Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Institute of Gender Studies

Police Officers' Attitude Towards Gender-Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa

By

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Acronyms and Abbreviation

AACA   Addis Ababa City Administration

CIET	Community Information Empowerment and Transparency
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
EWLA	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FP	Female Police
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GRIP	Godanaw Rehabilitation Integration Project
GRIPV	Victim of Godanaw Rehabilitation Integration Project
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KPSV	Victim from Kirkos Sub-City Police Department
M.PO	Male Police Officer
MOH	Ministry of Health
MP	Male Police
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security & Co-operation Europe
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
UDH	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDPI	UN Department of Public Information
UNFPA	United Nation Fund for Population Activity
UNHCR	UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCR	UN office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

The main objective of the study is to investigate police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence in Kirkos Sub-City of Addis Ababa. To attain this objective, both primary and secondary data collection

methods were used. The secondary data were gathered through critical review of related conceptual, theoretical, empirical studies as well as policies at the international, regional and national levels.

The primary data were collected through quantitative and qualitative methods. The survey questionnaire was used to gather the relevant quantitative data which were analyzed through statistical techniques such as percentage, mean, median and standard deviation. The qualitative data were gathered through focus group discussions, in-depth interviews with victims, key informants and police officers. Finally, the findings of the study were thematically organized and analyzed through triangulation of various data sources to increase the validity and reliability of the findings of the study.

It was found that gender-based violence is prevalent in the study area, but it is not adequately reported since it affects the victims who are in a relatively lower status in terms of age, socio-economic status and power relations. The police officers in the study area have positive attitude towards community policing system, but they do not practice it to prevent and mitigate GBV crimes.

It was also found that there is no clear gender difference in the attitude of police officers towards GBV.

The police officers application and scope of GBV criminality is mostly related to the sexual violence only; their attitude towards women and girls was found to be not positive in that they see women and girls as subordinate to men and boys; viewing some of the victims as suspects, blaming them for the violence they experienced and even being the perpetrators in some cases; it can be argued that the police officers do not have positive attitude towards preventing and mitigating GBV crimes. Thus, the police officers under study, especially those who are directly related to GBV in the study area do not have an attitude that enhances the report rate and decrease the prevalence rate of GBV.

Finally, the study recommends the need for further investigation on issues related to police officers attitude towards victims and gender difference in the attitude of police officers towards GBV. Trainings should also be given for police officers in order to improve their understanding of the scope and criminality of GBV, their attitude towards victims, women and their attitudes about GBV.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Gender-based violence (GBV) is *"any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females"* (IASC, 2005:6). It has a greater impact on women and girls, as they are most often the victims and sufferers of greater physical damage than men when victimized (WHO, 2005).

GBV is a complex issue that results from and is perpetuated by various facets of life, community, and society (Myra and Elizabeth, 2006). As such, the ways to respond to and prevent GBV must be just as multi-faceted, involving all sectors and members of the community and society (Ibid).

The rights of women and girls may be asserted under international and regional human rights conventions that are legally binding upon ratifying states (Sally, 1995). The International Bill of Human Rights, comprised of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ("UDHR"), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ("ICCPR"), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ("ICESCR"), sets forth general human rights standards that victims of GBV may invoke against their state of citizenship (Ibid). Despite this, for the most part, the international community has yet to create effective legal standards that exclusively address this problem (Ibid).

Even though strengthened law enforcement not only provides assistance to individual girls and women, but indirectly promotes respect for the rule of law, it continues to lag far behind the written code in many countries (Wilder, 2007). Unfortunately, in many settings, girls and women also fail to adequately address their grievances because they remain unaware of the law or face social and economic barriers that make it impossible for them to exercise their rights (Bott, et.al, 2005).

Worsening the situation, the few women and girls who attempt to get legal help for the GBV committed against them are also discouraged due to many reasons including lack of effective legal standards and weaknesses on the part of enforcing organs in implementing the existing laws

(Original, et.al, 2004). That is because police officers and judges are often unable or unwilling to enforce laws related to GBV (Bott, et.al, 2005).

Some of the factors listed by UNIFEM (2010) that are influencing women and girls to not seek legal services include, fear of stigma and judgment they may face from service providers; the negative attitudes and poor quality of care given by service providers (in particular, those that are the first point of contact - health and police); the fear of retribution by an abusive partner (especially where police capacity is low and orders of protection are not closely monitored); and intimidation and hesitation to engage with a complex legal system and processes that are not gender-sensitive and may re-victimize them.

Police officers are not only one of the law enforcing organs but also the first to be contacted by victims. However, in many cases, they often fail to investigate cases or protect women and girls in danger of GBV (Ibid). Police officers' attitude towards GBV, victims of GBV or women in general can affect the success or failure in enforcing the law or protecting women and girls from GBV crimes (Yetnayet, 2003; Logan, et.al, 2006 and Compbell, 2005). Police officers' attitude affects how each case of GBV is reported and/or handled. That is why, attitude of police officers (the chiefs and the investigation officers) towards a certain case is very vital to the outcome of the case (Original, et.al, 2004).

In order to prevent GBV different measures should be taken as a remedy both before and after the occurrence of crimes. Therefore, since police are the primary body of legal constitution to protect and safe guard the community, it is first important to assess their attitude towards GBV to create an enabling environment for victims, to encourage them to report any violence they face and to identify the nature and prevalence of GBV. Accordingly, this thesis investigates the attitude of police officers towards GBV in Kirkos Sub-City.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

GBV is embedded in the context of cultural, socio-economic, and political power relations. Furthermore, in a patriarchic society, it is women and girls who are more vulnerable to GBV which is fostered by a culture of male dominance (Bizu, et.al, 2009). The low social status and quality of life of Ethiopian women can be evident in that 90 percent of Ethiopian women between the ages of 15 and 49 have suffered from GBV (UNFPA, 2005).

Ethiopia has one of the highest prevalence of GBV among countries included in the WHO Multi Country Study of Violence against Women (WHO, 2005). In support of this, a study conducted by Yetnayet, (2003) also revealed that the physical or/and sexual GBV among college female students in Mekelle town was found to be 62.1% in their lifetime. Another school-based study involving 1,401 randomly selected female high school students in central Ethiopia has also clearly indicated the seriousness of GBV in schools where 74% of the participant female students reported sexual harassment, 5% reported committed rape and 10% reported attempted rape (Ashenafi, 2004 in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

However, due to the existing socio-economic position of women in the country, and due to cultural and religious barriers, a large number of crimes of violence against women and girls still go unreported for different reasons. One of the reasons can be that sexual abuse and rape by an intimate partner is not considered as crime in most countries and women in many societies do not consider forced sex as rape if they are married to, or cohabiting with, the perpetrator (UN, 2010). In many societies, sexual violence against girls is also considered a "norm" which means that reporting is problematic for the victim and her family (UNFPA, 2005). For instance, a research by Yetnayet, (2003) showed that only15.9% of the rape victims in the study informed the condition to their family and only 4.7% reported to the police. This indicates that the magnitude of crimes of violence is much wider than official police records show.

Moreover, based on the findings of Original, et.al, (2004), most women and girls do not report violence committed against them because they do not believe that reporting or seeking assistance for such acts has any use since many reported cases are not prosecuted because of lack of evidence or effort to find evidence by the police officers and their attitude towards GBV crimes.

The above studies show that GBV is prevalent in Ethiopia and that its prevalence rate is higher than what police records show because many GBV crimes are not reported to police stations. Since police officers are usually the first to be contacted by victims in incidents of GBV, their attitude influences women's attempts to seek help through the justice system in the future; in tern affecting the prevalence rate of GBV(Logan, et.al, 2006). However, the above mentioned studies have not done more than mention the high prevalence of GBV and the fact that police officers have great role in decreasing GBV. Though it has been mentioned as an important factor

affecting GBV crime rate, police officers' attitude towards GBV has not been thoroughly studied by these researches.

Moreover, most of these studies also give over emphasis on the magnitude of the problem at the expense of some important factors such as what has been done to prevent these crimes in addition to legal provisions or if the attitude of the legal enforcement body available is good enough to mitigate the problem. Therefore, this study attempts to fill these gaps by studying the overall attitude of police officers in Kirkos Sub-city towards GBV, GBV victims and women in general in addition to studying the prevalence of GBV in the study area and the policing system applied which is not studied in Addis Ababa or the specific study area. Insufficiency of researches done in Ethiopia on Police officers attitude towards GBV and the above mentioned gaps have necessitated the researcher to conduct the study and investigating police officers attitude towards GBV through a gender lens is the main objective of this study.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to investigate police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are to:

1. identify the types, scope and criminality of gender-based violence in the study area;
2. explore the prevalence of gender-based violence in the study area;
3. examine the policing system preferred by police officers in the study area;
4. investigate the attitude of police officers towards women in general and gender-based violence in particular; and
5. explore gender difference in police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence.

1.4 Research Questions

Based on the objectives of the study, the research questions include:

1. To what extent is gender-based violence prevalent in the study area?

2. What types of gender-based violence are reported in Kirkos Sub-City Police Department?

3. Which type of policing system is preferred by police officers?

4. What is the attitude of police officers towards women in general and gender-based violence in particular?

5. Is there any gender difference in police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a health and human right issue that affects women and girls disproportionally throughout their life; which makes it a development issue too. That is why it is very important to find ways to prevent, control and decrease it as much as possible. Having laws against GBV and implementing those laws is one way of decreasing the occurrence of this crime.

As a primary body of the law enforcing organ, police officers have great roles in helping to reduce GBV and ensuring the safety of women and girls. Usually people will be accountable and responsible and perform any action as to what is expected or beyond when they have positive consideration and reflection towards it. The same is true for police officers that their attitude towards GBV against women and girls affects the action they take for such cases; which, in turn, affects the trust of women and girls on the legal system and the number of GBV reported. Thus, it makes researching about police officers' attitudes towards GBV very important.

The attitudes, comments, opinions or assumptions of criminal justice processing personnel can be either helpful or demoralizing to the victims of GBV. Since having positive attitude, clear understanding of what GBV is, and considering or giving equal consideration if not more emphasis to GBV is the stepping stone towards the prevention of GBV, it needs to be studied in order to be improved or reinforced.

Recently, trainings regarding the legal system, policies, and gender are being given to police officers; especially, in Addis Ababa but the effects of these trainings; particularly, regarding GBV are not studied. That is why it has become important to study the attitude of police officers in addition to the change in the prevalence and nature of GBV. Therefore, this study will contribute in providing information about the Sub-City's prevalence, nature, and police officers'

attitude towards women in general and GBV in particular. It will also pave the way for further research on the issue at hand.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the attitude of police officers towards gender-based violence in Kirkos Sub-City of Addis Ababa. Even though the study area is purposively selected and delimited to Kirkos Sub-City, it is possible to have an insight of other police officers outside the research area based on the results of the study. The victims are delimited to those who came to the Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department and those who are willing to participate in addition to those who are expected to have a direct relation to the issue under discussion, especially when it comes to the victims selected from Godanaw Rehabilitation Integrated Project (GRIP). Due to the unwillingness of victims to be interviewed, only few victims who came to report their cases are included. Besides, since the victims who are living in GRIP have not reported their cases, it was not possible to examine their experience with police officers in the process of reporting and other communications. GBV for this study is delimited to GBV committed against women and girls because it affects women and girls disproportionally; in which they are usually the victims. The other problem faced by the researcher is that there are no sufficient reports or documents in relation to police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence and policing systems in the Ethiopian context.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms Used in the Study

The terms listed here are all operationally defined in a context that they are used throughout the study.

- **Gender:** is a socially constructed identity of a woman and a man, learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. Gender is relational and refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them (Moser, 2007).

- **Gender-Based Violence (GBV):** the term gender-based violence refers to violence directed against a person because of his or her gender and expectations of his or her role in a society or culture (UNIFEM, 2010). However, in this study, GBV refers only to violence against women and girls.

- **Policing:** is a social service created by human beings, rendered by human beings to human beings in an environment shaped by human beings. Policing is a means to justice and to the security of individual liberty (Stevens, 2003:22).

- **Police Officers**: are constituted bodies of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder. Their powers include the legitimized use of force. The term is most commonly associated with police services of a state that are authorized to exercise the police power of that state within a defined legal or territorial area of responsibility (Police Studies Institute, 2009).

- **Police Department:** refers to the head police office of the Sub-City under study.

- **Police stations**: are offices found under the Sub-City's Police Department.

- **Attitude**: refers to a feeling, belief, or opinion of approval or disapproval towards something (Bonnie, 2001).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE AND DOCUMENT REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1.1 Definition of Terms and Concepts

Gender

Gender refers to a socially constructed identity of a woman and a man; the term is also used to distinguish a social role (gender role)/ or personal identity (gender identity) distinct from sex (Kiriti, 2011). Sex is a biological characteristics that define humans as female or male (Eitzen and Baca-Zinn, 2000). Unlike sex, *gender* is learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures (Moser, 2007).

Gender is recognized as a vitally important development issue; making the focus on gender equality, insuring participation at all levels on different roles and expectations of the genders within communities (Kiriti, 2011). What makes gender an important issue is that gender inequality is not only pervasive across all societies but also a prevalent form of social disadvantage within societies. It is constructed both through society's formal laws and statuses and through unwritten norms and shared understandings (Ibid). This inequality or the power relations between men and women, through time, resulted in the discrimination against women by men. Gender-based violence is one manifestation of this inequality.

Gender-based Violence

Gender-based violence (GBV) refers to violence directed against a person because of his or her gender and expectations of his or her role in a society or culture (UNIFEM, 2010). GBV in the world is a complex issue that is influenced by various facets of life, community, and society (USAID, 2006). This is because there is an immense disparity in culture, level of awareness, and understanding, among the community and society. In addition, the roles and responsibilities shared among men and women vary from society to society. Since, this theme is perceived from different point of views, the designation and explanation of violence also varies. However, there

is a common understanding that violence is an action which is exercised on others without their motivation.

GBV is a violation of universal human rights protected by international human rights conventions, including the right to security; the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the right to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; and the right to life (UNFPA, 2005).

GBV is any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females. It refers to any harm that has a negative impact on the physical or psychological health, development, and identity of the person; and that is the result of gendered power inequities that exploit distinctions, among males and among females (Benjamin, J. & Murchison L., 2003).

The above discussion has made comprehensible that the definition of the terms 'gender' and 'GBV' are not marked out for women or girls exclusively. However, when one draws closer consideration to violence in many cases, it is apparent and factual that the women are usually maltreated or offended (UNFPA, 2011). Research evidences reveal that GBV disproportionately affects women and girls; in which the female is usually the victim. Women and girls mainly represent the most disadvantaged social groups where there is inequality of power, and where they have no chance of expressing their thoughts and go up against the cruelty they are suffering. Due to these and further reasons, in many other researches, and in this study too, GBV focuses on women and girls who are highly suffering the viciousness of others; especially that of the men. In support of this, the (UNFPA, 1998: 5) states that:

> *The fundamental distinguishing feature of gender-based violence is that it emanates from the use of force or coercion, physical or psychological that is socially tolerated and is carried out predominantly against women and girls at every stage of their life cycle. This is not to discount violence that is directed at boys and men but to underscore the singular difference: gender-based violence is essentially socially sanctioned and, by its nature, deep-rooted and pervasive in the lives of girls and women. It is a form of violence to which girls and women are subjected primarily, because of their female gender identity. As females, they face systematic discrimination from an entrenched and rationalized system of gender-based power relations, which then perpetuates an almost universal pattern of subordination that leaves girls and women highly vulnerable to acts of physical, sexual, or psychological harm from male members of their families and communities, including husbands, lovers, brothers, fathers, teachers, and employers.*

Generally, the definition and explanation of GBV includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual, and psychological harm including intimidation, suffering, coercion, and/or deprivation of liberty within the family or within the general community and also violence, which is perpetrated or condoned by the State (UNFPA, 1998).

Types of GBV

The nature and extent of specific types of GBV vary across cultures, countries, and regions. This is because an action, which is considered as violence, may not be violence for the others at all. In some cases, the victims may take such actions as acceptable norms of the society. Hence, they are often tolerated or not even recognized. This is mainly due to the level of education and awareness of that region or country in general.

The degree and nature of violence can also vary in age. WHO further strengthened that GBV could take different forms for different age groups (IASC, 2005). Actions that are believed as violence for one age group, or especially for those who are in the age ranges of children, may not totally be violence for those who are in the middle age or above.

GBV can also differ in time. As time passes, depending on development of a country there are changes in values and practices that shape and alter social expectations and views. Due to social, economic, and political changes that come with time, a country reassesses and makes amendment on its laws. In this case, there is a chance to incorporate new actions or activities that were not previously considered as violence or to disregard the ones already existed from its law.

However, many social and educational researchers have pointed out the different types of GBV in a more inclusive and general terms which could be acceptable in different community, society and situations. Below are the different types of GBV.

GBV according to UNFPA (2005) falls into three categories;

1. *Emotional Abuse: This includes verbal abuse such as hurtful words, teasing, making reference to parts of a woman's body in derogatory terms, or using sexually explicit language.*

2. *Physical abuse: This includes touching without permission, pushing, pulling, slapping, pinching, kicking, beating, and scathing with an injurious object or liquid also fall under this category.*

3. *Sexual abuse: This occurs when a man insists on a sexual relationship without the consent of the woman. He may force himself on her, or may harass or coerce her. Sexual violence might include but not limited to rape, marital rape, and sexual harassment.*

In line with this, the rights group Amnesty International in Plus News (2007:1) has identified three distinct types of GBV from different perspectives. These are;

1. *Family violence: violence committed within a woman's or girl's family. This type of GBV might include marital rape, sexual abuse from a husband, brother, or uncle and the abuse of children.*

2. *Community Violence: This is a rape by a person unknown or unrelated to a woman. Human trafficking and forced prostitution also fall into this category.*

3. *State violence: violence committed or condone by individuals employed by the state like prison guards, soldiers, or border officials.*

Life cycle or phases of GBV

Though the following are listed as phases or lifecycles of GBV, they can also be seen as types because they clearly distinguish GBV based on the age range in which violence could occur (Heise, et.al, 1994 in Benjamin, J. & Murchison L., 2003:5).

1. *Prenatal: in some countries like China, India and Republic of Korea parents abort their child on the basis that it is a girl. This sex selective abortion can be taken as double violence where both the mother and the fetus are violated because of their gender. It is at this time that the mother is roughly treated because of the sex of the conceived fetus, which exposes her to emotional and physical pain. It is also violating the right of the fetus to survive by killing it before it is born.*

2. *Infancy: this violence, which continues from female infanticide occurs in a way which causes emotional and physical abuse; differential access to food and medical care for girl infants. In a society where there is cultural preference for boys, girls start to be violated even at infant stage by being deprived of their basic rights and needs when compared to the boys.*

3. *Childhood: although the nature and degree of the violence vary from society to society, females are highly violated at this age too. These children are exposed to different devastating situations like child marriage; genital mutilation; child prostitution, sexual abuse by family members and strangers. There is also differential access to food, medical care, and education.*

4. *Adolescence: Among the greatest threats to adolescent development are dating and courtship violence, economically-coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution; trafficking in women. It also includes all the other threats, which could happen to a woman of any age like female genital mutilation/cutting, child marriage, and premature parenthood.*

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5. ***Reproductive:*** *Abuse of women by intimate male partners, marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; Partner homicide; psychological abuse; sexual abuse in the workplace; sexual harassment; rape, abuse of women with disabilities.*

6. ***Old Age****: Abuse of widows or elder abuse violence may be physical, sexual, psychological, economical, or socio cultural.*

Although different authors and writers gave distinction for different types of GBV, one can see that there is a great interrelationship among these types of GBV. In detail, even though these are not the only explicitly exercised violence, sexual coercion, childhood sexual abuse, rape, trafficking, rape in conflict situations, acid throwing, female genital mutilation, honor killings, and dowry deaths are among the widely observed violence types (WHO TEACH-VIP, 2005).

Policing

"Policing is a social service created by human beings, rendered by human beings to human beings in an environment shaped by human beings. Policing is a means to justice and to the security of individual liberty" (Stevens, 2003:22).

Policing is one of those few lines of work, like teaching and medicine, which has intimate connections with social life, social progress, and social change. It is a type of work which has a direct connection with individuals or generally with the society's life and day to day activities. It is with this intention that many police stations are found closely where majority of the society live in; because these stations serve as a handy point of contact for citizens and help police officers respond faster to emergency calls.

Police Officers are constituted bodies of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder. Their powers include the legitimized use of force. The term is most commonly associated with police services of a state that are authorized to exercise the police power of that state within a defined legal or territorial area of responsibility (Public Safety and Policy ,2009).

As a profession there are various activities which police officers are expected to perform. According to **Goldstein (1977),** some of the major functions are listed as follows;

- *To prevent and control conduct widely recognized as threatening to life and property*

- *To aid individuals who are in danger of physical harm, such as the victims of violent attack*

- *To facilitate the movement of people and vehicles*

- *To assist those who cannot care for themselves, the intoxicated, the addicted, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, the old, and the young*

- *To resolve conflict, whether it be between individuals, groups and individuals, or individuals and their governments*

- *To identify problems that have the potential for becoming more serious problems*

- *To create and maintain a feeling of security in communities*

From this, it can be said that police officers serve the society in preventing and stopping crimes from happening and bringing convicts to justice and generally promoting security to nations.

Policing involves with regulating, sustaining and controlling the affairs of a community, especially with respect to maintenance of order, law, health, morals, safety, and other matters affecting the public welfare. However the way these policing activities carried out varies from place to place and time to time. As can be revealed from works of various writers, some divide policing into two and others in to three, or more.

In relation to this, Antoinette (2008) emphasized on two types of policing. The first one is traditional policing in which the officer has little interaction with the citizens within a community and, there is nothing in place to try to prevent crime from occurring, rather the police officer would respond when a call came in that a crime occurred. The second type of policing is called community oriented policing where the officers will take a more community involvement and contribute a lot in preventing crimes and contributing their best in revealing various information.

From the above, it can be seen that there is a clear distinction among traditional policing and community-oriented policing styles or types. They follow different ways to counteract crime. In the traditional policing style, there is no involvement of the community other than reporting incidences to police officers after occurrence of crimes and the officers on the other hand are not close to the community and have no role in preventing crimes before happening. Whereas on the latter case, the community and the police work in close collaboration in a way the community

develops strong trust on them. Then when something bad happens the whole community will pull together to stop the crimes from happening or continuing.

Due to the various life styles and increasing social changes affecting the society, it is necessary to develop various alternative resources and new strategies. Nowadays, the traditional policing style is being replaced by the community based policing to go in line with the increasing social changes, emerging technology and type of crimes and violence exercised. Every time and every where police have the obligations to make the community live in safety. The increase of crime number needs more active police roles. Therefore, in certain cases, police can use the more effective type of policing. All in all, the most commonly known and widely exercised types of policing, the traditional and community policing, are discussed below.

A. Traditional Policing

It is a type of policing which dictates laws to the public as opposed to working with the community. It emphasizes rapid response times to crime as the way to measure police success (Sparrow, 1988). The focus on identifying, apprehending and prosecuting criminals seems logical enough. It measures its successes chiefly through response times, the number of calls handled, and detection rates for serious crime (Ibid). Its focus, which is almost exclusively on incidents and crime events, kept the objectives of police activity relatively clear (Nicholl, 1999). It is a reactive type of policing which gives response to offenses after occurrence followed by investigation. It is also a one way of response to crime which doesn't encompass allowing the active participation of the community. As a result, it contributed to disaffection and lack of trust, especially between the police and the community they serve.

In addition, traditional policing involves itself, primarily, with calls for service on an incident driven basis as they occurred and dealing with them as needed (Colvin and Goh, 2006). Since it gives emphasis on taking actions after the incidence of crime, the potential to stop or at least to prevent crime in advance is very minimal. Besides the fact that crime types, complexity and frequencies are increasing and changing from time to time, it is found demanding and crucial that a strategy that goes in line with the ever changing world should be designed and a paradigm shift in policing philosophy which gave rise to the development of community policing (Bass, 2000).

B. Community Policing

It is a type of policing which brings police and citizens together to prevent crime and solve problems, emphasizing the prevention of crime rather than responding to crime after it happens (Tillman, 2000). Though there is no significant difference on the core idea of community policing, it is defined in diverse ways. According to Skogan, 1990 and Souryal, 1995 as cited in Cheurprakobkit S. (2002) some believe community policing reflects a facilitating role of police where citizens are encouraged to help themselves. Others consider the change in police structure, management, and operations such as decentralization of authority, citizen empowerment, and quality control of police-citizen contacts, and creative problem-solving strategies as parts of community-oriented policing (Cordner, 1998; Goldstein, 1996; Rosenbaum, 1988; Zhao, et.al, 1994) in Cheurprakobkit S. (2002). However, some scholars argue that community policing is not completely a new philosophy as a whole. It expands the focus of traditional policing and the role of police officers to be proactive and using proactive strategies to prevent and address problems of crime (Stewart, 2007).

In community policing the police establish a more close attachment with the community they live in, to encourage the community to fully participate, feel responsible and accountable in protecting themselves, their family and the community at large (Tillman, 2000). It is also stated that traditionally, police organizations have responded to crime after it occurs and, therefore, are structured to support routine patrol, rapid response to calls for service, arrests, and follow-up investigation (Friedmann, 1992). Community policing calls for a more strategic and thoughtful incorporation of these aspects of police business into an overall broader police mission focused on the proactive prevention of crime and disorder (Matthew, 2008). In a society where there is strong bond and cooperation between the police and the society, the burden of the police will reduce and become efficient in controlling situations, arresting criminals, ensuring the safety of both the law enforcement officer and the public in general.

The central premise of community policing according to Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, 2008: 15) is that the level of community participation in enhancing safety and social order and in solving community related crime should be raised since the police cannot carry out this task on their own. In order to achieve such partnerships, the

police must be better integrated into the community and strengthen their legitimacy through policing by consent and improving their services to the public. Therefore, they should:

- o *be visible and accessible to the public;*

- o *know, and be known by, the public;*

- o *respond to the communities' needs;*

- o *listen to the communities' concerns;*

- o *engage and mobilize the communities; and*

- o *be accountable for their activities and the outcome of these activities.*

Generally the modification or change of traditional policing to community policing can be considered as, a modification of the role of police officers from a control and arresting function to a service oriented of preventing role. Table 1 shows a comparison of the traditional policing and community policing on different basis in a question and answer form.

Attitude towards Women

Attitude refers to a feeling, belief, or opinion of approval or disapproval towards something (Bonnie, 2001). One way in which one can determine attitude of a person towards women is through the sexism behaviors they exhibit. According to the definition of the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2009), 'sexism' is discrimination based on gender, especially discrimination against women or attitudes, conditions, or behaviors that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender.

Hostile sexism is a part of a model of sexism developed by Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2000, as cited in Smith, & Craig-Henderson, (2010). Hostile sexism is a negative emotion directed specifically towards women, such as anger, resentment, etc. Hostile sexism has three sources: dominant paternalism, or a need to control women; competitive gender differentiation, which is an emphasis on the differences between women and men and a devaluation of women; and hostile heterosexuality is viewing sex as a resource and women as controlling sex for their own purposes. Hostile sexism is the type that results in men believing that women are inferior. Men think as if a woman's place is in the kitchen, and also women should be protected by men (Everything, 2001).

The way, in which men and women were socialized to see themselves and others, strongly influences their behavior (Prekel, 2001). In a culture where it is, or was until recently, "OK" to discriminate against people because they are different (in terms of gender, race, culture, religion, lifestyle, political conviction or whatever), the abuse of power or humiliation will not be unusual.

Usually, overt sexism is defined as "unequal and harmful treatment of women that is readily apparent, visible, and observable, and can be easily documented". Hostile sexism involves having negative feelings toward women who do not follow traditional societal norms. Hostile sexism occurs when women who have traditional masculine traits or feminist beliefs are held in contempt, (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2000, in Smith, & Craig-Henderson, 2010).

To balance the picture, however, it is important to note the prevalence of hostile sexism. In nearly all cultures and time periods for which information is available, women have been restricted to social roles with low status than those of men. In various societies, there is evidence that women face discrimination in gaining employment (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Glick, 1991 in Smith, & Craig-Henderson, 2010), and sexual harassment on the job (Gutek, 1985) and, as to Glick P. and Fiske S. (1996) cited in Smith, & Craig-Henderson, (2010), are perceived less favorably than men when enacting leadership roles in a masculine manner or domain.

As can be inferred from the overall discussion of the definition of terms and concepts, GBV is mainly noticeable and is exercised on women and girls by men. As the discrimination of women and the value given to them is one ground for the violence they are suffering, it has also made them not to entertain the rights they have as a human. In relation to this, the study attempts to investigate the prevalence of GBV, policing system preference and attitude of police officers towards women, GBV victims and GBV; since police officers are one of the first agents to be conducted by victims.

2.1.2 Theoretical Perspectives

Even though it is accustomed to use theories as a theoretical frame work; in this study it was changed to theoretical perspectives because three theories were used to explain the findings of the study than one theory explaining the whole finding as a frame work.

Gender is a socially constructed means by which society and culture perpetuate differential experiences for men and women (Kiriti, 2011). Different researches show that GBV manifests itself primarily as violence against women and girls and in a variety of forms. Scholars and feminist activists have discussed violence against women as a form of operation that occurs at structural, institutional and individual levels (Pincus, 2000 and Young, 2000). Feminist theoretical perspectives help analyze GBV against women and girls with regard to why and how men use violence and why and how there is so little state action to discourage the violence. Therefore, feminist theoretical perspectives related to the issue at hand are briefly discussed below.

Liberal Feminist Perspective

Liberal feminists argue that all people are created equal; women are essentially the same as men (VanderVeen, 2006). Liberal feminists have faith in rationality and scientific explanation of events. They also explain GBV against women and girls as resulting because of a disrupted family background and childhood experience which results in impaired masculinity (Walby, 1990). They further argue that the conventional analysis towards male violence against women and girls is the act of a few psychologically deranged men. Thus, the liberal feminists' explanation of violence focuses more on psychological processes rather than social context (Ibid). They suggest that, based upon the principles of equality of opportunity and freedom, the state should bring about women's liberation through legislative measures and equality through law (VanderVeen, 2006). Their solution to GBV against women and girls is also making states accountable for lack of enforcement as much as for making appropriate international and national laws to help women and girls (Klein and Richard, 2005). However, the state is inefficient and faces technical difficulties in bringing violent men to court due to the nature of the offences (Walby, 1990).

The Radical Feminist Perspective

Radical Feminists say that gender is the fundamental form of difference, and that patriarchy, women's oppression and domination by men, is the fundamental oppression and at the root of other social problems. Patriarchy pervades public world of formal economic production processes but also private worlds of family, marriage, sexuality and biological reproduction

(VanderVeen, 2006). Radical feminists are the first to introduce the following feminist issues: reproductive and contraceptive rights, abortion, reproductive techniques, sexuality expressions and experience, sexual and physical violence against women, (rape, sexual harassment, incest, pornography and domestic violence) (Ibid). They further argue that both violence and sexuality are considered to be socially shaped and male violence is considered to have both gendered and social characters (Walby, 1990). Radical feminists explain that through the systematic privileging of men and the masculine and subordinating women and the feminine, interlocking system of the society supports oppression and reinforces the subjugation of women and the various forms of violence perpetuated against them (Norsworthy, 2002). They further describe the patriarchal structure upon which societies are built. Women occupy a subordinate status and are therefore, at a risk for various focuses of abuse, assault and exploitation (Kabilsing, 1992; Pongsapich, 1997). GBV expresses itself, and is further perpetuated, in a variety of ways and through the various channels in patriarchal societies Rumble and Keesbury, (2008) in Opolot S. (2011). It happens within multiple layers of power, space and language; encompassing the whole of society, from the most 'public' of spheres to the most 'private'. Therefore, elements of GBV against women and girls should be deconstructed at the institutional and individual level to bring social change because 'the personal is political and also the political is personal' (VanderVeen, 2006).

The Intersectionality/ Multicultural Feminist Perspective

The intersectionality/ multicultural feminist perspective suggest that GBV against women and girls does not happen only because of their gender but because of the diverse positions they have in the society they live in (Frye, 2001). Other social identities and social locations such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, religious affiliation and age may interact with gender to increase or decrease the power of the perpetrator, the impact of the violence, and the vulnerability of the targeted person (Ibid). Thus, in order to deal with GBV against women and girls, not only should the society consider all aspects of the women and girls' life (private and public), but also the other aspects of their life.

Generally, though the liberal feminists have their contribution in making efforts to bring women's and girls' liberation and recognition of their human rights by making states accountable for lack of enforcement in addition to making appropriate laws to help women and girls; their

effort in the public aspect of GBV is not enough to solve the problem which happens in both private and public spheres. The radical feminists, unlike the liberal feminists, have recognized the private and public oppressions of women, by making the personal political and vice-versa to deconstruct GBV at the institutional and individual level in bringing social change. However, in bringing this social change, the radical feminists have not considered other dimensions of women's and girls' oppression such as age, economic status, ethnicity and the likes, that affect women's and girls' status in the society and increase their vulnerability to GBV, which are addressed by intersectionality/multicultural feminists. Therefore, the strengths of all the three theoretical perspectives were used in this study

2.2 Policies and Legal Frameworks

2.2.1 International Instruments to Eliminate Violence against Women

GBV violates several human rights like the right to life, liberty and security of a person; equal protection under the law; not to be subjected to torture or other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; equality; be free from all forms of discrimination and just; and favorable conditions of work. That is why it is currently recognized as a global human rights problem that requires a comprehensive and coordinated response from civil society, the state and international community (Pan American Health Organization [PAHO], 2010).

According to PAHO (2010), there are five well known international instruments directly addressing the issue of GBV against women and girls.

i. World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna Declaration and Platform for Action, 1993)

In particular, the World Conference on Human Rights gives emphasis on the importance of working towards the elimination of violence against women and girls in public and private life, particularly, the elimination of all forms of sexual harassment, exploitation and trafficking in women, the elimination of gender bias in the administration of justice and the eradication of any conflicts which may arise between the rights of women and the harmful effects of certain traditional or customary practices, cultural prejudices and religious extremism (UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights [UNHCR], 1993). The World Conference on Human

Rights calls upon the General Assembly to adopt the draft declaration on GBV against women and urges states to combat GBV against women in accordance with its provisions. Violations of the human rights of women and girls in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law. All violations of this kind, including particularly murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy, require a particularly effective response (Ibid).

ii. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, (1993)

As UNHCR, (1994) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) is one of the two declarations which explicitly guarantee women's right to live violence-free lives. This declaration came about considering the following among others, that GBV against women and girls is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which has led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that GBV is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men, that some groups of women, such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, migrant women, women living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women and women in situations of armed conflict, are especially vulnerable to violence, and that GBV against women and girls in the family and society was pervasive and cut across lines of income, class and culture had to be matched by urgent and effective steps to eliminate its incidence.

iii. Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Convention of Belem do Para), (1994)

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights [IACHR], 1994 shows that this convention is the other convention which is clearly developed to assure that women and girls should live free of violence. It was in 1994 that the heads of state of the countries of the Americas region declared that GBV against women constitutes a violation of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, that violence against women pervades every sector of society regardless of class, race or ethnic group, income, culture, level of education, age or religion, that the elimination of violence

against women is essential for their individual and social development and their full and equal participation in all walks of life.

iv. International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo Program of Action), (1994)

UN Department of Public Information [UNDPI], (1995) states that since it is both the women and men which make up the world population, it is difficult to expect global development irrespective of common opportunity and contributions from both bodies. The impact of GBV against women and girls on population and Development is clearly recognized by the Cairo Program of Action under one of its principles; advancing gender equality and equity and the empowerment of women, the elimination of all kinds of violence against women and ensuring women's ability to control their own fertility are cornerstones of population and development-related programs.

v. Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995)

In the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, it is stated that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace and that violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms (UN, 1995). Taking integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women; study the causes and consequences of violence against women and the effectiveness of preventive measures; and Eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking are subsequent strategies forwarded on the conference in order to eliminate violence against women (Ibid).

International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women

As UN Development Program [UNDP], (2002) puts it, the fact that many countries began to enter and sign conventions on the above five international instruments, laid the foundation for their dedication of a date for the elimination of violence against women and girls after their declaration. During the 33rd UN plenary meeting on 17, December 1999, it was decided to designate 25[th,] November as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against

Women and to invite appropriate governments, relevant agencies, bodies, funds and programs of the United Nations system, and other international organizations and non-governmental organizations, to organize activities designed to raise public awareness on the problem of violence against women on that day.

2.2.2 Regional Legal Framework on GBV

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the African Women's Prop]\

tocol) adopted in 2003, addresses the concerns of African Women in a more specific manner (ADF VI, 2008). It is an important legal document that clearly stipulates the notion of violence against women in a binding document. The protocol outlined state parties to adopt and implement appropriate measures to ensure the protection of every woman's right of respect, dignity and protection from all forms of violence. It further included measures to be taken by member states to enact and enforce laws, identify the causes and consequences of violence, punish the perpetrators of violence against women, and establish mechanisms and accessible services for effective information, rehabilitation and reparation for victims of violence against women (Melak, 2012).

The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA), adopted in 2004, requires States to respect existing normative standards on women's human rights. Through the SDGEA, governments have agreed to among others "expand and promote the gender parity principle, ensure the active promotion and protection of all human rights for women and girls, undertake to sign and ratify the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa by the end of 2004. The declaration also reaffirms the commitment by Heads of States to a number of treaties such as CEDAW, the BPFA and other International instruments.

2.2.3 National Legal and Policy Framework on GBV

The 1995 FDRE constitution in Article 35 provides that women are entitled to equal rights with men. The provision recognizes the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination as a ground for contemporary inequality between men and women in political, social and economic life

(FDRE, 2006:3). *Like many African countries, the majority of women in Ethiopia hold low status in the society; they have been denied equal access to education, training and gainful employment opportunities and their involvement in policy formulation and decision-making processes has been minimal* (Ibid).

Art. 35(4) of the Constitution also stipulated that the state shall enforce the rights of women to eliminate harmful laws, customs and practices that cause bodily and mental harm. Relevant to this topic, Article 9(4) stipulated that; "all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land." The provision allowed courts to apply international treaties ratified by the country (Melak, 2012).

The 2005 Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic republic of Ethiopia incorporated provisions for violence against women and harmful traditional practices in Art. 564. Art. 555 and 556 incorporated, grave and common willful injuries respectively which have lots to do with the physical violence that women/girls suffer from. In addition, art 556 covers in sub article (a) for physical violence too. Furthermore, Art. 557 and 558 address different types of violence. More importantly art.560 stipulates the notion assault. Art.564 of the code affirms that the above articles (555-560) to be applicable to a married couples too i.e. a violence committed by the husband against his wife (Ibid).

The civil servant proclamation No.515/2007 addresses some forms of GBV mainly those occurred at work places. To such end, Art. 68(13) explicitly integrate sexual violence as one of the offenses that entails rigorous penalties. Beside such explicit recognition, the proclamation further stipulates initiating physical violence and commit an immoral act at work place in Art.68(5) and (8) respectively. Both provisions enable to cover the physical and psychological violence against women. Art. 70 of the proclamation indicated some of the measure against the offenses that includes suspension of the worker from his post. Sub art. C of the same article insist on, one of the circumstances led to such suspension is when the alleged offence is so graves to demoralize others and negatively affect the public trust of the civil servants. The proclamation entails almost all violence as serious breaches of disciplinary conduct (FDRE, 2006).

Beyond the criminal code the Ministry of Education, based on the power vested to it by proclamation 650/2001, has passed a Directive to protect students from sexual harassment in

Educational institutions, in November 2010. This directive can be taken as a greatest leap forward in Ethiopian history of laws and proclamations on women/girls because it clearly stipulates definition of what constitute sexual harassment and the penalties and procedures to be followed (Melak, 2012).

The 1991 National Policy on Ethiopian Women acknowledged the fact that the multifaceted problems of women cannot be solved by women alone rather through the combined efforts of women, society and the government. Thus, the policy among others has the objective of ensuring the democratic and human rights of women, and modifying or abolishing existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which aggravates discrimination against women.

In addition to the guarantee of human and democratic rights, a step by step elimination of prejudices and the legal protection of women have also been mentioned as a strategy to implement the policy (FDRE, 2006).

2.3 Review of Related Empirical Studies

2.3.1 Prevalence of GBV

GBV is a problem of great magnitude around the world. It is a persistent and universal problem occurring in every culture and social group. In the last 20 years, GBV has been increasingly recognized as a serious global health, human rights and development issue (UNFPA, 2005). While prevalence of GBV ranges from location to location, it is clear that it affects women worldwide.

Even if the prevalence of GBV in developed countries is relatively less, the violence still exists. When we see, for example, the prevalence of GBV in the United States, 17 percent of women report rape or attempted rape and more than one-fifth of women report intimate partner violence, stalking, or both (Medical News, 2011).

GBV, especially sexual abuse and rape by an intimate partner, is not considered as crime in most countries and women in many societies do not consider forced sex as rape if they are married to, or cohabiting with, the perpetrator (UN, 2010). However, one of the most common forms of sexual violence in the world is intimate partner sexual violence (Krug, et.al, 2002).

GBV affects women throughout their life cycle. Therefore, girls need to be better protected from the violence they face in schools as well as the sexual, physical and emotional abuse in their homes and communities. The lack of safety and support in communities, within families, in schools and by governments for girls suffering violations of their rights to protection increases their vulnerability to violence (UNICEF, 2006). For instance, 9.1% committed rape and attempted rape were reported by female students in the United States (Gross, et.al, 2006 in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

In terms of prevalence of GBV, mainly those women who are living in developing countries are the ones enduring the situation because people, especially women, are not sentient of their rights and the legislation of these countries is not as such well-built in implementing the laws which are passed by official bodies. Widespread GBV is exacerbated by a weak judicial system and culture of tolerance for these crimes (OECD, 2010).

Various accounts and researches carried on the issue under discussion revealed that the incidence of GBV is found to be very high in Africa (Bureau of African Affairs, 2011).

As stated in ACORD (2010), various researchers by Population Council show that Zambia, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia are reported as countries where there is high prevalence of GBV and forced sex. For instance, almost half (47%) of all Zambian women have experienced physical violence since age 15; one in five (20%) Zambian women have experienced sexual violence in their lifetime and almost half (47%) of the girls who experienced GBV did not seek help – and of these, six percent (6%) never told anyone about it (USAID, 2010). By some estimates, a woman in South Africa is raped every 26 seconds and one in every three school girls has experienced sexual harassment at school, of whom only one in three (36%) said they reported the episode to someone (Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). In Kenya, 43% of 15-49 year old women reported having experienced some form of GBV in their lifetime, (Kenya DHS, 2004). In rural, Tanzania 47% of ever-partnered women have ever experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, while 31% have ever experienced sexual violence (WHO, 2005).

Ethiopia has one of the highest prevalence of gender-based violence among countries included in the WHO Multi Country Study of Violence against Women (WHO, 2005). Results from

numerous community-based studies indicate that 50% to 60% of Ethiopian women experience GBV in their lifetime (Yigzaw, et.al, 2004 in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

The social status and quality of life of Ethiopian women, in comparative global perspective, can be gauged from a recent report by UNFPA (2005). In the report, it is disclosed that 90 percent of Ethiopian women between the ages of 15 and 49 have suffered from GBV. The world-wide figure of domestic violence is on average about 33 percent. Domestic violence kills as many women and girls as those who die of cancer. In addition, five percent of women are infected with HIV/AIDS, as compared to 3.8 percent in the male population (Meaza and Zenebeworke, 2005).

Women were abducted and forced into marriage-a custom, prohibited by law but not enforced until recently, that vividly illustrates the extent of male dominance in Ethiopian tradition (Ibid). Rape is common, and too often, its threat drives parents to keep their girls home, out of harm's way, but also out of school. Domestic violence is so accepted that 81 percent of women interviewed believed there are justifiable reasons for a husband to beat his wife (Ibid).

In rural Ethiopia, 49% of ever-partnered women have ever experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, rising to 59% ever experiencing sexual violence (WHO, 2005).

A school-based study involving 1,401 randomly selected female high school students in central Ethiopia clearly indicated the seriousness of GBV in schools. Sexual harassment was reported by 74% of the participating female students (Ashenafi, 2004 in Bizu, et.al, 2009). It was found out in the study that, 5% committed rape and 10%, attempted rape were reported by female students and approximately 85% of the reported rape victims were under 18 years of age (Ibid).

The prevalence of GBV (physical or/and sexual) among college female students in Mekelle town was found to be 62.1% in lifetime and 40.2% in the current academic year. The prevalence of any form of sexual violence was reported to be 45.4% in lifetime and 28.1% in the current academic year while that of any form of physical violence was 46.3% in lifetime and 26.4% in the current academic year (Yetnayet, 2003).

GBV against girls is an under-reported crime for a complex set of social and cultural reasons. In many societies, sexual violence against girls is a "norm" which means that reporting is problematic for the victim and her family and cases go unreported. (UNFPA, 2005)

Women often face social, economic or procedural barriers to accessing the justice system. Much legislation has been implemented poorly if at all. Governments often fail to budget resources for implementing new legislation. Police often fail to investigate cases or protect women in danger, and the judiciary is often unable or unwilling to enforce the laws. Widespread failures to enforce existing laws have been documented by Human Rights Watch (1997- 2003) in many countries. The governments' failure to allocate sufficient resources to police, courts and support services had also undermined the effectiveness of the act (Parenzee, 2001 in Bott, et.al, 2005:20)

Ethiopian researchers have found that gender-based violence is fostered by a culture of male dominance (Berhane, 2004 in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

In the study of Save the Children Sweden by Grainne and Jolanda (2006), it is further strengthened that there is a range of perception and definition among young men of what qualifies as violence against women and many young men (Sub Saharan African men) may view violence against women as a socially sanctioned extension of male authority to the private. This internalization of violence against women as a norm, also occurs among young women, who sometimes interpret violence as an indicator of that a man is emotionally invested in a relationship. For instance, sexual abuse and rape by an intimate partner is not considered as crime in most countries and women in many societies do not consider forced sex as rape if they are married to, or cohabiting with, the perpetrator (UN, 2010).

According to a research by Yetnayet (2003: 32-33), only15.9% of the rape victims in the study informed the condition to their family and only 4.7% reported to police. Different reasons were listed for not telling about the condition to anybody such as feeling of shame/guilty (36.4%), fear of reaction from family (20.6%), not knowing what to do all about (19.6%), fear of reaction from the community (16.8%) and fear of the perpetrator(s) in 9.3% of the rape cases.

Though economic independence does not shield women from violence, access to economic resource can enhance women's capacity to make the right choices, including escaping violent situations, using mechanisms for protection and remedy (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

Despite the cultural, economic and poor implementation of laws, and the less awareness of the society on violence itself and in reporting cases, high number of violence are being exercised frequently especially on girls.

2.3.2 Policing

The "traditional policing" practice have failed to curb the rising tide of criminality, and thus, increased fear of crime and insecurity, with members of the police being criticized for corruption, complicity with criminals, impartiality and ineffectiveness (Bass, 2000). That is why traditional policing ideas, institutions and procedures started to be increasingly challenged.

The way traditional policing was practiced to address crime problems, "the police force might capture many criminals, but it does so, by using brutal methods" after the crime has already happened (Sparrow, 1988). However, there's a general consensus among Bahir Dar police officers that these strategies and practices had neither prevented crime nor improved public perceptions of security (Yeshiwas, 2010).

On the other hand, community policing practice has emphasized reliance on officers initiated efforts to reduce crime, public disorder and solve community problems. The role of community policing officers includes: work with the community and assist them in identifying and solving crime problems (as a facilitator), identify and solve community problems (as an expert), provide training for consultative councils (as an educator), guide and assist the community in problem solving efforts (as a catalyst of problem solving), and organize different community groups (as an organizer). Furthermore, community policing provides access to decision making in local policing (directly or indirectly) to increase community members participation in their own neighborhood security and order (OSCE, 2008). Therefore, it can be argued that when community policing is successfully executed, it can both develop security and secure development.

Crime prevention is central to the concept and the goal of community policing and has a long term benefit (Matthew, 2008). The ultimate goal of the police is not simply to enforce the law, but to deal with problem effectively, ideally, by preventing them from occurring in the first place (Ibid).

According to Yeshiwas (2010), there are appreciable evidences of good practice in policing in Bahir Dar after the application of community policing; which produced positive police-community relations in terms of a positive attitude each hold for the other and support and coordination among the parties.

In evidence, large percentage of Bahir Dar community members agreed or strongly agreed that police officers treat community members with respect and that the police are, recently, doing an excellent or a very good job. 82 percent of the police officers also have either strongly agreed or agreed that the willingness of community members to work with the police has increased (Ibid).

OSCE, (2008) argues that community policing works best when police officers know the residents and can deliver 'personalized' service as opposed to 'Stanger' policing; this happens when the police officers reside close to the community, something done in community policing.

Many cases of domestic violence and neighborhood conflict can be brought to the attention of community officers depending on the location of incidents and crime cases related to violence against women. GBV crimes which were brought directly to the police department can also be seen by the community police officers if a Police Department is applying community policing which can further help prevent these crimes.

The practice of community policing has resulted pertaining out comes by allowing the police and the community together to address local security problems through locally identified solutions. However, improving police-community relations is not the exclusive business of the community policing subunit but the business of the entire police department (Stewart, 2007).

2.3.3 The Attitude of Police Officers towards Women

Challenges for women begin in childhood. Young girls are brought up to believe that they are only suited to stay at home and serve and care for their family. This perception which has an extended root in every person's mind even in the mind of the women themselves has become difficult to defeat or change the view even in decades. Currently where the world is talking of globalization the probability of observing women in carriers which are believed as 'outfit for men' is very less. And when women are found in such cases the acceptance of the society and even their male work mates as normal and encouraging change is not experienced.

Despite widespread changes in the occupational structure over the past decade, occupational segregation remains stubbornly intact, forming a potential contributory factor towards gender inequality in the workplace (Williams and Villemez, 1993).

However, this inequality between men and women does not only take place in the work place but it takes very many different forms. Indeed, gender inequality is not one homogeneous phenomenon, but a collection of disparate and interlinked problems (Kirti, 2011).

Ethiopian researchers have found that GBV is fostered by a culture of male dominance (Berhane, 2004, in Bizu et.al, 2009). These attitudes, found among both men and women, inculcate the acceptance of men's sexually and physically abusing women. Physical punishment of women is known to begin in childhood. Notably, investigators have reported that fathers, brothers, and other male relatives believe it is their responsibility to beat girls and young women as a way to shape their behavior (Berhane, 2004; Gossaye, et.al, 2003, in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

According to Yetnayet (2003), men are the perpetrators in most GBV crimes since the women are the subordinated group. This attitude towards women; that they are subordinate and that it is "normal" to abuse them in different ways, is seen in different members of the society including, teachers, priest, and male police officers.

2.3.4 Police Attitude towards GBV

Several studies suggest that police officers have complex attitudes about GBV and that situational factors may influence officers' response to a GBV situation (Rigakos, 1997; Robinson & Chandek, 2000; Sinden & Stephens, 1999 in Logan, et.al, 2006).

For example, officers report that decisions about how to handle GBV cases rely on signs of injury, witnessing an act of violence, having previous reports from the household, involvement of substances, and characteristics of the neighborhood from which the call was made (Belknap, 1995; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003, in Logan, et.al, 2006). From the above, it can be seen that the probability of taking GBV as a crime without associating it to physical signs or other indications which can easily be observed is very low or does not exist at all. This attitude of the police officers can be taken as a rational for cases of GBV to go unreported which creates a room for the perpetrator to do such action frequently. For instance, if a woman goes to report an incidence of violence committed by her husband and if her husband is not using alcohol or other drugs or if the victim has no signs of physical injury, the police officers' willingness to accept the case and arrest the perpetrator is very less which exposes the victim for further offense and it may not also

encourage the victim to come again to report, even when there are signs the police officers consider as evidences of occurrence of GBV.

According to Logan, et.al (2006), there is a general trend that treatment, rather than sanctions, was more appropriate for GBV offenses compared to other offenses; especially, domestic violence offenses. It is also explained that officers reported a preference to handle GBV, especially, domestic violence cases with mediation rather than arrest.

Results indicate that there is a trend towards attitudes that treatment, rather than sanctions, was more appropriate for GBV offenders. In addition, officers rated the use of sanctions higher for GBV offenders who abuse alcohol or drugs compared to GBV offenders who did not abuse alcohol or drugs (Ibid).

2.3.5 Police Attitudes towards Victims of GBV

In a study by Debra (2011), GBV victim study participants whose cases were eventually prosecuted described that the detectives treated them kindly, with respect and sensitivity, which made them feel supported. However, the reverse is true in non prosecuted cases where the majority of the study participants whose cases were not prosecuted described their detectives as lacking compassion and exhibiting insensitive behavior towards them. This might be because first, once the cases are taken to court and legal action is taken; the doubt and mistrust the police officers had towards the victims will have no position that they might change their attitude and start to be positive and keen to the victims. Second, it might also be a means to cover up the reluctance and inattention they had shown the victims at the time of disclosure of incidences.

Another study conducted by a group of researchers suggested that GBV victims have often characterized polices' attitude towards them as minimizing the situation, disbelieving the victim and not caring about the situation the victim is in (Stephens and Sinden, 2000).

Different researches in the United States suggested that almost half of rape and sexual violence victims are treated by law enforcement in ways that they express as upsetting. However, it remains unknown why some victims have negative experiences with law enforcement and others do not (Debra, 2011). GBV victims' negative experiences with police officers have usually been characterized by the victims as very hurtful and secondary victimization (Ibid).

The attitude of police and their perspective towards GBV victims and the attitude of the victims towards police have been incorporated in a study by Campbell (2005) who conducted interviews with rape victims about how they were treated by system personnel, and with police officers about how they treated victims. The study found high inter-reliability between the accounts of victims and the officers' regard as how victims were treated. For example, 40% of the victims reported that the officers questioned them about their sexual history, and 38% of the officers reported that they questioned victims about their sexual history. As a result of these secondary victimization experiences, many victims reported feeling dehumanized and blamed themselves (Campbell & Raja, 2005; Logan, et.al, 2005). Many victims noted that they would not have reported if they had known what the experience would be like. The victims' experiences have given rise to some serious psychological and physical problems and have hurt their trust in police officers (Campbell, et.al, 1999 and 2001).

One study conducted by a group of researchers suggested that often victims have characterized police officers' attitude towards them as minimizing the situation; disbelieving the victim; not caring; and macho cop (Stephens and Sinden, 2000). Many GBV victims stated that the police were cold and unsupportive, and some were threatened that they would be charged with a crime if they did not provide an accurate story (Logan, et.al, 2005). GBV victims have a number of concerns, including the demeanor police officers displayed like their reluctance to arrest, failure to listen or provide encouragement or reassurance.

Most of the researches done on GBV victims' experience reveal the insensitivity of police officers to the needs of victims. The confidence to which women will come forward and file their complaints to Police Stations is usually dependant on their perception of what constitutes police officers and the treatment they perceive they will get from the system. Women and girls may be reluctant to seek help from the criminal justice system because they fear an unpredictable and daunting array of official reactions and demands (Pollitz, 2000).

Generally, interactions with police officers can influence future help-seeking behavior, such as calling the police, filing for a protective order, or pursuing a violation of a protective order through the justice system (Miller & Krull, 1997 in Logan, et.al, 2006).

2.3.6 Gender Difference in Police officers' Attitude towards GBV

It has been over three decades since women have started actively entering the police profession on a more equitable basis with their men counterparts. Despite the long period of time since women have achieved formal integration into police organizations, their numbers in the force remain relatively low (Poteyeva and Sun, 2009).

According to Gilligan and A. Worden, (1982 and 1993, respectively in Poteyeva and Sun, 2009), theoretical explanations of gender difference between men and women in general and between male and female police officers in particular focus on psychological distinctions developed early in life or prior socialization into different social roles. Hence, from the very beginning, usually men and women grow up given divergent societal roles in their day-to-day activities. Even in the world of work, some careers are perceived as only men's domain while some are already designated for women only. Since such division of work based on gender had begun from early childhood, it is 'surprising and unusual' to see women doing jobs which the society has demarcated as "men's career" and vice versa. This perception may directly or indirectly affect the acceptance of women police officers and on the performance and confidence of the women on their job (Poteyeva and Sun, 2009).

Though the response of police officers towards GBV has been researched, the effect of gender on the police response hasn't been given much of the needed focus. But various studies indicate that, the effect of gender has been debated and is deemed inconsistent. In a research conducted by Sun and Chu (2008) to asses police men and women officers' difference in their job related attitudes towards violence, it was found out that women Taiwanese police officers under the study show stronger support for aggressive enforcement of force than policemen. It was also revealed that female police officers are perceived more concerned and that the society has a better trust in them as a result.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The main objective of the study is to explore the attitude of police officers towards GBV in Kirkos Sub-City of Addis Ababa. To attain this objective, qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed to supplement each other. It was realized that both methods have their own limitations and supplement each other (Mwanje, 2001).

With regard to the quantitative approach, survey method is used to address the issues related to the scope and criminality of GBV in addition to the preference of policing and attitudes of police officers towards women in general and GBV victims in particular (see Annex 12). Survey method is chosen because it is a good way to obtain information from a large number of subjects in addition to characteristics or beliefs being described or measured accurately through self-administered questionnaires (Marshall, 2006).

The study also employed a combination of qualitative data collection methods; which include focus group discussion with police officers, in-depth interview with victims of gender-based violence and key-informant interview with selected police officers.

3.2 Description of the Study Area

The study was conducted in Kirkos Sub-City which is purposively selected among the nine Sub-Cities of Addis Ababa City Administration. The Sub-City constitutes eleven kebeles where 220,991 people reside in and the area covers 16.26 sq. Km. Kirkos Sub-City is among the three Sub-Cities with highest ratios of population size to area or in short among the most over populated Sub-Cities (CSA Ethiopia, 2010). Moreover, this Sub-City is an area where many commercial sex workers live, especially in the areas which are commonly called '*Kazanchis*' and '*Cherkos*', that are highly vulnerable to various forms of GBV. In the Sub-city there are also a total of six Police Stations situated in different locations of the Sub-City, which are led by Kirkos Sub-City Police Department.

3.3 Sources of Data

In order to gather relevant and valid data both primary and secondary data resources were used. Here under, both data resources are briefly explained.

3.3.1 Primary Data Sources

Victims of GBV: These include in-depth interview participants of four female victims of GBV who were found in Godanaw Rehabilitation Integrated Project (GRIP) and three females who came to the Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department.

Police officers: 300 men and women police officers have participated in responding to questionnaire; a total of 14, seven female and seven male police officers have participated in focus group discussion (FGD).

Key informants: comprise of four police officers; one of them is the head of Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department, two other police officers who are working under this department and one other police officer who is the head of one of the police stations.

3.3.2 Secondary Data Sources

Four years record of crimes reported to Women and Children's Office of Kirkos Sub-City Police Department from September, 2006 to May, 2010(G.C) was used to explore the prevalence and types of reported GBV crimes. Additionally, various publications such as journal articles, books and national and international conventions and proclamations are intensely reviewed in order to strengthen the outcomes of the study and enrich the summary.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

All the participants in the research are carefully selected in a way that insures the representativeness of the total population from which they are drawn. Generally, the total sample size of the study is 325. Where 300 of the police officers involved in responding to the questionnaire, 14 police officers in FGDs, four police officers (key informants) and seven GBV victims have been involved in in-depth interviews. The paragraphs below clearly show how each sample group is selected from the total population.

As explained earlier in this chapter, there are a total of six Police Stations in the Sub-City which are led by Kirkos Sub-City Police Department. All six Police Stations are included in the study in addition to the Police Department, because these police stations are located far from each other and may have different experiences and exposure to GBV and related crimes, it is important to include all so as to increase representativeness of the sample to the whole Sub-City.

The total number of police officers in the Sub-City is 1072 and there is an almost even distribution of police officers in each Police Station. As a result, 50 police officers from each Police Station were selected randomly from lists in the human resource offices of each Police Station. Since in all the stations the number of female police officers was lesser than the number of male officers, it was tried to involve as many female officers as possible (See profile of survey participants (Table 2)).

The participants of in-depth interview were selected from Godanaw Rehabilitation Integrated Project (GRIP) for it is an NGO located in the Sub-City that helps women whose rights are violated and are economically poor in addition to being pregnant or having a child. Four victims from GRIP were chosen using purposive sampling. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), purposeful sampling is usually employed in using qualitative research methods when focusing on a limited number of informants, whom they select strategically so that their in-depth information will give optimal insight into an issue about which little is known. The social worker who also works as a counselor and the founder/head of GRIP was consulted in selecting the respondents. These women were chosen because they were relevant for the study. Unfortunately, they did not go to any Police Station to report the crimes they faced.

Moreover, victims of GBV who reported the crime committed against them to the Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department were also included in order to have an insight and gather information on their experience with police officers. Even though the researcher tried to include more number of victims, due to the unwillingness of victims to take part in the study and time limit of the data collection period, only three women who reported their case were included.

With regard to FGD participants, 14 police officers were selected randomly. Two FGDs were conducted. The first focus group comprised of seven male while the second comprised seven

female police officers. Furthermore, the key informants were selected using purposive sampling technique taking into consideration the direct relations they have to the issue under discussion.

3.5 Data Collecting Tools

3.5.1 Questionnaire

Self-administered questionnaire was used as one of the data collecting tools to gather information about scope of GBV, police officers' policing model preference and their attitude towards women in general and victims in particular. This method is the most appropriate in dealing with especially sensitive issues. Respondents might be more willing to respond controversial attitudes to anonymous self-administered questionnaires (Babbie, 1983:237).

The questionnaire was first prepared in English and then translated into Amharic by the researcher. To avoid misinterpretation and to recheck each question, the Amharic questionnaire was translated back to English by another person and some questions were corrected and edited accordingly. The questionnaire was then taken to *Aratkilo* Police Station (police station which is not in the Sub-City under study) for pilot testing. Five questionnaires were given to three male and two female police officers and while they were working on the questions, they were timed and were also asked for their opinion about clarity, vagueness and other comments on the questions. Few questions were then edited based on the feedback from the respondents of the pilot study.

The questionnaire has five main themes comprising various number and types of questions. These include officers' demography, attitudes towards women, beliefs about police role, scope and criminality of GBV, and attitudes towards victims. The questions were designed under themes and topics to encourage triangulation of answers, with some questions reverse coded.

Even though the questionnaire has five themes, the questions are purposefully mixed so as not to encourage bias within sections and to help reduce the probability of respondents of merely filling in answers and not truthfully representing their attitude on the survey. The questions in each theme are mixed in the following manner. The questions were coded by numbering them like; number one is the first theme's first subgroup's statement, number two is first statement of the second theme of its first subgroup, followed by number three the third theme's first subgroup and

so on. Next, moving to the first statement of the second subgroup of the first theme; continuing to the second subgroup of all the other themes consecutively followed by a statement from the third subgroup of the first theme. Then, going back to numbering the statements in the first subgroups of each theme; followed by the second subgroup of each theme and the third subgroup of the first theme until all statements are given numbers (See Annex 12, Questionnaire Coding Guide)

Generally, all the questions in each theme are designed to measure the attitudes of police officers towards each theme using Likert-type Scaling. The questions about police officers' preference of policing model and police attitude towards women were taken from Sims et al., (2003). Questions in these themes were modified to make them work for the subjects under study and the other questions of different themes were added from ideas in various literatures (See Annexes 11 and 12). Except the questions under the demography section, the rest are presented in table and in the form of statements, with which subjects either agreed or disagreed. A six-point scale, in which the numbers 4, 5, and 6 indicated increasing degrees of agreement, and the numbers 3, 2, and 1 indicated increasing disagreement, was used.

3.5.2 In-depth Interview

In-depth interview is a method which allows peoples' opinions to be prevailed in addition to helping the researcher to view and respect things from the participants' perspective. As Richie and Lewis (2003) indicated, in-depth interview is also important because it brings people face to face and helps the interviewer to get direct answer besides having the chance to further elaborate questions for the interviewee.

The interview guide questions were written after reviewing and consulting different related literatures. Similar to the procedure followed in the preparation of questionnaire, the in-depth interview guide questions were translated back and forth to avoid misinterpretation and to recheck understandability of each question. Some questions were corrected and edited accordingly.

In Godanaw Rehabilitation Integrated Project the researcher was introduced by the social worker who works closely with the women. Since the researcher had also once worked there, it made the introduction and rapport time easier. The researcher had also a chance of celebrating a public

holiday in GRIP. Each interviewee was contacted more than once after that. In those times, the researcher tried to be close to them to make the interviewees comfortable to talk. In the introduction day, the women were shy but after celebrating a public holiday together and getting to know each other, they were able to talk freely.

In the case of victims from the Women's and Children Office of the Police Department, the researcher has been sitting in the office where victims report their complaints for observation for a month. Each victim of GBV who came during that time had been asked to talk to the researcher privately after finishing reporting a crime. When the victim is a child, both the child and the adult who came to report have been interviewed. The victims came to the police office more than once for evidence and witness purposes. In all the times they came, the researcher had a chance to talk to them repeatedly.

The interviewees from both places were asked for their willingness to be interviewed. They were told about the purpose of the study, that whatever information they give will be kept confidential and that they have a right not to answer any question that they are not comfortable about. A tape recorder was used with the consent of the interviewees in addition to field notes.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD is a method which is socially oriented that studies participants in an atmosphere more natural than artificial experimental circumstances and it is more relaxed than a one-to-one interview (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). FGD also gives information about groups of people and is designed to gather information that reflects what is considered normal in a particular community.

Two FGDs were conducted in the research; one with seven participants of female police officers and the other with seven male participants. The male police officers' FGD was conducted in Legehar police station which is randomly selected from the six Police Stations in the Sub-City. The FGD was held in the meeting hall of the police station for an hour and half. The meeting hall was chosen for its relative quietness. The seven participants who have participated in the FGD were chosen purposefully from different positions and different years of experience in the Police Station. It was tried to involve as more experienced police officers as possible.

The female police officers' FGD was conducted in the Sub-City's Police Department Human Resource Office for an hour and half. The Police Department was chosen for the reason that there are more number of female police officers there than the other Police Stations. Seven female police officers were purposefully selected from those who in one way or another are involved in GBV related issues or have more years of experience than the others.

In both FGDs the time that is suitable for the participants was asked prior to the discussion day and was decided to be 9:00-10:30am in the case of the FGD with the male officers and 2:30-4:00pm for the FGD with the female police officers. The willingness of the participants was asked after the researcher was introduced and the purpose of the FGD was clarified for them. The confidentiality of the information that was going to be discussed in the hall was assured. The discussion was recorded with the consent of the participants in addition to taking notes.

After introduction, the participants agreed to switch off their mobile phones; to keep whatever they talked about in discussion room only; that there is no right or wrong answer in the discussion and therefore, that everyone can speak freely and be respected. During discussion, participants who are quiet were encouraged to talk or express their opinions.

3.5.4 Key Informant Interview

The researcher had conducted in-depth interviews with purposively selected four key informant police officers. The participants include the head of the Women and Children's office of Kirkos Sub-City's Police Department, two other police officers who work under that office and the head of one of the six Police Stations.

The in-depth interview guide questions were translated back and forth to avoid misinterpretation and to recheck understandability of each question. Some questions were corrected and edited accordingly.

In most cases the interview with key informants was conducted in more than one day because it was convenient for the interviewees to give few mints of their time many days than give long time on one day and since it does not disturb their time if it was conducted that way.

The key informants were asked for their willingness to be interviewed. They were told about the purpose of the study. A tape recorder was used with their consent in addition to notes.

3.6 Data Collecting Procedures

Permission to collect data from the six police stations was given by the head of the Police Department and all six Police Stations' heads were informed. The data collection method was therefore, facilitated by the heads of the Police Stations. The questionnaires collected from all the six police stations that could be used were 250 at first. To increase the number of respondents, another round of survey was carried out in the Sub-City's Police Department which was not included at first. 50 questionnaires were distributed for the second time to be filled by the police officers who work there. 40 of them were good to use; but to increase the number another ten were given to the police officers who work in the offices of the department who have not filled the questionnaire. Therefore, a total of 300 questionnaires were collected.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

In order to analyze and interpret the data for the quantitative part, various statistical methods were used. First the questionnaire was changed into a table form. In the column of the table a label of each question was written and the row was filled by each response of the 300 questionnaires. Then, the answers of the questionnaires were fed on sheet 1 of an excel work book. After finishing sheet 1, the same was done on sheet 2 and similarities of answers were crosschecked on sheet 3. Finally, the errors that occurred during feeding the data to the sheets were identified in sheet 3 and the correction was made from the respondents' questionnaire.

Then this data was fed into SPSS where it was analyzed in terms of percentage, mean, median, and standard deviation, according to the nature of each question group or theme. Then based on the result or output of the SPSS, each data was interpreted in accordance with the way each method allows the researcher to interpret.

As explained previously, the questions were written in the form of statements to show respondents' attitude from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Hence, a six-point Lickert scale was used.

As shown in Table: 2 below, the neutral mean value of various categories of items with 4, 5 and 6 number of questions are 14, 17.5 and 21, respectively. This is because the neutral mean value of a six point Lickert scale is 3.5. When this value is multiplied with the number of questions in

each category it is possible to find the neutral mean value. Accordingly, all the results involving mean with such number of questions are all analyzed and compared based on the neutral mean value which is calculated as shown below.

Table 1 Calculations of Neutral Mean Value of Items with Various Numbers of Questions

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	**NEUTRAL**	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	(3.5)	4	5	6
For categories with 6 questions						
1x6=6	2x6=12	3x6=18	(21)	4x6=24	5x6=30	6x6=36
For categories with 5 questions						
1x5=5	10	15	(17.5)	20	25	6x5=30
For categories with 4 questions						
1x4=4	8	12	(14)	16	20	6x4=24

The qualitative data collected through FGD, in-depth interview and key informant interview together with the quantitative data are analyzed thematically. The units of analysis being themes and concept the findings are presented in a descriptive manner using pseudo names of participants to maintain confidentiality.

The data gathered through qualitative and quantitative methods as well as secondary sources has been triangulated to increase the reliability, credibility and validity of the research findings.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Since the issue was discussed with the police officers and victims of GBV and the documents to be reviewed are confidential, official ethical clearance was required from the Institute of Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University. Therefore, the researcher started field work with the official paper in hand. Furthermore, the researcher first introduced the purpose of the study to the

participants and guaranteed that the information they provided was used for research purpose only; asked their consent to participate and to be tape recorded. Privacy of participants, confidentiality of the information given as well as participants' identity was also kept undisclosed and where necessary, codes of names were used (See Table 7 and 8).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In this chapter, the data collected quantitatively and qualitatively are analyzed and interpreted in detail. The data are presented in tables and few are shown in graphs which are annexed as a reference. Interpretation of each data is given in line with the analysis or description of the tables.

4.1 Demographic Information

4.1.1 Profile of Survey Participants

The table below shows background information in terms of sex, age, educational background, years of work experience, salary and respondents' sex in percentage based on frequency.

Table 2 Profile of Survey Participants

NO.	Sex	N	%	Age	n	%	Educ.	n	%	Work Exp.	N	%	Salary	n	%
1	M.	223	74.3	19-24	122	40.7	1-8	9	3.0	< 1	30	10.0	<1000	153	51.0
2	F.	64	21.3	25-30	76	25.3	9-12	201	67.0	1-3	98	32.7	1000-1500	101	33.7
3				31-34	14	4.7	Dip.	59	19.7	4-6	74	24.7	1500-2000	17	5.7
4				35-40	28	9.3	Deg.	5	1.7	7-9	7	2.3	2000-2500	13	4.3
5				41-45	6	2.0	Other	9	3.0	$\geq$10	76	25.3	2500-3000	4	1.3
6				46-50	6	2.0	-	-		-	-		>3000	1	0.3
7				51-55	0		-	-		-	-		-	-	
8				56-60	1	0.3	-	-		-	-		-	-	
9	B.	13	4.3	B.	47	15.7	B	17	5.7	B.	15	5.0	B.	11	3.7
	Tot.		100		300	100	-	300	100	-	300	100	-	300	100

Note: n-frequency of respondents out of 300 survey sample size, Age in years, M-Male, F-Female, Educ. educational background, Dip. Diploma, Deg-Degree, Work. Exp.-Work Experience as police experience in years, Salary refers to monthly income in Ethiopian Birr (the currency unity of Ethiopia), B-Blank (Not Filled by respondents)

As it is shown in Table 2, male respondents are almost three fold (74%) of the total population, higher than that of the female officers which are only 64 (21%) of the total population. For unknown reason 13 (4%) of the respondents did not report their sex. From the comparison made above on the number of police officers by sex, one can easily concluded that the profession of policing is a male dominated career in the Sub-City.

As can be seen that out of 300 total populations, the age of 122 (41%) respondents is in the range from 19 to 24, and 76 (25%) of the respondents are in the age range of 25 to 30. On the other hand, only 12 (4%) of the population is equal or above 41 years old. It is possible to observe that majority of the respondents (66%) are below 30 years of age.

As it is shown above that out of the total population, the majority of the respondents, 201 (67%) of the total are in secondary level of education, on the contrary only 5 (2%) respondents have degree level education. The work experience of the police officers is also included and it is revealed that 10%, 33 %, 25% and 25% of the total population have less than 1 year, 1-3 years, 4-6 years and above 10 years of work experience as a police officer, respectively. Almost half of the population 153 (51%) is paid a monthly salary of below 1000.00 *birr* (the currency unit of Ethiopia) and those who have monthly salaries from 1000.00 to 1500.00 are 101 (34%) of the total population. On the contrary, an insignificant number of the population which is exactly only one respondent has mentioned as having monthly salary of above 3000.

Table 3 Profile of Survey Participants

No	POB	n	%	Religion	n	%	M S.	n	%	Training	n	%
1	A.A	74	24.7	Orthodox	226	75.3	No partner	104	34.7	No trainin	100	33.3
2	Tigray	30	10.0	Muslim	16	5.3	boy/ girlfriend	96	32.0	Unknown	41	13.7
3	Amhara	50	16.7	Protestant	45	15.0	Married	14	4.7	On GBV	9	3.0
4	Oromia	52	17.3	Catholic	1	0.3	Separated	5	1.7	Other	1	0.3
5	SNNPR	25	8.3	No religion	2	0.7	Divorced	7	2.3			
6	Harar	2	0.7	Other	0		Widowed	49	16.3			
7	Afar	1	0.3						0.0			
8	Gambella	2	0.7						0.0			
9	Blank	64	21.3	BL	10	3.3	BL	25	8.3	BL	149	49.7
10	**TOTAL**	**300**	**100.0**		**300**	**100**		**300**	**100**		**300**	**100**

Note: n-frequency of respondents out of 300 survey sample size, POB place of birth by region, M.S-Marital Status

In Table 3 it is shown that among the seven regions and the two city administrations, 74 respondents which are one fourth of the total population replied that they were born in Addis Ababa. Whereas Amhara and Oromia regions are the next highest regions from which 52 (17%) and 50 (17%) of the respondents had indicated that they were born in these regions, respectively. On the contrary, Harar, Gambella and Afar are regions from which only about 1% of the respondents were born in.

Regarding religion, it is indicated that three-fourth of the respondents are Orthodox whereas about 1 percent of the respondents have replied that they are Catholic and others (about 1%) have indicated that they have no religion. As it is shown above, 35% of the respondents replied that they have no partner and 32% of them have indicated that they have boy/girl friend; whereas, only 5% of the respondents are found to be married.

In terms of the training experience of the respondents, 100 respondents (33%) have replied that they did not have the chance to get training, only 9 (3%) of the total population have indicated that they were given training relayed to GBV. From this, it can be inferred that less attention is given in building the capacity of police officers in GBV related trainings.

Table 4 Experience of Police Officers With Regard To GBV

No.	All Police		Handled GBV cases	Knew victim of GBV personally	Have been victim of GBV	Had reported a GBV crime against themselves	Have committed GBV
1	Tot.	%	30.61	38.26	4.33	3.00	0
		N	294	298	300	300	300
2	MP	%	29.36	37.39	2.69	1.79	0
		N	218	222	223	223	223
3	FP	%	30.16	40.63	9.38	6.25	0
		N	63	64	64	64	64

Note: n-frequency of respondents out of 300 survey sample size, Tot. – Total, M.PO-Male Police Officers,   F.PO-Female Police Officers

Table 4 shows, the experience of police officers with regard to GBV. From this it can be seen that approximately 30% of police officers have handled a GBV case, and approximately 40% of police officers knew a GBV victim personally. The percentages begin to differ between male and female police officers with respect to personal, first-hand, and direct experiences with GBV. Approximately, 9% of female police officers have been the victim of GBV with 6% reporting the crime against them, which means that two-third of all female police officers formally, reported GBV crime committed against them.

This indicates that even though female police officers have a law enforcing body positions, they are also positioned in a lower or subordinate status in the society because of their gender role in the society. It can also further imply that women are affected by GBV crimes more than men no matter where their positions in the society are.

4.1.2 Profile of Focus Group Discussion Participants

Table 5 Profile of Male FGD Participants

ID	Age	POB	Educ.	Work Exp.	Religion	M. Salary	M.S.	Trainings
MP1	26	Wolayta	2^{ndary}	5	Protestant	906	Married	No training
MP2	39	Tigray	2^{ndary}	4	Orthodox	906	Have girlfriend	Community policing
MP3	30	Wolega	2^{ndary}	5	Orthodox	906	Married	Community policing
MP4	35	Addis Ababa	primary	17	Orthodox	1632	Married	Community policing, TOT on anti HIV/AIDS, STD
MP5	41	Jimma	primary	23	Muslim	1632	Married	No Training
MP6	28	Nazreth	degree	2	Orthodox	1245	Married	No Training
MP7	34	Addis Ababa	degree	12	Protestant	2293	No partner	GBV, community policing, Anti HIV/AIDS & STD, Anti corruption

Note: ID represents the code name given to the participants, MP-1 as male police one, MP2- male police two and so on, Age in years, POB place of birth, Educ. is the educational background, Work. Exp.-Work Experience as police officer in years,   M. Salary refers to monthly salary in Ethiopian Birr (the currency unity of Ethiopia), M.S-Marital Status

Table: 5 shows that, all except one respondent have four and greater years of police experience. The age range of the participants is between 26 and 41. More than half of them are married. In terms of educational level, they are from primary to degree level and only one of them took training related to GBV.

Table 6 Profile of Female Focus Group Discussion Participants

ID	Age	POB	Educ.	Work Exp.	Religion	M. Salary	M.S.	Trainings
FP1	40	Shewa	2^{ndary}	5	Orthodox	906	Married	Unknown training
FP2	24	Addis Ababa	Dploma	2		1245	No partner	No training
FP3	23	Tigray	Diploma	2	Orthodox	1245	Married	No training
FP4	35	Amara	2^{ndary}	3	Orthodox	1632	Married	No training
FP5	36	Tigray	2^{ndary}	6	Orthodox	1245	Married	Unknown training
FP6	38	Hawassa	2^{ndary}	11	Protestant	1245	Married	Anti HIV/AIDS TOT training
FP7	29	Alemgena	Diploma	5	Orthodox	1632	Married	GBV

Note: ID represents the code name given to the participants, FP-1 as Female police one, FP2- Female police two and so on, Age in years, POB place of birth, Educ. is the educational background, Work. Exp.-Work Experience as police officer in years, M. Salary refers to monthly salary in Ethiopian Birr (the currency unit of Ethiopia), M.S-Marital Status

Table 6 shows that, the age range of the female focus group discussion participants is between 23 and 40. All except one are married. Their work experience as a police officer is two years and above. Except one of the participants, all the rest have monthly salary of above 1000.00 *Birr*. It is also revealed that all did not take training related to GBV except one of the participants.

4.2 Types, Scope and Criminality of GBV

The scope of GBV includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual, and psychological harm (including intimidation, suffering, coercion, and/or deprivation of liberty within the family or within the general community). It also includes violence, which is perpetrated or condoned by the State (UNFPA, 2005).

The United Nations (UN) definition of GBV is chosen by the researcher because it is found to be more expressive and inclusive in defining GBV, whereas the applied Police definition is taken from the forms and explanations given to GBV in the secondary data (victims record), as revised by the researcher prior to the preparation of primary data collecting instruments. Therefore, the attitude of police officers is explored in accordance to these definitions of GBV.

Table 7 Police's Attitude towards the UN Definition of GBV

No	Items	Mean
1	Given that Ethiopia is signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), police officers should prosecute offenders according to the United Nations definition of GBV	5.30
2	Trafficking, marital rape, and unwanted kissing should be classified as GBV crimes	4.66
3	Forced prostitution is a criminal act and prosecutable by legal institutions	4.14
4	Battery of women should be a punishable crime in Ethiopia	5.11
5	The physical injury of a person due to their gender should be classified as both GBV and physical assault	5.00
6	Demeaning verbal assaults may be equated to a GBV crime	4.12

Mean= 21.17, Standard Deviation= 4.639 and N= 272

Table 7 reveals that the mean values of each item is greater than the neutral mean value (3.5). That is the respondents show their agreement that trafficking, marital rape, unwanted kissing, physical injury, demeaning verbal assaults, forced prostitution and battery of women should all be considered as various forms of GBV and should be prosecutable by legal institutions in Ethiopia. The neutral value for all groups of questions with six number of question items is 21. The calculated mean of the UN definition in general is 28.45 (See Annex: 1) also supports their agreement towards this definition. Hence, it can be said that respondents agree and have positive attitude towards the UN definition of GBV.

Table 8 Police's Attitude towards the Definition of GBV Applied by the Police Officers

No	Items	Mean
1	Police officers should not involve in domestic conflicts between husband and wife	3.31
2	Police officers are overwhelmed with enough work already and should selectively prosecute GBV cases	4.26
3	Abduction, rape, homosexuality, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriage are a comprehensive definition for GBV	5.05
4	Women who complain of unwanted touching and kissing are often exaggerating the situation	3.61
5	Rape of a virgin is a more serious crime than rape of a non-virgin	3.51
6	Offensive comments toward an individual should not be prosecutable	2.38

Mean= 22.17, Standard Deviation= 4.639 and N= 272

It can be seen from Table 8 that respondents have almost neutral attitude towards item numbers 1, 4, and 5, which focus on the expression, definition and forms of GBV stated as, police officers should not involve in domestic disputes between husband and wife; women who complain of unwanted touching and kissing are often exaggerating the situation and rape of a virgin is a more serious crime than rape of a non-virgin, respectively. On the other hand, police officers show their agreements in that GBV cases should be prosecuted selectively, with the mean value of 4.26; and abduction, rape, homosexuality, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriage are the inclusive definition of GBV with the mean value of 5.05. On the contrary, the respondents show their disagreement for the item which states that offensive comments toward an individual should not be prosecutable, with the mean value of 2.38.

Additionally, the calculated mean value for the police definition of GBV in general is 22.17 (See Annex: 2) which is very close to the neutral mean value of (21). This shows that the respondents' attitude towards their own definition on average is almost neutral and that most of them define GBV in terms of abduction, rape, homosexuality, FGM, and early marriage considering that as an all-inclusive definition of GBV.

From both tables it can be inferred that, the police officers on average agree and have a positive attitude towards the UN definition of GBV. They also prefer the UN definition of GBV than the one that is being applied. However, though the police officers prefer the UN definition of GBV, they are applying the 'Police Definition' thinking that it is inclusive.

The focus group discussion and in-depth interviews with the police officers show that even though the police officers work on all the three types of violence, their definition of GBV is more of related to the sexual harm committed against women and children.

The Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department sees crimes related to physical and psychological abuse in addition to sexual harm only if the victim's age is below 16. However, if the victim is above 16 years of age, the office takes sexual abuse crime cases only. Crimes related to the physical and psychological types of GBV, for that age are considered normal court cases that are handled by other police offices.

Based on the crime report document of the Sub-City's Women and Children Police Office from Sep, 2006 – May, 2010 (G.C.), reported crimes that are related to physical abuse are: beating/

battering, over laboring, physical harm, and causing physical impairment (disability). Those that fall under psychological abuse include: insulting and humiliation, and blackmailing and threatening. Additionally, rape of a virgin, rape, attempted rape, attempted homosexual rape, homosexual rape, sexual harassment, and making a child flee are also reported crimes that can be related to sexual abuse.

Since the police officers consider only sexual abuse to be a GBV crime case, those that are related to the physical and psychological types of abuse are not clearly stated (written) as GBV cases. Therefore, even though some of these reported crimes are GBV cases, it is hard to differentiate which of these crimes are committed against the girls and women because of their gender and which are not. Therefore, it is hard to know how many of these crimes GBV crimes are.

The result of both FGDs also show that there are women who reported to different police stations being physically injured, burned, beaten/battered, bruised by their husbands, partners, boyfriends, employers, etc. The participants agreed that most of these crimes are crimes committed against women and girls because of their gender and their position in the society. However, they have not considered them as GBV crimes or cases that should be handled by the Women's and Children's Police Office of the Sub-City's police Department.

Almost all the victims in the in-depth interview also reported that they have experienced physical or/and psychological violence in addition to the sexual violence committed against them. For instance, KPSV2 was bruised and red eyed from the beating she took when she first came to the Women and Children's Police Office of the Sub-City's police Department to report the rape committed against her by four guys. Another victim (KPSV3) reported that she was threatened and beaten with the back of a gun by the federal police who raped her. GRIPV4, a 15-years-old (at the time of the interview) rape victim also reported that she lived in fear in the house of her employer who raped and impregnated her. She said that she was blackmailed and threatened by her rapist in addition to being beaten repeatedly by both her rapist and his wife.

The rights group Amnesty International has identified three distinct types of GBV categorizing them by social sphere of family violence, community violence and state violence or violence condoned by individuals employed by the state (Plus News, 2007).

The result of both FGDs with the police officers and the in-depth interview with GBV victims show that all GBV occurs in all the three spheres categorized by Amnesty International.

The result of the quantitative data shows that police officers have positive attitude towards the UN definition and they agree that all the GBV types in the UN definition should be prosecutable by law. However, the result of the qualitative data shows that even though all the types of GBV crimes categorized by different UN declarations are prevalent in all spheres of the study area, the scope, type and criminality of GBV the police officers consider important and handle as GBV crimes are limited to sexual violence.

4.3 Prevalence of GBV

Here the prevalence of GBV in the Sub-City under study is shown clearly and the comparison on the most vulnerable age groups and types of GBV are discussed in detail. The data shown in the table below represents merely women and girl victims.

Table 9 GBV Crime Committed Against Women and Girls in Kirkos Sub-City

Year	Crime Type	Frequency						n /year
		Age					N	
		0-9	10-15	16-18	19-45	>45		
2000	Rape	8	27				35	
	Attempted Rape		1				1	
	Sexual Harassment		9				9	46
	Making a child flee		1				1	
2001	Rape	2	9	9	4		24	
	Attempted Rape	4	2	3	3	1	13	42
	Sexual Harassment		1				1	
	Making a child flee			4			4	
2002	Rape	7	11	2	2		22	
	Attempted Rape	1	2		1		4	26
	Sexual Harassment						0	
	Making a child flee						0	
2003	Rape	3	6	13	3		25	
	Attempted Rape	1		5	1		7	
	Sexual Harassment						0	33
	Making a child flee		1				1	
	N	**26**	**70**	**36**	**14**	**1**	**147**	

Source: *Report Document of Kirkos Sub-City (From Sep, 2006 – May, 2010 G.C.) or (Meskerem, 2000 - Ginbot 2003) Ethiopian Calendar by Frequency with some modification by the researcher.*

Note: n- refers to frequency of GBV committed

Table 9 shows that most of the reported crimes are committed against children below the age of 18 years. From 0-9 years 26, from 10-15, 70 and from 16-18 26 GBV were reported in the four year interval. Generally, out of 147 victims, 132 of them are children who are 18 years and below. When it comes to adults, rape and attempted rape crimes are the only GBV crimes reported in the Sub-City within the four years where there are only 15 victims who are 19 and above years old. It is also evident that rape is the most prevalent reported and/or committed type of GBV as it holds the highest number at all age levels and in all the years. It is also shown that the total number of reports of GBV in each year from (From Meskerem 2000 E.C. – Ginbot 2003 E.C.) is 46, 42, 26 and 33. Comparing the last two years with the first two years, the number of GBV reported has decreased.

However, the result of both FGDs and interviews show that the numbers seen on the crime report document are the very few investigated from the limited number of crimes that were reported. The female FGD participants also emphasized that especially domestic violence and violence committed by a person who has more power economically and in other ways than the victim goes unreported.

In addition, the crime reports from the recent four years also show that there is no reported marital rape, sexual abuse from a husband, human trafficking, stalking, and forced prostitution crime cases.

The results of the FGDs and in-depth interviews with the police officers show that even though the above mentioned crimes exist in the society, they are not or are rarely reported for many reasons. One of the reasons discussed in both FGDs is the Ethiopian culture of considering sex and "what happens behind closed doors" as a taboo to talk about.

UNFPA (1998), states that GBV emanates from the use of force or coercion that is socially tolerated and is carried out predominantly against women and girls at every stage of their life cycle. Additionally, in our culture and in many others, women and girls are socialized to be submissive, shay to speak up, to care for and protect their families and their families' names. As one of the female police officers put it "a woman protects the secrets of her family" (ሴት ልጅ የቤቷን ገመና ሸፋኝ ናት).

The police officers in both FGDs agreed that even cases that are reported like the abuse of children, rape, and other violence, especially those committed by police officers and the like, are not being reported to the extent that they are occurring.

The result of the in-depth interview with the victims also supports this idea in that all the GBV victims from GRIP did not report the violence committed against them for one reason or the other and those victims from the Sub-city's Police Office, who have reported the crime, stated that they would not have reported if it were not for the reasons they mentioned.

KPSV1 a 13 year old girl who was repeatedly raped by a neighbor who is about 25 years old came to the Police Station because her uncle, who reported the case found out about the rape after she run away and was found on a street. The uncle reported the case because he was angry at the mother of the rapist who insulted him and blamed him for falsely accusing her son. The uncle said he would not have reported if it were not for the mother of the accused; if it were not for his anger and need for vengeance.

KPSV2 said the only reason she came to the police station was because her rapists (four adults) took her jewelry and money and she reported the crime of the theft but was told to also seek justice for the rape crime committed against her. She told the researcher that she would not have reported if it were not for the stolen things.

KPSV3 also came to the police station after she was asked by federal police officers who heard that she was raped told her to report. Even then she said the only reason she reported the case is to know if her rapist, who is a federal police officer, is HIV positive or not because she was on a process to go abroad and her being HIV negative is required.

This shows that the victims did not consider the sexual, physical and psychological crimes committed against them worth reporting.

In a study conducted by Yetnayet (2003), out of 107 rape cases only 17 (15.9%) of the victims informed the condition to their family and only 5 (4.7%) reported to police. The reasons they gave for not telling about the condition to anybody include feeling of shame/guilt, fear of reaction from family, not knowing what to do about it, fear of reaction from the community and fear of the perpetrator(s).

The result of the FGDs participants, in accordance with the above study, agreed that most GBV cases are not reported for the above mentioned reasons and more. Some of the reasons discussed include feeling of shame, fear of being judged by neighbors and community members, the risk of not being trusted by police officers and fear of greater risks from the perpetrator.

Some of the discussed causes for the under reporting of GBV crimes can be categorized into culture, economic status, knowledge and awareness, evidence and facility and attitude and training of police officers. Each category is briefly discussed below.

A) Culture

As some cultural norms and practices help to empower women and promote human rights; certain others have long been mentioned as casual factors and justifying means for violence against women (UN, 2006). For instance, sexual abuse and rape by an intimate partner is not considered as crime in most countries, and women in many societies do not consider forced sex as rape if they are married to, or cohabiting with the perpetrator (UN, 2010).

Strengthening the above idea is that in addition to not ever having marital rape, stalking, etc, crime reports in the crime report document; almost all of the police officers are new to the idea of forced sex by an intimate partner, boyfriend or husband as a crime. For instance, in explaining rape accusations, one of the female FGDs participants said;

> *For example a woman came saying she was raped. When we asked her how it happened she said "he gave me a lift, took me to a hotel to talk and then raped me." The hospital evidence says she had sex recently which doesn't help. When we investigated the case, we found out that they knew each other before. You don't go in a hotel just to talk. If she went when he took her there, she should have known that this will happen.*

Another female participant also added

> *Most of the time, it is when the victim is below 18 that we go further in handling the case. The adults, they themselves don't come and report that much and when they do, most of it is false accusation to get money or some other thing from the accused.*

It was also the researcher's finding that besides being considered a culturally normal act in the society in general; sexual harassment is seen as a minor incidence (not deserving of reporting) by the police officers who are working in the Sub-City's Women and Children Office. This is especially true if the victim is an adult woman. The above result became evident when a reported

case of sexual harassment committed against an adult woman was brought for investigation. When the head of the office gave the police officers who work under that office the report paper and orally explained about the case, they all looked at each other laughing. And no one was willing to take the case. When it was forced on one of the female officers, she then said "*she must be a foreigner. Okay now, what do I do with it? It says she was kissed by a stranger on the road.*" As she was speaking, she and all the others were laughing.

It can be concluded from the above that the culture of the society that perceives most violence against women as "normal" applies to the police officers as well.

However, it is not only the cultural influence on the police officers but also on the victims and witnesses that affects the process of reporting. For instance, one of the victims (GRIRV3) who had hearing difficulty; was 19 years old and had a year and eight months old son at the time of interview was raped at the age of 17. When asked why she did not report the crime, she answered saying;

> *I am afraid and ashamed even when I fall on the ground and getup let alone talking about this (ወድቄ እንኳን ስነሳ አፍራለሁ ፤ እፈራለሁ). Where I come from, if they knew they will kill me. They don't like to hear things like this. Everyone will laugh at me. If they knew about this, wherever I go, the women will insult me; they will be singing, banging a plastic container as a drum, they will sing insulting songs. They will also sing about the bad things I did and am mentioning my father's and mother's name; saying bad things about them too.*

Culture also affects most manifestations of violence in that it mediates social behavior. The way in which men and women were socialized to see themselves and others strongly influences their behavior (Prekel, 2001).

Another victim (GRIPV1) who was 17 years old and has a daughter who is six months old at the time of interview also said that she did not tell anyone the rape crime she experienced or the physical pain she still feels around her "ovary" afraid of showing her private parts. When she explained the pain she feels she said *standing on my feet and move might make me seem like a human being (ቆሜስለ ምሄድ ሰውእ መስል ይሆናል) but I alone know my problem.*

In addition to the police officers and victims, witnesses are also affected by culture in turn affecting reported and investigated GBV crimes. The FGD participants agreed on the idea that

even in cases where there are eye and other witnesses, the people do not want to be a witness considering the process as time and energy taking.

In general, cultural norms affect not only the occurrence but also the reporting and handling of GBV crimes by influencing the police officers, witnesses and victims. In a culture where there is unequal power relationships between men and women, GBV disproportionally affects and victimizes women and girls (Josse , 2007) because of their subordinate status vis-à-vis men and boys (UNFPA, 2005). What is more is that women and girls in many societies and in Ethiopia in particular are socialized to be submissive and shy in addition to growing in a society that considers talking about sex and related issues as a taboo.

B) Economic status

In addition to fear of being rejected or blamed by family and community members as a result of cultural norms, victims' economic status also affects their vulnerability and reaction to GBV committed against them. Because most women have low economic status and are economically dependent, this fact increases their vulnerability to violence on one hand and reduces their capacity to act and make decisions on the other (Selamawit, 2007).

The intersectionality feminist perspective suggest that GBV against women and girls does not happen only because of their gender but also because of the diverse positions they have in the society they live in; like low socio-economic status, less or no education, being a migrant, etc (Frye, 2001). The finding of the study also shows that most of the victims of GBV in the Sub-City are found to be women and girls; especially, those with disabilities, those who are young, those who migrated from the rural parts of Ethiopia and those who have low economic status.

The participants of both FGDs agreed that in addition to the above mentioned groups, domestic workers, street girls, commercial sex workers, housewives, daily laborers, etc, are parts of the society that GBV most affects.

Many women face discrimination in the formal and the informal sector of the economy, as well as economic exploitation within the family (UN, 2006). As discussed in both FGDs, domestic violence is the most prevalent and least reported crime in the sub- city. One of the possible reasons discussed is that perpetrators (mostly men) are the bread winners of most families.

It is agreed that women endure all kinds of physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence because of their low economic status. Even in the rare times that neighbors report the violence (mostly physical), the victims deny it saying *what am I going to eat or feed my children if he goes to jail? What if he chases me out of my house? Where am I going to live?* Some also try to cover GBV committed against their daughters if the perpetrator is the father or any member of the family who is the sole breadwinner of the family. All sorts of domestic violence committed against domestic workers also mostly go unreported because these workers either do not want to lose their jobs or they are lulled by promises of economic support or hush money. The story of one of the victims (GRIPV2) who is 18 years old at the time of interview confirms this.

> *It was the son of my employers who got me pregnant. One day when there was no one in the house he raped me. I was shouting and begging him to stop, he threatened to kill me if I said anything but after that day, he repeatedly asked to have sex with me; mostly threatening me. After he impregnated me his mother found out what happened and both told me they will raise the child and will give me money but both of them did not do so. I finally went out from their house and since they did not help me and I could not get a job with my condition, I ended up on the street and was brought here by the friends I found on the streets. I now have a year and eight months old child.*

Furthermore, it was also the finding of the research that women who are working also face different violence because of their lower status both in terms of working hierarchy and economy. It was discussed by the FGD female participants that in addition to fear of losing their jobs women and girls also fear that their perpetrator can buy the law (pay everyone possible to deny the charge)if he has money. Thus they will not report the violence committed against them.

In the cases of women daily laborers, time spent reporting and following the case means money lost in the process and, therefore, they prefer to work and get whatever money they make than trying to spend time arguing the case.

Though economic independence does not shield women from violence, access to economic resource can enhance women's capacity to make the right choices, including escaping violent situations, using mechanisms for protection and remedy (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

It was also brought to attention that street girls and commercial sex workers are in their current position because of their low economic status. However, their work and living condition also makes them be judged in addition to being vulnerable to sexual and other forms of GBV. The

mere realization that most members of the society judge them for what they do, makes them assume police officers are not any different. As a result, they mostly tolerate the pains of violence than reporting it.

The male FGD participants discussed that commercial sex workers do not report violence committed against them even when they are shouting, running away, or are found by police officers in that situation. In the rare cases they report it is not for the physical or sexual violence they encountered but for reasons like 'he didn't give me the money we agreed on" or "he took my belongings" and the like. The result of the in-depth interview with victims discussed above also confirms this truth.

C) Knowledge and Awareness

It was found out from the FGDs and in-depth interviews that the knowledge and awareness of the victims, witnesses, perpetrator and police officers affect the occurrence, reporting as well as investigation of GBV crime. Since victims are not aware of what constitutes a GBV case, especially the psychological and physical types of GBV they don't report the crime. The police also do not investigate these crimes as GBV if the victim is older than 1 years; this works for witnesses too who see GBV crimes and do not report them. Because of lack of knowledge and awareness on the part of the victims and the community GBV crimes committed in the Sub-City are mostly left unreported. In rare cases that these GBV crimes are reported they are seen as simple social incidence than a crime because of the police officers' knowledge and understanding of the concept of GBV.

D) Evidence and Facility

Most GBV crimes are committed in private, whether they happen in public or private places. Thus it is, mostly, very difficult to find witnesses and other evidence to make the case. The in-depth interview with the head of the Sub-City's Women and Children Office explains that the evidence written by physicians include: hymen deposed long ago (የቆየ ከብረንጽህና መደፈር), peeled and split (መላጥና መክንጠቅ), sperm found (የወንድ ዘር ተገኘ) and it has been long (የቆየ ነው) is mostly not clear evidence that can help make a case. So, making the small number of sexual violence reported even lower.

It is also the finding of the male police FGD that since the police officers do not have investigation kit, camera, etc; even to the simplest materials as gloves, it makes the evidence finding work more difficult than it already is. In addition to that, the police officers might also be forced to pay their own money "from the little salary they have" to go to places where crimes are committed in order to investigate cases. This in turn requires the police officers' willingness to do so.

E) Attitude and Training of the Police Officer

In situations where the facility and evidence strengthening mechanisms are very limited, the attitude and training of the police officers play a major role in finding the truth and as a result, strengthening the trust of the citizens on police officers. That, in turn, will also increase the reporting of committed GBV crimes. Since knowing the problem is the first step to tackling it, important GBV related trainings of police officers do not only improve their knowledge but also help change their attitude towards victims and women in general. Trainings given to police officers strengthen enforcement; not only provides assistance to individual girls and women, but indirectly promotes respect for the rule of law across the country (Wilder, 2007). However, the findings of both FGDs and in-depth interviews with the police key informants show that only very few police officers are given trainings about GBV; their attitude towards women and victims is not also encouraging enough to develop trust of citizens. Therefore, it affects the reports of GBV crimes committed negatively.

To sum up, domestic violence is found to be the most prevalent and least reported crime in the study area with the most commonly prevalent and reported crime being rape. It is also found that girls below the age of 18 are mostly affected by GBV. The social group mostly affected by GBV include, young girls, women and girls with low socio-economic status and/or dependant, women and girls who migrated from rural parts of the country, girls and women with disability/ies, domestic workers, street girls, commercial sex workers, housewives, daily laborers. Most GBV cases in the study are not reported because of cultural and socio-economic factors, shame and guilty feeling of victims, fear of community, neighbor and family reaction, knowledge and awareness about the issue of GBV, lack of adequate facility for finding evidence and negative attitude of police officers and police officers' lack of training on GBV.

4.4 Policing

This part of the study shows the preference of the respondents over the two policing systems which are traditional and community.

Table 10 Police Officers' preference of Traditional Policing System

No	Items	Mean
1	Police need to be skeptical of what citizens tell them	4.66
2	The primary measurement of police efficiency should be arrest rates	2.04
3	The focus of the police should be on incidents not on problems and concerns of citizens	1.94
4	I am assertive and controlling while serving as a police officer	4.97
5	Police should only deal with GBV cases when there is no other real police work to do	2.31
6	The role of the police administration is to provide the necessary rules and policy directives	4.35

Mean= 20.32, Standard Deviation= 4.082, N= 270

Table 10 shows that respondents do not have similar attitude or agreement over the statements which express traditional policing system or style. For the statements which state that measurement of police efficiency should be arrest rates, police should focus on incidents rather than citizens' problem and that police have to deal with GBV cases when there is no other police work to do, they show their disagreement with mean values 2.04, 1.94 and 2.31, respectively. On the contrary, the respondents show their agreement for the rest of the statements. The neutral value for all groups of questions with six number of question items is 21. The calculated mean of the items which deal with traditional policing as it is shown in Annex 3 is 20.32. This indicates that the attitude of the respondents towards traditional policing is almost neutral. We can also see from the result that, even though the respondents disagree to item numbers two, three and five, they agree to item numbers one, four and six resulting in a neutral attitude towards traditional policing in general.

Table 11 Police Officers' Preference of Community Policing

No	Items	Mean
1	The police are one department among many public service agencies responsible for improving the quality of life for citizens of the community	5.30
2	The role of the police is to solve problem	4.80
3	The highest priorities of the police should be whatever problems disturb the community most	4.66
4	The essential nature of police accountability is to community needs	4.73
5	Police should refer citizens to relevant counseling or shelter services	4.39
6	Prosecution is one tool among many available to police officers	4.32

Mean= 28.40, Standard Deviation= 5.078, N= 263

As we can see from Table 11, the respondents agree to all statements which express or characterize community policing, with the least mean value being 4.32. In the category of community policing which the graph is shown on Annex 4, the mean value of community policing is calculated as 28.40. Therefore, the respondents have positive attitude towards community policing.

When we compare the attitude of the respondents towards the two policing systems, it is clear that the police officers support and prefer community type of policing than the traditional policing system.

It is the finding of the research that police officers in the Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's Police Department handle all crimes committed against children and GBV crimes committed against women in the Sub-City. Since these police officers work on GBV crimes, only when they are reported, they have no way of affecting the unreported GBV crimes. Supporting the above statement, in answering to the question "do police officers handle cases like marital rape, stalking, and violence committed against commercial sex workers?" one of the in-depth interview participants stated, *We might see marital rape and stalking crimes but only if the victims assertively come to report it (ገ ፍተው መጥተው ከከሰሱ ብቻ) and they do not.*

A study by Sparrow (1988), suggests that traditional policing works in a way of capturing criminals after the crimes occur, which neither prevents nor improve police-community relationships. Since the police officers in the Women and Children's Office of the Sub-City's

Police Department work on GBV crimes only after the crime had already occurred; they use traditional policing in tackling this violence problem.

As Nicholl, (1999) explains, traditional policing is also a one way of response to crime which doesn't encompass allowing the active participation of the community. As a result, it contributed to disaffection and lack of trust, especially between the police and the community they serve.

The results of both FGDs show that the GBV crimes in the Sub-City are not being reported to the extent that they are occurring. In addition to other reasons mentioned earlier, the fact that police officers did not win their (community members') trust does not help increase reporting by victims or help victims feel safer in their community.

Community policing is a type of policing which brings police and citizens together to prevent crime and solve problems, emphasizing the prevention of crimes rather than responding to crimes after they happen (Rhonda 2000:4). As one of the key informants, who at the time of interview was working on community policing, explained, they are using community policing as a system to prevent and control crimes. He further stated that they do this by residing close to and studying the problems of the community from the members through the meetings they held and the reported crimes; by developing action plans and implementing them or facilitating their implementations. The implementation can be teaching the society and making the society part of the policing process.

According to OSCE (2008), community policing produces positive police-community relations in terms of a positive attitude each hold for the other and support and coordination among the parties. This makes the communication between the community and the police, a two way communication. It is also the finding of the key informant interview that community police officers get information from the community members or they try to find out what troubles the community and try to find solutions with the community.

Nevertheless, when we see GBV crimes, the results of both FGDs show that GBV crimes are happening everywhere, everyday but are not seen as the burning concern of the community. Therefore, they are not seen as problems needing of the community police officers' attention to plan or find solutions for. As the result of the in-depth interview with the key informant show, the solution the community police officers come up with after problem identifications can be

awareness creation about the legal rights and responsibilities of community members or residents. However, that is not done for GBV crimes because both the community police officers and the members did not consider it important or sever enough a problem to teach the legal rights and responsibilities about.

A study done in Bahir Dar by Yeshiwas, (2010) shows that community policing crates positive attitude between police officers and community members for each other. This is evident in that Bahir Dar community members have agreed or strongly agreed that police officers treat community members with respect and that the police are, recently, doing an excellent or a very good job and 82 percent of the police officers also have either strongly agreed or agreed that the willingness of community members to work with the police has increased.

It can be inferred from the above that community policing strengthens the trust of the community on the legal system which will again help increase reports and executions of GBV crimes indirectly affecting their occurrence to decrease.

Other researches show that many cases of domestic violence and neighborhood conflict are brought to the attention of community officers depending on the crime cases and their location. However, it is the result of the in-depth interview that community police officers in the study area do not deal with GBV or domestic violence crimes because there is an office which deals with these crimes. It is also the result of both FGDs that in the times that community police officers come across domestic violence, they tend to reconcile the victims to the offender, even in the times that it is dangerous for the victim to go back than handling the case as a crime which does not help reduce the occurrence of GBV crimes in the society.

Moreover, the fact that there is a Women and Children's Office in the Police Department and elsewhere alone does not prevent or control these crimes. Even though, improving police-community relations is not the exclusive business of the community policing subunit but the business of the entire police department, the Women and Children's Office in the Police Department is not, at the time of study working in crating good relations with the community or in teaching the members about their rights and responsibilities concerning GBV crimes.

Therefore, both the community police officers and the police officers working in the Women and Children's Office in the Police Department are not working in preventing and controlling GBV crimes in the community policing system kind of way.

Community policing incorporates a more strategic and thoughtful incorporation of broader police mission focused on the proactive prevention of crime and disorder (Matthew, 2008). It is the finding of the study that in doing so, community police officers work on economic, public health and other development issues in the study area. This method is a more proactive and effective method in that it does not work on already occurred crimes ignoring their causes and effects but recognizes that other development issues can lead to crimes and vise versa and that tackling other societal problems can lead to prevention of crimes and therefore, decrease in crime rates.

This idea also goes in line with intersectionality/ multicultural feminist perspective's idea that it is not only gender but also other social identities and social locations that affect women and girls (Frye, 2001). Therefore, considering other factors like age, socio-economic status, disability or the community's culture the women and girls live in as causes and effects of GBV can help as see the broader aspects of the problem and using community policing principles helps tackle it in a broader sense of the solution; which is more effective in preventing the crime. This makes it very important, especially, because most of the GBV crimes in the society are not reported. However, community policing is not given much importance in mitigating GBV crimes in the study area.

In short, the results of the quantitative data show that the attitude of the police officers towards traditional policing style is neutral in that they agreed to three of the six statement indicating inclination towards traditional policing and disagreed to the rest resulting in 20.32 mean value. Whereas their attitude towards community policing is positive in that the calculated mean value of the statements indicating inclination to community policing style is 28.40. This shows that the police officers prefer community policing and agree to its principles. On the other hand, the result of the qualitative data shows that both the community police officers in the Sub-City and the police officers in the Women and Children's Office in the Police Department do not use community poling principles in preventing and controlling GBV crimes.

4.5 Attitude of Police Officers towards Women and GBV

4.5.1 The Attitude of Police Officers towards Women

William, et.al, (1999), define sexism as a discrimination based on gender, especially discrimination against women or attitudes, conditions, or behaviors that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender. In this study 'sexism' is expressed in three forms which are hostile, overt and modern. Hence, it is through these forms of sexism that the researcher has tried to explore the attitude of police officers under discussion towards women.

Table 12 Attitude of Police Officers towards Women In Relation To Hostile Sexism

No	Items	Mean
1	When women lose to men in a fair competition, women sometimes complain about being discriminated against	3.19
2	Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work	3.72
3	Women often become upset by innocent remarks or acts	3.22
4	Women are too easily offended	3.59
5	Women receive undeserved special treatment under the pretext of equality	2.78

Mean= 16.45, Standard Deviation= 4.639, N= 268

As can be seen from Table 12, the mean of almost all of the items are close to the neutral mean value, which is 3.5. However, respondents have shown their disagreement to the statement stated as 'Women receive undeserved special treatment under the pretext of equality' where the mean value as indicated in the table is 2.78. Hence, respondents do not agree with the idea that women are receiving undeserved special treatment under the pretext of equality. Since, under this category, there are five questions, the neutral score would be 17.5 and the calculated mean value is 16.44. So, this indicates that on average police officers are more of neutral about hostile sexism, but lean towards disagreeing with it (See Annex 5).

Table 13 Attitude of Police Officers towards Women In Relation To Overt Sexism

No	Items	Mean
1	Women are NOT equally capable of thinking logically as men	1.85
2	Women are generally not as smart as men	2.04
3	I would NOT be equally comfortable having a woman or a man as a boss	1.88
4	Women should NOT occupy 50% of positions across all professions, working alongside men	2.66
5	A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man	2.60
6	There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted	2.94

Mean= 13.86, Standard Deviation= 4.078, N= 277

Table 13 shows that, the mean value of each item is below the neutral value (3.5). Hence, it is possible to see that the majority of the respondents do not agree over the given statements which in turn indicate that they are not overt sexist. As it is previously mentioned, the neutral value for all groups of questions with six number of question items is 21. Accordingly, calculated mean value of the general overt sexism idea is 13.86. (Annex 6). This indicates that on average the respondents do not have overt sexist attitude towards women.

Table 14 Attitude of Police Officers towards Women In Relation To Modern Sexism

No	Items	Mean
1	Discrimination against women is still a problem in Addis Ababa	4.19
2	Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination	3.92
3	It is easy to understand why women's groups, such as EWLA and the Women's Bureau, continue to be concerned about women in Ethiopian society	4.68
4	Society has not reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement	2.76

Mean= 15.54, Standard Deviation= 3.446, N= 276

The statements included in Table 14 are all opposite to modern sexist attitudes. Unlike the others, item number four has a mean value of 2.76. In this item, the respondents believe that

women and men have equal opportunities for achievement. The neutral value for all groups of questions with four number of question items is 14. Accordingly, calculated mean value of the general idea towards modern sexism (Annex 7) is 15.54. This shows that even though the respondents believe that society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunity for achievement, they do agree that there is discrimination against women in the society. Therefore, it can be said that the respondents do not have modern sexist attitude towards women on average.

The result of the data measuring police officers' attitude towards women in general shows that the police officers do not have sexist attitude towards women. Even though, the police officers acknowledge the existence of women inequality and discrimination in the society; they also, on average reflect that society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunity. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that the police officers in general have positive or good attitude towards women.

When we see the result of the FGD with the male police officers we can further analyze the attitude of police officers towards women. In explaining women's accusations of GBV crimes in relation to women's behavior one of the police officers (MP4) said;

> *Most women are with men for money and not for the relationship. Therefore, when they don't get what they want, most of them falsely accuse the guy. Police officers should be skeptical of this. Plus, it is because men do not complain but they are the victims if you look deep (ወንዱ ይህን አረገችነኝ ስለማይል ነው እንጂ አሱ ነው ተጎጂው).*

Another police officer (MP7), in explaining the conflict between husband and wife or partners, added,

> *Let alone a person and another person, even a pot collides with another pot (እንኳን ሰዉና ሰዉ ጋንና ጋን ይጋጫል). They should talk to each other even after she gets her slap (ጥፊዋን ቀምሳም ቢሆን መነጋገር አለባቸው). So, they should not come to us with trivial cases. Let those that are hard and bad for the society come.*

Radical feminists explain that through the systematic privileging of men subordinating women, interlocking system of the society supports oppression and reinforces the subjugation of women and the various forms of violence perpetuated against them (Norsworthy, 2002). In a patriarchal society, women are considered at fault even when they are being violated against. The above

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examples show that even when she is slapped, or is a victim of domestic violence, it is seen from an angle where it is "justified" or where it is seen her fault one way or another. Strengthening this idea is other police officers' comments below. For example MP1 said: *If a woman goes out at night or drinks alcohol, she should know that she will be violated whether fooled or forced.*

MP5 added,

> *Women should take responsibility for their actions. They should be careful of the perfumes and the clothes they wear and the cosmetics they use that calls for trouble. A woman has her own feminine behavior. She should look it (ሴት የራሷ የሴትነት ባህሪ አለት ፡ አሱን ትያዣል).*

The attitude that women are subordinate compared to men, found among both men and women, inculcate the acceptance of men's sexually and physically abusing women (Berhane, 2004 in Bizu, et.al, 2009).

It can be seen from the above and the result of the FGD with male police officers that the police officers see the women and girls as initiating the crimes committed against them and that it is their fault for making the men abuse them and besides, they should not complain and report to the police officers all the "little and unnecessary" domestic problems they face; which in a nutshell, says that women deserve the abuse they experience but it is the men who are hurting because of all the accusations made against them.

According to Yetnayet (2003), the attitude towards women; that they are subordinate and that it is "normal" to abuse them in different ways, is seen in different members of the society including, teachers, priest, and male police officers.

This is supported by both FGDs with male and female police officers. It was mentioned that sometimes, police officers themselves are also perpetuators of GBV. Cases like a woman who was raped by two police officers; a five year old lost girl who was spending the night in the police station was raped by a police officer who was working in the night shift. It was the experience of the researcher and was also mentioned by the participants of the FGDs that there are male police officers who verbally harass women by sexual innuendos, comments, and remarks about women's body parts even when they are wearing police officers' uniforms.

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Thus, though from the discussion so far it is found that the police officers do not have sexist attitude towards women, tangible evidence was not found to conclude that police officers' attitude towards women is positive. However, the results of the FGDs revealed that the police officers in the study have the societal view of women's subordination and men's superiority.

When the offender of GBV is a police officer (one of the state's representative for security and justice), it makes matters even worse in that the very few women that are courageous enough to report crimes will be discouraged which will decrease the report rate of GBV, but this in turn, increases the crime rate for many GBV crimes are left unpunished.

In brief, the result of the quantitative data revealed that the attitude of police officers towards women in relation to hostile sexism is close to neutral with calculated mean of 16.44 compared to 17.50 mean value; in relation to overt sexism, police officers show disagreement to overt sexism with calculated mean of 13.86 compared to 21 mean value and they also show disagreement to modern sexism having calculated mean of 15.54 compared to 14 mean value in statements opposing modern sexism. So, even though it cannot be concluded from this result that the police officers have positive attitude towards women, it can be argued that they do not have sexist attitude towards women. However the qualitative data shows that the police officers, especially the male police officers, view women as subordinate to men, blame the victims and they also are in some cases the perpetrators of the GBV crimes committed against women and girls.

4.5.2 The Attitude of Police Officers towards Victims of GBV

When a woman or a girl goes to report that violence has been committed against her, police officers may tend to consider the girl or the woman as a suspect or on the contrary as an authoritative. Here under, it is attempted to assess the attitude of the police officers towards the reporter women or girls of a GBV crime from these two perspectives.

Table 15 Police Officers' Attitude of Victims as a Suspect

No.	Items	Mean
1	If the victim is married to the offender, the victim will retract her complaint	3.49
2	Only cases with a witness and/or a visible injury are worth investigating	3.38
3	Victims bend the truth to place blame on the suspect	3.26
4	Victims often provoke their offender through bad behavior	3.40
5	Victims who have been battered by their acquaintances must have done something wrong	2.73
6	Women and girls who are raped most likely put themselves in the situation	3.43

Mean= 19.84, Standard Deviation= 5.209, N= 254

In Table 15 the mean value of respondents show that they have almost neutral perception towards statements in item numbers 1,2,3,4, and 6 with mean values 3.49, 3.38, 3.26, 3.40, and 3.43, respectively. However, their inclination towards the statement in item number 5 which is stated as, 'victims who have been battered by their acquaintances must have done something wrong', shows their disagreement having mean value of 2.73. The calculated mean value for the attitude of police officers towards victims as a suspect is 19.84(See Annex 8). 21 being the neutral value for all groups of questions with six number of items, a slight disagreement of perceiving victims as suspect can be observed; but on average the police officers perception of victims is neutral.

Table 16 Police Officers' Perception of Victims as Authoritative

No.	Items	Mean
1	Irrespective of background, victims have a complex understanding of what occurred during the reported incident	4.88
2	Women who report domestic violence but do not have a witness should be considered as a legitimate source of information	4.30
3	It is difficult for victims to speak out loud the things that have been done to them	4.47
4	Victims who come in several days after an incident should be considered legitimate	4.91
5	When a victim needs immediate medical attention, police officers should assist them in getting the help they need previous to gathering details of the case	5.10
6	Showing care and support for victims helps get better information about GBV case	4.75

Mean= 28.39, Standard Deviation= 5.251, N= 265

As it can be seen from Table 16, all the mean values of the respondents over each statement, which expresses victims as authoritative, is above neutral (3.5) where 4.30 is the smallest mean value and 5.10 being the highest. The calculated mean value of the general view of police officers towards victims as authoritative is 28.39. 21 being the neutral value for similar reason mentioned previously, the attitude of the majority of the police officers towards considering victims as an authoritative is positive or they consider victims as authoritative (See Annex 9).

Therefore, police officers' perception of victims as described by the quantitative result is more of an authoritative than a suspect.

When it is seen from the victims' perspective, KPSV2 explained it as;

> *I did not feel trusted when they questioned me. They think I am lying. I would not have reported if it were not for my lost money and jewelry. This station sends me to another station and they send me here again..... the police officer asked what happened and when I told him everything he smiled and said your story looks like a film (አይ ያንቺ ነገር: ፊልም ነው የሚመስለው).*

It is also the finding of the research that KPV2 did not feel safe when she was first interviewed in front of one of the offenders. She was answering the questions that the police officer was asking with a shaking voice and the police officer was repeating the phrase *are you sure?,* every time she gives him an answer for a question. The police officer was also throwing some comments

about her answers to his question. Like, for example, he asked what her religion was after she told him that she drank some alcohol. After she told him her religion, he then asked, teasingly, *but do Protestants drink alcohol?* He also said *enjoying has become hard recently, hasn't it?*, sarcastically. After he finished his interview, he told one of the other police officers *put him in jail. What can we do? It is difficult if you let him go in this kind of situation (ይታስር ምን ይደረጋል እንዴህ ያለ ነገር ለቀህ ደግሞአስቸጋሪ ነው).*

Other researches also show that many victims noted that they would not have reported if they had known what the experience would be like. The victims' experiences have given rise to some serious psychological and physical problems and have hurt their trust in the police (Campbell, et.al, 1999, 2001).

Another victim (KPSV1) was a 13 year old girl at the time of the interview. She was raped three times on different days and was blackmailed by a 25 year old man who lives beside her house. She was very pale faced and was squeezing her one hand with the other when she was being interviewed by the police officer. She was not looking up when she was answering the questions she was asked. After being interviewed by the police officer, tears in her eyes, she said, *She asked me the date of the first day he raped me. I told her what I thought was the right date, but I don't know the exact date. She... I don't think she trusted me but I did not lie.*

She felt mistrusted and that it is her fault she was raped. When asked why she felt that way, she said, *"the police officer was raising her voice; asking me if I am sure and because she said she'll find out and put me in jail if I am lying...."*

Debra (2011) also stated that the negative experiences with the police have been very hurtful and usually been characterized by the victims as secondary victimization.

Even though, in this and other researches, police experience has been a second victimization for the victims, KPV3's has a different experience in her time of report even though she was also primarily victimized by a police officer. She said,

> *I was raped by a federal police officer but it is also other federal police officers who brought me here and encouraged me to report. I did not even contact them. My friend told them that I was raped and beaten and was sleeping because I was sick. They told my friend that they will help me. I would not have reported if she did not tell them but I wanted to know if he was free from HIV/AIDS. He started to use condom but then he (the*

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offender police officer) stopped to use the condom and raped me without condom. I work as a commercial sex worker, but I have started the process to go abroad and work. I preferred if it was a female police officer who interviewed me because, you know, I felt like they won't understand. My life is difficult. People do not understand that I do what I do because I have financial problems but the police officer who interviewed me was very supportive and was encouraging me not to be afraid.

In a nut shell, the finding of the quantitative result shows that police officers' attitude towards victims as a suspect is neutral with a slight disagreement shown in the calculated mean of 19.84 compared to mean of 21; whereas, their attitude towards victims as an authoritative is positive with an agreement shown with a calculated mean of 28.39 compared to a mean value of 21. From this it can be argued that the attitude of the police officers towards victims is considering them, more of, as an authoritative than as a suspect. However, as in other researches, the victims in this research (KPSV1 and KPSV2) view their experience with the police officers as a situation that made them feel like a suspect. Even though it needs further study to draw a sound conclusion, for the victims who have reported their cases to the Police Department, it makes the result of considering victims as an authoritative just an attitude that is not rendered in their action. For these victims the police experience was a secondary victimization. Whereas KPSV3's experience illustrates that there are also different police officers whose actions can be cross checked with their practice of considering victims as authoritative.

4.5.3 Police Attitude towards GBV

Studies have shown that police officers report that decisions about how to handle GBV cases rely on signs of injury, witnessing an act of violence, having previous reports from the household, involvement of substances, and characteristics of the neighborhood from which the report was made (Belknap, 1995 and Buzawa, 2003).

It is also the finding of the research that police officers' attitude and their decisions about how to handle GBV cases are determined by the different signs or indicators they find out, their attitude towards women in general, their perception of victims and offenders among other things. The FGDs with both female and male police officers show that GBV cases, especially domestic violence are hard to decide on because it is very difficult to find evidences. As FP5 puts it, *physical assaults are sometimes hard to find evidence to even on children. If there is nothing on the body of the child or the girl reported as a victim, it is hard to make the case.* FP1 added that

it is also hard to know the truth if the adult reporting a child's case is putting words in the supposedly victim's mouth (telling them what to say).

Liberal feminists suggest that the state is inefficient and faces technical difficulties in bringing violent men to court due to the nature of the offences (Walby, 1990).

Additionally, several studies suggest that situational factors may influence police officer's response to a GBV situation (Rigakos, 1997; Robinson & Chandek, 2000; Sinden & Stephens, 1999). The FGDs show that police officers especially those who work on women's and children cases are very tired. The participants also agreed that lack of facilities like transportation, affects the police officers' attitude towards the cases they are handling. The knowledge and scope of GBV they have also determines their response to that violence.

For instance MP7 said that he and his friend found a man trying to rape a mentally retarded girl but they did not bring him to the station because *he has not done it and he was drunk*.

According to Logan, et.al (2006), there is a general trend that treatment, rather than sanctions, was more appropriate for GBV offenses compared to other offenses; especially, domestic violence offenses. It is also explained that officers reported a preference to handle GBV, especially, domestic violence cases with mediation rather than arrest.

It is also the finding of the FGD with the male police officers that they mostly take care of GBV cases especially, those related to street girls, commercial sex workers and domestic violence by reconciling the victims with the accused.

Even though it cannot be generalized for all police officers in the Sub-City, it is the finding of the research that police officers' attitude towards women is a replication of the societal value, which is patriarchal. Though, their opinion about perception towards victims is found to be as authoritative, their practical perception is of seeing victims as suspect.

To come to the point, even though the decisions of the police towards GBV is different for different police officers, since it is hard to get evidence of GBV crimes due to lack of adequate facility to do so, the decision about how to handle GBV crimes depends on the police officers' attitude towards GBV; which in turn depends on the understanding of the scope and criminality of GBV, their attitude towards women and girls and their attitude towards victims of GBV. Since

the police officers application and scope of GBV criminality is mostly related to the sexual type of GBV only; their attitude towards women and girls being not positive in that they view women and girls as subordinate to men and boys; considering some of the victims as suspects, blaming them for the violence they experienced and even being the perpetrators in some cases; it can be argued that the police officers do not have positive attitude towards decreasing GBV crimes.

Thus, the police officers under study, especially those who are directly related to GBV, do not have the attitude that enhances the report rate and decrease prevalence rate of GBV.

4.5.4 Gender Difference in Police Officers' Attitudes towards GBV

Despite the long period of time since women have achieved formal integration into police organizations, their numbers in the force remain relatively low (Poteyeva, 2009:512).

Various studies indicate that, the effect of gender has been debated and is deemed inconsistent. It is socially expected that because of their feminine nature women are caring and understanding than men. The findings of the focus group discussions also reveal this social role expectation. For instance, MP2 said *the women care more because they think and say what if it was me besides, women are caring by nature.* FP7 added; *the women cannot turn her back on the wound she knows very well.* FP4 further explained that *women cannot help but feel belongingness towards their own gender and therefore are best in handling GBV cases besides; they are strict in doing their jobs properly.*

However, they also talked from experience that it is easier to talk about "taboo" words with the male than the female police officers because, as MP7 explains it, the Ethiopian culture gives more right to men than women to violate norms. FP3's statement also supports this idea; *sometimes female police officers are ashamed of saying explicit words in explaining what happened to GBV victims.*

It is also the researcher's finding that in spite of the societal expectation that the victims sometimes prefer to talk to male police officers than the female ones. In addition to that, the female police officers are found to be more insistent, raise their voice usually, and sometimes seem too tired to be interested in handling anything. From a recent research conducted by Ivan Sun, Doris Chu (2008) to asses if police men and police women differ in their job related

attitudes towards violence or not, it is found out that the police officers under study, police women show stronger support for aggressive enforcement than policemen and that police women are perceived more concerned and have a better trust in the society as a result.

The female FGD discussants agreed that even though male police officers are easily corrupted, they are the ones that are more caring and ready to go further in trying to handle GBV cases like for example when there is no transportation to use to go to the place where GBV crime was committed, it is the male police officers than the female who are willing to pay their money for transport or to walk to investigate the case.

In short, their gender role and the way they are socialized make female police officers be preferable by some victims of GBV. The result of the FGDs also show that some police officers agree on female police officers having a relatively positive attitude compared to male police officers in that they are strict about their job, they do not harass community members like the male police officers do, and they understand women's body and problems related to women's physic better than male police officers. However, it cannot be concluded that one of the genders has a more positive attitude towards GBV compared to the other, which calls for further research about the issue.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of the study is to investigate police officers' attitude towards gender-based violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa. To attain this objective both primary and secondary data collection methods were used. The secondary data were gathered through critical review of related conceptual, theoretical, empirical studies as well as policies at the international, regional and national levels.

The primary data were collected through quantitative and qualitative methods. The survey questionnaire was used to gather the relevant quantitative data which were analyzed through statistical techniques such as percentage, mean, median and standard deviation. The qualitative data were gathered through focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews with victims, key informants and police officers. Finally, the findings of the study were thematically organized and analyzed through triangulation of various data sources to increase the validity and reliability of the findings of the study.

5.1 Summary of Major Findings

The major findings of the study are summarized as follows:

- As can be inferred from the findings of the study, the attitude of police officers towards the definition of GBV applied by the police officers is neutral with calculated mean value of 22.17 compared to mean value of 21; whereas, their attitude towards UN definition of GBV, which is an all-encompassing definition, is positive with a calculated mean value of 28.45 compared to21 neutral mean value. The result of the qualitative study also shows that police officers have positive attitude towards the UN definition of GBV and they agree that all types of GBV in the UN definition should be prosecutable by law. Even though all types of GBV crimes categorized by different UN declarations are prevalent in all spheres of the study area, the type, scope and criminality of GBV considered important and handled by police officers as GBV crimes are limited to sexual violence.

- Domestic violence is found to be the most prevalent and least reported crime in the study area with the most commonly prevalent and reported crime being rape. It is also found that girls below the age of 18 are mostly affected by GBV. The social groups mostly affected by GBV include: young girls, women and girls with low socio-economic status and/or dependant, women and girls who migrated from rural parts of Ethiopia, girls and women with disability/ies, domestic workers, street girls, commercial sex workers, housewives, and daily laborers. Most GBV cases in the study are not reported because of cultural and socio-economic factors, shame and guilty feeling of victims, fear of community, neighbors and family reactions, lack of knowledge and awareness about issues related to GBV, lack of adequate facility for finding evidence and negative attitude of police officers and police officers' lack of training on GBV.

- With regard to the attitude of police officers towards policing styles, the results of the quantitative data show that the attitude of the police officers towards traditional policing style is neutral in that they agreed to three of the six statements indicating inclination towards traditional policing and disagreed to the rest resulting in 20.32 mean value. Whereas their attitude towards community policing is positive in that the calculated mean value of the statements indicating inclination to community policing style is 28.40. This shows that the police officers prefer community policing and agree on its principles. On the other hand, the result of the qualitative data shows that both the community police officers in the study area and the police officers in the Women and Children's Office in the Police Department do not use community policing principles in preventing and controlling GBV crimes.

- With regard to the attitude of police officers towards women in relation to hostile sexism, the result of the quantitative data revealed that it is close to neutral with calculated mean of 16.44 compared to 17.50 mean value; in relation to overt sexism, police officers show disagreement to overt sexism with calculated mean of 13.86 compared to 21 mean value and they also show disagreement to modern sexism having calculated mean of 15.54 compared to 14 mean value in statements opposing modern sexism. So, even though it cannot be concluded from this result that the police officers have positive attitude towards women, it can be argued that they do not have sexist attitude towards women. However, the qualitative data shows that the police officers, especially the male police

officers, view women as subordinate to men, blame the victims, and they also are, in some cases, the perpetrators of GBV crimes committed against women and girls.

- In relation to the police officers' attitude, the finding of the quantitative result shows that police officers' attitude towards victims as a suspect is neutral with a slight disagreement shown in the calculated mean of 19.84 compared to the mean value of 21; whereas their attitude towards victims as an authoritative is positive with an agreement shown with a calculated mean value of 28.39 compared to a mean value of 21. From this, it can be argued that the attitude of the police officers towards victims is considering them more of as an authoritative than as a suspect. However, victims in this research (KPSV1 and KPSV2) view their experience with the police officers as a situation that made them feel like a suspect. Even though it needs further study to draw a sound conclusion, for the victims who have reported their cases to the Police Department, it makes the result of considering victims as an authoritative just an attitude that is not rendered in their action. For those victims, the police experience was a secondary victimization. Whereas KPSV3's experience illustrates that there are also different police officers who can be cross-checked with their practice of considering victims as an authoritative.

- When we consider the police officers' attitude towards GBV, it can be argued that even though the attitude of the police towards GBV is different for different police officers, since it is hard to get evidence of GBV crimes due to lack of adequate facility to do so, the decision about how to handle GBV crimes depend on the police officers' attitude towards GBV; which, in turn, depends on the understanding of the scope and criminality of GBV, their attitude towards women and girls, and their attitude towards victims of GB. Since the police officers application and scope of GBV criminality is mostly related to the sexual type of GBV only, their attitude towards women and girls being not positive in that they view women and girls as subordinate to men and boys; considering some of the victims as suspects, blaming them for the violence they experienced and even being the perpetrators in some cases; it can be argued that the police officers do not have positive attitude towards decreasing GBV crimes. Thus, the police officers under study, especially those who are directly related to GBV, do not have an attitude that enhances the report rate and decreases the prevalence rate of GBV.

- Looking at gender differences in police officers' attitude towards GBV, their gender role and the way they are socialized make female police officers to be preferable by some victims of GBV. The result of the FGDs also show that some police officers agree on female police officers having a relatively positive attitude compared to male police officers in that they are strict about their job, they do not harass community members like the male police officers do, and they understand women's body and their problems better than male police officers. However, it cannot be concluded that one of the genders has a positive attitude towards GBV compared the other, which calls for further research.

5.2 Concluding Remarks

The findings of the study imply the following concluding remarks:

- Even though GBV is prevalent in the study area, it is not adequately reported since it affects those victims who are in a relatively lower status in terms of age, socio-economic status and power relations.

- The police officers in the study area have positive attitude towards community policing system, but they do not practice it to prevent and mitigate GBV crimes.

- There is no clear gender difference in the attitude of police officers towards GBV. Therefore, additional study needs to be done to further investigate the issue.

- The type and scope of GBV criminality considered as important and handled by police officers is sexual violence.

- Police officers have neither sexist attitude nor positive attitude towards women.

- It cannot be concluded that the police officers' attitude towards victims is more of an authoritative than a suspect because there are also evidences that they consider victims as suspects, which also needs further investigation.

- The police officers in the study area do not have positive attitude towards mitigating and preventing GBV. Therefore, trainings on GBV need to be given for police officers to improve their understanding about the scope and criminality of GBV and their attitude towards victims and women and girls in general.

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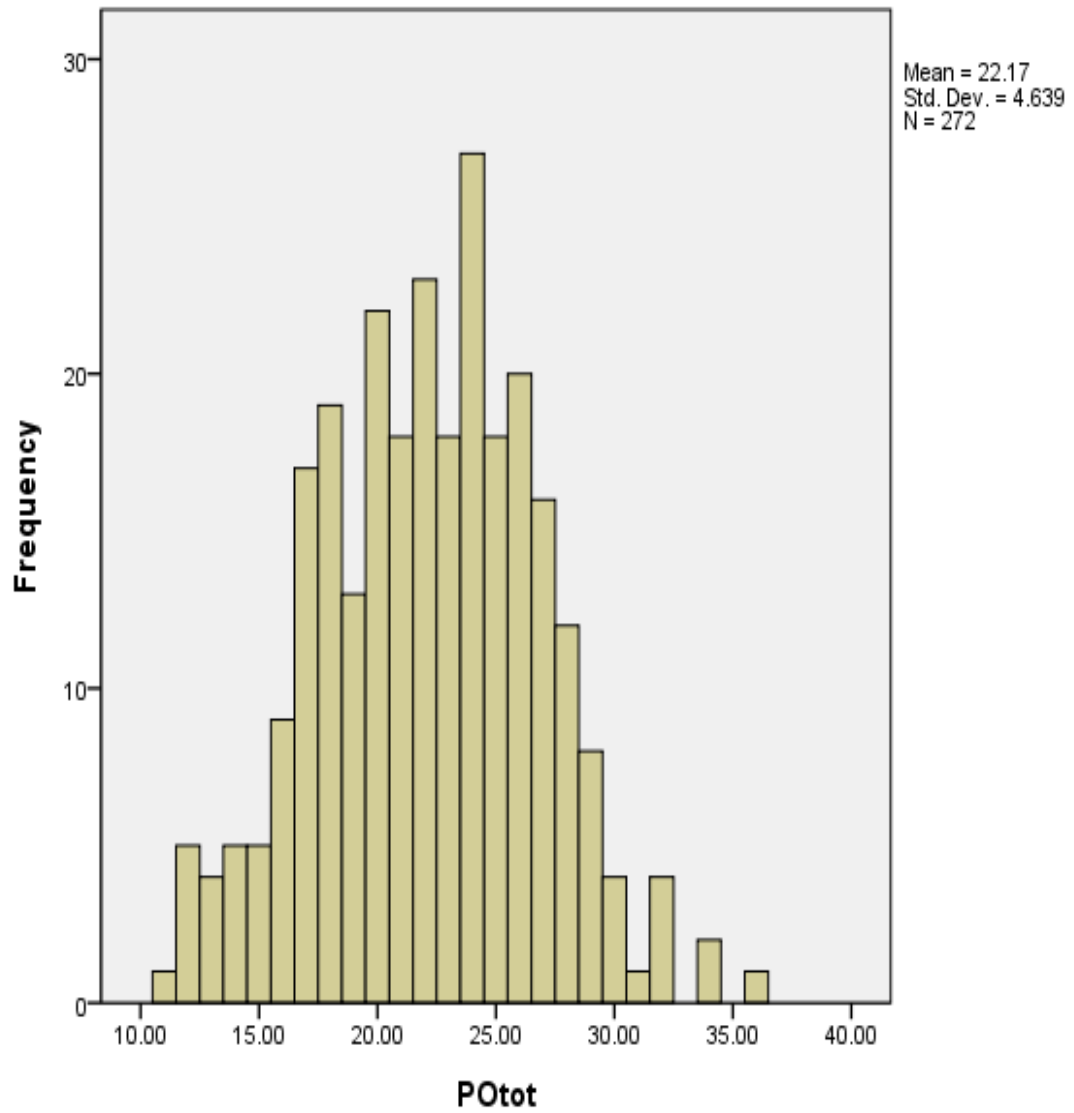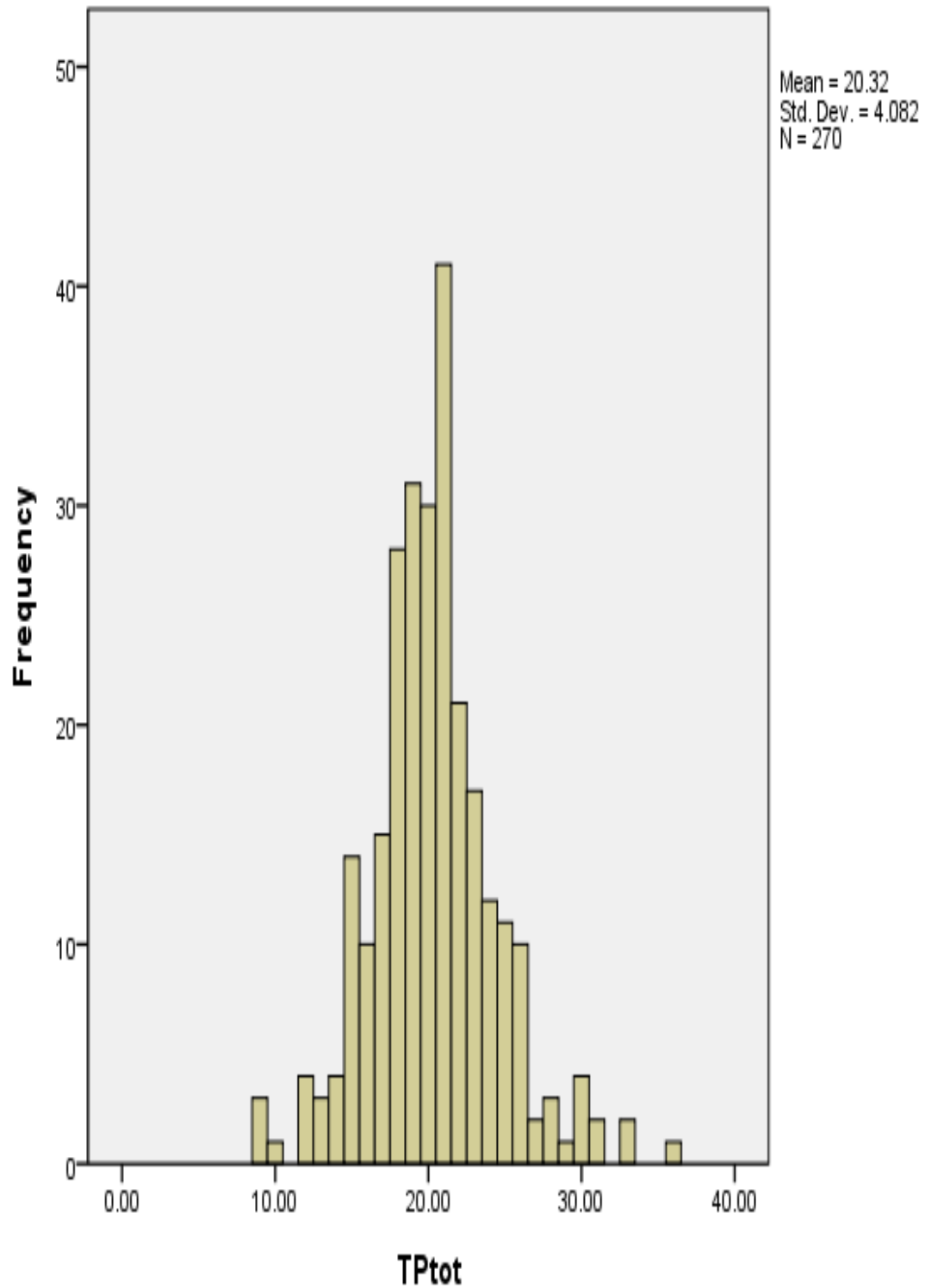
Annex   1

UN Definition of Gender-Based Violence
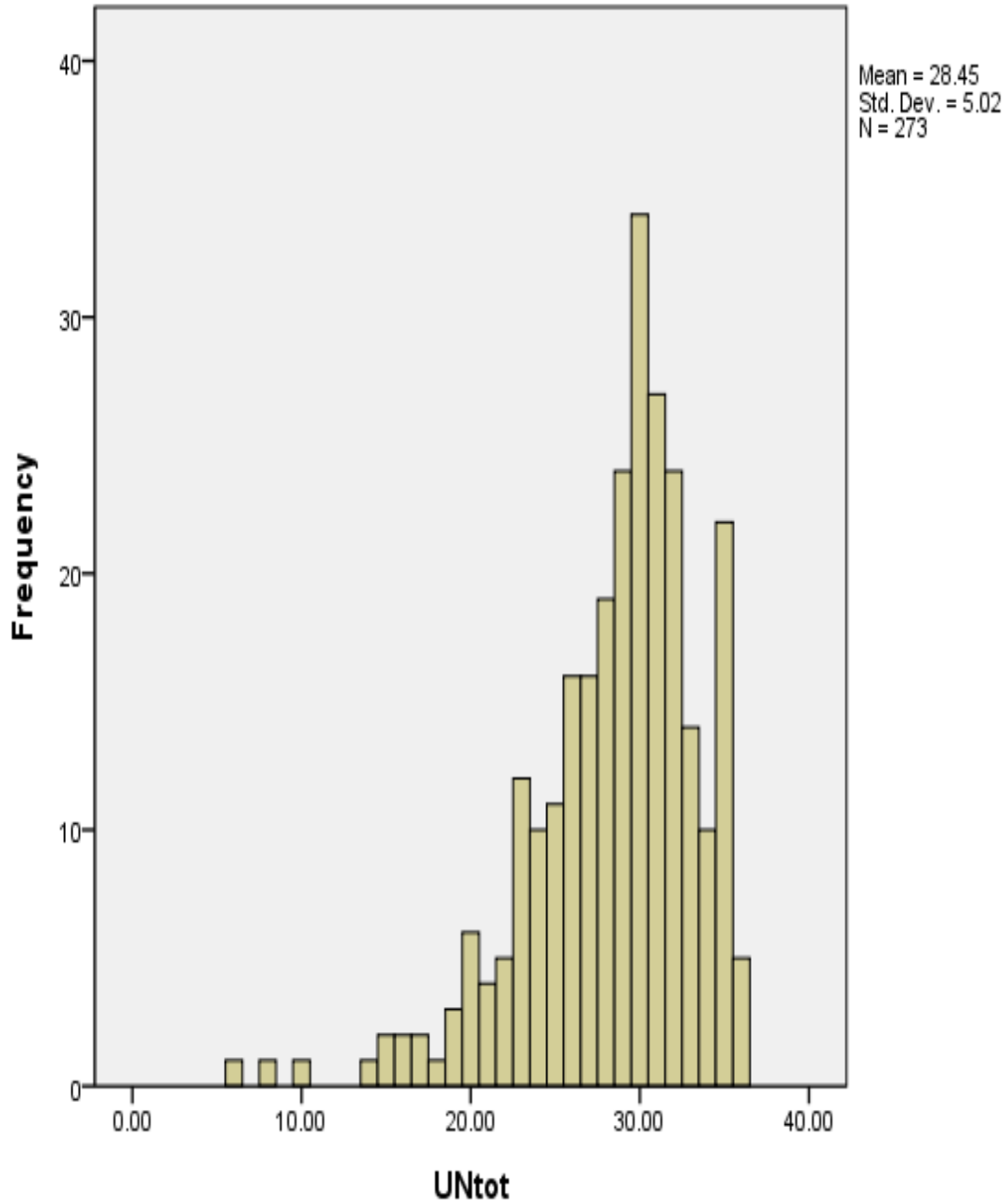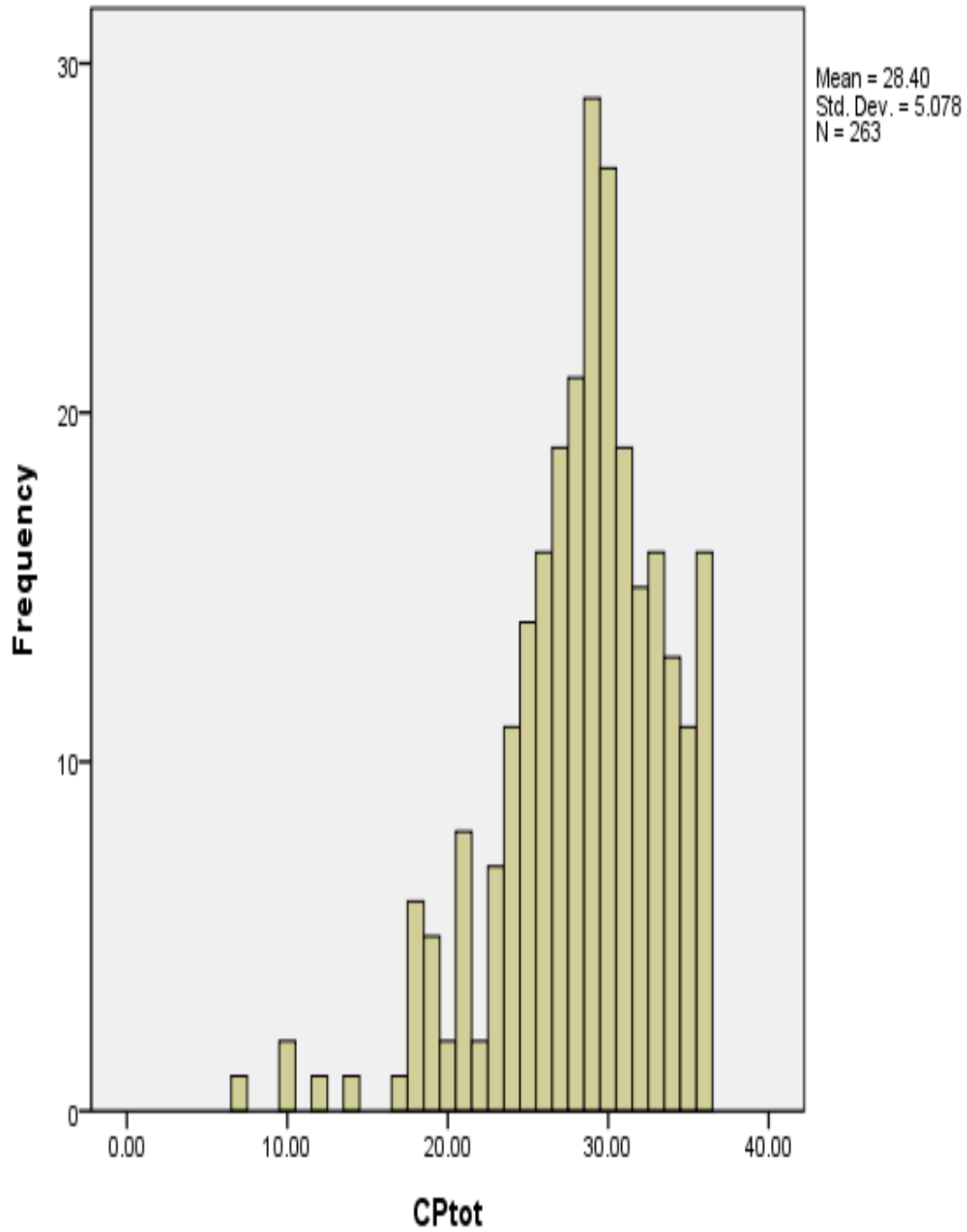
Annex   2

Police Definition of Gender-Based Violence

Mean = 22.17
Std. Dev. = 4.639
N = 272

Annex 3

Traditional Policing

Mean = 20.32
Std. Dev. = 4.082
N = 270

Annex   4

Community Policing

Mean = 28.40
Std. Dev. = 5.078
N = 263

Annex   5

Hostile Sexism

Annex   6

Overt Sexism

Mean = 13.86
Std. Dev. = 4.708
N = 277

Annex   7

Modern Sexism

Mean = 15.54
Std. Dev. = 3.446
N = 276
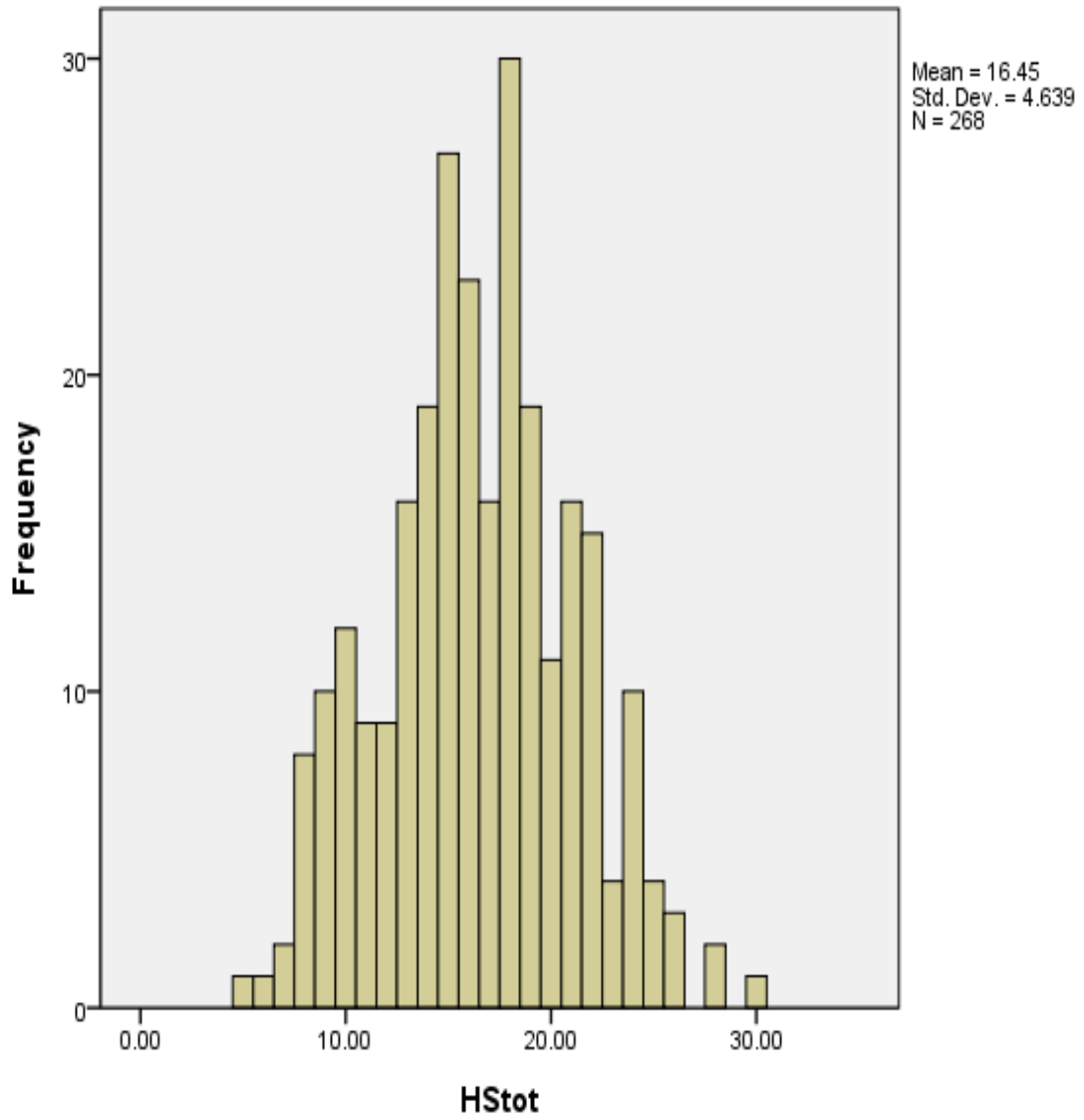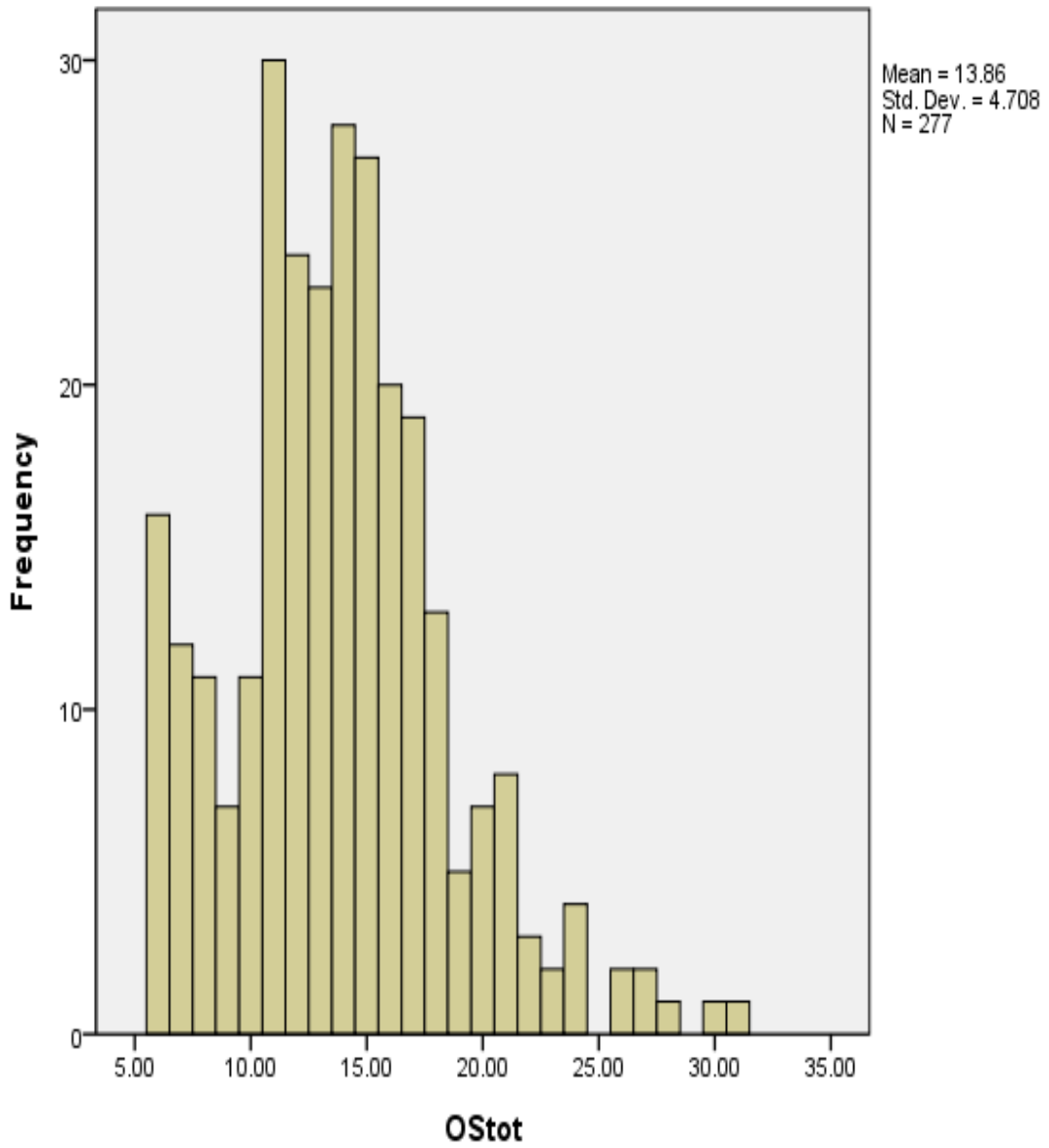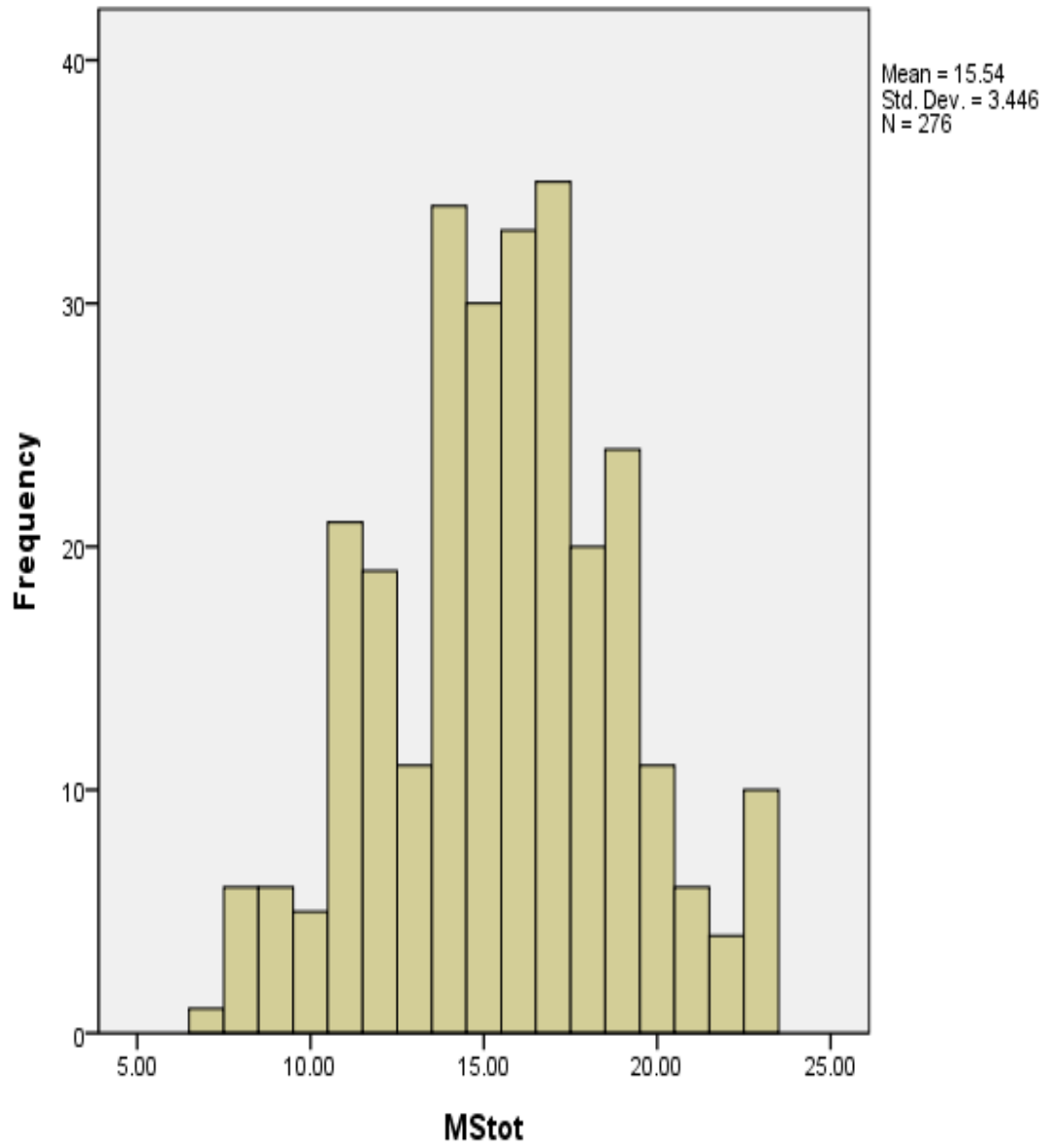
Annex   8

Victim as Suspect

Mean = 19.84
Std. Dev. = 5.209
N = 254
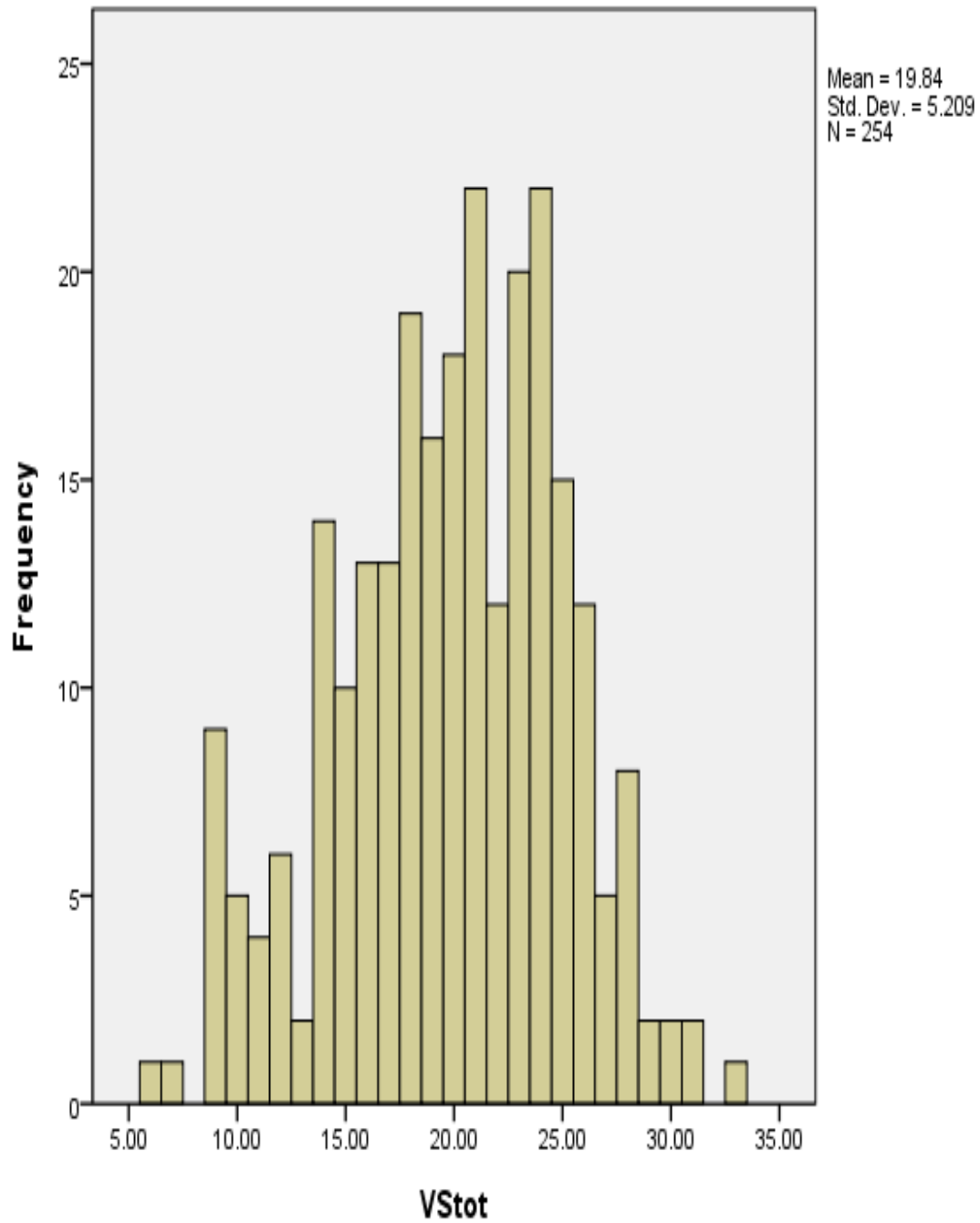
Annex 9

Victim as Authoritative

Mean = 28.39
Std. Dev. = 5.251
N = 265
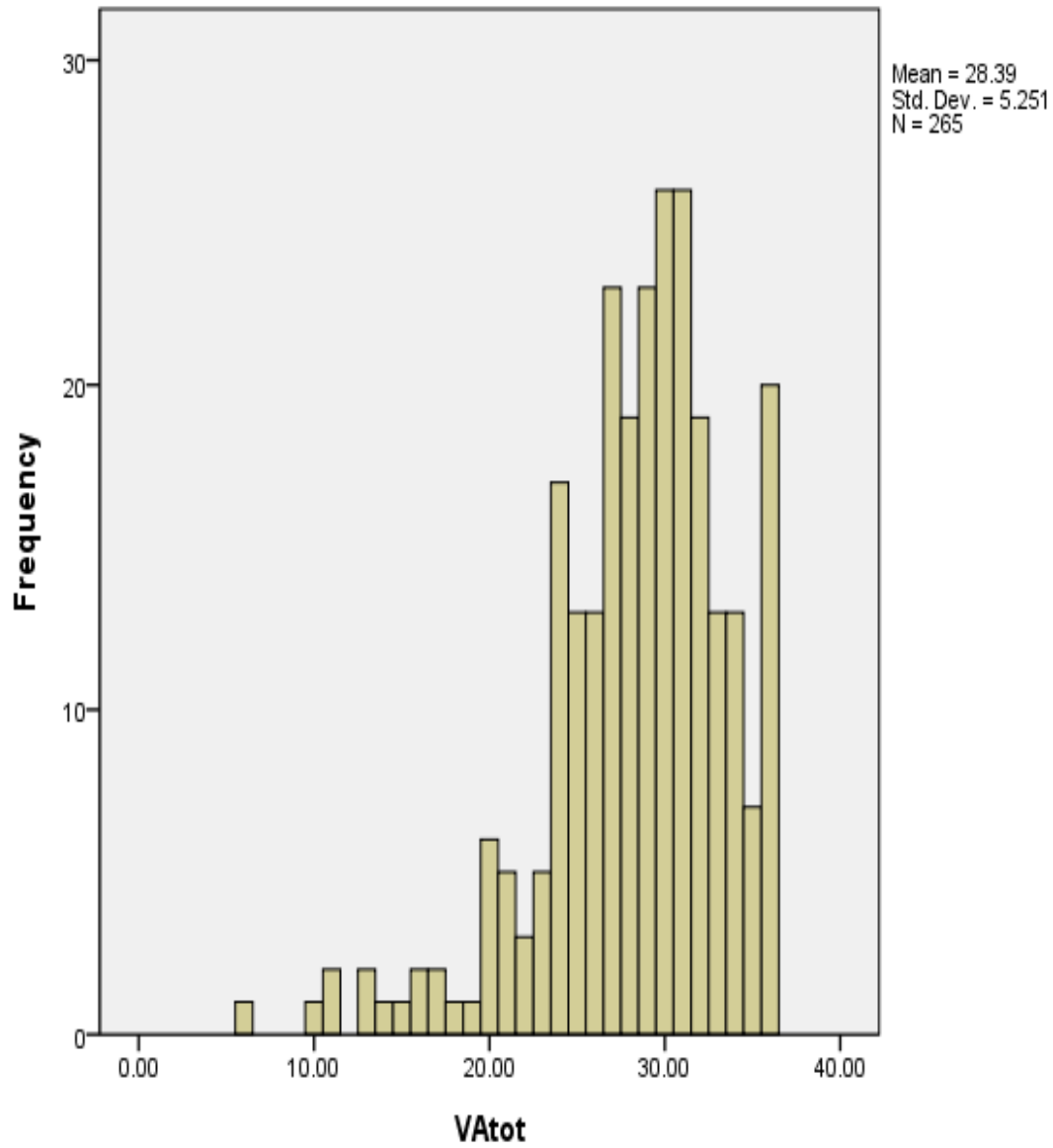
Annex 10

Information Sheet and Consent Form

Research Title*:* Police Officers' Attitude towards Gender-Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis

Ababa

   Name **of Investigator**: Feteh Demmelash

   Research Advisor: Dr. Guday Emirie

My name is Fetheh Demelash and I am studying at the Institute of Gender Studies Addis Ababa University. You have been invited to take part in a study on Police Officers' Attitude Towards Gender-Based Violence. Before you decide whether to take part, please take time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask if you have any question or if you would like more information or clarity.

This study is conducted as a partial fulfillment of a Master's Thesis in Institute of Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University. It has got ethical approval from the Ethical Review Committee of the Institute of Gender Studies of Addis Ababa University. The study is being conducted on Kirkos Sub-city Police Department. The aim of the study is to explore the types and prevalence of gender-based violence and to investigate police officers' attitude towards it; with specific reference to the Police Department in Kirkos Sub-city, Addis Ababa. That is why you are contacted for taking part in the study and there will be no payment for your participation.

All information that is collected about you or your respected police stations during the study will be kept confidential, and your names will never be mentioned in any analysis and reporting of findings, unless you give your consent to do so. Please be informed that participation in this study is purely voluntary. If you wish not to participate or to discontinue the interview at any time, you can. However, the information you give is highly valuable to the study. If you choose not to participate in the study, or if you choose to participate but later choose to withdraw, this will not in any way have negative consequences in you or your respected police stations. And this interview will take about 60 to 120 minutes.

Thank you for your time and kind cooperation in advance.

I confirm that I have been given a full explanation of the study and that I have read and understood the information sheet. I voluntarily agree to take part in the study.

   Signature: _____

   Date: _____

Annex 11

I. Police Officer Attitudinal Questionnaire

General Introduction: The purpose of the questionnaire is to gather information related to "Police Officers' Attitude Towards Gender-Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa". The data to be collected from this questionnaire will be used only for the purpose of educational research. Your responses will be kept confidential and you will not be asked to disclose your identity. I kindly request you to participate in this study voluntarily. The quality of this study depends on your genuine response.

Directions:

First, you will be asked a few demographic questions, please circle the appropriate answer or write answer when provided with the space to do so. Secondly, you will be asked a series of questions regarding your attitudes about victims, women, police role, and Gender Based Violence (GBV). For each statement, circle only **one** option.

Police Officer Demographic Information		
Sex Male ☐ Female ☐	**Age** _____	**Place of Birth** _____

Educational Background
  Primary ☐
  Secondary ☐
  Diploma ☐
  Degree ☐
 	
  Other: _____
	Years of Police Experience
	  Under 1 year ☐
	  1-3 years ☐
	  4-6 years ☐
	  7-9 years ☐
	  10 & 10years ☐
		Religion
		  Orthodox ☐
		  Muslim ☐
		  Protestant ☐
		  Catholic ☐
		  No religion
		  Other: _____ ☐

Monthly Salary (*birr*)
  <1000 ☐
  1000-1500 ☐
  1500-2000 ☐
  2000-2500 ☐
  2500-3000 ☐
  >3000 ☐
	Marital Status
	  Have no partner ☐
	  Have boy/girlfriend ☐
	  Married ☐
	  Separated ☐
	  Divorced ☐
	  Widowed ☐
	Other: -----------------------
		List Professional Trainings Attended:
		_____
		_____
		_____
		_____
		_____

Have you ever handled a GBV case?
  Yes ☐   No ☐
	Have you ever known a victim of GBV personally?
	  Yes ☐ No ☐
		Have you ever been the victim of GBV?
		Yes ☐ No ☐

Have you ever reported a GBV crime against yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐	Have you ever been formally accused of GBV? Yes ☐ No ☐	Have you ever committed GBV? Yes ☐ No ☐

Circle the option which best describes your opinion. You will have the following options:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree		Strongly Agree

N O	Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Some what Disagree	Agre e	Some what agree	Strongly agree
1.	When women are won by men in a fair competition, women sometimes complain about being discriminated against.						
2	Police need to be skeptical of what citizens tell them.						
3	Given that Ethiopia is signatory to the Convention on the elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), police officers should prosecute offenders according to the United Nations (UN) definition of GBV.						
4	If the victim is married to the offender, the victim will retract their complaint.						
5	Women are equally capable of thinking logically as men.						
6	The police are one department among many public service agencies responsible for improving the quality of life for citizens of the community.						
7	Police officers should not involve in domestic disputes between husband and wife.						
8	Irrespective of background, victims have a complex understanding of what occurred during the reported incident.						
9	Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in Addis Ababa.						
10	The primary measurement of police efficiency should be arrest rates.						
11	Trafficking, marital rape, and unwanted kissing should be classified as GBV crimes.						
12	Only cases with a witness and/or a visible injury are worth investigating.						

13	Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work.						
14	The role of the police is to solve problems.						
15	Police officers are overwhelmed with enough work already and should selectively prosecute GBV cases.						
16	Women who report domestic violence but do not have a witness should be considered as a legitimate source of information.						
17	Women, generally, are not as smart as men.						
18	The focus of the police should be on incidents, not on problems and concerns of citizens.						
19	Forced prostitution is a criminal act and prosecutable by legal institutions.						
20	Victims bend the truth to place blame on the suspect.						
21	Women often do not get good jobs due to sexual discrimination.						
22	The highest priorities of the police should be whatever problems disturb the community most.						
23	Abduction, rape, homosexuality, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriage are a comprehensive definition for GBV.						
24	It is difficult for victims to speak out loud the things that have been done to them.						
25	Women often become upset by innocent remarks or acts.						
26	I am assertive and controlling while serving as a police officer.						
27	Battery of women should be a punishable crime in Ethiopia.						
28	Victims often provoke their offender through bad behavior.						
29	I would be equally comfortable having a						

	woman or a man as a boss.						
30	The essential nature of police accountability is to community needs.						
31	Women who complain of unwanted touching and kissing are often exaggerating the situation.						
32	Victims who come in several days after an incident should be considered legitimate.						
33	Women are too easily offended.						
34	Police should only deal with GBV cases when there is no other real police work to do.						
35	The physical injury of a person due to their gender should be classified as both GBV and physical assault.						
36	Victims who have been battered by their acquaintances must have done something wrong.						
37	Women should occupy 50% of positions across all professions, working alongside men.						
38	Police should refer citizens to relevant counseling or shelter services.						
39	Rape of a virgin is a more serious crime than rape of a non-virgin.						
40	When a victim needs immediate medical attention, police officers should assist them in getting the help they need previous to gathering details of the case.						
41	A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.						
42	The role of the police administration is to provide the necessary rules and policy directives.						
43	Demeaning verbal assaults may be equated to a GBV crime.						
44	Women and girls who are raped most						

	likely put themselves in the situation.						
45	It is easy to understand why women's groups, such as EWLA and the Women's Bureau, continue to be concerned about women in the Ethiopian society.						
46	Prosecution is one tool among many available to police officers.						
47	Offensive comments toward an individual should not be prosecutable.						
48	Showing care and support for victims helps get better information about GBV cases.						
49	Women receive undeserved special treatment under the pretext of equality.						
50	There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted.						
51	Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.						

Annex 12

Questionnaire Coding Guide

Attitudes towards Women (15)

I) Hostile Sexism (5)

1. When women are won by men in a fair competition, women sometimes complain about being discriminated against.
13. Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work.
25. Women often become upset by innocent remarks or acts.
33. Women are too easily offended.
49. Women receive undeserved special treatment under the pretext of equality.

II) Overt Sexism (5)

5. Women are equally capable of thinking logically as men.
17. Women, generally, are not as smart as men.
29. I would be equally comfortable having a woman or a man as a boss.
37. Women should occupy 50% of positions across all professions, working alongside men.
41. A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
50. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted.

III) Modern Sexism (5)

9. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in Addis Ababa.
21. Women often do not get good jobs due to sexual discrimination.
45. It is easy to understand why women's groups, such as EWLA and the Women's affair bureau continue to be concerned about women in the Ethiopian society.
51. Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

Police Role (12)

I) Traditional Policing (6)

2. Police need to be skeptical of what citizens tell them.
10. The primary measurement of police efficiency should be arrest rates.
18. The focus of the police should be on incidents, not on problems and concerns of citizens.
26. I am assertive and controlling while serving as a police officer.
34. Police should only deal with GBV cases when there is no other real police work to do.
42. The role of the police administration is to provide the necessary rules and policy directives.

II) Community Policing (6)

6. The police are one department among many public service agencies responsible for improving the quality of life for citizens of the community.
14. The role of the police is to solve problems.
22. The highest priorities of the police should be whatever problems disturb the community most.
30. The essential nature of police accountability is to community needs.
38. Police should refer victims to relevant counseling or shelter services.
46. Prosecution is one tool among many available to police officers.

Scope and Criminality of GBV (12)

I) Support of UN Definition (6)

3. Given that Ethiopia is signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Police officers should prosecute offenders according to the United Nations definition of GBV.
11. Trafficking, marital rape, and unwanted kissing should be classified as GBV crimes.
19. Forced prostitution is a criminal act and prosecutable by legal institutions.
27. Battery of women should be a punishable crime in Ethiopia.
35. The physical injury of a person due to their gender should be classified as both GBV and physical Assault.
43. Demeaning verbal assaults may be equated to a GBV crime.

II) Support of Police Definition for Prosecution (6)

7. Police officers should not involve in domestic disputes between husband and wife.
15. Police officers are overwhelmed with enough work already and should selectively prosecute GBV cases.
23. Abduction, rape, homosexuality, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriage are a comprehensive definition for GBV.
31. Women who complain of unwanted touching and kissing are often exaggerating the situation.
39. Rape of a virgin is a more serious crime than rape of a non-virgin.
47. Offensive comments toward an individual should not be prosecutable.

Perception of Victim (12)

I) Victim as Suspect and Uncooperative (6)

4. If the victim is married to the offender, the victim will retract their complaint.
12. Only cases with a witness and/or a visible injury are worth investigating.
20. Victims bend the truth to place blame on the suspect.
28. Victims often provoke their offender through bad behavior.
36. Victims who have been battered by their acquaintances must have done something wrong.
44. Women and girls who are raped most likely put themselves in the situation.

II) Victim as Authority and Knowledgeable (6)

8. Irrespective of background, victims have a complex understanding of what occurred during the reported incident.
16. Women who report domestic violence but do not have a witness should be considered as a legitimate source of information.
24. It is difficult for victims to speak out loud the things that have been done to them.
32. Victims who come in several days after an incident should be considered legitimate.
40. When a victim needs immediate medical attention, police officers should assist them in getting the help they need previous to gathering details of the case.
48. Showing care and support for victims helps get better information about GBV cases.

Annex 13

I. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guide for Police officers

General Introduction: The purpose of the FGD is to gather information related to "Police Officers' Attitude towards Gender Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa". The data to be collected from this FGD will be used only for educational research purpose. Your responses will be kept confidential. So, I kindly request you to participate in this study voluntarily. The quality of this study depends on your genuine response. I would also like to ask your consent to record your voice through tape recorder because it is hard to jot down your discussions.

Date: _____   **Place**: _____

Focus Group Discussion Questions

1. What does gender-based violence (GBV) mean to you?
2. What is the prevalence of GBV in your police station?
3. Is there a difference between the reported rate of GBV and its actual occurrence?
4. If there is a difference, what do you think brought that difference?
5. What is done for victims who report GBV crime?
6. For what type of GBV is more attention given? Why?
7. Do you think all GBV crimes must be dealt with? If yes, why? If no, why not?
8. Do you think there is an increase in the reporting of GBV? If yes, why do you think it increased? If no, why do you think it did not?
9. How do people act when they come to report GBV cases? Why do you think they act the way they do?
10. Who are the victims of GBV mostly? Why do you think that is?
11. Who are the perpetrators?
12. What do you think causes GBV against women and girls?
13. Do you think Pro-arrest is advantageous (helpful) in investigating GBV crimes?
14. Is there a difference in treating and handling GBV cases between male and female police officers?
15. What should be done in order to decrease GBV?
16. Do you have any additional idea or opinion about the issue at hand?

Thank you for your time and kind cooperation

Annex 14

In-depth Interview Guide Questions for victims

General Introduction: The purpose of the interview is to gather information related to "Police Officers' Attitude Towards Gender-Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa". The data to be collected from this interview will be used only for educational research purpose. Your responses will be kept confidential. So, I kindly request you to participate in this study voluntarily. The quality of this study depends on your genuine response. I would also like to ask your consent to record your voice through tape recorder because it is hard to jot down your discussions.

In-Depth Interview Questions

1. When did you first come here?
2. What made you come here?
3. Tell me what happened to you starting from the beginning?
4. What do you think caused what happened to you?
5. How many times has this happened to you?
6. Have you ever felt blamed for what happened?
7. If so, by whom and why do you think they blame you?
8. Have you or anyone else ever reported the crime to the police?
9. If not, why?
10. If yes, how did you first report your case?
11. What were the procedures taken when you reported the crime committed against you?
12. What gender was the police officer who interviewed you? What gender did you prefer? Why?
13. Did you know what to do or where to go after talking to the police officer?
14. What was the police officer's reaction when you first contacted him/her?
15. Why do you think he/she reacted the way he/she did?
16. How did you feel after the first interview with the police officer?
17. How did repeated questions of the police officer make you feel? Did the repetition help?
18. Did you feel safe to talk about what happened to you to the police officer? Why?
19. Did you feel trusted by the police officer after telling him/her about what happened? Why?
20. How many times have you been to the police station?
21. How do you think police officers act usually when they are handling GBV cases? Why?
22. What constitutes a good police officer for you and how would you want to be treated by a police officer?
23. What do you think should be done to improve police officers' attitude towards GBV victims and GBV?
24. What do you think should be done to decrease GBV?
25. Do you have any additional idea or opinion about the issue at hand?

Thank you for your time and kind cooperation!

Annex 15

Key informant Interview Guide for Police Officers

General Introduction: The purpose of the interview is to gather information related to "Police Officers' Attitude Towards Gender-Based Violence in Kirkos Sub-City, Addis Ababa". The data to be collected from this interview will be used only for educational research purpose. Your responses will be kept confidential. So, I kindly request you to participate in this study voluntarily. The quality of this study depends on your genuine response. I would also like to ask your consent to record your voice through tape recorder because it is hard to jot down your discussions.

Key informant Questions
1. What does gender-based violence (GBV) mean to you?
2. Have you ever been given training on GBV or any related issue?
3. Have you ever given training for police officers about GBV?
4. What is the prevalence of GBV in your police station or in the sub-city?
5. Is there a difference between the reported rate of GBV and its actual occurrence?
6. If there is a difference, what do you think brought that difference?
7. Do you think there is an increase in the reporting of GBV? If yes, why do you think it increased? If no, why do you think it did not?
8. What type of GBV crime is mostly reported to the sub-city?
9. For what type of GBV is more attention given by police officers? Why?
10. Who are the victims of Gender based violence mostly? Why?
11. Who are the perpetrators?
12. What do you think causes GBV against women and girls?
13. What procedures are followed in investigating and taking measures in cases of GBV?
14. How do police officers react to victims reporting GBV crimes?
15. How do people act when they come to report GBV cases? Why do you think they act the way they do?
16. Do you think that the victims who report GBV crimes are truthful?
17. To what extent do the victims cooperate in reporting their case and in the evidence gathering process?
18. How do you prove the rape of a woman?
19. What happens if a woman decides to report a sexual assault after days? How is it handled?
20. Where do you take victims if their going back home is a danger to them or if they needed medical or psychological assistance?
21. Do commercial sex workers report GBV? If not, why do you think they don't? If yes, what is done for them usually?
22. Are crimes like marital rape or rape by a partner, stalking and the like reported?
23. Do health care professionals help in GBV cases? If so, how do they help?
24. Do health professionals report health cases of GBV that they encounter through their practice?
25. Is there a difference in treating and handling GBV cases between male and female police officers? How are they different or the same?
26. Which part of the society is more vulnerable to GBV? Why?
27. What do community police officers do?
28. Are community police officers doing anything with regard to GBV? If so, what are they doing?
29. What has been done to prevent GBV in the sub-city?
30. What do you think should be done to improve or reinforce the attitude of police officers towards GBV victims and GBV?
31. Do you have any additional idea or opinion about the issue at hand?

Thank you for your time and kind cooperation!