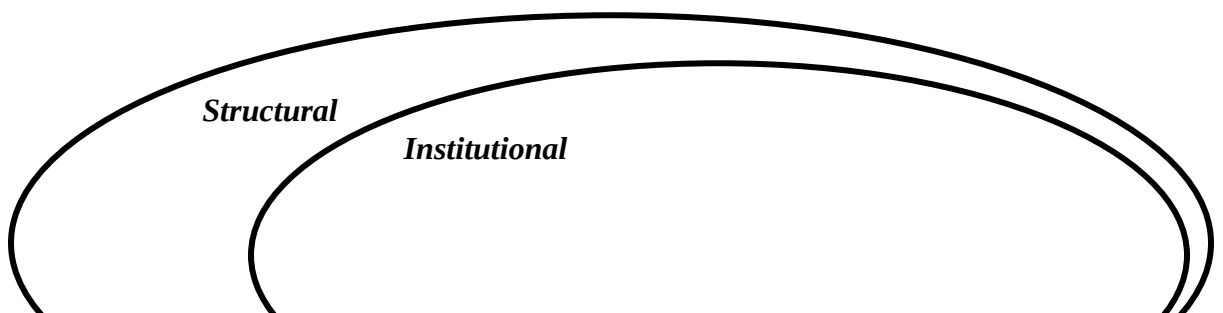
3. Integrated Conceptual Framework of Violence Causality

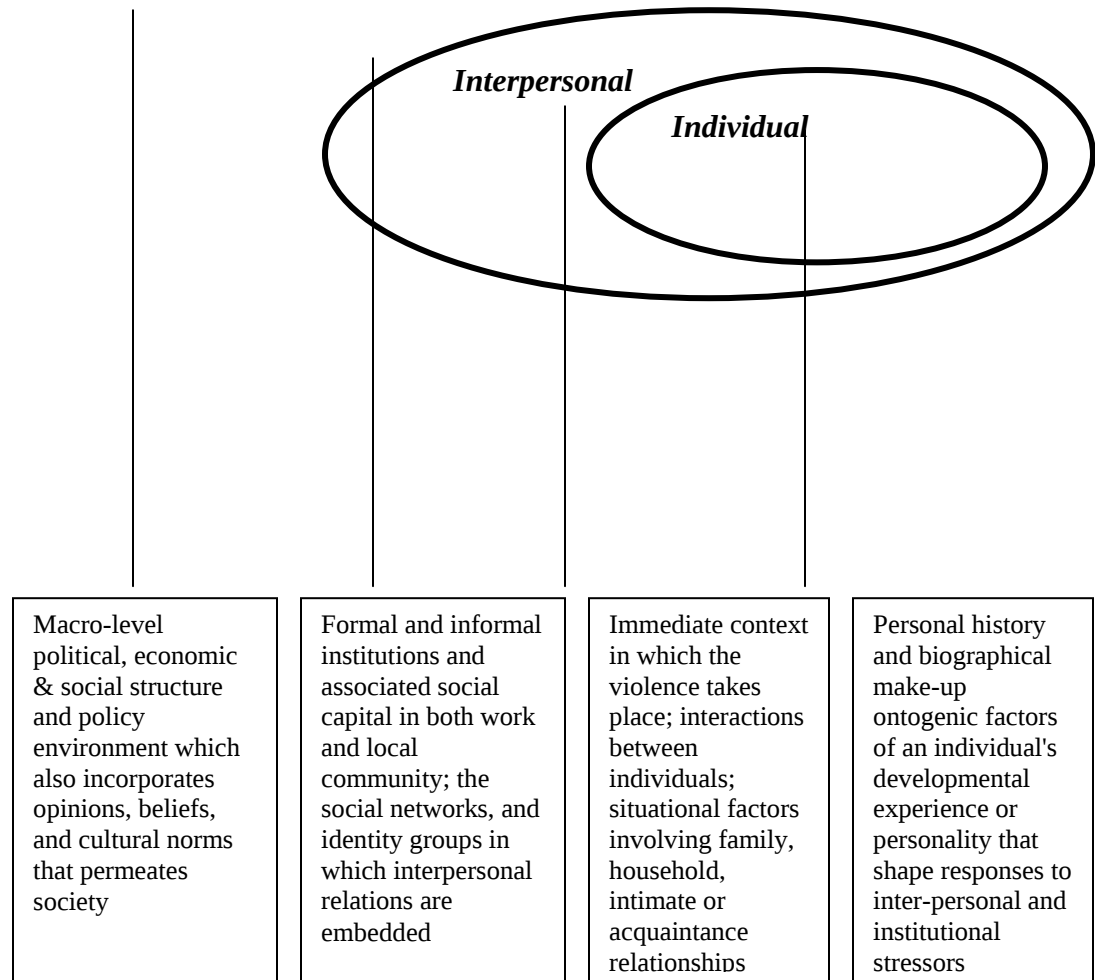
Violence is multifaceted not only because of the different categories of variables involved in the processes but also because of its multi-causality. Empirical evidences indicate that all individuals are not equally violent. Communities vary in their intensity of violent conflict and that across societies violence tolerance levels differ (Moser and Shrader, 1999). According to the above authors and recent violence studies Heise (2003), Brown (1995) circumstances relating to the individual, family the community and the broader national context combine together to play a role in violence perpetration or victimization. It is therefore useful to use a framework that integrates the various levels of violence causality that embrace the structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual levels.

Thus, the present study has used an integrated framework of violence causality called Ecological Model which is a multi-level framework that incorporates biophysical, psychological, social factors at the individual level and those external factors that act upon the individual mainly the structural and institutional factors (Moser and Shrader, 1999). The model is first used to explain social psychology and human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Several

researchers have applied the model to elucidate the complex of violence etiology. Blexy(1980) used it to analyze child abuse; Dutton(1988) and Edelson & Tolman (1992) in wife batters studies; Brown(1995) and Heise(2003) in sexual coercion studies.

An Integrated Framework for Violence Causality





Source: Moser and Shrader (1999:15)

4. Violence against Women and the Intersectionality of Class, Race and Religion

It has long been recognized among researchers in gender- based violence that there the intersectionality of class, race etc that would put disadvantaged women in multiple jeopardy. A comprehensive review and analysis of research literature on the intersectionality of class and race on victims of violence was made by Mama (2002;1989), mainly drawn from women scholars of color in US and UK and from the latter research works of anti-colonial feminists.

The central theoretical underpinnings of feminist studies of black women discussed in the above sources mainly focus on structural socio-political and socio- cultural analysis.

However, for the consumption of this paper, studies on the same issue that have taken a theoretical position on a micro- level examination were thought to be more appropriate for they better highlight the social interaction of black domestic worker and white employer in the family context.

Although white women of the upper class may be subject to sex inequality, their race and class allow them to dominate certain other persons with whom they maintain relationships. This is also true for middle-class white women who employ domestic workers.

In many cases domestic service in United States involves a female-to-female relationship between a white, middle-to upper-class employer and a domestic worker of color, either native-born or an immigrant from a Third World country (Rollins, 1985:59). Here, race and class differences are played out through the subordination of one group of women by another, blurring the fact that in reality both have limited life chances as a consequence of sexism.

Within most middle-class, husband-wife households, such activities as cleaning, laundering, caring for children, shopping for necessities, and cooking are primarily considered: women's work" in the sexual division of labor. Even when married partners both have full-time jobs or careers out-side the home, housework still largely falls to the woman and not to the man. Women are said to work a second shift involving many extra hours of domestic tasks (Hochschild and Machung, 1989). These tasks are not culturally defined as "work" in the real

sense. Recognized neither by pay nor by high status, domestic tasks assigned to women reflect women's subordinate position within the existing system of sex inequality.

The work that is considered undeserving of pay or high esteem when women do it in their own homes is barely better rewarded when performed in others' homes as an occupation. Women who make a living working as domestics – cleaning other people's homes, doing their laundry, watching their children, running their errands cooking and serving their meals – do so out of economic necessity. As with many other forms of manual labor, domestic service is poorly paid.

According to Romero, domestic workers have few job protections, are non-unionized, and may be asked to work under arduous conditions (Romero, 1992). Domestic service differs from other work situations, however, in that typically a member of the subordinate gender employs a member of that same gender.

Women who take up domestic work do not usually aspire to it. Limited education, lack of language skills, or non-citizen status makes it difficult for them to enter other jobs. But they are also oppressed by the system of sex inequality that restricts job opportunities for women in general. Women of color are victims as well of the system of racial inequality that operates to "ghettoize" minority-group members disproportionately into low-wage service occupations (such as food service workers and health aides). The system of class inequality in the United States places those who are heavily dependent on income from domestic service near the bottom in class terms. Hence, women domestic workers of color are caught within intersecting systems of racial, class, and sex inequality.

Sociologist Judith Rollins conducted some unique research on the relationships between black domestic workers and white female employers in the Boston area. Rollins used a variety of techniques to gather her data: she interviewed 20 domestics and 20 employers, worked alongside domestic workers in the guise of being their "cousin," drew on her own experiences as a worker in a

number of settings, interviewed personnel at agencies dealing with domestic workers, and conducted a three-hour group interview with six domestics (Rollins, 1985:8-10).

Most of the women employers began to hire domestic workers around the time of the birth of their first child; the women's mothers often played active roles in encouraging them to get help. In some cases the mothers had their own domestics and "loaned" them to their daughters. In most cases the women were familiar with domestic workers from their childhood and thus were able to model their own employer-domestic relationships after those they had seen while growing up.

Rollins found that, besides practical needs and family tradition, other factors influenced the decision to hire domestic help. The roles and responsibilities thrust upon the employers interviewed were part of the picture. According to Rollins,

As a result of the women's movement, the expectation of young middle-class women is that they will have careers whether there is family economic need or not. But this dramatic change in women's roles in the workplace has not been accompanied by a significant change in their attitudes towards their roles at home. The middle-class women I interviewed were not demanding that their husbands play a greater role in housekeeping; they accepted the fact that responsibility for domestic maintenance was theirs, and they solved the problem of their dual responsibilities by hiring other women to assist (Rollins, 1985: 104).

There was also the issue of prestige, having a domestic in the house can be used as a status symbol. Some of the domestics Rollins interviewed claimed that this was one reason why their employers preferred to hire "girls" who were black: anyone would know that such a person just had to be a maid. The women employers that Rollins interviewed did not cite prestige as a reason for hiring domestics, this could mean that it is an unconscious motivating factor, if indeed it is a factor at all, or that the women considered it inappropriate to disclose prestige concerns to an interviewer.

While Rollins discovered a variety of relationships between women employers and their domestics, she believed that some overall patterns prevailed. Unlike other low-paid, low-status occupations, domestic service allows a personal relationship to develop between employer and employee in Rollin's view, the close one-to-one interaction, carried out in the physical and social isolation of a private home, can give rise to a type of psychological exploitation, employers are less concerned with the productivity of household domestics than with their personality traits.

For example, employers expect domestics to express deference-in everything from language ("Yes, Ma'am," "of course, Ma'am") to behavior toward the employer's property and personal space. This deference must even be paid when the employer expresses attitudes and behavior not deserving of respect. When the domestic worker shows deference to her mistress, she acknowledges her own subordinate status. Her deferential behavior reflects their respective position in the systems of class and racial inequality. Domestics may be of the same sex as their employers, but race and class differences prevent them from treating each other as equals.

The employer-domestic relationship often also entails dynamics of materialism. The women employers tend to regard their workers as childlike, in need of protection, support, and guidance, the materialistic treatment meted out-giving gifts, offering loans assisting with reading bills, interceding with travel plans, offering to meet male friends- must be accepted by domestic workers in the interests of survival, to reject such treatment would be to jeopardize one's job.

One domestic described the situation:

(My employer) was always offering me bags of stuff. But if it was something I didn't want, I'd thank her, walk out of there, go

around that corner and the first trash can I got to, I'd throw it in. but you take it, whatever they give, when she had a party, the next day she'd give me half dead flowers, soggy salad, and leftover Chinese food, maybe she thought I was deprived and really needed it. But it was all just more dead weight I had to get rid of. She felt like she was really being nice (Rollins, 1985: 190).

Another woman domestic explained it this way:

I didn't want most of that junk. But you have to take it. It's part of the job, makes them feel like they're being so kind to you. And you have to appear grateful. That makes them feel good too (Rollins, 1985: 191).

Giving places one in a position of superiority; having nothing to give back except expressions of gratitude relegates one to a position of inferiority. Thus the employers' expressions of materialism become part of the psychological exploitation domestics must endure.

Rollins believes that the fact that both parties are women intensifies the psychological exploitation, the woman employer, like the domestic worker, holds subordinate status in this society on the basis of sex. Yet employing another woman gives her a position of power that housewives do not usually possess (Rollins, 1985: 203). In this way, the employer can attempt to compensate for the inequalities in power that she experiences in her interactions with her husband.

But the implications of the dynamics between a white, middle-class employer and her domestic servant of color are much broader in Rollins's view:

The presence of the "inferior" domestic, an inferiority evidenced by the performance she is encouraged to execute and her acceptance of demeaning treatment, offers the employer justification for materially exploiting the domestic, ego enhancement as an individual, and a strengthening of the employer's class

and racial identities. Even more important, such a presence supports the idea of unequal human worth: it suggests that there might be categories of people (the lower classes, people of color) who are inherently inferior to others (middle and upper classes, whitest). And this idea provides ideological justification for a social system that institutionalizes inequality (Rollins, 1985: 203).

5. Interventions to Curb Violence against Women

In the past few decades, extensive and highly innovative interventions have been implemented to address and reduce violence. However, like much of the analysis of violence itself, interventions to reduce violence have usually been dominated by a particular policy approach and its associated professional discipline (such as criminology or epidemiologist). Thus interventions have tended to prioritize a particular type of violence and focus on a particular level of causality. Even when initiatives do address more than one type of violence or target multiple levels of causality a lack of impact evaluation or cost-benefit analysis often severely hinders identification of “best practices” reducing the chances of replicating successful interventions. A recent review by the World Bank (2003) on the major intervention policy on violence against women was reviewed in the section below.

Current Policy Approaches

To provide an integrated framework for intervention, it is important to classify the dominant policy approaches in the field in terms of both the categories of violence they address and the causal factors on which they focus. In general there has been a broad shift from approaches that focus on the control of

violence, to those that concentrate on prevention, to more recent perspectives that aim to rebuild social capital.

The following policy approaches, should be viewed as “ideal types.” More than one approach can be used simultaneously; often well-established approaches are combined with more innovation ones.

- ***Criminal justice*** is one of the most widely established approaches. It focuses on deterrence and control of violence through higher rates of arrest, conviction, and punishment, facilitated by judicial, police, and penal reform. More successful in reducing economic crime than in reducing social and political violence, this top-down approach is popular among politicians seeking short-term solutions to the symptoms of violence.
- The ***Public health*** approach – also a well established approach- It focuses on economic and social violence at an individual and interpersonal level. This approach aims to prevent violence by reducing individual risk factors. It draws on epidemiological surveillance- especially homicide rates- and identification of risk factors to develop strategies for modifying individual behavior, the social and physical environment, or both.
- The ***conflict transformation*** approach is a less established perspective that aims to rebuild the fabric of societies. Initially influenced by international actors such as the United Nations, it addresses political and, to a lesser extent, social violence through nonviolent negotiation among conflicting parties – often relying on third-party mediation. While negotiations may take place through international organizations

at the structural and institutional levels, they are also important at the interpersonal level, through formal and informal arbitration and community-based training in communication skills.

- The **human rights** approach, a “rights-based approach” to violence reduction, focuses on the role of the state in protecting citizens’ rights to be free from the threat or victimization of violence. Drawing on the documentation of abuse in relation to international human rights conventions, this approach addresses political and social violence, mainly at the individual and structural levels. While early users of this perspective were targeted towards governments that violated human rights, more recent formulations have focused on all social actors who deny or abuse rights. In particular, this deals with currently excluded groups, such as women, children, and indigenous people, and with future generations who may be harmed by the erosion of the natural resource base.
- The **social capital** approach is still in the process of formulation. Of all perspectives, it focuses most directly on rebuilding social capital in informal and formal institutions such as families. Community organizations and the judiciary. Using bottom-up, participatory processes, this approach creates trust by building on community identification of needs, and focuses on the strengths and assets of communities affected by violence. This approach also provides the potential for community needs to be scaled up to public sector interventions.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter is concerned with the presentation of the major findings of the study and the discussion subsequently made on the findings. The chapter is organized into three parts. The first part deals with the presentation of the demographic characteristics, background information and life and work situations of the respondents. The second part deals with the prevalence, chronicity and severity of violence experienced by domestic workers. This part of the paper also embraces the findings of the assessment of the psychological and physical consequences of violence focusing on the assessment of major depression, anxiety and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

In the third and last part the results of the assessment of domestic workers about their perception and attitudes towards violence, their risks and vulnerabilities, social networks and community support, strengths and abilities and coping mechanisms will be presented.

PART I

- 1. Demographic Characteristics, Background Information, Life and Work Situation of the Target Domestic Workers**
- 1.1. Demographic Characteristics and Background Information of the Domestic Workers***

This section is concerned with the demographic characteristics and background information of the target domestic workers. The demographic characteristics examined include age, previous residence, educational level, marital status, children, religion and ethnicity. Table 1 shows the profiles of the respondents along the above listed demographic characteristics.

As can be observed from Table 1 over eighty percent of the respondents were between 19 and 39 years of age. As to the previous residence of the respondents, most of the respondents came from Amhara, Oromia and SNNPR. Since these regions constitute a substantial part of the country the obtained result may not be unexpected. However, no domestic worker was reported to come from Addis Ababa. This might indicate that the apparent reluctance of female citizens from Addis to join domestic work regardless of the level of poverty they may encounter in their life or the possible reluctance among employers of domestic workers in Addis to employ domestic workers from Addis Ababa.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Target Female Domestic Workers

Demographic characteristics	Percentage	Number
Age		
10-18	16.8	14
19-24	40.6	33
25-39	42.8	35
Previous Residence		
Amhara	29	24
Oromia	33	27
SNNPR	18	15
Addis Ababa	--	--
Other	16	13
Educational Level		
Illiterate	48.1	39
Read and Write	21.3	17
1-8	20.4	16
9-12	5.8	4
12 Completed	1.3	1
Marital Status		
Married	16.2	13
Divorced	15.1	12
Widowed	3.2	2
Separated	5.7	4
Single (never married)	58.8	48
Have Children		
Yes	38.1	31
No	57	46
Religion		
Muslim	31	27
Orthodox	43	35
Protestant	8	6
Other	--	--
Ethnicity		
Amhara	28	23
Oromo	26	21
Tigrai	11	9
Gurage	16	13
Wolaita	14	11
Other	12	9

With regard to the educational level about one half of the respondents were illiterate while about 40 per cent of the respondents found to attain primary school level. As to the marital status of the respondents the majority were single and had never been married. But there were women divorced, widowed, separated, 15.1, 3.2, and 5.7, respectively. Concerning the religious and ethnic compositions of the respondents the percentage obtained do not seem to depart from the proportion of the population with the same religious and ethnic group that exist in Ethiopia. As to the religion, most of the respondents were orthodox and Muslim religions that are the most practiced religions in Ethiopia. Similarly most of the respondents were from Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups that claim the majority of the Ethiopian population.

2. Assessment of the Processes of Becoming Domestic Worker

Table 2 shows the causes and processes of becoming a domestic worker. It was observed that the most common reasons given by the respondents to become domestic workers were the poverty of their family, escape from family violence, escape from unhappy marriage, and attraction by city life. The above result seem to indicate that the reasons for becoming domestic workers were, for most of the respondents, were escape from violence or lack of subsistence or both.

Table 2

Reasons for Becoming Domestic Worker

Reasons (<i>Multiple Responses</i>)	Percent	Number
---------------------------------------	---------	--------

Poverty of family	42	34
Escape from Family violence	48	39
Escape from unhappy marriage	23	18
Parental Death	26	21
To be independent from family	37	30
To be able to go to school	44	36
Attraction by city life	43	35
Others	18	14

Since the preliminary study revealed that there were intermediaries who facilitated the process of becoming a domestic worker, two important questions were subsequently raised. These were the types of intermediaries and the method they used to persuade the subjects to become domestic workers that are presented in Table 3 and Table 4, respectively.

Table 3

Types of Intermediaries

Intermediaries	Percent	Number
Brokers	69	56
Relatives	26	21
Parents	22	18
Friends	36	29
Others	10	8

Table 3 indicates that brokers and friends were the main intermediaries who helped the subjects become domestic workers. The relatives and parents of the subjects were also found to be important followed by the brokers and friends. The results of the study on the involvement of intermediaries and the use of the

un-kept promises(i.e. deception) in the process of turning the target subjects into domestic workers was found to involve - trafficking, which was not only gender based violence but also major crime in the penal code.

Table 4

Methods Intermediaries Used to Persuade the Subjects to Become domestic workers

Methods (Multiple Responses)	Percent	Number
Promise of employment	78	64
Promise of education/training	50	41
Promise of foster parents arrangement	86	70
Escaped from early marriage	26	21
Escape from unhappy marriage	34	27
Escape from domestic violence	39	31
Others	23	18

3. Experience of Violence by the Brokers

So as to assess the Experience of violence by brokers, some major areas of abuse were first identified. These were economic violence (which includes charging brokerage fees up to one month's salary of the domestic workers), physical and psychological violence, sexual harassment and abuse were examined.

Table 5 shows that almost all of the respondents reported that they pay 60 per cent and above of their first monthly salary to the brokers. Those who reported Physical and Psychological violence were only 19 per cent of total number of respondents. However, 72 per cent of the respondents reported having experienced sexual harassment or abuse by the brokers. This means that most of the target domestic workers have experienced sexual violence as well as economic violence by the brokers.

Table 5

Types of violence perpetrated by brokers against domestic workers

Methods (Multiple Responses)	Percent	Number
Economic violence (<i>charging one-half and above of first salary as brokerage fees</i>)	60	49
Physical violence	19	15
Psychological violence	23	18
Sexual harassment and abuse	72	59
Others	16	13

4. Assessment of Domestic Workers' Living and Work Conditions with their Employers

4.1. Food Provision

Among the basic necessities of life food provision for the domestic workers was assessed. The first question put to the respondents was whether they were provided with regular three-meals-a-day. While 27% of the respondents acknowledged getting three meals a day, 57% of them reported to get only twice a day i.e. lunch and breakfast only.

As to the adequacy of each meal, 73% responded that the amount of food in each meal was usually inadequate.

With regard to the quantity and ‘quality’ of food they were provided

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Dimensions of Evaluation	Evaluation Measures				
	Very good	Good	Acceptable	Poor	Very Poor
Quantity of food	---	15%(12)	19%(15)	46%(37)	26%(21)
Quality of food	---	12%(9)	18%(14)	37%(30)	28%(22)

Table 6 shows that above 70 percent of the respondents conceded that it was poor in both quantity and quality.

Table 6

Domestic Workers' Evaluation of the Quantity and Quality of Food they were Provided With

For

To the open ended item put to the subjects to indicate major problems they experienced in relation to the food provision (other than quantity and quality of food), the most pervasive problem that was reported by almost all of the respondents (i.e. 93%) were concerned with the delay in the regular meal time by

three- four hours, usually long after all the family member completed eating their meals. Yet another problem identified by 81 per cent of the respondents was their experience of the nature and manner of the food provision vis-à-vis the social context. This mainly referred to how the domestic workers were being provided, as their regular meal, with the left over of the family members. The observed very poor situation in the provision of food to the domestic workers seem to suggest a violation of their basic human rights that legally required the employers to make sure that their employees- domestic workers got adequate food, in both quality and quantity.

4.2. Accommodation Provided for the Domestic Workers

Next to the assessment of the food provision, the other basic issue examined on the living situation of the domestic workers was their accommodation. It was observed that only 23% of the respondents have reported to have a bedroom, usually shared with other maids. 72% of the respondents disclosed that they sleep in one corner of a store, kitchen or a corridor. As to sleeping facilities, 48% didn't have bed and sleep on the floor. 66.7% of the respondents asserted that the mattresses, blankets and sheets were inadequate, very old and mostly tattered.

5.4. Assessment of the Work Conditions of the Domestic Workers

Since violence against domestic workers was thought to be committed in their work context the assessment of the work conditions and work-related problems was made in greater detail. Among the key issues examined were the employment contract, compensation, nature of work, the distribution of work within the household and the work relationships.

- 1. Employment Contract:** only 14 percent of the domestic workers acknowledged that they had had a written employment contract with their employers. However, to an open ended question subsequently raised on the existence of other document required to be signed upon the employment process substantial number of the respondents noted that they were required to get a relative who is a resident of Addis Ababa to sign an affidavit taking responsibility for any possible damage the DW might incur in her stay in the employers house in the course of her work. Since the employment of the domestic workers was not based on legally viable contract, the protection of the rights of domestic workers as employees could suffer from lack of binding legal ground.
- 2. Compensation:** all of the respondents admitted that they were having a monthly salary. Whereas the minimum salary was reportedly 80 Birr per month, the maximum was 150 Birr. The mean monthly salary for sampled domestic workers was found to be 105 Birr. When asked whether they had had control over their salary, the majority of the respondents had reported that their relatives in Addis ‘saves’ up to one half of their salary to be sent latter for the parents of the domestic workers who reside in the countryside.
- 2. Nature of Work:** since there has long been recognized in gender studies about the difficulty in providing an agreed up on definition to domestic work, three key issue were explored in relation to the nature of domestic workers job i.e. these were the length of working hours in a day, the number of break hours in a day and the distribution of work among family members.

As to the length of hours domestic workers were required to work, no fixed number of hours were reported. When the respondents were asked to estimate the number of hours they were required to work in a day, they gave their estimate that is summarized in Table 7 below. As can be observed in Table-7, above 70 per cent of the respondents found to work between 14-18 hours per day.

With regard to the length of break/rest time in a day, the estimates of the respondents are presented in Table-8. It was observed that 23 per cent of the respondents declared that they have no break of any sort. For the subsequent question put to the domestic workers who responded as ‘no break/rest time’ to explicate their answer they reported that no regular rest or leisure time was allowed for them except for the intermittent ‘pauses’ they get when they ‘finish’ their works.

Meanwhile, Table-8 also shows that 33 per cent of the respondents reported having 1-2 hours break in a day while 21 per cent reported that their break time is less than 1 hour in a day. Furthermore, when asked there was a day/week off after a given period of working days/months, it was observed that 57 per cent of the domestic workers acknowledged as having one-day off in a month, 41 per cent of the respondents disclosed that only when accidents (usually the death of family members in the countryside and close relatives) they were allowed to get permission.

In general, the results of the study on the work conditions of the domestic workers, the absence of legally binding work agreement by the employers and the very meager amount of salary while they were working all day long with little or no break seem to demonstrate the prevalence of major violation of the rights of the domestic workers

Table-7

Estimated Working Hours in a Day

Estimated Working Hours in a Day	Percent	Number
12-13	6	4
14-15	44	36
16-17	30	24
18-19	16	13

Table--8

Estimated Duration of Break Times in Hours Per a Day

Estimated Duration of Break Hours in a Day	Percent	Number
<1	21	17
1-2	33	27
3-4	12	9
5-6	6	4
>6	--	--
No Break of any sort	23	18

Work Relationship: as far as the work relationship between the domestic workers and their employers is concerned, one major area examined in the study was the reactions of the employers to the work performed. Besides, the nature of communication style between the domestic workers and their employers as well as issues such as who gives orders to the domestic workers from among the family members were also examined.

To the question put to the domestic workers to list the common reactions of their employers to the work they performed, the responses given by them are summarized in Table- 9 below.

Table -9 shows that 72 per cent of the respondents think that their employers do not think that they got tired. While 68 per cent of the respondents reported that their employers treat them as a scapegoat for all kinds of problems, 62 per cent of them think their employers forbid them to take any initiative in their work. Whereas 53 per cent of them claim that their employers expect them to accomplish them to do any task at the spot, 49 per cent of the respondents reported that their employers do not sympathize with them when they were overloaded with work.

Yet another issue raised by the respondents as problematic was the need to address their employers with ‘master’ type epithets and also the imposed sense of communication which is mostly limited to responding to the orders of the employers and lack of communications unless the employers invite to do so. Still another issue raised by the domestic workers was the difficulties they experience due to the fact that all the family members were ‘entitled’ to give orders to them and get prompt responses. These all seem to reflect the reminiscent of the typical master-servant communications of pre-modern times. In general, the above results seem to indicate the pervasiveness of ‘mental cruelty’ exhibited by the employers towards the domestic workers.

The results appear to confirm that the work relationship between the domestic workers and their employers found to be characterized by the negative behaviors that strongly suggest the high level of mental cruelty of the latter.

Table-9

Domestic Workers’ Perceived Reactions of Employers to the Work Performed

Description (Multiple Responses)	Percent	Number
Always criticize/belittle	32	26
Do not sympathize when I am overloaded with work	49	40
Encourage me to learn skills	12	9
Forbid me to take any initiative	62	50
Expect me to accomplish any task on the spot	53	43
Treat me as a scapegoat for all kinds of problems	68	55
Do not think that I am tired	72	59
The employer ignores when the DW is tired	16	13

Work Related Problems

Two major works related problem areas were identified by the domestic workers. These were common grievances domestic workers in general have in relation to their work (summarized in Table 10 below) and problems related to the payment of their salary (presented in Table-11).

As to the common grievances, Table -10 shows that excessive work load (reported by 72 per cent of the respondents), being forced to work tasks risky for ones health (by 53 per cent) and more importantly, being forced to work degrading and humiliating tasks such as washing employers feet, dirty socks etc which was reported by 46 per cent of the respondents.

As far as the payment related problems of the domestic workers, Table 11 indicates that domestic workers were subjected to delay (as reported by 76 per cent of them), deduction with pretexts (by 52 per cent of them) and denial of salary (as reported by 36 per cent of them).

Table-10

Common Work-related Grievances of the Domestic Workers

Common Grievances of the domestic workers	Percent	Number
Excessive work load	72	59
Forced to work tasks risky for your health	53	43
Forced to work tasks risky for your life	38	31
Forced to work degrading and humiliating tasks such as washing employers feet, dirty socks etc	46	37
Being suddenly fired without adequate reasons	69	56

Table-11

Payment Related Problems Experienced by the Domestic Workers

Experiences of Salary Payment	Percent	Number
Delayed	76	62
Deducted	52	42
Denied	36	29
Paid without problem	14	11

Assessment of the Violation of Citizenship, Political, Social and Cultural Rights of the Domestic Workers

The constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia stipulates that every Ethiopian has the right for full and active participation in the political, social and cultural activities in the country. Without going into the theoretical and practical problems that surround the realization of the above rights, the present study has tried to identify some extreme violations of the political, social and cultural rights of the domestic workers which seem to be taken for granted for the wider Ethiopian population.

Citizenship Right and Participation in the political activities of the Country:

Four items were put to the domestic workers to assess the violation of their citizenship right and participation in the political activities in the country. These were whether they have ever been registered in their name, as an independent citizen in their own right and distinct from the family they work in—in any official local, regional and federal statistics; if they were entitled for an identity card from the local residents administration (kebele); if they participated in the last election; and whether they have ever participated in any local women's associations, self- help groups etc. The results obtained showed that none of the above questions were given affirmative answers they have never been registered in any official governmental document as free citizens and distinct from the family the domestic workers work and live in, none of them thought they were entitled to get identity cards from the kebele they work and live, not a single respondent participated in the last election and none of them has ever participated in their local women's associations or self – help groups.

Access to Educational Opportunity and Health services:

Access to formal education, in their spare time (attending night school- extension), was denied by the employers of 82 per cent of the respondents. Access to health facilities was also reportedly shrouded with problems. The Ethiopian health policy allows for destitute citizens to get medical service from government hospitals with little payment if the patient can produce a letter from local kebele authorities confirming his/her extreme poverty. The domestic workers reported that since they didn't have time to go through the lengthy referral system of the public/ government health facilities and unable to get paper from their working local kebele (i.e. the residence area of their employers) that entitle them for medical service 'free of charge'. According to the majority of the respondents, this has made the 'private health facilities/clinics' the only opportunity available for them. Since they couldn't afford to pay their medical bills in these clinics, any serious health problems that need major medical treatment was often the reason for being fired.

Social Contacts

Table -12 shows that almost all of the domestic workers were not allowed to have social contacts. As indicated in Table -12 that most of the respondents were not allowed by their employers to meeting outsiders; leaving the premise of the employer, except running errands; meeting with neighbors; visiting same sex friends; meeting opposite sex friends

Table-12

Social Contacts and Relationships Not Allowed by Employers

Social Contacts	Percentage	Number
Meeting outsiders	93	76
Leaving the premise of the employer, except running errands	88	72
Meeting with neighbors	87	71
Visiting same sex friends	81	66
Meeting opposite sex friends	94	77

--	--	--

The results on Table 12 seem to confirm the violation of the rights of domestic workers citizenship, political, social and cultural rights. This was evidenced by the denial of the domestic workers to be recognized as free citizens regardless of where or what she/he work. This included denying their right for political, participation and access to educational opportunities and health services.

Cultural Participation:

Most of the respondents disclosed that they were not allowed to attend weekly religious congregations in the local church or participate in other yearly religious holidays unless they were needed to accompany their employers to carry their children who were brought to the occasion by their parents.

PART TWO

ASSESSMENT OF THE PREVALENCE, CHRONICITY AND SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE AGAINST DOMEISTIC WORKERS

In previous sections the preliminary assessment of violence against domestic was more general/contextual and the measurement level of the inquiries was nominal scale. In this section, the assessment of violence against the domestic workers was made using (and adapting) more objective and standardized tool. The assessment of violence was based upon the 22-item version of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) that incorporated all CSTS2 items relating to psychological and physical assault items. The severe psychological aggression items found more in tune with the violence between partners thus replaced by items that have been thought to reflect the violence against domestic workers based on previous empirical studies.

Moreover, three additional scales were also included. These were: injury scale (with some modification of similar scale in CTS for the nature of injury expected to be inflicted up on domestic workers and have some aspects not covered in the former scale); mental cruelty (based on the feminist critique of CST that CST fails to include this dimension), and sexual harassment/abuse scale (for CST's sexual coercion scale which was prepared for sexual violence between partners do not reflect the sexual violence against the domestic workers). The results on the sexual harassment and mental cruelty scales were presented separately from the former three scales partly because they were not part of the CST.

The assessment in this part of the study comprised three aspects. The first was concerned with the prevalence of violence committed against the domestic workers. This was followed by the assessment of the chronicity of violence (i.e. examining how chronic the violent behaviors committed against the domestic workers). The third aspect dealt with the assessment of the gender difference among the perpetrators i.e. whether there had been more female or male perpetrators were involved in the violence against domestic workers.

I. Prevalence of Violence against the Domestic Workers

The percentage of the sample, per subscale, who experienced at least one event within each subscale were provided in Table-13.

Past Year Prevalence of violence experienced by domestic workers

Subscales	Percent	Number
<i>Minor Psychological Aggression</i>		
➤ Cursed or sworn at you	92	75
➤ Shouted or yelled at you	94	77
➤ Stormed off during disagreement	86	70
➤ Deliberately said something to hurt you	91	74
<i>Any of the above</i>	94	77
<i>Mean Number of Incidents</i>	36	
<i>Severe Psychological Aggression</i>		
➤ Accusing you of theft/laziness	80	65
➤ Threatening to hit or throw something at you	87	71
➤ Threw, smashed, kicked something, especially what you have prepared	77	63
➤ Tell you to disappear from his/her face	81	66
<i>Any of the above</i>	86	70
<i>Mean Number of Incidents</i>	41	
<i>Minor Physical Assault</i>		
➤ Physically twisted your arm or hair	51	41
➤ Pushed or shoved you	82	67
➤ Slapped you	62	50
➤ Grabbed or shaken you	79	64
➤ Thrown an object towards you	71	58
<i>Any of the above</i>	88	72
<i>Mean Number of Incidents Reported</i>	38	
<i>Severe Physical Assault</i>		
➤ Choked or strangled you	51	41
➤ Kicked you	78	63
➤ Punched or hit you with something	81	66
➤ Slammed you against a wall	74	60
➤ Burned or scalded you on purpose	56	45
➤ Beaten you up	54	44
➤ Used a knife or gun on you	48	39
<i>Any of the above</i>	82	67
<i>Mean Number of Incidents Reported</i>	29	

Minor Injury		
➤ Fearful in response to employers violence	93	76
➤ Feeling seriously r intimidated by employers		
➤ Had a sprain., bruise or small cut because of an assault by the employer	96	78
➤ Felt physical pain that hurt the next day because of assault by the employer	83	68
Any of the above	81	
	95	66
Mean Number of Incidents Reported	40	77
Severe Injury		
➤ Passed out form being hit on the head by employer	72	59
➤ Went to a health professional due to assault	35	
➤ Needed to see health professional, but I didn't	67	28
➤ Had broken bone from an assault by the employer	53	54
Any of the above	81	43
Mean Number of Incidents Reported	41	66

Psychological aggression: Table-13 shows that the prevalence rate for the psychological aggression was found to be 94 per cent for the minor and 86 per cent for the severe psychological aggression.

Physical Assault: as can observed in Table13 the prevalence rate for physical assault was 88 percent for the minor and 82 percent for the severe physical assault
Injury: likewise, the prevalence rate for the injury was observed to be 95 percent for the minor and 81 percent for the severe injury scale.

Sexual Harassment/abuse and Mental Cruelty: Table -14 and Table-15 show the results on the sexual harassment and mental cruelty, respectively. In both scales the prevalence rate was found to be well above 80 per cent.

Table-14

Types of mental cruelty experienced by domestic workers

Types of Mental Cruelty (Multiple Responses)	Percent	Number
--	---------	--------

➤ Insulting/scolding you	92	75
➤ Belittling you	88	72
➤ Nagging you	84	68
➤ Avoiding/sulking you	73	59
➤ Despising you	81	66
➤ Threatening to fire you	69	56
➤ Embarrass you	68	55
➤ Humiliate you	57	46
<i>Any of the above</i>	89	72
<i>Mean Number of Incidents</i>	36	

Table-15

Types of sexual harassment/abuse experienced by the domestic workers

Types of Sexual Harassment (Multiple Responses)	Percent	Number
Vulgar and obscene language	89	72
Attempt amorous advances	45	36
Touching sexually sensitive parts of the body	73	59
Ogling	66	54
Flirting for sexual relations	86	70
Threaten to cooperate for sexual relations	81	66
Attempted rape	23	18
Promotion of intercourse	29	23
Body contact occurs for sexual gratification	38	31
<i>Any of the above</i>	96	78
<i>Mean Number of Incidents</i>	40	

The very high prevalence rate results observed in all the subscales strongly suggest that the target domestic workers had had experienced many of the pervasive violent behaviors examined in the study namely; psychological

aggression, physical assault, sexual harassment/abuse and mental cruelty by their employers in the last 12 months. Moreover, the consequences of the observed violent behaviors on the domestic workers were also found to be very high as evidenced from the very high results ;(i.e. above 80 per cent) in both minor and major injury subscales.

Chronicity of Violence against Domestic Workers: How Chronic were the violent Behaviors committed against the Domestic Workers in the Past year?

The results presented in Table-13 shows, in addition to the prevalence rate, the chronicity of violence. The measure of chronicity is meant to indicate how chronic were the violent behaviors observed in the last one year. As it was indicated in the table, it was observed that the chronicity for all of the subscales were substantial i.e. all were above the ‘most chronic point’ level of the chronicity scale which is ‘20 or above incidents within a subscale’. All the observed mean number of incidents of the subscales was above 20. Thus, it can be concluded that the extent of violent behaviors experienced by the domestic workers over the past year was ‘most chronic’.

Gender Difference among Perpetrators: Violence against Female Domestic Workers by Female Employers?

Generally the hitherto violence research focus have been to assess violence committed against female by male or vice versa. In this part of the study attempt was made to examine whether females or males were more likely perpetrators of the violence committed against domestic workers. As can be observed in Table-16, to find out the gender difference in the prevalence rate of violence between the per cent reportedly committed by female and male perpetrators, the statistical significance of the difference observed between the results of the two groups were tested using chi-square. The chi- square results observed for all subscales were found to be significant at alpha 0.05. This means that the percentage of violence

behaviors reportedly committed by female employers against the domestic workers were more prevalent than the percentage reportedly committed by male employers.

Table-16

Past Year Prevalence rate of violence against domestic workers by the gender of Employers (perpetrators)

Subscale/Gender	Number	Percentage	Gender Difference (Chi Square)
Minor Psychological Aggression By Female By Male	70 35	86 43	58.09*
Severe Psychological Aggression By Female By Male	61 53	75 65	4.28*
Minor Physical Assault By Female By Male	67 56	82 69	11.12*
Severe Physical Assault By Female By Male	60 42	74 52	4.23*
Minor Injury By Female By Male	72 61	88 75	12.03*
Severe Injury By Female By Male	67 59	82 72	9.5*

* Significant at alpha 0.05 significance level $df=1$ $N=82$

Gender Difference in the Chronicity of Violent Behaviors Committed by Female and Male Employers

Table 17 -shows the subscales for the past year of the mean number of events for those reporting at least one event within the subscale (chronicity). For the chronicity the Mean and Standard Deviations of the observed events by female and male perpetrators were separately calculated for each subscale. So as to find out the statistical significance in the difference between the mean chronicity measure committed by male and female perpetrators, F- test was carried out using One-Way of ANOVA. The results of F-ratio in Table17 shows that for all subscales there was the mean number of violent behaviors reportedly committed by female employers were significantly higher than those committed by male employers. Thus it can be concluded that the extent of violent behaviors reportedly committed by female employers were more chronic than those reportedly committed by male employers.

Table 17

Past Year subscale chronicity by the Gender of the Employers/Perpetrators

Subscales	Mean	SD	F Ratio
Minor Psychological Aggression Chronicity By Female By Male	47.7 26.1	6.7 7.1	48.839*
Severe Psychological Aggression Chronicity By Female By Male	47.8 30.4	6.6 10.6	35.756*
Minor Physical Assault Chronicity By Female By Male	48.8 23.4	2.6 2.9	47.183*
Severe Physical Assault Chronicity By Female By Male	28 29.3	8.9 8.3	3.220*

Minor Injury	Chronicity			
	By Female	48.5	7.5	40.478*
	By Male	26.1	5.9	
Severe Injury	Chronicity			
	By Female	45.1	6.9	43.430*
	By Male	18.9	3.1	

* Significant at alpha 0.05 significance level

The statistically significant gender difference observed in both the prevalence and chronicity of violence committed against the domestic workers suggest the higher rate of involvement in the perpetration of the violence behaviors by female employers than male employers. Given the limited contact and interaction the male employers have with the domestic workers, the obtained results might not be unexpected. But still the high rate of violence committed against female domestic workers by female employers needs to alert researchers in gender-based violence to reexamine the issue that has rarely been considered before.

ASSESSMENT OF SYMPTOMS OF MAJOR DEPRESSION, ANXIETY AND POSTTRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER AMONG DOMESTIC WORKERS

This section is concerned with the assessment of the mental health consequences of violence committed against the domestic workers. Consistent with previous similar research works on assessing the mental consequences of violence, the assessment in the present study tried to find out whether the target domestic workers exhibited the symptoms of major depression, anxiety disorder, and PTSD. To assess the symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorder

Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL-25) one of the most widely used tools in cross cultural studies including among Ethiopians (Tedla, 1992) was used.

To assess PTSD symptoms items from the Structured Diagnostic Interview Schedule of DSM-IV that dealt with PTSD were used with HSCL. Based on the standard cut off point of >1.5 , in the scale that ranges between 1-5, the percentage of domestic workers who rated their experience of the symptoms above the cut off point were presented in Table 18 below. Those who reported in experiencing each symptom below the cut off were categorized as asymptomatic, as per HSCL Manual.

Table 18 shows that the percentage of domestic workers with symptoms of major depression, anxiety disorder and asymptomatic were 64, 57 and 34 percent, respectively. This means that the majority of the domestic workers seem to exhibit the symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorders.

Table-18

*Domestic Workers with Major Depression and Anxiety Disorders
&Asymptomatic*

HSC Categories	Percent	Number
Major Depression	64	52
Major Anxiety Disorders	57	46
Asymptomatic	34	27

So as to give a more concrete picture of the reported experiences of the domestic workers for each symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorder the means and standard deviations of their ratings in the 1- 5 scale for the group of domestic workers assessed were presented in Tables - 19 and 20 below. As can

be observed in both tables the mean ratings for each symptom of major depression and anxiety disorders was found to be substantial i.e. well above 1.5.

Table -19
Symptoms of Anxiety

Anxiety symptoms (Multiple Responses)	Mean	SD
Suddenly scared for no reasons	2.6	0.02
Feeling fearful	4.5	0.65
Faintness, dizziness or weakness	3.2	0.02
Nervousness or shakiness	4.7	0.76
Heart pounding or racing	1.9	0.09
Trembling	3.5	0.08
Feeling tense or keyed	2.9	0.23
Headaches	4.7	0.98
Spells of terror or panic	2.6	0.07
Feeling restless, can't sit still	1.6	0.91

Table 20
Symptoms of Major Depression

Major Depression Symptoms	Mean	SD
----------------------------------	-------------	-----------

Feeling low in energy, slow down	2.9	0.09
Blaming yourself for things	3.8	0.76
Crying easily	3.6	0.87
Loss of sexual interest or pleasure	3.7	0.23
Poor appetite	2.8	0.13
Difficulty falling asleep, staying asleep	4.4	0.45
Feeling hopeless about the future	4.8	0.71
Feeling blue	4.7	0.69
Thought of ending your life	1.6	0.08
Feeling lonely	4.6	0.04
Thoughts being trapped or caught	4.3	0.03
Worrying too much about things	4.8	0.61
Feeling no interest in things	1.9	0.96
Feeling everything is an effort	1.7	0.76
Feeling of worthlessness	4.9	0.59

POST TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

Table 21 shows the percentage of domestic workers who have reported to experience symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorders. The results indicate that the majority of the domestic workers (i.e. above 70 percent) experienced the symptoms of the post-traumatic stress disorders.

Table -21

Domestic workers experiencing PTSD symptoms

Symptoms of PTSD	Percent	Number
------------------	---------	--------

Constant thoughts and expressions of stressful events	79	64
Daily nightmares	86	70
Extreme detachment from parents and friends	91	74
Highly unresponsive to close relationships	94	77
Frequent avoidance of others	85	69
Extreme impulsiveness	79	64
Extreme nervousness	84	68
Extreme forgetfulness	86	70
Carelessness in dressing	84	68

Although it is widely held that exposure to violence (and particularly extreme violence) may have a range of adverse psychological consequences (see for example, Campbell, 2002; Golding, 1999; Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2001), the empirical evidence establishing the linkages between exposure to domestic violence and adverse psychological outcomes prove to be relatively limited. In particular, although a number of studies have reported elevated rates of psychiatric disorders among victims of domestic violence (Cascardi, O'Leary, & Schlee, 1999; Coker et al., 2002; Stets & Straus, 1990), these studies have been subject to at least one of a number of methodological limitations. These limitations include the use of highly selected samples of women from women's refuges and hospital emergency clinics, the use of small samples, and the lack of standardized measurement of outcomes. Moreover, very few studies have investigated the influence of domestic violence on the mental health of men (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2001).

Perhaps the most pervasive difficulty with this literature relates to the failure to adequately control for selection and confounding. In particular, it has been well documented that both the perpetrators and victims of domestic violence tend to come from high-risk populations characterized by social disadvantage (e.g., Hastings & Hamberger, 1997; Straus & Gelles, 1986), family dysfunction (e.g., Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; White & Widom, 2003), and high rates of individual pathology (e.g., Magdol, Moffitt, & Caspi, 1998; Stets & Straus, 1990; Walker, 2000). It may therefore be proposed that any

association between exposure to domestic violence and psychological outcomes does not reflect a direct cause and effect association but rather reflects the social, family, and individual context within which domestic violence tends to occur. These considerations suggest that to establish a causal link between exposure to domestic violence and mental health requires that the associations between the variables are adjusted for confounding factors.

PART III

RESULTS OF THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

The preliminary survey (Part one) and the assessment of violence made using formal tools (Part two) have produced the general picture of the context, magnitude and consequences of the violence committed against the domestic workers. With existing consensus among scholars and researchers that violence against women to be multifaceted and multi-caused would call for the adoption of an in-depth research approach to understand better the nature and dynamics of violence.

Although it was difficult to undertake an in-depth examination of violence in the present study due to time and resource limitation, some modest attempt were made to qualitatively examine – with 7 willing female domestic

workers selected from among the eighty two domestic workers participated in the major part of the study- further few but crucial issues which could not be captured through objective data collection method. The variables inquired were: perception and subjective experience of violence victimization; risks and vulnerably, social network and support, quality of life, coping mechanisms and strengths and needs of the domestic workers. Unstructured interview was used as primary data collection tool.

In this section, the obtained findings of this qualitative inquiry will be presented.

Perception and Subjective Experience of Victimization

What does 'being a domestic worker' mean to you?

The respondents disclosed that being a domestic worker means ' a life destiny for poor women who have nobody to turn to but God; joining the only work left for the poorest of the poor; becoming a modern-day slave.'

How did you find when you first start working as domestic worker?

According to most of the respondents, in spite of some 'shocking' experience of maltreatment by their employers and ' the very hard time' they had had to get used to live with the fact that they are 'servants', they admitted that their first experience was exciting due to the 'new' and better living conditions of the urban household when compared to their rural life. As to how they coped up with the demands of their work, before getting employed as domestic worker in Addis they had stayed with relatives in regional town learning some skills of homemaking, cooking etc in urban households and some social skills including speaking Amharic less dominated by rural dialect.

In your career as domestic worker in Addis, in how many families have you worked?

It was observed that the respondents have reportedly worked over the years between three to six families. The average length of time a domestic worker stayed in a family found to differ for their first employing family where they started working as domestic worker and their subsequent employing families. While with their first employer they stayed on the average for two years, with their subsequent employing families they were staying on the average of one year per a family.

How did the 'work agreement' between you and your employer end? i.e. did you quite yourself or were you dismissed by your employer?

Most of the respondents reported that they were dismissed by their employers without prior notice and compensation. When asked about the reasons for being dismissed, the respondents indicated the following: alleged theft; accusation by their employers for behaving in a manner 'incompatible' with their status as a domestic worker i.e. acting just like the family members in their day to day life transaction; behaving 'disrespectfully' towards their employers etc; 'talking back' to their employers; breaking household utensils while using it; starting friendship with fellow domestic worker in the neighborhood; suspicion by their employer of starting opposite sex relationship; getting sick that need major medical attention.

Have you come across with incidents of major physical violence or verbal aggression committed against you by your employers? If yes, why didn't you quite you work or report to police when these happened?

Consistent with the findings in the first section, all of the respondents acknowledged experiencing major violence by their employers. As to why they failed to quite their job, the respondents indicated that it is not easy to quite ones job and get another immediately. The main problem for this was reported to be not having anybody to turn to who would let them stay with him/her here in Addis

and providing them with shelter as well as food until they get another job. Since the alternative is going back to the 'difficult life' they escaped from in the countryside- which is reportedly no longer acceptable for them - , tolerating the violence by their employers is indicated to be a much better option. According to the majority of the respondents even their own family members and next of kin don't appreciate quitting their job in response to occasional violence committed against them by their employers. In fact, one respondent stated that tolerating such occasional violence by their employers is part of the job of a domestic worker.

With regard to reporting to police, all of the respondents disclosed that they didn't go to police reporting the violence committed against them by their employers. Moreover, the respondents believe that unless the violence they experienced involved serious physical damage like breaking ones legs, injury that resulted in loosing sight etc going to police is uncalled for. The respondents further noted that even when they sustained such injuries due to the violence by their employers, for they don't know how to go about the process of opening charges and the related legal issues involved going to police station, the proper way would reportedly be finding someone from their family member or relative who could help them out. Once again, lack of somebody in Addis to turn to in providing shelter, food and psychological support while going through the legal process required when pressing charges against their employers was strongly emphasized by the respondents as formidable obstacle in bringing their victimization by their employers to justice.

Risks and Vulnerabilities of the Female Domestic Workers

The assessment of risk factors in violence research, drawn mainly from public health, focuses on violence at individual and interpersonal levels. It aims to prevent violence by reducing individual risk factors. Accordingly the domestic workers were asked to state their risks of violence in their living and work situations.

The major risk of violence identified by the domestic workers was related to the sexual insecurity they have been subjected to in the employer's house. This was being threatened by the real or imagined sexual intentions of their employers or employer's sons. The common critical time identified by the respondents was the time of absence of the wife from the house or of both parents where there were grown up sons or male extended family members. Moreover, the following risk factors were identified by the domestic workers:

2. Risks and Vulnerability due to Mistrust by their Employers (for example, repeated accusations for being a thief)

3. ***Vulnerability due to 'Rural Characteristics' which were taken as epitomes of backwardness and lack of civilization by the urbanite-elite employers***

- "Rural" language usage
 - Difference in Dialect for Amharic speaking domestic workers
 - Lack of fluency and speaking accented Amharic for non-Amharic speaker domestic workers
- 'Rural' styles of dressing, walking etc
- Lack of knowledge and experience in social etiquettes in urban family and community
- Lack of knowledge of Addis Ababa, inside out
- Traditional/cultural marks- tattoos- on the face of the domestic workers that were marks of beauty back in the countryside but a sign of backwardness for the taste of urbanite-elite employers and their community
- Lack of knowledge and skills in modern homemaking and cooking

4. Health Risks

- Due to poor living conditions
 - Cold/heat/dirty sleeping area

- For being forced to get up so early in the morning and exposed to extreme cold that could cause pneumonia
- Due to Poor food provision
- Inadequacy of food – work all day long with empty stomach
- Foods that are not healthy-
- Due to poor work environment
 - Exposure to excessive smoke and heat especially making *Injera*
 - Due to being forced to perform tasks that are risky for health
 - Washing toilet without adequate tools
 - Due to inability to pay for health services

5. Risks due to Job Insecurity

- Being fired unexpectedly and without reason

Social Networks and Supports

The significance of assessing social networks for individuals like the target domestic workers who had been born and brought up in a traditional rural society where family ties, kinship relationships etc were at the very center of their social life, at least need to be thought differently from similar exploration in western societies where it had originally conceived and developed. Generally, the respondents identified four important social networks:

Network with friends

- Most of the domestic workers reportedly maintain strong relationship with their friends, mostly with domestic workers in the neighborhood

Social network with ones own Family members:

Domestic workers maintain strong network with their own family members back in their home village/town. Though this was reported to happen once or twice a year it was indicated to be very emotional and strong. Although some specifically identify their mothers and sisters with whom they care to emotionally

relate, there were others who didn't make such distinction and said both of their parents and siblings in their family.

Social Network with Relatives and next of kin who live in Addis Ababa

Domestic workers reported to have strong social network with their relatives and next of kin who are currently living in Addis Ababa. In fact most take the families of these relatives and next of kin as their own family than the family of their employers even if they happened to stay for several years with the latter.

A rather striking result was obtained in relation to social network with two of the seven interviewees. The two domestic workers emphasized that although they appreciate the value of maintaining strong relationship with their families of relatives, they deliberately avoid any possible contact with anybody they had been related with. According to them this was until they become ' a human being'. This indicates the fact that the respondents vehemently ashamed of being domestic workers and reject being identified with and thus used avoidance as coping mechanism. The promising aspect of this observation, at least clinically, appeared to be their continued appreciation of the values of the social relationship had it not been for their being domestic workers.

Coping Mechanisms

The domestic workers were also inquired to state what they usually do by the time they were abused by their employers. The responses they gave were:

- Ignore it, this is my life, what can I do?
- Not worried since I used to it
- Talk it over to friends, family members and relatives
- Hide in the kitchen or backyard and cry
- Sometimes could not sleep
- Try to make up for the employer, though I was not the source of the problem
- Try my best by exhibiting appeasement gesture

- Fear that the curse will come true
- Prey to God

Strengths of the Domestic Workers

The subjects were asked to respond to five items meant to assess their strengths. These were: what do you do best? What are your best qualities? Who do you find most easy to talk to? What things do you enjoy? How do you relax? And what is your hope and aspirations in your life? The obtained results were summarized below:

What do you do best?

- Cooking
- Child raising
- Cleaning
- Home making
- Gardening
- Making traditional drinks e.g. mostly *Tella* and *Areke*
- Spinning threads for making traditional clothes
- Making household utensils from hard grass

What are your best qualities?

- Patience and tolerance in social interaction
- Being Obedient?
- Hard work
- Perseverance

Who do you find most easy to talk to?

- Sisters
- Mother
- Relatives in Addis
- Domestic worker friends in the neighborhood
- People from home village/town who currently live in Addis

- Employers daughters

What things do you enjoy?

- Sending money, coffee, sugar, cloths to parents and get their blessing
- Going to church and participate
- Getting praise from my employers that I'm worth trusting and good at my work
- Participate in family gathering and chatting at coffee ceremony

How do you relax?

- Watching TV
- Listening to Radio- FM music and Drama programs
- Meeting my friends and enjoy their company
- Visiting my relatives in Addis

And what is your hope and aspirations in your life?

- Save money and send to home village in the countryside to buy some cattle or sheep, goats for breeding and become financially secured
- Go to Arab countries as domestic worker

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary and conclusions of the major findings of the study were the following:

Since the conception of 'domestic worker' appeared to be gender-based and class-based, the use of the term to refer to the female workers in the household can argued to be by itself an act of epistemic violence.

‘Domestic workers’ seemed to have been used by their female employers to resolve the modern day contradiction between family and work.

The existence of ‘domestic workers’ in the family seemed to have contributed for the sustenance of gender-based division of labor in the household.

With the mainstream definition of family i.e. as natural, healthy etc, the inclusion of ‘domestic workers’ into a family always involves an unavoidable ‘Otherness’ which seems to be incompatible to the underlying idea of a family. In this definition of family, domestic workers are invisible. It follows that the understanding of ‘domestic workers’ using the mainstream definition argued to be problematic, if not oppressive. This further implies that the use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks to solve family problems would be problematic to apply them in helping abused domestic workers.

Since sexuality is at the center of the social construction of a family, the sexuality of ‘domestic workers’ in a family context contradicts with the underlying logic of a family. Thus the sexuality of the domestic worker is always a risk factor in a family.

The sexual violence against ‘the domestic workers’ by their employers could be argued to involve –beyond moral, legal violation – a manifestation of the ‘eroticisation of oppression’ and also ‘eroticisation of aggression’ in the cultural construction of sexuality in the wider Ethiopian society.

The absence of a single female domestic worker from Addis Ababa in the sample of the study may indicate that the apparent reluctance among female job seeking residents of Addis to become domestic worker or vice versa i.e. the reluctance of employers to employ domestic worker who were born and brought up in Addis

The reasons given by most of the domestic workers for becoming domestic workers were escape from violence or lack of subsistence in their family and marriage life or both.

The results of the study on the involvement of intermediaries and the use of the un-kept promises (i.e. deception) in the process of turning the target subjects

into domestic workers was found to involve - trafficking, which was not only gender based violence but also major crime in the penal code.

It was observed that most of the target domestic workers have experienced sexual violence as well as economic violence by the brokers.

The observed very poor situation in the provision of food to the domestic workers seem to suggest a violation of their basic human rights that legally required the employers to make sure that their employees- domestic workers got adequate food, in both quality and quantity.

The results of the study on the work conditions of the domestic workers, the absence of legally binding work agreement by the employers and the very meager amount of salary being paid while they were working all day long without little or no break seem to demonstrate the prevalence of major violation of the rights of the domestic workers

The results appear to confirm that the work relationship between the domestic workers and their employers is found to be characterized by the negative behaviors that strongly suggest the high level of mental cruelty of the latter.

The results seem to confirm that the violation of the rights of domestic workers i.e. citizenship, political, social and cultural rights as evidenced by the denial of the domestic workers to be recognized and identified as free citizens regardless of which family they work with. Besides it was observed that the domestic workers' rights for political participation and access to educational opportunities and health services were denied.

The very high prevalence rate results observed in all the subscales strongly suggest that the target domestic workers had experienced pervasive violent behaviors examined in the study namely; psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual harassment/abuse and mental cruelty by their employers in the last 12 months. Moreover, the consequences of the observed violent behaviors on the domestic workers were also found to be very high as evidenced from the very high results ;(i.e. above 80 per cent) in both minor and major injury subscales.

It was observed that the chronicity of violence experienced by the domestic workers for all of the subscales were substantial i.e. all were above the 'most chronic point' level of the chronicity scale which is '20 or above incidents within a subscale'. Since all the observed mean number of incidents of the subscales was above 20, it can be concluded that the extent of violent behaviors experienced by the domestic workers over the past year was 'most chronic'.

The statistically significant gender difference observed in both the prevalence and chronicity of violence committed against the domestic workers suggest the higher rate of involvement in the perpetration of the violence behaviors by female employers than male employers. Given the limited contact and interaction the male employers have with the domestic workers, the obtained results might not be unexpected. But still the high rate of violence committed against female domestic workers by female employers needs to alert researchers in gender-based violence to reexamine the issue that has rarely been considered before.

The results of the self-ratings of the domestic workers on HSCL-25 showed that most of them have been experiencing the symptoms of major depression and anxiety disorders. Likewise the results on PTSD assessment indicated that the majority of the domestic workers (i.e. above 70 percent) experienced the symptoms of the post-traumatic stress disorders.

The summary of the major findings obtained in the qualitative inquiry regarding the risks and vulnerabilities, social networks, coping mechanisms and strengths are given below.

The major risks of and vulnerabilities to violence identified by the domestic workers were: sexual insecurity they have been subjected to in the employer's house; risks and vulnerability due to mistrust by their employers (for example, repeated accusations for being a thief). The domestic workers also identified vulnerability due to 'Rural Characteristics' which were taken as epitomes of backwardness and lack of civilization by the urbanite-elite employers which includes: "Rural" language usage which reportedly includes speaking Amharic in 'rural' dialect for Amharic speakers and accented Amharic for non-Amharic

speakers, 'Rural' styles of dressing, walking etc, lack of knowledge and experience in social etiquettes in urban family and community, lack of knowledge of Addis Ababa, inside out, Traditional/cultural marks- tattoos- on the face of the domestic workers that were marks of beauty back in the countryside but a signification of backwardness for the taste of urbanite-elite employers and their community; lack of knowledge and skills in modern homemaking and cooking. Among the health risks identified were health risks, due to poor living conditions, poor food provision, poor work environment, being forced to perform tasks that are risky for health, inability to pay for health service and also Risks due to job insecurity

Domestic workers were found to have maintained strong network with their own family members back in their home village/town as well as with their relatives and next of kin who are currently living in Addis Ababa. Though rarely possible, most of the domestic workers were found to maintain strong relationship with their friends, mostly with other domestic workers in the neighborhood.

The respondents identified the following as their coping mechanisms whenever they had been abused by their employers: ignore all the abuse, not worried since used to it, talk it over to friends, family members and relatives hide in the kitchen or backyard and cry their heart out, sometimes could not sleep, try to make up for the employer, though they knew they were not the source of the problem, try their best by exhibiting appeasement gesture, fear that the curse will come true, prey to God.

As to what they do best: Cooking, child raising, cleaning, home making, gardening, making traditional drinks e.g. mostly Tella and Areke, spinning for making traditional clothes Making household utensils from hard grass. Concerning what their best qualities are: Patience and tolerance in social interaction, being obedient, hard working and perseverance As to whom they find most easy to talk to; sisters and mother, relatives in Addis, friends in the neighborhood, people from home village/town who are currently living in Addis and few mentioned daughters of their employers.

The things they reportedly enjoy: sending money, coffee, sugar, cloths etc to parents in the countryside and get their blessing, going to church and participate, getting positive feedback and praise from ones employers that they are worth trusting and good at their work; be in the family gathering of their employers at night and watch and listen to their chatting and enjoyment at coffee ceremony while serving them coffee.

As to how they relax: (though rarely possible) watching TV, listening to Radio- FM music and drama programs, meeting ones friends and enjoy their company, visiting ones relatives in who reside in Addis. Finally their hope and aspirations were reported to involve: save money and send to home village in the countryside to buy some cattle or sheep, goats for breeding and become financially secured, and immigrate to Arab countries as domestic workers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As indicated in the title of the study, since the practical significance of the study was meant to come up practical ideas for local intervention, the recommendations of the study were organized towards developing anti-Violence Program for female domestic workers at local level.

The suggested objectives of the program would be:

- To encourage local authorities, care providers to meet the needs of victims of violence and respond to any violence against female domestic workers
- To equip local authorities, care providers, community health workers and traditional healers with knowledge, attitudes and skills required for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the program.

- To enable local authorities and care providers give care, safety planning and counseling services to female domestic workers who are victims of violence
- Promote and sustain involvement and participation of female domestic workers who are victims of violence, partners and the community in the response of the local care providers to violence against female domestic workers
- To ensure a multi-sectoral collaboration and coordination in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the activities of the local care providers in responding to violence against female domestic workers at all levels and settings.

The population to be served by the suggested anti-violence program for abused female domestic workers includes:

- *Beneficiaries* (Primary stakeholders): female domestic workers who are victims of violence and abuse in the communities in *Gulele* Sub-city
- *Participants*: local authorities, care providers, community workers, traditional healers in the target area
- *Partners* (Secondary stakeholders): community members both men and women, local women organizations, community leaders, religious leaders in the community, local NGOs and community organizations working in the area of women's rights, local criminal justice institutions
- *Decision Makers* (key stakeholders): managers of local care facilities, Federal and regional public sector service managers, local government authorities
- *Adversaries*: Both female and male employers of the domestic workers and individuals/groups who help maintain the abusive norms in the community

Suggested Services to be provided in the Anti-Violence Program for female domestic workers

The services to be provided are categorized into three parts:

Center -based Activities

- Establishing rehabilitation and care and support center for abused female domestic workers in the target area
- train staff in local care providing center for abused female domestic workers on institutional assessment and victim assessment to identify their needs and strengths and respond appropriately to victims of abuse
- Introduce change in the operations and procedures of local care facilities to accommodate victims' needs:
- Undertake institutional assessment of the local care facility
- Introduce active screening mechanism for abuse in the local health service facilities among selected patient populations i.e. in maternal and child health services, reproductive health services, emergency departments, mental health departments
- Make procedural changes in clients' care; incorporate questions of abuse into intake forms or clients interview schedules;
- Prepare site-specific protocols for responding to violence victims
- Introduce proper documentation system for violence victims

- Producing and displaying IEC materials i.e. posters and pamphlets in the major public service centers, squares etc depicting the very high prevalence and severe nature of the violence being committed against female domestic workers by their employers in the community.

- Organizing and Supporting self-help groups of abused female domestic workers:
 - Organize a self-help support group for the victims or

- Lend facility to the groups willing to do so
- Victims' care and specialized support services:
 - Provide victims' care, safety planning and counseling:
 - Provide specialized services for victims of sexual assault, including proper collection and provision of forensic evidences.

Outreach Care Services and Community Mobilization

- give training to community workers in assessment of violence victims and community assessment
- Encourage community workers to become active community change agents by:
 - Starting public discussion of violence being committed against female domestic workers via role-playing, posters and community events.
 - Holding workshops to change community norms and attitudes.
 - Train community workers /Traditional healers to facilitate support groups for abused female domestic workers
 - Encourage and facilitate community workers to accompany abused female domestic workers to the police and the medical examiners office when they chose to report violence committed by their employers
- Partnership with local women's groups:
 - Facilitate linkage with local women's groups
 - Coordinate with local women's groups to have an advocate on call to help abused female domestic workers or train someone in-house
- Community Mobilization
 - Identifying community groups and resources essential for effective program services
 - Assessing the level of understanding and identify gaps in knowledge of groups with respect to violence against female domestic workers

- Promoting cooperation and networking of community groups including Women's associations
- Maintaining sustainability of the program
- Ensuring monitoring and evaluation of activities of anti-violence program for female domestic workers
- Networking and Partnership
 - Encouraging and networking and coordination among local service providers, partners especially local criminal justice institutions, local government authorities, NGOs, community organizations, women's organizations, community leaders, religious leaders and other concerned bodies and individuals.
 - Monitor and evaluate coordination and collaboration efforts and outcomes of the program

Policy development - preparing a framework and guidelines among actors in the program based on the common philosophy of all partners

Advocacy-- a well developed grass root advocacy strategy and plan would significantly ensure the effectiveness of the program

- Building the management capacity of all the partners
- Building the technical capacity of the practitioners in the program
- Building financial capacity of the program through international and national cooperation and networking
- Ensuring the logistics, transport and supply of the program would be crucial for successful implementation of the program

The Role of a Social Worker:

Although the above kind of programs required pool of professionals from diverse fields, particularly social workers in the program need to have the following additional roles and functions.

Advisor: advising abused female domestic workers on how to solve or prevent the problem of violence being committed against them and providing relevant information

Advocator: representing and speaking up for the interest of female domestic workers to other individuals, groups and organizations.

Facilitator of indigenous support systems knowing about and appropriately involving support systems, such as the target female domestic workers' social networks, extended family and community elders.

Facilitator of indigenous healing systems: referring abused female domestic workers to gender sensitive helping professionals or if sufficiently knowledgeable and skilled actually using the indigenous healing methods.

Consultant working collegially with female domestic workers to impact or change a third party including organizational change

Change agent initiating and implementing action-oriented approaches to changing social environments that may be opposing female domestic workers.

APPENDIX -I

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Structured Interview Schedule for Female Domestic Workers

Dear Respondent,

The purpose of this study is the assessment of the context, nature, magnitude and consequences of violence being committed against female domestic workers in selected areas of *Gulele Sub City* and come up with workable ideas for intervention to alleviate the problem in the sub city. This interview is the first part of data collection for the study.

The objective of the interview is to gather background information about female domestic workers and their life as well as work situations in their employer's houses and also other related information. It is important that you answer each item as thoughtfully and frankly possible.

- **Please answer all questions**
- **You don't have to write your name**
- **All of the information you may provide will be held confidential**

Thank you for your kind cooperation!!!

I. Demographic Characteristics

1. How old are you? (Would you please indicate to which of the following age-ranges your age belongs?)

- 10-14
- 15-18
- 19-24
- 25-30
- 31-39
- >40

2. What is your level of Education?

- Illiterate
- Read and Write
- 1-8
- 9-12
- 12 Completed
- other.....

3. Where has been your residence before you become a domestic worker?

- Town/city.....
- Region.....
- *woreda*.....
- Zone.....

4. What is your present marital status?

- Married
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Separated
- Single (never married)

5. Do you have children? Yes.....No.....

If yes, where are they staying at present?

6. What is your religion?.....

7. To which ethnic group of Ethiopia do you belong?.....

II. Assessment of the Processes of Becoming Domestic Worker

8. What was your reason to become domestic worker.....

- Poverty of family
- Escape from Family violence
- Escape from unhappy marriage
- Parental Death
- To be independent from family
- To be able to go to school
- Attraction by city life
- Others

9. Was there anybody who helped you to decide to become a domestic worker?

- Yes.....
- No, it was entirely my own decision

10. If yes, who was this person and his/her relation to you?

- Brokers
- Relatives
- Parents
- Friends
- Others

11. What did the person who made you decide to become a domestic worker said to convince you?

- Promise of employment
- Promise of education/training
- Promise of foster parents arrangement
- Escaped from early marriage
- Escape from unhappy marriage
- Escape from domestic violence
- Others

12. How much did/ do you pay for the brokers for their brokerage service?

- Below 10 Birr
- 10-20 Birr
- One quarter of your one month salary
- One half of your one month salary
- Your one month salary
- More than one-month salary. Please specify.....

13. Has the broker done any abusive behavior against you?

- Verbal aggression
- Physical assault
- Sexual harassment
- Other.....
- No abusive behavior was committed against me by the broker

III. Assessment of Domestic Workers' Living Situation with their Employers

14. How do you evaluate the quality and quantity of the food provision in your employers home?

Dimensions of Evaluation	Measures of Evaluation				
	Very good	Good	Acceptable	Poor	Very Poor
Quantity of food					
Quality of food					

15. Please indicate (if any) problems you might have encountered regarding the food provided for you in your employers' house?.....

Accommodation Provided for the Domestic Workers

16. Where did / do you sleep in your employers house?

- Have bedroom of my own
- Have bedroom, but shared with others...
- Please, specify if you didn't sleep in a bedroom.....

17. Please indicate the adequacy (or problems) you might have encountered regarding your

sleeping facilities (bed, mattress, sheets, pillow, and blanket).....

IV. Assessment of Domestic Workers' Living Situation with their Employers

18. Did/do you have a written document/contract during your employment process?.....

19. Were there any other written documents you were made to sign up on employment?.....

20. What was/is your monthly salary?.....

21. Do you have complete control of your salary (no body takes part of your salary without your permission and you can use for any thing you wanted to spend the money on).....

22. Please indicate the average estimated number of hours you work each day.

- < 8 hours
- 8-12 Hours
- 12-13
- 14-15
- 16-17
- 18-19

24. For how many hours did/do you take a break/rest within a day?

- <1
- 1-2
- 3-4
- 5-6
- >6
- No Break of any sort

25. How do you describe (in general) your interpersonal relation with your employers?

Dimensions of Evaluation	Measures of Evaluation				
	Very good	Good	Acceptable	Poor	Very Poor
Female Employer					
Male Employer					
Employers Daughters					
Employers Sons					
Male Extended Family Members					
Female Extended Family Members					

26. How do your employers commonly react to the work you performed?

- Always criticize/belittle me
- Do not sympathize when I am overloaded with work
- Encourage me to learn skills
- Forbid me to take any initiative
- Expect me to accomplish any task on the spot
- Treat me as a scapegoat for all kinds of problems
- Do not think that I am tired
- The employer ignores when the DW is tired

27. What are the common work-related problems you might have encountered during the course of your work?

- Excessive work load
- Forced to work tasks risky for your health
- Forced to work tasks risky for your life
- Forced to work degrading and humiliating tasks such as washing employers feet, dirty socks etc
- Being suddenly fired without adequate reasons

28. Did you encounter problems in relation to the payment of your monthly salary? Yes/No

If yes, please indicate the nature of the problem

- Delayed
- Deducted
- Denied
- Paid without problem

V. Assessment of the Violation of Citizenship, Political, Social and Cultural Rights of the

Domestic Workers

29. Have you ever been registered in your name (without reference attached to your employers) in any official statistics/records of the local, regional or federal government?

30. Do you have the Residence Identification Card from the *Kebele* you work and live in? Yes/No

If No, do you think you are entitled for a residence ID card from your *kebele*?

31. Did you participated (elected) in the last national election?.....If no, why not?.....

32. Do your employers give you permission to attend school in your free time eg night

school?.....

33. Have you ever got sick that need professional attention since you start working as domestic worker?.....Yes/No

- If yes, did you get medical service ?.....
- Would you describe the problems you might have faced in getting medical service?.....

34. Which of the social contacts and relationships not allowed by your employers?

- Meeting outsiders
- Leaving the premise of the employer, except running errands
- Meeting with neighbors
- Visiting same sex friends
- Meeting opposite sex friends

35. Do your employer give you permission to participate in weeks/monthly religious congregations?.....

- Can you specify the related problems you might have faced.....

General comment about your situation in your employers' house.....
.....
.....
..

Suggestions as to what should be done to improve the situation of female domestic workers

.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX -II

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Adapted Conflict Tactics Scale

Dear Respondent,

The purpose of this study is the assessment of the context, nature, magnitude and consequences of violence being committed against female domestic workers in selected areas of *Gulele Sub City* and come up with workable ideas for intervention to alleviate the problem in the sub city. This Violence assessment scale is the second part of data collection for the study.

The objective of this scale is to assess the nature and magnitude of violence being committed against female domestic workers by female and male employers. It is important that you answer each item as thoughtfully and frankly possible.

- **Please answer all questions**
- **You don't have to write your name**
- **All of the information you may provide will be held confidential**

Thank you for your kind cooperation!!!

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTION FOR THE SCALE:

*Below are given the list of things that might happen to you when you have differences with members of the family for whom you are working as domestic worker. Please circle how many times did each one of the following happen to you in the past year. **How many times did this happen?** 1= once in the past year; 2= twice in the past year; 3= 3-5 times in the past year; 4=6-10 times in the past year; 5=11-20 times in the past year; 6=more than 20 times in the past year; 7= not in the past year, but did happen; 0=this has never happened*

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix III

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Hopkins Symptoms Checklist -25

Instruction:

Below are some symptoms or problems that people sometimes have. Please read each one carefully and decide how much the symptoms bothered or distressed you in the last week, including today. Place a check in the appropriate column.

SYMPTOMS OF ANXIETY	None	Sometimes	Frequently	Very Frequently
<i>Suddenly scared for no reasons</i>				
<i>Feeling fearful</i>				
<i>Faintness, dizziness or weakness</i>				
<i>Nervousness or shakiness</i>				
<i>Heart pounding or racing</i>				
<i>Trembling</i>				
<i>Feeling tense or keyed</i>				
<i>Headaches</i>				
<i>Spells of terror or panic</i>				
<i>Feeling restless, can't sit still</i>				
SYMPTOMS OF MAJOR DEPRESSION				
<i>Feeling low in energy, slow down</i>				
<i>Blaming yourself for things</i>				
<i>Crying easily</i>				

<i>Loss of sexual interest or pleasure</i>				
<i>Poor appetite</i>				
<i>Difficulty falling asleep, staying asleep</i>				
<i>Feeling hopeless about the future</i>				
<i>Feeling blue</i>				
<i>Thought of ending your life</i>				
<i>Feeling lonely</i>				
<i>Thoughts being trapped or caught</i>				
<i>Worrying too much about things</i>				
<i>Feeling no interest in things</i>				
<i>Feeling everything is an effort</i>				
<i>Feeling of worthlessness</i>				

Appendix -IV

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
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***Observation Form to Be Used While Filling Out the Violence Assessment
Instrument in the Face-To-Face Interview Context***

OBSERVATIONS TO BE MADE:

1. Signs of Physical abuse (description)

- Scars on face
- Scars on arms, hands
- Scars on legs
- Maiming
- Burns
- Limping
- Visual defect (conspicuous)
- Others (specify)
- No signs observed

2. Dress/appearance

- Hair..... Properly groomedunkempt
- Dress.....generally cleangenerally not clean
- Body posture.....Highmoderate.....low

3. Repeated Signs of Distress/anger

- Gnashing teeth
- Biting lips
- Biting finger nails
- Pounding, tapping on table or floor
- Weeping
- Cursing
- Sitting tight
- Erratic Movements
- Others (please specify).....

Overall Comments

.....
.....
.....
.....

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANOVA: Analysis of Variance

APA1: American Psychiatrists Association

APA2: American Psychologists Association

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of any Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CSA: Central Statistical Agency

CTS2: Conflict Tactics Scale 2

DEVAW: Declaration of the Elimination of Violence Against Women

DSM-IV: Diagnostic Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (4th version)

EWLA: Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association

FSS: Forum for Social Studies

FSC : Forum for Street Children

GSA: Good Samaritan Association

HSC-25: Hopkins Symptom Checklist - 25

ILO: International Labor Organization

IOM: International Organization for Migration

IPEC: International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor

MOLSA: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations

PTSD: Post Traumatic Stress Disorders

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Scientists

WAO: Women's Affairs Office

WHO: World Health Organization

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