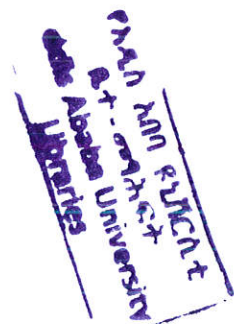


Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Social Anthropology

**Gender Based Violence in the Rural Setting of Arsi: Causes And
Consequence Analysis In Hetosa District**

BY: Tsegaye Megersa

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**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis
Ababa University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters
of Arts in Social Anthropology**

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June 2015

Addis Ababa University
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Acronyms

AAU- Addis Ababa University

AU- African Union

CSA- Central Statistical Authority

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

FGM- Female Genital Mutilation

GBV- Gender Based Violence

HIV/AIDS- Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency
Syndrome

OSSREA- Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern
Africa

STD- Sexually Transmitted Disease

UN- United Nation

UNECA- United Nation Economic Commission for Africa

USA- United State of America

WHO- World Health Organization

Glossary

Arake - local beverage with high alcohol content

Ateetee - a deity or devinity that women worships for fecundity, happiness, wealth, prosperity, etc.

Baddaa- temperate climate

Bada-daree- semi-tempperate

Ejersaa - strong tree from which *siinqee* is prepared

Gammoojjii- Desert

Harooressa - strong tree primarily used to prepare *siinqee*

Idir - association that support both financially and psychologically at the time of emergency

Ikub - traditional saving mechanism

Mahiber - religious association that is celebrated on Monday among Orthodox Christians

Siinqee - a stick that is purposefully fashioned and given for a married girl to symbolize the respect of a married woman.

Tela - local beverage prepared from maiz, barley, etc

Ulmaa - postpartum rest period for a woman

Wayyuu - sacredness and respect

Abstract

Gender based violence is any act of physical, psychological, and sexual impacts on women by men due to the fact that they are women. Different studies conducted on gender based violence among the communities of Arsi zone emphasizes on the magnitude of the problem and never mainly discussed on the root causes of the problem. By understanding this gap, this study tries to look on some of the main causes associated with the culture of the local community and other non cultural causes which further aggravate the problems. In addition, this study revealed different consequences of gender based violence in the local context and pave the way for further studies in the area of gender based violence. The objectives of this study are assessing how gender based violence is embeded in the socio cultural practices of the society, identifying the possible causes that further exacerbate the situation of gender based violence against women in Hetosa district, exploring the inequalities of gender as a social construction that paves the way for gender based violence, and finally describing the consequences of gender based violence on individual and society of the study area.

This study is conducted under the umbrella of qualitative research methodology and the data sources were both primary and secondary sources. In that, systematic observation, interview and focus group discussion are the data gathering techniques under primary sources and different earlier studies by other researchers, and published books are the secondary sources of this study. I made indepth interviews with women, focus group discussion with women who experience gender based violence and were reporting there cases to the formal court system, the police, or women and children affairs. Hence, the target groups of this study are women in the age of majority (18+) and women who have suffered from any types of gender based violence. Some men were also among my key informants who provided me with a wide range of information concerning gender based violence. In this study, I used different approaches to conduct women at the police office, women and children affairs office, local court compound and home to home visit.

It is found that the main cultural causes for gender based violence among the community of Hetosa district are traditional marital structure, religion based attitudes, gender socialization, social attitudes toward sexes, patriarchal institutions, and the weakinig of traditional inistitutions that safeguard the rights of women. Other non cultural causes include individual/

group interest, low education/ illitrecy, alcohol and drug abuse, and risk calculation. This study also identified the main types of gender based violence among the people of Hetosa district like economic abuse, sexual harassment/ emotional abuse, woman beating, and rape. Other types of gender based violence like abduction, female genital mutilation, and early marriage are found to be rarely occur in in the area of my study. The earlier major types of gender based violence identified among the people of Hetosa district has different consequences on individuals and community at large. Some of the main consequences identified are marital divorce, poverty, physical harm/ injury, unwanted pregnancy, child birth or abortion, vulnerability to sexually transmitted disease, mental illness, and murder.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Back Ground of the Study

Gender based violence is a phenomenon rooted in unequal power relations between women and men and experienced across culture, across socio economic status, ethnicities and other demographic diversities. Violence against women reinforces gender hierarchies and power imbalances between women and men within families and communities (Fulu, et al, 2013:9)

According to Deyessa et al, (2010), the magnitude of gender based violence varies from urban to rural and from literate to illiterate women. Rural women are more vulnerable to violence than urban women are and illiterate women are more likely vulnerable than literate women or women living with literate families (cited in Bekele Terefe, Paola Pereznieto, et al., 2013).

According to the protocols to the African charter on humans and peoples' rights on the rights of women in Africa article 2 (1) (2003), States Parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. In this regard, they shall include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments, if not already done, the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application; enact and effectively implement appropriate legislative or regulatory measures, including those prohibiting and curbing all forms of discrimination particularly those harmful practices which endanger the health and general well-being of women; integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, programmes and activities and in all other spheres of life; take corrective and positive action in those areas where discrimination against women in law and in fact continues to exist; support the local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at eradicating all forms of discrimination against women.

Although countries are adopted several laws that can ensure equality of men and women, women are still discriminated due to inadequate enforcement of the enforced laws. Violators or perpetrators of women and girls remain unpunishable due to different

reasons (UN economic commission for Africa, center for gender and social development, 2008).

According to Camarasa (2007), inequitable gender relation is visible in all spheres of life, such as between female workers and male employers, wives and husbands, female athletes and male coaches, etc and maintains the legitimacy of male violence. Hence, women and girls experience gender based violence in their life spans in homes, schools, churches, work places, public spaces and therapeutic settings.

Many of the studies undertaken on gender based violence emphasizes on description and typologies of gender based violence than the root causes of the problem for a long time. But it is good enough to know as well very much about the root causes of the problem in order to tackle the maximum impact that it brings to women and girls. Hence violence against women has to be understood from gender and culture, religion, media, women's international human rights (Yonas, 2002).

The socialization process has brought about women's subordination. Women do not complain thinking it is normal to accept male dominance. Therefore, one can say that the main objective of socialization was to prepare women for exclusively domestic roles like child bearing, rearing, feeding, clothing and preparing food (Daniel, 2002:90).

1.2. Statement of the problem

One among the studies conducted in Arsi zone is the one studied by Haji Kedir on magnitude and immediate outcomes of physical partner violence against women in kofele district. The study is rotating around two key concepts mainly magnitude of physical partner violence and the outcomes of physical partner violence against women in kofole district (Haji, 2004). The study is more of quantitative presentation of findings on physical partner violence. Even though this study reveals some important findings with regard to magnitude and immediate outcomes of physical partner violence against women in the area, there is still gaps to be covered by other researchers with regard to gender based violence. One of the gaps in this research is its mere emphasize only on physical partner violence. Here, violence against women is not only about physical partner violence; rather it is rooted in the social system of a society having multiple origins. The

other is that, it could not stress up on the possible causes and consequences in detail so as to alleviate the problem as far as possible.

Hirut also conducted her study entitled female genital mutilation and reproductive health where she was emphasizing on the different factors associated with women genital mutilation and the consequences associated with this tradition (Hirut, 2000). Since female genital mutilation is described under violent acts against women, this study contributed a lot in the study of gender based violence; especially female genital mutilation. Although this study is considered as a good input for the study of gender based violence, there remains to be areas that would be studied by other social scientists. The presence of different varieties of gender based violence and the complexity of their causes and consequences in time and space requires the contribution other scholars to narrowing the gap in the study of gender based violence.

Another research conducted among Arsi Oromo community is the one conducted by Daniel (2002). He was emphasizing on continuities and changes in the status of women. According to this study, "socio economic status of women is lower than that of males which emanated from sex biased socialization ideology in particular, and socio cultural values in general". The finding of this study shows that sex biased socialization and socio cultural values associated to each sex have a great impact on female inferior position in the society. One of the indications for these unfair socio cultural values is preference to male born child. The community gives special values for boy child delivery than female child. In line to this, socialization do have it's own role of discriminating women while children growth up in their culture. Male children are socialized to the public and decision making while female children are socialized to domestic sphere where they are expected to rear children, cooking food, feeding clothing and child bearing. Having stressed this much on women status, this study awaits the contribution of another researcher on the other aspects of the women of Arsi. One of the aspects of women that have to be studied in line to gender is the issue of violence. Gender based violence is one of the social problem that is manifested both in the public and domestic spheres most of the time by male on female.

According to the Oromo worldview, women are treated and respected by the community at large of course the rights and respects of women vary from community to community. Among the Arsi, women have their own institution where they can safeguard their security. These institutions are *Ateetee*, *Siinqee*, *Qaanfaa*, *Wayyuu*, and *Saddeetaa*. The wellbeing of the society is maintained at large and for women in particular through the functioning of these institutions (Ginbar, 2010).

Due to the weakening of the above institutions in the current time, gender based violence is one of the hindering social problem towards women in Arsi. There are a prevalent act of sexual harassment, rape, abduction, intimate partner physical violence and social discriminations on female (women). There is a changing social environment among the Oromo of Arsi where they had been securing the wellbeing of women in the past and weakening of social institution that exposes women to gender based violence in present. This research tried to explore how gender based violence is embedded in the socio cultural system of the society, causes and consequences of these violent acts on women.

The studies conducted so far by other researchers on gender and gender related matter had been addressed the different dimension of gender and women's status in the community. However, many of the studies cited above emphasize on the social equilibrium and how the social equilibrium is maintained through the institution of *Ateetee*, *Siinqee*, *Qaanfaa*, *Wayyuu*, and *Saddeetaa*. A few other researchers try to explore gender based violence from domestic perspective and others to the study of the magnitude of gender based violence as discussed above. This study explores the root causes and consequences of this problem so as to minimize the possible outcomes of gender based violence in Arsi Oromo, particularly the people living in Hetosa district.

1.3. Research Questions

At the end of the study, this research will answer the following questions.

1. How is gender based violence embedded in the socio cultural practices of the society?

2. What are the possible causes that further exacerbate gender based violence against women?
3. How does the inequalities of gender paves the way for gender based violence?
4. What consequences does gender based violence has on individual women and society?

1.4. Study Objectives

1.4.1. General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is an assessment of gender based violence in the rural setting of Arsi with emphasis on the root causes and consequence analysis in particular reference to the people of Hetosa district.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

As the studies of gender based violence is a multi-varied area of studies, this research has the following specific objectives in order to meet the desired goal of the researcher.

1. To assess how gender based violence is embedded in the socio cultural practices of the society.
2. To identify the possible causes that further exacerbate the situation of gender based violence against women in Hetosa district.
3. To explore the inequalities of gender as a social construction that paves the way for gender based violence.
4. To describe the consequences of gender based violence on individual and society of the study area.

1.5. Research methodology

The ontological base of this research relies on constructivism, which holds that meaning is constructed other than an independent reality. This research is conducted under the umbrella of qualitative research methodology where different primary and secondary

sources of data are described and analyzed for the better presentation of this study. Qualitative research methodology is helpful in the study of gender to understand more about the interdependence of gender based violence and culture. Culture encompasses all aspects of human life where gender issue is also influenced by local cultures. Hence, the study of the cultural aspect of human life better understood through qualitative research methodologies.

1.5.1. Primary Sources of Data

Since this research is qualitative by its nature, it employed qualitative method of data collection like that of systematic observation, interview (semi structured interview), and focus group discussion.

1.5.1.1. Systematic Observation: Observation is the means by which we can understand facts that we might not access to it through other techniques. It helps to understand beyond what our informants explain about them through site, sound, touch, smell and even taste (Gray, 2004:238). Structured observation (sometimes also called systematic observation) is a technique for data collection that has two defining characteristics. First, it is part of the broad family of observational techniques in which the investigator gathers information directly without the mediation of respondents, interviewees, and so on. Second, data are collected according to careful defined rules and prearranged procedures in a structured or systematic technique. It can be applied to a variety of aspects of behavior and interaction in a wide variety of social settings. Like any observational technique, it is necessarily selective: I was attempting to focus on those elements of the situation being observed that are relevant to particular investigatory purposes. The directness of structured observation means that I can gather data that subjects are unable to provide through other procedures, such as interviews and questionnaires.

Hence, this technique is helpful to grasp information about the unsaid during the interview and focus group discussion session. By this technique, I visited the district local court and women and children's affair where different complains of gender based violence is heard by the judge so as to identify the different kinds of violence that women experiences.

1.5.1.2. Semi structured Interview: From the existing types of interviews, I used semi structured interview, where there is few questions that are open ended by nature prepared and contextually used in the field for the research purpose. According to Gray, interview is useful for the informants in order to talk about a given situation than that of questionnaires. People with writing difficulties easily accessed by interview and they can say so many things about themselves (Gray, 2004:214). Semi structured interview is an overarching term used to describe a range of different forms of interviewing most commonly associated with qualitative research. The defining characteristic of semi structured interviews is that they have a flexible and fluid structure, unlike structured interviews, which contain a structured sequence of questions to be asked in the same way of all interviewees. The structure of a semi structured interview is usually organized around the thematic area of the study. This contains topics, themes, or areas to be covered during the course of the interview, rather than a sequenced script of standardized questions. The aim is usually to ensure flexibility in how and in what sequence questions are asked, and in whether and how particular areas might be followed up and developed with different interviewees. This is so that the interviewee's own understandings as well as the researcher's interests can shape the interview.

For the purpose of collecting data through this method, I conducted interview session with 13 key informants from different social groups. The interview was held with three women, children and youth affairs office experts, three women who experienced gender based violence, three men between the age of 30 - 70, one police officers and with three judges from the district. I select the key informants purposively to meet the objectives of my study.

1.5.1.3. Focus group discussion: A focus group discussion (FGD) is an in depth field method that brings together a small homogeneous group (usually six to twelve persons) to discuss topics on a study agenda. The purpose of focus group discussion in this study is to use the social dynamics of the group, to stimulate participants to reveal underlying opinions, attitudes, and reasons for their behavior.

The discussion is conducted in a relaxed atmosphere to enable participants to express themselves without any personal inhibitions. Participants share a common characteristic

such as age, sex, or socio-economic status that defines them as a member of a target subgroup. This encourages a group to speak more freely about the subject without fear of being judged by others.

By this method, I gathered data from groups of two different sessions organized in the field for the purpose of probing information that can be emanated from group dynamics that is helpful in gaining emerging information along the discussion. For the sake of group homogeneity and free flow of ideas, the first focus group discussion consisting of eight member was held with women who experienced gender based violence, and the other group consisting of six member with resident women in the locality. The challenge with this method is the issue of trust with each other among informants. In order to reduce the problem of mistrust among members of FGD, I organize the group asking their free will to participate in my discussion by awaring them what I am going to study.

1.5.2. Secondary sources of data

In this method, I describe and analyzed data from published and unpublished sources. In that, I explore different books and non-Wikipedia on line sources. Furthermore, the discoveries of secondary sources are helpful to understand the past existing facts and the present. Secondary source is also the way to build theorethical framework and literature for my research.

I analyzed secondary sources of data that are relevant to my study by contextualizing how they are related to my study topic both conceptually and theoretically. I explored earlier related studies by other scholars and show the gaps, similarities in the findings and differences with earlier studies.

1.6. Data Analysis

After collecting the necessary data, I have categorized, combined, synthesized and there by analyzed the collected data. Before the actual analysis of the data, the collected data was sorted and categorized in accordance to its source and type. For the purpose of clarity and convenience the data collected by each data collection technique was transcribed, compiled and further elaborated in to meaningful and patterned information soon after the completion of that particular data collection session. Above all, the whole collected data

were analyzed in thematically organized way by pursuing to the original descriptions of the field notes so as to infer meanings and generalizations. The themes were discussed in respect of literature and the research finding.

1.7. Significance of the study

This study has a great significance in identifying issues of gender based violence, causes and consequences associated with it to different stake holders. This study together with the former studies conducted on gender by other researchers strengthen the understanding of gender based violence and paves the way for further studies by other scholars who are interested on the area of gender based violence.

It is also an input for policy makers and implementers as a guiding document in working with gender based violence. This study can show how culture and local values pave the way for gender based violence as culture also promote women's wellbeing through the local institutions established long before. Hence, it would help these stakeholder to consider the local culture and values in understanding and taking policy measures on gender based violence.

1.8. Scope of the study

Scope is all about the delimitation of this study. It has both conceptual and geographic delimitation (scope). Conceptually, this study emphasizes on culture and non cultural aspects that paves the way for gender based violence. In addition, the study tried to identify the root causes and consequences of this problem. Focusing up on the above conceptual areas is help full to understand deeply about the problem than rushing over the surfaces.

Geographically, the study is bounded to the people of Arsi in particular reference to Hetosa district. This area is among those areas where gender based violence is widely observed in the rural areas. The study emphasize on the rural women exposure to gender based violence since they are lower protected by the formal security system like police and state organization than urban women's. The rural areas are where culture plays a

pivotal role in the life of the society and assign women and men to different responsibilities.

1.9. Limitation of the study

This study tried to identify different causes associated with gender based violences and the consequences and thereby those violent acts among the Arsi of Hetosa district. In the process of dealing with this research I faced some challenges those hindered the data collection and analysis. The first challenge was time constraint that was three months for data gathering and one month and half for data analysis. This shortage of time to come up with a wide range of data and findings was somehow a problem that I faced during the few months of my research. In order to minimize this problem, I engaged in the fieldwork intensively and spent much of my time by talking and discussing issues of gender based violence with my informants, friends, neighbors, etc. the direct interview with my informants and indirect conversations with my friends and nieghbours helped me to grasp the possible informations for my research. Qualitative research by its nature requires an emersion in to the community and being familiar with the problem as like that of the community. Hence, it requires an extended time and a good rapport with the community.

The other challenge was lack of sufficient budget which this research requires during data gathering and analysis in accordance with qualitative research method. I was facing lack of finance in data translation from Afaan Oromo to English that has to be done by legal experts. As a result I was engaged in the translation process of data gathered from my informants. Further, this research was allocated a short time of three months for field data collection and temporary residence in the study site that needs financial cost for bed room, food, transportation, etc. to minimize this challenges I rented a house which costed less than taking bed room from a hotel and I prepare food at home that again saved my money than feeding from hotels or cafeterias. Transportation was facilitated by borrowing bicycle from my sister's husband during three months of data gathering. It is not to mean that all this measures could have solved financial problem in my research. Rather, helped me to minimize the challenges.

Another limitation of this study is that it is not an end by itself in the study of causes and consequences of gender based violence among the Arsi of Hetosa district. In the future, other researchers may come up with a new discovery in the area or may further strengthen my findings. Hence, this research is not an end by itself concerning of gender based violence. The issue of gender based violence is much wider to cover within a specific time study and under specified topics like this research. So that, this research has to be a means but not an end for further study.

1.10. Field Experience

I conducted this study among the people of Arsi particularly the rural part of Hetosa district where gender based violence is prevalent like that of other parts of rural areas of Arsi. This is the place where I was born and grown up until I complete my primary education. I assume that it would be easier for me to handle the issue of language and social interaction that is very essential for my study. The widely spoken language among the rural parts of Hetosa district is *Afaan Oromoo* which is also my mother tongue and easier to communicate with my informants. My exposure to the culture of the local community at my early stage of childhood prevents the challenge of culture shock during my fieldwork. This is a good advantage to gather data moving here and there within a short duration allowed to accomplish the data collection process.

I arrived at my study area in August 2014 in order to conduct a preliminary assessment to develop my proposal and return back to Addis Ababa in September to attend a remaining course of the program. After finishing my proposal and approved by my advisor at January 2015, I was moving to the actual data collection at my study site. I was renting a house in order to minimize research expenses for food and bed room which could be otherwise difficult to stay for three months by five thousand (5000) birr sponsored by Addis Ababa University.

I began the process of data collection by submitting the letter of collaboration to Hetosa district administration and taking the letter of permission from them. Then, I disseminated the letters from administrative office to police office, womens and childrens affairs office, and the district court. This was the first step of my interaction with

different sectors of government offices by which I could contact experts and some of my informants. Since many of the rural women were coming to these offices, I have been contacting some of them who experienced different types of gender based violence and I organized my interview and FGD sessions with them.

I was also moving to the rural villages using bicycle to contact and arranged my interview with my key informants. Having a bicycle to move to different rural villages minimized the cost of transportation for my study and made easy my movement at any time I need to contact my informants. I thought that most of the causes for gender based violence are associated with cultural practices of the community I have gone to study before I made interviews and FGD sessions with my informants. But I found that there are also non cultural causes those drive gender based violence among the people of Hetosa district. This finding is an additional discovery of my research. In the data gathering process, I used a sound recorder and a photo camera with some of my informants who were volunteer to be recorded their voices and taken their photo.

In each days of my data gathering, I was translating the local language in to English at the night time and look through the data how they are related or differ from each other. My data collection took about three months that is from February to April until I started to write up my research analysis.

1.11. Ethical Consideration

This research is conducted among the Arsi of Hetosa district by emphasizing the causes and consequences of gender based violence. In order to engage in the study, I announced the district administrator about my study and received a letter of collaboration from the office. After that, I contacted the police, who are working on gender issues, experts of women and children affairs, and the judges. Within each of my interview sessions, I asked the consent of my interviewees to be sound recorded and photographed. It is up to the interviewee to allow or never allow to be recorded and photographed in the data gathering process. The researcher throughout all the process of data gathering activities did not oblige interviewees. I used sound recording and photographing for those who

were volunteer to do so. I interviewed those who couldn't allow me the photographing and sound recording as their interest.

Further, each and every information obtained from my informants are secretly handled and used in this M.A thesis without revealing who said this in different parts of this study. Since women culturally discourage it to speak about violent experiences, many of my informants were hiding their names while they were sharing their life experiences. Hence, I remain to be confidential to state the name of my informants. I also informed my informants about the objectives of my study and significance it would have in creating awareness about causes and consequences of gender based violence.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Empirical Studies

2.1. Gender Fundamentals

To make sense of the very large topic of gender, it is important to understand the key terms and ideas that underlie it. Like any academic discipline, gender is structured around fundamental concepts that are interrelated, carefully defined, and nuanced. Understanding gender jargon is the first step towards understanding gender. Jennifer, 2011 out lined the following terms and concepts that are important to understand the detail of gender from different perspective. I also contextualize these opperational definitions to my study of gender based violence.

Sex

Sex is the biological state of being male or female. Biological differences do not vary substantially over time or from place to place. Therefore, sex is not synonymous with gender and, unlike gender; the physical characteristics of each sex are not determined by a social or cultural context. That said, a social or cultural environment might fail to address the difference between sexes – and meet their different needs.

Gender Discrimination & Oppression

Gender discrimination occurs when one gender is favored and that favoritism causes the other gender to become relatively disadvantaged. Gender oppression occurs when one gender dominates the other unfairly. The nature of the situation may or may not be deliberate or bringing pain in either situation. In general, discrimination is less overt than oppression and can occur unconsciously when those responsible are not aware of, or sensitive to gender issues.

Gender Inequality

Gender inequalities are those system driven differences that are unfair. These inappropriate inequalities are deep rooted through social institutions, which reinforce their existence and make them difficult to undo. Differences between genders with respect to resource access and control are often a driving source of inequality.

2.2. Theoretical Frame Works

2.2.1 Marxist Approaches to Gender: Historical Materialism

According to Marx, the development of class society and women's oppression is part of the same historical process. The antagonism between men and women as a result of fathers' right is the beginning of class formation which results in continuous change in the socio-economic life of human society. Fredrik Engle believes that the introduction of private property is the reason for women's oppression. This is the time when matriarchal social structure comes to an end and leaves the way for patriarchal social structure. In the patriarchal social structure, men were endowed with the responsibility to provide food for the clan and use tools for this purpose. This in turn helps them to gain power and private property of their own. At the same time, there was a change in the family forms where maternity was replaced by paternity and property inheritance of the child was ensured by the men or father. Those changes result in a shift from matrilineal determination of family to patrilineal determination of family (Brown, 2012).

Engle held that the introduction of private property created the condition for the oppression of women. Marx on his side argues that property is not the only important reason for women's oppression. He believes that women's oppression was a fact before the introduction of private property. Contradiction of women's oppression exists in the early period of communal society. This was the stage where the group of kin members owned property in common (ibid).

2.2.3. Radical feminism and Gender Perspective

Patriarchy has existed in all human societies since before capitalism came into existence. According to radical feminism, the patriarchal social relation results in women's subordination in different societies. The system of patriarchy makes men superior in different spheres of decision making like politics, household economy and so forth. It is because of this social structure that social inequalities are institutionalized in the society. Public and domestic spheres are under the favor of men than women (Smuts, 1995 and Hooks, 2000). The norms and practices that define women as inferior to men impose controls on them that are present everywhere in our families, social relations, religions, laws,

schools, media, factories, offices. Thus, patriarchy is called the sum of the kind of male domination we see around women all the time.

In the system of patriarchy, different kinds of violence may be used to control and subjugate women, such violence by men are considered to be normal in order to dominate women over all ways of life. The violent acts of male domination against women include rape, sexual harassment, wife beating, sexual exploitation, abduction and others.

Radical feminist analyses of male violence focus on both its gendered and its social character. They examine the social forces that shape this violence and its implications for the operation of women. Within this approach, both violence and sexuality are considered to be socially shaped (Walby, 1990:134).

Radical feminist accounts contribute a social structural analysis of male violence against women as a gendered phenomenon in a way no other perspective succeeds in doing. It is able to provide an integrated account of men's actions, women's responses and the lack of action by the state. However, it is flawed by neglect of the significance of class and race relations; the judicial system has a structural bias not only against women, but against blacks and the working class as well, so that white and/or middle class men are less likely to have rape complaints made against them. (Ibid:142).

2.3. Gender

The concept of gender, as we now use it came into common attention during the early 1970s. It was used as an analytical category to draw a line of demarcation between biological sex differences and the way these are used to inform behaviors and competencies, which are then assigned as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'. The purpose of affirming a sex/gender distinction was to argue that the actual physical or mental effects of biological difference had been exaggerated to maintain a patriarchal system of power and to create a consciousness among women that they were naturally better suited to 'domestic' roles. In a post-industrial society, those physiological sex differences that

do exist become arguably even less significant, and the handicap to women of childbirth is substantially lessened by the existence of effective contraception and pain relief in labor. Moreover, women are generally long outliving their reproductive functions, and so a much smaller proportion of their life is defined by this (Jane and Imelda, 2004:56).

2.4. Gender based violence

Gender based violence includes: physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in the family, community or perpetrated or condoned by the state like sexual abuse of girls, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non spousal violence, and violence related exploitation, sexual harassment, intimidation at work, in educational institutions, trafficking in women and forced prostitution (Bouta,2005: 34). Men have long used violence and the threat of violence as means to control women. Either individually or collectively, violence against women affects all cultures and countries, respecting no division of class or religion. It is a result of societal structures in which men dominated and women are relegated to subordinate positions(Hirut, 2004:69).

The world wide nature of gender based violence and the failure of many governments to take corrective measures promoted women to organize themselves at international level. Their campaign to combat gender based violence were divided in to three parts. The first part was the 1970's when a small group of women organized an international tribunal bringing them together from over 40 countries who identified all human made forms of opposition as a problem and as violence against women. The second part was the 1980's when the UN conducted an expert group meeting on domestic violence with special emphasis on women, which called for the intervention of the criminal justice system and the prosecution of the perpetrator as a solution. The third phase was the world human rights conference in Vienna in 1993, when womens organizations mobilized government support for the international recognition of all forms of violence against women as a human rights issue (Joachim, 2007).

Estimates of the nature and extent of violence against women throughout the world vary and depend on factors such as the countries in which research is undertaken, the methods of data collection and women's preparedness and safety in disclosing or reporting their experiences of violence. Research indicates one in three women experience some form of physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime. Gender-based violence against women has short- and long-term impacts for women and these include impacts on women's mental health. A significant impact of gender-based violence for women is depression. Women are twice as likely as men to experience depression and approximately 20 % of women are likely to experience depression at some time in their lives (Deborah, 2013).

Different studies conducted in the world reveal that women are more affected by men in household than anywhere is. Household is the dangerous setting where women are tortured and are vulnerable to different psychological pains. The studies conducted by world health organizations up on ten countries reveal that fifty percent of women are experiencing physical violence by their intimate partners in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Tanzania. By this study, Japan experienced the least gender based violence by fifteen percent at the national level. The experience of gender based violence is higher in rural areas than urban areas. In Ethiopia, 71% of rural women are experiencing violence than the urban women (WHO, 2005:5).

Violence against women can be considered gender based violence, understanding gender as the set of roles, rights, representations, expectations and values assigned to each sex; this socio-cultural construction of what is feminine and masculine places men and women in different positions in society, establishing power relationships among them and locating women in an inferior and less valued situation. Children, through the process of socialization, internalize the roles associated to their sex, behave as expected and reproduce the division between genders, which places women in a position of subordination, less power, recognition and resources than men. In patriarchal society, masculinity is usually associated with power, domination and control over women (Camarasa, 2007).

Gender based violence is pervasive on women belonging to the minority groups, indigeneous wome, refugee womeen, migrant women, women living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in inistitutions or in detentions, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women and women in situations of armed conflict are especially vulnerable to violence (Joachim, 2007).

Men who adhere to traditional conceptions of gender roles and masculinity learn norms and mores through socialization within a patriarchal culture implying that the exercising of power and control over women constitute the normal state of affairs. Strict adherence to traditional gender roles leads to the belief that violence against women is acceptable, in part because women are of inferior social status to men. Physical assaults, some of which may lead to homicides, and sexual aggression are clearly the most violent and extreme expressions of violence against women. Those males possessing rigid gender role expectations, hyper masculinity traits, social support for violence against women, and/or fixation upon power and control issues are most likely to commit these severe acts (Melinda, 2011:28).

Gender stereotypes are not universal, but rather are moderated by culture: Given their dominance in virtually all cultures, men are believed to possess more of the characteristics that are most culturally valued, whatever those characteristics are (Crotty, et al., 2010). Globalization has resulted in increased social and economic inequality affecting women, particularly in the poorest countries (Spanish Ministry of Defence, 2012: 21).

2.5. Religion and Gender

The close link between religion and gender is still failed to be noticed in most current gender studies, whether in the humanities, social sciences, or natural sciences. Many disciplines are still amazingly “religion-blind,” just as many studies in religion continue to be profoundly “gender-blind.” But, religion matters, and so does gender. Both are highly contested fields, and gender especially so, as will be evident from other essays in this volume. Women historians first developed women’s history, then feminist history, and now gender history, frequently without paying sufficient attention to religion as an

important factor which impacts significantly on the formation and dynamics of gender (Teresa and Merry, 2004).

Only relatively recently has religion become recognized as a distinct element that has to be considered within its own right when investigating history and gender; it cannot be fully accounted for by simply speaking about general cultural influences. What is not always clearly understood by those unfamiliar with religious practice and scholarship on religion is the great influence religious beliefs and practices have on the formation of women's and men's identities, their image and roles, their understanding of power, authority, and agency, of body and sexuality, on all the gender relations and representations of a given society, even post-industrial Western societies, where religion has been sharply critiqued or explicitly rejected by many individuals (ibid).

The very construction of gendered identities in history is inherently linked to religious teachings, norms, and values which have structured interpersonal relationships, the organization of communities and spiritual awareness, the articulation of the common good, the regulation of law and order, as well as the understanding of what transcendence means and how it is experienced. Religions are highly gendered fields charged with sacred power that, until modern times, have been the ultimate source of legitimating for all political and social power and authority. The great historical religions have established strong institutional hierarchies, which have been symbolically related to sacred spiritual hierarchies, where the male gender has always been dominant and the female subordinate. This strong 'gender asymmetry' with its inbuilt unequal evaluation of male and female throughout history is unacceptable and morally disgusting to many contemporaries, once they have thought the implications of democratic freedom and equal human rights for both men and women. The consciousness revolution of critical gender awareness therefore poses an entirely new historical challenge to the established religions of the world. At present, it is still too early to predict what the future outcome of a radical rearrangement of gender constructions and gender relations might be on existing religious traditions. It may well be that the space and flexibility for constructive gender negotiations and symbolic reordering will vary widely between different religions, as well as among the various subgroups of the same religious tradition (ibid).

2.6. Association between Culture and Gender

Gender refers to the different socially and culturally constructed roles, responsibilities, privileges, relations, and expectations of women and men. These gender standards define what is allowed and valued in a woman or man. The needs and situations of one gender will differ from place to place, from time to time, depending on how different societies define them. Social institutions and patterns structure and reinforce gender systems. Because gender systems are interrelated and institutionalized through education systems, political and economic systems, legislation, traditions, and culture, they are difficult to undo. The term, gender systems, encompasses the entire web of relationships affected by gender. (John, 2011).

Traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others have become harmful to a specific group, such as women. These harmful traditional practices include early and forced marriages, virginity testing, widow's rituals, levirate and sororate unions, female genital mutilation (FGM), breast sweeping/ironing, the primogeniture rule, practices such as 'cleansing' after male circumcision, and witch-hunting. Despite their harmful nature and their violation of national and international human rights laws, such practices persist because they are not questioned or challenged and therefore take on an aura of morality in the eyes of those practicing them. The revival of traditions, culture and customs, and the practices derived from them, after the demise of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid will definitely require us to enter into a dialogue on the character of our ancestors and what is really indigenous. However, the process should take the context into consideration. Some of the cultural practices that were necessary then are unnecessary now due to development, globalization and other factors (Malulek, 2012).

The major reasons behind the continued social exclusion of women were identified to include patriarchal values; family ideals; traditional and cultural norms; lack of economic independence; limited or lack of access to education; under-representation of women in decision-making positions; and women's lack of knowledge of their legal rights. The root

causes of gender inequality are discriminatory traditional practices, beliefs, and lack of education. The notion of male superiority over women is taught from a young age. Social exclusion of women is mainly an outcome of the low investments in the human capital of women at household and national levels. Since the social exclusion of women starts at a very young age when they are still girls they are excluded from accessing the important basic essentials for human development (education, health and economic independence), this leads to a vicious cycle that perpetuates itself across generations (UNECA, 2008).

In spite of legal, regulatory and administrative advances, women continue to be dominated because of discriminatory traditional practices. This was noted to be particularly true in rural areas where traditions survive intact and where more than 75% of the population lives. Relations between men and women are built on the existing gender discriminatory status, which perpetuates values, stereotypes and taboos, thus shaping the various roles taken by women within the family, the community and the society (ibid).

2.7. Gender Based Division of Labour

Eventhough the wider assumption hold that men are the hunters and females are the gatherers in hunter and gatherer societies, some evidence reveal that women were not subjected only to gathering, cooking and carrying for children in different societies. Much more recently, Iroquois and Seneca groups of 16th century North America, women farmers who learned to plant seeds provided the bulk of their communities food supply. Some anthropologists argued that in agricultural and foraging societies where women controlled production and distribution of food, women and men enjoyed relatively equal status. Evidence of diet, tools, cave painting of early hunters and evidence of native American groups and anthropological observation of contemporary traditional societies in Africa shows that women were participating in hunting expeditions, wielding spears or stones along side with men. This evidence shows that gender division of labour is a developmental phenomena in the history of mankind. Hence, it was developed from simple in hunting and gathering societies to complex in capitalist modern society (ed. Merry and Wiesner-Hanks, 2004:30).

Labour relation and the nature of the work between men and women varied in geography and time. From the time of hunting and gathering to modern industrial and post industrial period, labor has undergone revolutionary transformation which was marked by gender. Men and women have, much of the time, some might even say most of the time performed different roles. But, this difference were not natural; rather it is the result of historical developments and cultural change. This historical development cannot (did not) occur at the same time all over the world. It was at a different time of human history. This difference in division of labour historically led to gender stratification, social inequality and power differences in society in all (ed. Merry and Wiesner-Hanks, 2004).

Women and mens work has been valued differently; and that difference led to the assignment of different kinds of work for men and women. Feminist scholars have pointed out that in industrial and post industrial societies, much of womens work has not been valued. This might be because it was not rewarded with a wage or because it tended to be hidden from view. Hence, the work of providing food and carrying for children by women were not understood as works. This unpaid activities have clearly economical significances and values (ibid).

The allocation of time within household maintenance activities and "other household maintenance" are the two major tasks that take up most of the time of women. It can also be observed that housework consists of numerous and regular activities across which women distribute their available labour time. On the other hand, men's involvement in household maintenance is largely limited to "other household maintenance" which includes work in backyard farms (Dejene, 1995:15).

There are numerous reasons why female specialization in unpaid domestic work may be the subject of concern in a gender equity sense. For example, domestic human capital may be of little value relative to market human capital outside a specific relationship, and so lead to less bargaining power within the relationship (via a lower external threat point) and poorer outcomes in the event of relationship breakdown (Elizabeth, 2007:2).

Guji women have little leisure time during the day, except soon after they have given birth to children. In earlier times, women were exempted from routine domestic and

extra-domestic work for about six months after giving birth to children. On the other hand, there are several occasions for men to have free time with friends, especially on market days. In fact, market days determine the rhythm of Guji social life—meeting friends and kin groups, discussing social and political issues and, of course, selling and buying goods and services. While market days are important to meet daily necessities for women, men may simply visit markets to relax, without necessarily buying or selling (Dejene, 2009:26).

Men's task has a seasonal nature; men become busy during the plowing and sowing seasons and they relax during the dry season. Unlike men, women remain busy throughout the year with routine domestic chores and agriculture related activities although they have little control over agricultural products. Therefore, the expansion of agriculture increased women's work burden and reduced their control over resources (ibid).

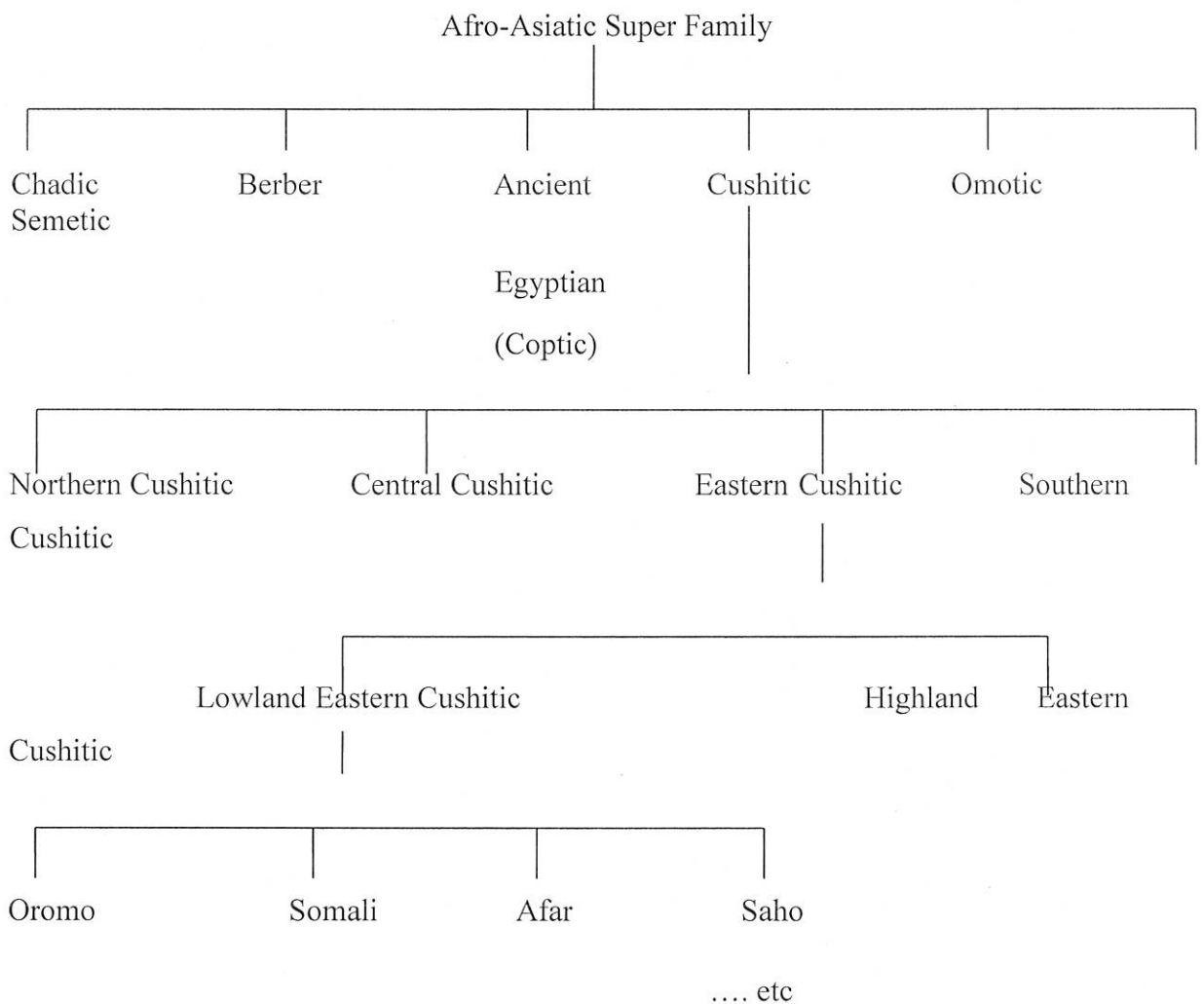
CHAPTER THREE

3. Description of the study area and the people

3.1. The Genealogy and Settlement Pattern of Arsi

Arsi people is one among the Oromo ethnic group that speak *Afaan Oromoo* which belongs to eastern Cushitic family of Afro-Asiatic phylum. The following diagram shows the linguistic classification of Afro-Asiatic super family and the location of *Afaan Oromoo* in Cushitic family.

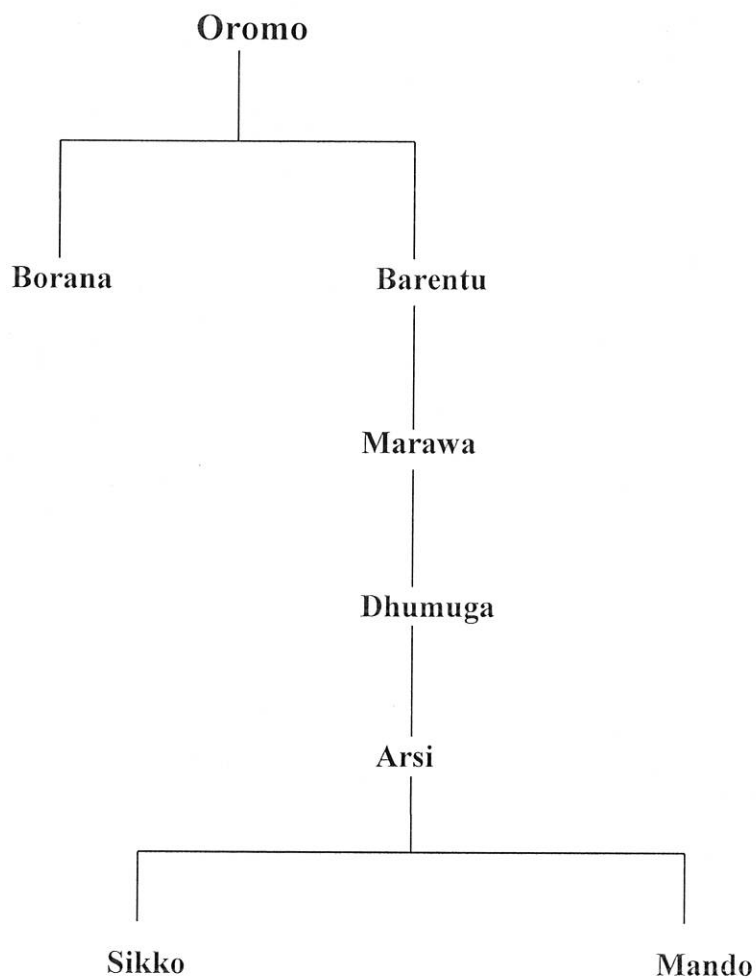
Diagram 1: The location of *Afaan Oromo* in Afro-Asiatic Super Family



Source: Oromia culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006:10-11.

The Arsi Oromo that are divided into the two main branches of *Sikko* and *Mando* are not only found in Arsi zone that is named after the main tribe, but also over a vast area including Bale, Southern Shoa, extending up to the borders of Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State. Arsi settlement area also expands up to the settlement of Sidama and Guji in the north and the west and of the Borana Oromo in the South. The social and political organization of the Arsi Oromo, like other Oromo main tribes, is based on dual tribal structures (moiety) and Gada system (Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006:203).

Diagram 2: A diagram showing the Genealogy of Arsi



Source: Oromia culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006:203

According to different scholars, like that of Borana who divided in to the *sabboo* and the *Gona* moieties, the Arsi are divided in to the *Mando* and the *sikko* moieties. The *siko* has five sub moieties collectively called *shanan siko* (the five ones of siko). They are *Bullallaa*, *wacallee*, *Jaawii*, *waajii*, and *Ilaanii*. The *mandoo* has seven submoieties collectively called *Torban mandoo* (the seven ones of *Mandoo*). They are *Rayyaa*, *Kajawaa*, *Hawaxaa* (*Hawaxxuu*), *utaa*, *Waayyuu*, *Harawaa* and *Biltu*. The Arsi who inhabit the whole of present Arsi and Bale Provinces, as well as a large portion of eastern shoa and small portion of Sidama zone of SNNPR (Southern nation nationalities peoples region) are descendants of the siko and the mando moieties (Badhasoo, 2000, kifle, 1999. Trimmingham, 1965 cited in Jeylan , 2005:26).

3.2. Location and physical Environment

Hetosa district is found at a distance of 150 K.M from the capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. It is one among the districts found in Arsi Zone at a distance of 25 K.M from the capital of zone Asella to the North. The district is boarded by Dodota sire district in the North, Lode Hetosa district in the east, Tiyo district in the south and zway dugda district in the west (Atlas of Arsi Zone, 2002).

This district has an area of 1,224 K.M². It has all the topographic feature of “*Baddaa*”, “*Bada-daree*”, and “*Gammoojjii*”. In percentage “*Baddaa*” is about 18.1 %, “*Bada-daree*” is about 60.17 % and “*Gammoojjii*” is about 21.73 % of the total climatic condition of the district (History of Hetosa District, 2007).

3.3. Population and Economy

With regard to population size, Hetosa district has a total population of 124,219 of which 62,466 male and 61,753 are female. The total population who are living in urban is 18,481, among this figure the number of male is 9,048 and the number of female is 9,433. The rural population is 105,738. From this population, male accounts 53,418 and female account 52,320 respectively. This population number makes the district the seventh most populous district among districts that are found in Arsi Zone (CSA, 2008).

Among the population aged 10 years and above who reside in Hetosa district, 53,238 are economically active which urban population accounts 6,543 and rural 46,695. From the rural population, economically active male are 25,911 and female are 20,784. The number of economically inactive population is 30,542. Where urban population accounts 7,304 and rural population 23,238. Among the rural population who are economically inactive 9,105 are males and 14,133 are females (ibid). The following table shows the full information about the above discussions.

Table 1. Population aged 10 years and above by sex, economic activity status, urban rural residence.

Hitosa district	All	Both sexes		All	Males		All	Females	
		Economic ally active	Economic ally inactive		Economic ally active	Economica lly inactive		Economi cally active	Econo mically inactive
Urban and rural	83,780	53,238	30,542	41,754	29,8000	11,954	42,046	23,438	18,588
Urban	13,847	6,543	7,304	6,738	3,889	2,849	7,109	2,654	4,455
Rural	69,933	46,695	23,238	35,016	25,911	9,105	34,917	20,784	14,133

Source :CSA, 2008).

In addition to this, among population aged 10 years and above which accounts 53,238; 51,678 are employed and 1,558 are unemployed. Among the rural population aged 10 years and above 45,990 are employed and 704 are unemployed. The following table shows us the detail information of this data as follows.

Table 2. Economically active persons aged 10 years and above by sex, employed, unemployed

Hitosa district	Economically active			Employed					Un employed				
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	%	Female	%	Both sexes	Male	%	Female	%
Urban & rural	53,238	29,800	23,438	51,678	28,944	56	22,734	43.99	1,558	855	54.87	703	45.12
Urban	6,543	3,889	2,654	5,688	3,458	60.79	2,230	39.2	854	331	38.75	423	49.53
Rural	46,69	25,911	20,784	45,990	25,486	55.41	20,504	44.58	704	424	60.22	280	39.77

Source: CSA, 2008).

With regard to economic activity, the people of this area largely based on subsistence farming. The land is suitable for cultivation of wheat, barley, field pea, bean, maize, *teff*, etc. In addition to forming as an economic activity in the area, cattle rearing are also one of an economic activity practices in desert areas. Both in agricultural and semi pastoral (agro-pastoral) areas the value attached to cattle is too much significant. The Oromo people of Arsi praise their cattle at different time of their activities. One of cattle praising songs in rural areas of Arsi according to Jeylan is the following .

Ana haa lolanii, loon malee hin tolanii

Dale suraa kiyyaa, daalee suraa,

Bakuma sii tolte laalee bulaa.

The English translation holds: -

Oh , may I suffer on your behalf! No one can do well without cattle

Oh my fine cow, *daalee*,

So stay, I would promise to stay wherever you are comforted (Jeylan, 2005:24).

Hence, the backbone of the economy of the area is cattle. This is due to the fact that most of the farming activity in Arsi is oxen dependent. The people plough the land three up to five times by ox and horse in some areas. Cattle do have also a nutritional advantage for the local people. They gain milk, butter, cheese and meat from cattle. Furthermore, cattle

breeding is another means of income in addition to land ploughing among the many households, having many cattle is considered as wealth. The prestige one deserves by the local people depends on how much an individual have cattle in his compound.

3.4. Religion

The Oromo have their own indigenous religion long before the introduction of Christianity and Islam. This indigenous religion is known as *waaqeffannaa* the belief in *waaq* (the supreme god). The Oromo world view is founded in three conceptual bases. *Ayaana* (spiritual connection), *uuma* or *uumee* (nature) and, *safuu* (ethical and moral code). They use these concepts integrally “to explain the organization and interconnection of human, spiritual and physical worlds” (Jalata, 1996 :11 cited in Jeylan, 2004 :105). This is also true for the Oromo of Arsi who are found in Hetosa district. According to data from my informants, most of the people who are found in Hetosa district had been practiced *waaqeffannaa* before 100 (hundred) years ago.

Because of the expansion of Christianity and Islam in the area, many of the population of the area are converted into these religions. Hence, Christianity and Islam are the dominant religion in the area. Population census data of 2008 reveal that out of 124,219 population of the district, 55,549 are Orthodox, 1,615 are protestant 71 are catholic, 66,795 are Islam, 111 are Traditional and 78 are categorized under other. The following table shows us male and female share of each religious group stated above.

Table 3. Population by religion and sex

	Total	Orthodox	protestant	Catholic	Islam	Traditional	Other
Both sexes	124,219	55,549	1,615	71	66,795	111	78
Male	62,466	27,780	801	34	33,730	54	67
Female	61,753	27,769	814	37	33,065	57	11

Source: CSA, 2008)

3.5. Kinship, Marriage and Family structures

3.5.1. Kinship

I can define Kinship in the context of my study as the network in which people are related to one another through blood, marriage and other ties. Kinship is a universal phenomena found in all societies. According to my key informants, kinship can be created through three ways. The first one is through blood; this is called the principle of consanguinity. This relation encompasses blood ties between similar or/ and different sexes. Consanguine are a parents (father, mother, grandparents) relation to a child, relation between siblings (brothers and sisters), an individual's relation to his/her uncle, aunt, niece or nephew, etc).

The second one is kinship through marriage relation. This is called the principle of affinity. This includes kinship ties between husband and wife, husband and his wife's group, wife and her husband's group etc. The third and the last one is kinship through adoption, fostering, god parenthood, etc. This kind of kinship is called fictitious kinship. Fictitious kinship is a ties between two or more individual in which parent child relationship is created without any blood or marriage ties.

The above three principles are working among the Arsi Oromo of Hetosa district. My key informant also elaborated that Arsi are a patrilineal society where decendency rule is tracing to the father side than the mother. All children born for a woman traces their genealogy to the male ancestor in the society. This is because of patriarchal institution that dominates the social structure of Arsi society in general and people of Hetosa district in particular. Arsi identify their relationship through *aanoma* (relation through descent or parentage), *soddoma* (relation through affinity or marriage), *Arsomaa* (Arsihood) refers to cultural homogeneity and the *aaloo* (the customary code) of the people).

3.5.2. Marriage

I can define marriage for this study as a sexual union between a man and a woman. Giving all inclusive definition for marriage is one of the area of difficulty for social science scholars. Some of the challenges are the cultural differentiation between different

societies across different regions of the world about what they consider marriage by their own perception. A definition given for monogamy cannot apply to polygamy, polyandry, polygyny and homosexual marriage. Therefore, having a general definition for the concept of marriage remains areas of discussion so far. For this discussion, I prefer to use the above definition for marriage even though it lacks to define some forms of marriage in my study area.

According to my key informant, marriage is a social union among the Arsi. It is not only a matter of the couples (the bride and the bridegroom). Marriage at the beginning starts with negotiation between the two parents (the male and the female). Arsi Oromo proverb says; *Niitiin marii malee fuudhan mari malee baati* (a woman whom one has brought in to the clan without the consultation of kinsmen goes back without the consultation of the kinsmen). Both the family to the side of bride and the bridegrooms discuss all matters and finally approve the marriage when the required criteria's are fulfilled.

According to Daniel, marriage among the Arsi can be categorized under two major areas. The first one is marriage approved and sanctioned through culture and the second one is rare forms of marriage. The first category contains six types of marriage namely *Gabbara* (Marriage through the payment of bride wealth) which is facilitated by *kadhata* (begging process). *Walgara* (sister exchange), *Buta* (abduction), *Hawwata* (persuasion), *Dhaala* (Levirate), *Milbettoo* (sororate). The second type of marriage is called rare types of marriage. These types of marriage is neither culturally approved nor socially sanctioned. These type of marriage are *adda baana* (the girl go to the family of the boy by her will and remain as wife), *Gursummeetti* (remarriage of divorce), *Biidhaa* (marriage by the man at the expense of the betrothed girl who flee with someone she loved most), and *mata dibaa* (head smearing) (Daniel, 2002).

According to my key informants, both Exogamy and Endogamy marriage are practiced among the Arsi of Hetosa district. Exogamy is marriage to someone from outside of social group and Endogamy is marriage to someone from inside of one's social group. In the past, exogamy marriage is the dominant marriage rule of the Arsi people in general. Now a day, endogamy marriage is one of the common types of marriage among the Arsi of Hetosa district especially by the Muslim community. The reason behind exogamy

marriage that is widely practiced by the Christian is incest taboo. Which means, taboo of sexual relation with one's own group who referred as relative. The other reason is to consolidate allies with other group so as to be socially united through marriage. Endogamy is practiced in order to keep and maintain the property of one's social group through marriage to one's own group. In this mechanism, the wealth of one social group could not be transfer to the other social group.

The Arsi discourage intimate and uncontrolled relationship between the affine before and even after the couple have married. They do this through conversations, lore, proverbs and songs. In the following proverb, the Arsi clearly show their hatred of marriage within a close distance: *soddan da'oo udaan da'ooti*, having in-laws within one's close vicinity is like passing excrement within one's own compound. As the following proverbs also prescribes, the affinal kindred are to be treated with the utmost awe) or *soddaa fi ibbida bayyatti o`ifatan*, one should keep oneself warm with fire and the love of the affinal kindred, of course, by keeping one's distance away from them. The later proverb points out that it is very unsafe to indulge in loose intimacy and rivalry with the affinal kindred (Jeylan,2005:25).

3.5.3. Family

Family is a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence. Family is the first place where socialization of children flourishes. From the two types of family that are conventionally known as nuclear family and extended family, my key informants reflect that the later one is common among the rural parts of Arsi. Extended family constitutes a husband, his wife/wives, his wife`s/ wive`s children and/or the wives and children of his son. This type of family organization is still surviving in the rural areas even though neuclar family is common in urban areas of Arsi. Neuclar family consists of a husband, wife and their dependent child or children. This type of family is lower in number when compared to extended family in Arsi because the urban population is much lower than the rural population. According to the CSA of 2008 in Ethiopia, rural population is 105,738 while urban population is 18,481 in Hetosa district. Hence, in the rural areas of Hetosa district, one compound or a house constitute many family members at a time.

My key informants also added that in Arsi, having many children is considered as wealth in the rural areas. It is due to protecting ones group from the near and for enemy when conflict or disagreement arises. The other reason is that much of the economic activity requires labour intensive production. Since most parts of Arsi is relying on agriculture as a means of survival, they require sufficient human labour through reproduction. The one who have many children can able to produce large amount of production which in turn yield high income for the family and the one who have few children produce small amount which in turn earn lower income . Further, seasonal fluctuation of weather affects those who have few family members especially when rain comes unusual during harvesting period.

Family is also an important social unit where it responds to some of the fundamental human needs of love and emotional security, the need to regulate sexual behavior, the need to reproduce generations, the need to protect the young and the disabled (the sick), and the need to socialize children. It is through the family that children learn the values, norms, standards of behaviors, actions, etc. Without proper socialization, children would be end up being mere biological beings, or they would develop anti societal attitudes and behaviors. Among the Arsi of Hetosa district, family is the place where manhood and womanhood is learnt by the children . It is where the children learn about gender division of labour, domestic and public spheres either orally or by their own through exposure to different activities.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AND THEIR CAUSES

4.1. Types of Gender Based Violence Identified in the Study Area

Gender refers to social relations that are not fixed and immutable but are inherently unstable, their meaning shifting as gender is influenced by race, cultural, and class difference as well as material relations (ed. Merry and Wiesner-Hanks, 2004). Gender based violence in this research refers to any act of physical, emotional, and sexual attack on women or girls. Females are victims of gender based violence in their life by their intimate partner, unknown person, relatives or friends. There are different types of gender based violence identified by this research in the study area. The major types of gender violence in Hetosa district are Economic abuse, Sexual harassment, Wife beating, and Rape. The rest type of gender based violence like abduction, female genital mutilation, and early marriage are on the way to disappear in the society. Hence, the major emphasis of this research is on the widely prevalent types of gender based violence which is discussed as follows.

4.1.1. Economic Abuse

Economic abuse is the lack of property right and decision making by women. Women are culturally dependent on their husband, relatives of male sex and someone closer to them by economy and decision making on their own and family matters. In some cultures, female are not entitled to inherit properties of their parents and the wife of a deceased husband could not claim for inheritance of property. According to Dejene, the Guji widowed mother and her female children are not culturally entitled to inheritance (Dejene, 2009). According to demographic and health survey conducted in different parts of the world on house hold wealth index, woman above the median wealth level for their country have more decision making power and less tolerance for gender based violence than those with below median wealth (Jayachandran, 2014).

Among the rural Arsi of Hetosa wereda, economic abuse is one of the areas of gender based violence in the rural context. Women are not entitled to administer their income as

equal to their husband as well as they are not allowed to sell and buy the family assets. Most of the time, it is the husband who decides on the supply and demands of the family than the woman. Women are muted in individual and social matters due to strong patriarchal institutions that flourished on the culture of the society. According to my key informants, male have culturally endowed with the right to administer the property in general. It is on the free will of the husband that the whole family supply with food and clothing . Hence, women are emotionally victimized to depend on their male partner on their family affairs. They are suffering from scarcity of budget allocation by the husband and lack of property right and decision making. They are totally or partially ignored from their property by their intimate partner.

4.1.2. Sexual Harassment/ Emotional Abuse

Sexual harassment is unwanted sex related behavior towards somebody, for example, touching somebody or making suggestive remarks, especially by somebody with authority toward a subordinate (Encarta dictionaries). Sexual harassment is any act of behavior which results in emotional abuse towards women / girls like insulting, any behavior of unwanted sexual nature, emotional manipulation, intimidation, etc. This type of violence is a widely perceived but loosely considered as violence. Women are victims of this violence around their home, on the way to field, in the market, etc. According to my informants, sexual harassment is common especially on young girls while they move from home to some where they need to go. This is a face to face verbal or physical violence which degrades the psychology of girls.

According to my key informant, other than a face to face emotional abuse, females are also victims of telephone and short message of emotional abuse from someone they know or never know. This is also a new form of sexual harassment mechanism by which females are insulted, motivated to unwanted sexual behavior, and coerced to do what they never want to do. Females are insulted when they are silent to improper act of male. My key informants also elaborated that women are insulted in reference to their body like breast, leg, eye, forehead, ear, fatness, thinness, tallness, shortness, body shape, etc. For example Female are locally insulted as follows.

- You monkey face (facial reference)
- Are you renting your breast? (breast reference)
- Dish ear (ear reference).
- Worm like (thinness reference)

Females are also touched and harassed by someone who they know or never know before along the road, at school or somewhere they go. They lack the freedom to move without male attack and exposed to frustration in their daily life. According to female key informant, who is 23 years old, women face emotional abuse from male and this emotional abuse is now a day's considered and something adapted both by females and males. In case of emotional attack, female prefer to be silent than going to the elder's council or the court. The local community also did not consider this act as the issue to be seen by the elder's council and the court. Hence, there are no corrective measures taken up on those guilty doers by existing formal and informal social controlling mechanisms. My interview with women, children's and youth affair experts, crime inspector at police office, and the court, females could/ do not come to report the nature of sexual harassment they encounter from male at different circumstances. They respond that even though this is a prevalent form of gender based violence, the community and individual females prefer to be silent while they encounter or witness problems common to females and erodes their self confidence of equality with male.

4.1.3. Wife Beating

Woman beating is one among domestic violence on women in most parts of the world. This type of violence includes acts of kicking, dragging, beating, burning, gun firing, cutting of body part by sharp material, etc. According to the research conducted in kofele district by Haji Kedir, (2004) wife battering is an acceptable normal phenomena on an intimate partner relationship. Some of the main reason forwarded by men to batter women are the following: when a woman is suspected or found to "look outside" (need another man) other than her husband, when a woman fails to return home from outside, when a woman fails in good cooking, when she fails to keep herself attractive, and when she fails to make the bed comfortable. Women's perception is somehow different about why wives are battered by their husband. According to women, wife battering happen

when a woman made herself attractive and make different hair style, going where the husband prohibited to go, suspicion of extra marital relation.

According to my focus group discussants, this type of violence is justified and normalized in the rural areas especially by the male partners. Eventhough some woman consider wife beating as violence, others from women group consider it as legal. For some women, beating is considered as an expression of love. They say, "If my husband does not beat me, it means that he does not love me ". Hence, there are two groups of women on the perception of wife beating as violence or expression of love. Both groups who oppose and support wife beating are forced to experience this physical violence by their male encounters. The home is the place where this act of violence is widely prevalent and women's suffer from physical injury to the extent of disability.

From my observation at women and childrens affairs office, one girl was coming to the office to report what she faced from her family. The girl was highly beaten on her leg repeatedly and her body injured due to the heavy stick from her brother. According to this girl, she was beaten because of the claim of property that she raises to her parents. She stays in Arab country for about six year and return back to begin a small business. But, she could not found the money sent to her parent when return back. This is an area of disagreement with the family members each and every time. In order to find solution, elders council came together about three times without proper solution she need to receive back her money from her parents. On the third meeting of the elders council, she said that my brother took a stick and repeatedly beat me on my leg in front of the elders. On the other day, her mother come to women`s and children affairs office and asked why her brother beat her with stick by the experts. Mother replied that he beat her because she was raising the wrong property right. Here, she considers beating by her brother as a corrective measure for wrongdoing of the girl.

It is only when the issue is beyond their tolerance that women report their beating to the local elders council to get some solution. In most cases, my focus group discussants believe, elders council favor the male while they are negotiating issues of wife and husband especially on wife beating. Because those elders council are of the sex male and consider wife beating as normal condition of life . It is only when the husband injure the

eye, ear, teeth, and sometimes leg decided by elders to compensate his wife. Other than those body parts, husbands have the right to beat at the time he considers that she is a wrong doer. Among the rural people of Arsi, a man who does not beat his wife is not considered as a man. Beating his wife is an expression of masculinity and ability to administer his family in proper manner.

4.1.4. Rape

Rape is one of the prevalent gender based violence across different parts of the world with varied degree of prevalence rates. A study conducted among college students in Asella reveal that out of 243 female students who responded to the questionnaire, 124 practice sex by force and 119 encounter an attempt of forced sex. Among those who experienced forced sex, 30 of them were raped by peers/students, 4 of them by teachers, 13 of them by a relative of the parent (family member), 26 of them by unknown person, 3 of them by others, and 43 with no response. Out of 119 females who give response on where the forced sex takes place, 52 are at home, 27 in and on the way to school, 19 hotel and unknown place, 7 others, 14 no response (Seife, 2007: 16-17). The study conducted in Assendabo town in Ethiopia shows that twenty six (8.0%) of the respondents were victims of one or more forms of sexual assault in their lifetime. Whereas five (1.5%) of the respondents were victims of sexual assault at least once in the past one year prior to data collection. Out of the 26 lifetime sexual assault victims, 19 (73.1%) were victims of completed rape. Five (19.2%) of the victims encountered sexual assault for more than one times and for 19 (73.1%) of the victims it was their first sexual experience. At the time of assault, 21 (80.8%) of assault victims were under the age of 18 with mean age at assault of 15 years (SD=2.0). Twenty one (80.8%) of assault victims were students, 21(80.8%) were single, 11(42.3%) lived with their families and 11(42.3%) of them lived alone at the time of assault (Adey, et al., 2004:28).

According to my focus group discussants who experience gender based violence, most of the time females prefer to be silent while they are victims of rape or rape attempt. This is due to the culture of silence to cover what the society considers as shame. According to women, children and youth affairs experts, females are silent due to lack of immediate Solution for their problem. Perpetrators of rape identification are most of the time found

to be difficult. This is because, a person who intend to rape a female did not do this action in the public or in front of the witness, rather he prefer to do this along the road when no one is found, through the forest, when no one is found around the home without the intended female to be raped, in the night where darkness covers the perpetrator, in the field when no one found beside, etc. Hence, it is difficult for the court to identify as easy as possible whether the person she accuse is the right person to engage with this victim or not. The first thing that the court does in identifying different criminal acts is to see and hear for evidences. But, it is not usual to find eye witness for rape or rape attempt. My interview with the judge in Hetosa district court, address that judges use circumstantial evidence to identify perpetrators of rape where they lack eyewitness. Circumstantial evidence is to look for the earlier relationship between the male person and the female and identifying whether he was around the area of the crime during that time. Due to this complicated nature, some of rape victim and rape attempt remains unsolved or take a long time to arrive on decision.

Other reason for the silence of females to report rape crimes they encounter is the fear being to loss marriage. This is the perception that if the local community heard about her rape victim, males would not be interested to marry her. Further, she is seen as actor of the action by her own will by the majority of the local people. Even in case the perpetrators are identified, the issue is taken by the elders council and finally decided that the male has to marry the girl if she did not have husband. Then, negotiation of peace and harmony settle between the female and male plus their families. If she is a married woman, the case goes most of the time to the court than the elder's council.

In some instances, perpetrators of rape prefer to escape from the area until the issue settles and ensure that the case is not goes to the court or local elders. After that, he may come back home from where he escapes. Some of the rape cases happen between relatives further complicated by culture. It is taboo to practice sex with someone who have a blood ties. According to the data from police, women and children affairs, and the court, relative forced sex is prevalent and most of the time under reported due to the cultural taboo associated with such practices. Children are also vulnerable to rape in most cases since they are not capable to protect themselves physically from perpetrators.

In general, I understood by this study that female are victims of forced sex even by their relatives, peers, friends, someone unknown, at home, along the road, in school , etc. This act of gender violence encouraged due to the silence of female victim and complexity of the nature of the crime before the court to identify the perpetrator plus the bad social perception on female who encounter the problem.

4.1.5. Abduction, Female Genital Mutilation and Early Marriage

These type of gender based violence are rarely prevalent among the Arsi of Hetosa district when compared to the past. Now a day's, marriage through abduction leaves the room for a new type of mutual life known as cohabitation. This is a means of living together without the formal consent of the male and the female families. Both parties are not forced to live together in cohabitation. It is through gradual friendship that they begin to live together as husband and wife. The nature of this life style was earlier manifested in urban areas than the rural. Now, it is one of the widely practiced way of life among the rural young generations. According to my informant, abduction leaves the way for other marriage types through awareness creation and legal enforcement of laws as well as through the mass media programs that discourage abduction in their respective ways of teaching.

According to my interview with police officer, women's and children affairs office and the district court, there is no report of abduction, FGM, and early marriage to their respective offices. This shows that there is change in the perception of the society on abduction, FGM and early marriage. But, it is not to mean that those type of gender based violence are totally avoided among the society. It may be practiced out of the site of the mass community. All of my informants and focus group discussants believe that those types of gender violence are not visible to them in the year 2014/2015. Due to the absence of evidence on these violence types, the focus of my research is on the violent acts of economic abuse, women beating, sexual harassment, and rape respectively with major emphasis on their causes and consequences.

4.2. Causes for Gender Based Violence in the Study Area.

The causes for gender based violence among the Arsi of Hetosa wereda are classified in to two major parts. The first part is cultural causes which include marriage practice, Religious practice, child socialization, social attitude, patriarchal institution, and the decline of traditional institutions like *Ateete*, *Qanafaa* and *siingee* . The second causes for gender violence are non cultural factors like claim of property right, individual or group interest, low education / illiteracy, Alcohol and drug abuse, and finally risk calculation. Each of these factors has their own contribution for gender violence on the females in Hetosa district.

4.2.1. Part One: Cultural Causes

4.2.1.1. Marriage

The subordination of women to men in marriage was often used as a symbol of other types of subordination, providing excellent examples of the way in which gender hierarchies can represent other social and political hierarchies (Mead and Wisner-Hanks, 2004:64). Marriage is one of the areas where girls are appropriated for gender based violence in the study area. It is the premarital condition that paves the way for gender based violence for women. According to Arsi in general and Hetosa district in particular, one has to pay bride wealth before he marries a girl. This bride wealth is the symbol of ownership of a girl either by giving money or cattle to the family of the bride. "The head of cattle exchanged at marriage varied from a couple to a hundred or more, depending on the status and wealth of the contracting parties " (ed. Baxter, et al.,1996:183). This is a form of transaction where the girl is exchanged by cash or item of wealth. In the Oromo proverbs, there is a say: *Dubaraf gaangee abbaatu gurgurata* (It is the owner who sell a girl and mule). This means that girls are sold at the marriage time to the bridegroom and his family through the approval of local customs. This marriage practice is common among Muslim societies of Hetosa district where every individual who is in need of marriage possibly pay money to the bride family based on the amount fixed through negotiation of local elders.

After the payment completed and marriage takes place, he ensures that the girl is part of his property to administer. At the time of marriage, the family of the girl gives prescription to the groom as follows:

<i>Iji keetti miti</i>	Her eye is not yours
<i>Guri keett miti</i>	Her ear is not yours
<i>Ilkaan keeti miti</i>	Her teeth is not yours
<i>Kan hafe dirri keeti</i>	The rest part of her body is yours

In some cultures these parts of the body that are protected to be beaten by the husband are including the hands and the legs. According to my woman informant who is 60 years of age, the husband is entitled to beat the rest part of her body other than protected by the family of the girl. This is how cultural practice of marriage empowers the male for gender violence in the Arsi of Hetosa district. Even if the woman experienced beating and other forms of violence by the husband, it is culturally shame to return to her family. The only thing that she can do is to tolerate the violence. A Muslim women that I encounter at the district court say that: it is shame in our culture to bring our husband in front of the judge at the expense of his violence on us. One thing we have to do as women is being tolerant to his act of violence.

It is only when the eye injured, the ear injured, and the teeth broken that the husband is seen as a wrong doer up on his wife. In this circumstance, he is blamed by the family of the woman and asked to pay compensation by the local elders. If he fails to do so, he is socially sanctioned and the families of the girl have the authority to bring back their married woman. If he pay the compensation they are not authoritative to bring back their married women and issues are solved through negotiation. It is only when a huge pressure exerted on woman that she moves to the elders in search of solution or rarely to the court as means of survival.

The other way women's are violated through marriage is the practice of polygamy or multiple wives. "Polygamy with the Oromo mainly flows from the love of children, from the search for glory and interest. Every Oromo earnestly desires numerous posterities, considering it as benediction of God and elements of preponderance in peace and in war" (Salviac, 1901:249). Polygamy is practiced both by Christian and Muslim communities in

Hetosa District. But, it is more prevalent among Muslim communities than Christians. Polygamy is an allowed marriage among the Muslim religion as far as he can be able to support multiple wives by economy and emotional care. In the shari`a principle, one can be able to marry up to seven wives if he is capable of these basic preconditions. Among the Muslim of Hetosa district where they are the majority in number, polygamy is practiced as a cultural means of marriage out of the principle of the shari`a. Someone who is not supportive economically and marries more than one wife is derived from his own personal needs than the religious prescription. Since the man who marries additional wife is not economically supportive to administer multiple families, quarrels happen between the wives up on ownership of property and decision makings. The man is also discriminating between the first, second, third,..... seventh wives in economy and budget allocation. In most cases, the first wife is discriminated at the expense of the second and the rest wives. This is because she is older than others, not attractive as the younger wife is.

From my observation at women's and children affairs, the woman who was the first wife of a man told the experts about the economic and emotional abuse she faces from her husband. From the conversation between the experts and the woman I understand that her property is sold without her consent to cover the budget of the rest two wives and she was given a small amount of land as her own share from her husband. In addition, he took the goats, cows, and ox by his decision and transfers it to the rest wives. She was tolerating a long ago about this discrimination and lastly try to secure herself from this pressure. She said to the husband that I have to administer my own property with my children without your interference on selling and transferring of any property other than your own shares. It was at this time that he was following her in the field holding a large knife to kill her. She continued to say that I escape his murder attempt by moving to the place where some people found and lastly return to my home where my children of young age found and protect me .

Cultural pressure associated with polygamy is associated with economic complain, discrimination between wives and entitles the man with total decision making on the overall life of the families. According to my interview with women's and children affairs

office experts, economic contribution of the man with polygamous marriage is minimum. It is the woman who searches for the means of income to support the family. The role of the man is to administer the cattle, goats, land and donkey. The daily expense of the family is covered through the woman by selling wood, burning charcoal and selling grasses during summer. The man is inclined both economically and psychologically to a woman who earns better. Most of the time, the older woman is passive and the younger is active in income generation and the man is attached to the younger wife. It is obvious that age matters to be active and attract the male in all aspects of life including body appearance, sexual pleasure, communication, generating income, etc.

The other ways through which woman are discriminated by their husband is the culture of widow inheritance. This is unintended marriage due to death accident on the husband's brother. According to my focus group discussions, among the Muslim community the brother of the deceased husband is entitled to marry the widow woman. This resulted in unpredicted polygamy by the brother of the deceased and goes to polygamy induced violence as usual. Generally speaking, other than widow inheritance which is for the sake of administering the property and the family by the close kin as a father, other types of polygamous marriage is practiced most of the time in search of young girls who fulfill the interest of the husband in most cases.

Another way of new form of marriage which expose woman in the current situation to violence is the emergence and prevalence of cohabitation as a marriage life. The boy and the girl live together without the consent of the family and finally results in unwanted pregnancy, physical violence like beating, injuring, insulting, etc. There is no way to return back to her family for the girl to escape the violence since she moves with the boy without the consent of her family. At this occasion she prefers to be silent of any acts of the husband whether it is good or bad to her. If the man escapes from the area, she is the one who suffers a lot both emotionally and economically.

In case there might be unwanted pregnancy or infant children, she is the one who suffers to support the family or goes to abortion. This will in turn affect the health of the woman and psychological makeup.

4.2.1.2. Religion based attitudes

The question of what is religion remains to be one of the areas where different scholars forwarded their own understanding of the term religion. One of the widely quoted definition of religion is that provided by Geertz. According to Geertz, religion is the system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and closing this conception with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem an equally realistic (Geertz, 1973:90 cited in Eller,2007:8). The role religion plays in the life of human being is significant than any other institutions of human society. Human beings are in the ideology of religion in his everyday life. This shows us religion is an everyday phenomena of human life. If religion have this much influence on human beings, it is true that it do have both positive and negative consequences on human perception of the world. The religious distribution data in my research site show that Islam is the majority with 66,795 followed by Christianity (orthodox, protestant, and catholic) about 57,235 and traditional is 111 and the rest 78 are categorized under other. This data reveal that Islam and Christianity are the widely prevalent religion in the area. This discussion would be also focuses on these two religious teaching and their gender ideology in general.

In the religious teaching of Christianity, woman is considered as the first sinners to pass over the rule of life given by God through eating tree of knowledge of good and evil, then she was punished due to the rule she pass over in Gen. 2:17 (but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, you shall not eat of it, for in the day that you ate of it you will surely die). The punishment was not only dyeing but also physical pain and authority claim by the man (Gen. 3:16). To the woman he said , I will greatly multiply your pain in child birth. In pain you will bear children your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you): Here we can understand that there was two punishment on the woman. The first one was physical pain during childbirth throughout her life. This was God's punishment to the sex of female alone for the first time. The second punishment is that God transfer the desire of women up on her husband and the husband was given the authority to administer his wife. In the other way round, this is the beginning of

patriarchal social institution among human society. In the patriarchal social institution, man is empowered to exercise power and decision making independent of his wife. In 1st cor.11:3 says: But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God. This part of the bible tell us about authority level among God, Christ, man, and woman. Here again, it is referred as the head of the woman is man.

In Ephesians 5:22 -24 we can read that (Wives, be subject to your own husbands, as to the lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, and Christ is also the head of the assembly, being himself the savior of the body. But as the assembly is subject to Christ, so let the wives also be to their own husbands in everything). This part of scripture is similar to the above discussion in empowering man on woman in everything to be subject on him. But, is that to mean that the man do have the right to violate woman since he is empowered by God to administer her? This is a big deal where religion based attitudes prevail the way for gender violence.

Among many of Christian religion followers, it is perceived that men have the total right to dominate women either peacefully or through violent acts. They assume that religion entitled men to exercise power through coercion up on the women so as to ensure the masculine superiority. But, what does the scripture says further on this? The book of Ephesians 5:25 says: (Husbands love your wives, even as Christ also loved the assembly, and gave himself up for it). Again in verse 28-29, (even so husbands also ought to love their own wives as their own bodies. He who loves his own wife loves himself. For no men hated his own flesh; but nourishes and cherishes it, even as the Lord also does the assembly). From this part of the bible, we can understand that man is not entitled to violate his wife, rather God order the husbands to love their wives. The love that the husband gives to his wife has to be strong since it says love your own wives as your own body. If the love one has to give for his wife is as equivalent as loving own body and no one likes to injure his body part, a husband has not to injure or violate his wife.

Among Christian religion followers of Hetosa district, this religious teaching are associated with the social practice of the community and have both flavor of religion and norms. In the one hand, they infer to the biblical teachings of male administrative role up

on female and on the other, they infer to social norms where different sayings and proverbs of the society dignify the status of women. For example, it is said that: *Dubartii fi harreen ulee jaalatti* (woman and donkey likes beating). The association of these two aspects of life in most cases understood by the mass community of the rural Hetosa district as religious theme of Christianity. The biblical word also affirms that men and women are equal in Christ to own the throne of God in life after death.

As in Christian, things are also similar in Islam, where religion based attitudes associated with gender violence. It is perceived by many that women are not economically, socially, politically empowered. This issue is an old debate between different scholars. According to Alemmaya, 2002 the issue of women status among the Muslim is understood differently from different angles. The oldest assumption states that the low status of Muslim women is not a surprise as Islam has also been part of a long tradition of Mediterranean patriarchy. A contrary to this assumption which stated on the same page by Ahmed says that " we should distinguish between Islam and men tyranny; if we are talking about Islam, the potential of women in Islam is far superior to anything offered by Confucious in China, or Aristotle in Greece, or to what Hindu or Christian civilization offered". According to this explanation, the misery and lack of right among Muslim women is associated with Muslim men tyranny than the Islamic teachings.

According to Mernessi, Muslim social order revolves around concepts such as respect (Izzat), honor (Sharafat), and rebellion (Nushuz). The ideal of female beauty in Islam is obedience, silence, and immobility, that is inertia and passivity (Mernessi,1996:118). This shows as female are subject to the will of male since the religion order the woman for obedience, silence, and immobility. The Qur'anic concept of modest says:

Tell the believing woman to lower their gaze and be modest and to display of their ornaments only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms and not to reveal their adornments, save to their own husbands and their father (verse 24:30-1).

This part of the Qur'anic concept of modesty reveal that women has to be subject to male of either husband or father. As in the discussion of Christianity above, this is not to mean that men have to violet the rights of women. It is wrongly perceived by many of the

followers of the religion as the men have the authority given by Allah to punish their wife physically, psychologically, or emotionally. Violence against women is not part of the teaching of religion in the case of Christianity and Islam. Religious practice in most cases associated with the local culture and that culture in turn shapes the religious practice and vice versa. What is very common in most Christian religion and Islam with regard to gender is that both religion revolves around patriarchy and no rooms for women to act as high religious leaders. Women do not recruited for ultimate religious leadership. This shows us how religion discriminates between the two sexes.

Among the Arsi of Hetosa district, the majority of rural men appropriate religion for self interest where they are engaged on polygamous marriage. Their standing point is that Sheria law permits for a man to marry up to seven wives consecutively. According to the Sheria court in the district normally known as kadi, the issue of polygamy is not as easy as what the society perceives. He said that polygamy is allowed for a man if and only if he is capable to support economically more than one wife and mentally able to manage all wives equal without any discrimination. Forgetting this principle on the ground, the majority of rural Muslim practice polygamy without any consideration to economy and emotional impartiality. Some polygamous marriage is without the consent of the first wife and results on violence, discrimination, divorce and family breakdown.

Generally, the association between religion and culture plays a pivotal role in discrimination and violence up on women in Hetosa district. The majority of the population of rural areas practice religion without deeply understanding each and every points that the religion requires from individual to do or not to do something. Obviously, the religious awareness of the rural community is not as such developed and they are not eager to know the detail of bible and Qur'an. Hence, they better found it to practice their religion in the context of local customs, norms and traditions.

4.2.1.3. Gender socialization

To a large degree, childhood socialization is the social orientation of the child and his enculturation, first within the small social world of family and neighbourhood (*olaa*) and then in relation to the larger society and culture (Hirut, 2000:80). Socialization is the

process by which learning of the local norms, values, beliefs, attitudes are acquired through slow and gradual process. Most of the time, socialization starts from the family. The other agents in the socialization process are peers, the school, mass media, community, etc. Among the rural communities where there is no sufficient access to education, the influence of school and mass media is minimum. Since the issue of gender is among the center of socialization process, children learns the specific gender roles attached to each sex from the early period of their childhood. Among the people of Hetosa district, socialization is more influenced by the family, neighbors, and the community. These socialization processes have both positive and negative impacts up on the personality of an individual. Among the Arsi, male are socialized in to aggressiveness and female to submissiveness.

The child of male sex socialized in to the way his father and brother acts in the family. Hence, he learns male domination and female subordination as one aspect of life. The female sex also socialized to the role and acts of her mother considering women subordination as an ideal form of life. This aspect of life paves the way for gender based violence in future life of the girls and women.

It is in the home that a child learns male to female relationships. In this instances, children of the family of harmony, peace, and love learns and socialized to tolerance, respect , and compassion. In other way round, children who grown up in a family where there is no peace, love respect harmony, and tolerance socialized in to violence. Boys most of the times in this family learns domination, violence of different type like (physical, psychological, and sexual) on female. One of my key informant told me that children's of the two families were playing in the compound where she is living. She said that the children were between the age of 5-8 playing and acting on husband and wife role. The children were grouped in to two being one male and one female. One of the males father is violent to his wife through beating, insulting and occasionally attempting to beat. The other boy's father is tolerant, respectful and kind to his family. Having this kind of family the children plays as of the behavior of the family outside. The one with violent father says on the play to the assumed wife that goes to market & come back, "where you have been? Why do you stay this much? I will show you what I will do. You

are disobedient to my instruction always." This boy is saying these speech with high tonation to reflect how violent father can express their feeling.

The other boy with kind and tolerant father also playing as his wife is sick and being on bed. He said, "what happens to you? Are you sick? Let us go to clinic. Your body is much hotter than before" and the like. This boy learns positive treatment from his parents and reflect the same thing outside. This shows us children are much influenced by the socialization process at the family level. Family is not only where they learn behaviors from their parents, rather they learn gender based division of labour. It is where they assure that what is the ideal role of male and female in the division of labour. According to my focus group discussants, the rural community of Arsi socialize males to the public and females to the domestic. The public sphere encompasses social relation, community affairs, and decision making. The domestic sphere on the other way includes caring for children ,cooking ,caring for the sick, fetching water, washing clothes, collecting fire wood etc. The domestic sphere in most cases is not related to power and decision making. This empowers male up on female to exercise their free will without competitive power from the woman

Woman and men's work has been valued differently, and that difference lead to the assignment of different kinds of work for men and women. Feminist scholars have pointed out that in industrial and post industrial societies, much of women's work has not been valued. This might be because it was not rewarded with a wage or because it tended to be hidden from view. Hence, the work of providing food and caring for children by women were not understood as work. This unpaid activity has clearly economic significance and economic value(ed merry and wiesner Hanks, 2004).

The acceptance of male superiority and decision making and female subordination both by male and female makes the socialization process a double standard of patriarchy. Not only the males that socialize the boys to the role of masculinity, but the females too. Hence ,the socialization process is a concern of the female and male sexes in aggravating gender inequality and violence. According to my key informant, the rural women reinforces male superiority and females subordination through the socialization period. It is culturally not appropriate for boys to be beaten by girls. If a boy is beaten by a girl

weather from the family or outside both his father and mother punish or insult him for his failure to defend himself. It is considered that male has to be strong enough to be able to dominate female both physically and psychologically.

4.2.1.4. Social Attitude

Social attitude stands for the values attached to the male sex and female sex. The community values one gender in comparison to another or differently through the culture of the social groups. Among the Arsi of Hetosa district, male are valued and favored than females. Most parents prefer to give birth for baby boy than baby girl especially at the first pregnancy. In this area, the birth of baby boy is announced by the traditional birth attendant by ululating four times and baby girl by ululating three times. This shows us discrimination between male and female starts from the time of child delivery. What is special is that the first stage of discrimination on female begins by the female sex. That is the traditional birth attendant who ululated higher for baby boy and lower for baby girl. Women by themselves have special regard for boys than girls among the Arsi of Hetosa district. Because the male are considered to be a symbol of respect for the family and inherits the parents. The boy also gives support for the family after marriage since marriage among the Arsi is patrilocal. This is not the case for girls. Girls move to the family of the boy to whom she is married. In this instance, the family of the girl could not expect any type of support from the girls since another clan owns her. Among the Oromo it is said that: *dubartin kan ormati* (a girls is not the properly of the family). Due to the above reasons, the Arsi of Hetosa districts have lower value for girls than boys since the birth of the child.

Attitudinal difference between male and female sex is more prevalent among the Oromo proverbs than any other the societies folktales. Jeylan (2004) identified proverbs that trivialize women and reinforces their subordinate position in the society as follows.

Proverbs shows a relationship of dominance and subordination between men & women in the Oromo society

- A. *Harreen moonan qabdu moonaa loonii galti, beerti da'oon qabdu da'oo dhiiraa galti*
 (Just as donkeys do not have their own kral and thus sleep in that of cattle, women do not have their own abode and thus dwell in that of men).
- B. *Beeraafi harreen ba'aa hin dadhabdu*
 (women and donkey do not complain about burden)
- C. *Beerti furdoo malee guddoo hin qabdu*
 (women are bulky but not great).
- D. *Beerti daakkaa malee daangaa hin beektu*
 (women know grinding, but not when to stop).
- E. *Dhalaan akkuma harmaati qalbiin rarraati*
 (Women, their hearts swing just like their breasts).
- F. *Intalli garaa laaftu garaa qullaa hin baatu*
 (A kind hearted daughter does not marry without a fetus)
- G. *Beerti goonqoo tolchiti malee dubbii hin tolchitu*
 (Women make good dish, but not good idea).
- H. A woman said to her husband” *Ati heefaa ,ani beeraa*(you are week and shaky: I am a woman) *eennutu laga wal baasaa?* (how do we cross the river?)

Proverbs that communicate male dominance in the culture

- I. *Dhirti eebooyyuu ni obsiti*
 (males endures even the pain of spear)
- J. *Dhiirti utubaa sibiilati, intalli karra ambaati*
 (males are an iron pole of a house, while females are the outside gate that belongs to others).
- K. *Kan dandeetu dhaani Jennaan dhiirsi galee niitii dhaane*
 (When he was allowed to whip whomever he can the husband returned home and whipped his wife).
- L. *Dhalaa fi ijoollef uleetu goricha*
 (for women and children, the stick is matchless treatment)

M. *Niitii fi farda abbatu leenjifata*

(it is the possessor who should tame his hoarse and his wife as he wants)

N. *Niitii fi farda abbaatu eegata*

(it is the man, the possessor ,who should manage his hoarse as well as his wife)

Proverbs that communicate the values women are accorded in the Oromo society

O. *Cidha beerti feete aanan qodaa hin hanqatu*

(when a woman has decided to go to wedding, her milk does not fall short of her milk holder).

P. *Haadha dhabuu mana haadha dhabduu wayyaa*

(having a destitute mother is better for one than not having a mother at all)

Q. *Haadhaa fi bishaan hamaa hin qaban*

(mother and water have no evil).

R. *Mana Onaa manaa, mana niitii ontuu wayya*

(better a hollow wife than a desolate house)

Proverbs that communicate the societies fear of women's character

S. *Niitii abbaan manaa mana hin jire, du'a ga'ii fardaa dhaqxi.*

(A wife whose husband is not at home (around) goes to condole the death of horse).

T. *Niitiin dhiirsa mootu olla horn hin gootu*

(A women that dominates her husband will not at all value her neighbors).

U. *Dhiirsi niitii soddaatu ilma hin dhalfatu*

V. *Namni beera koorse galgala qorsaa nyaata, namni farada koorse galgala kooraa baata*

(one who has spoiled his wife eats roasted barley for his supper, one who has spoiled his hoarse carries saddle at night).

W. *Niitiin dhiirsi koorse itilleerraa mucucaatti*

(A wife whose husband has spoiled, her slides from a tanned hide).

Finally, Jeylan summarizes as proverb A,B,H,I,J,K,L,M,N,R are appealing to tradition. Their communicative goal is indoctrinating the dominance submission relationships

between men and women. proverbs S,T,V,W are appealing to fear, their communicative goal is expressing the patriarchal society's fear of women's status, power and freedom. Proverbs C,D,E,F, and G are appealing to prejudice and their communicative goal is indoctrinating the inferiority of women. Finally proverbs O.P and Q appeal to more than one instincts and their communicative goal also appears to more than one instincts at a time (Jeylan) 2004:134).

One can understand from the above proverbs about the social attitudes towards gender. The proverbs clearly reveal that women are at inferior position when compared to men. Most of these proverbs discourage women and encourage men domination and violence up on women. According to my key informants with whom I was discussing about the role of proverbs in strengthening women's subordination and violation, most men and women did not refuse to the local sayings that have negative connotation for women. Since proverbs are spice of speech among the Oromo, these proverbs are repeatedly said on the speech concerning gender. This attitude on the other way round implanted in the mind of children and develops to be the ideal ways of male to female relation.

Once gender ideology is a center of language, it remains to be transferred from one generation to the other holding both the good and the bad at the same time. Language is the means to expresses internal feeling to the other either verbally or non verbally. Hence, proverbs are one among verbal communication to deliver message in a very short manner. Proverbs can able to explain about the overall aspect of one society since it covers the wider thinking and attitudes of human beings. The development of good attitudes on gender promotes gender equality and the development of gender discriminatory and inferiority promote gender based violence. Generally, the local proverbs that discourage gender equality are one of the reasons, for the violent acts of the male on female as it shapes the attitude of the society as a whole.

4.2.1.5. Patriarchal Institution

Patriarchy is a social system in which men are regarded as the authority within the family and society and in which power and possessions are passed on from father to son (Encarta dictionaries). Patriarchy is in short, the rule of the father or rule in the hands of

man. Among patriarchal societies like the Arsi , men are entitled culturally as decision maker up on the society in general and the family in particular. It is the responsibility of women to accept and implement those decisions made at the society level as well as the family level. According to my focus group discussants, men are empowered to administer the family, economy, and decision making. This decision making is most of the time infavour of male than female by the social, economic and political spheres. In some cases, refusal to implement the decision made by men causes violent punishments like physical, psychological ,and sexual.

Among patriarchal society, women are not autonomous to administer property that belongs to the family. Among the Arsi of Hetosa district, it is up to the husband to manage the whole property without interference of the women. Patriarchical institution appropriated males as property owners and females as one part of the property of men. According to my key informant, a father is not called after a primogenitor daughter. If the first born baby is a daughter, he is waiting for the coming of baby son to be called after. Female in the culture of Arsi is considered weak, unknowledgeable, foolish and irrational. Due to this conceptions, it is not advisable for the husband to give power for the woman to administer property and family. Among the Oromo it is said that: *dubartiin beektee beektus, ilmi ofii ishii gorsa* (even if woman knows something her son advise her). From this saying we can understand that the knowledge of much older women is not equal with the younger boy. Boys are more knowledgeable than women because boys have the sex of masculinity. This proverb also strengthen patriarchal outlook on women.

In order to control women in patriarchal society, there are two ways of manipulation. One is through submission of women to the ideology of patriarchy and the other is through coercion or violence. Among the Arsi of Hetosa district, both submission and coercion or violence is the means to dominate women. In order to gain respect and acceptance from the woman, a man uses physical and psychological influence /attack on woman. Now a days, some woman are on the way to struggle patriarchal social system through the council of elders, and the court. According to the documentation of the wereda court there were 527 cases presented to the court in the last nine months related to

husband and wife. Among these cases, 164 were given solution by council of elders and 363 were given solution by the court. Many of these cases arises from one party domination and the others subordination. It is in the refusal of the subordinate status that womens are resisting to the patriarchal social relation through the formal and informal mechanisms

Of course, this is not the fact for many of the rural women who are suffering from patriarchy. According to women's and children's affairs office experts and inspectors from the police, the few of women who come to report to the court, women's and children's affairs ,and the police are those who did not able to tolerate the victims of their partner. Others consider their life as a standard way of local community through tolerating to the violence of their partner or friends. Among the society, reporting husband to the court or police is a strange and culturally discouraged by the society.

In cases where a woman accuses a man, the kebele (village) leaders did not present the suspect to the police, court, or females and children's affairs. This is because of the complex nature of patriarchy. Those village leaders are male and infavour of the accused man when they are ordered to present the suspect. The strong inter relationship between village men in alcoholic drink, *Mahiber*, *Idir*, *Ikub* protects the suspect to be given to these government organs. This is also a systematic domination of women by men in the domain of man to man relation. They knowingly reply to the accuser and these government organs as they didn't find the suspect to present.

4.2.1.6. The Weakening of Traditional Institutions

The Oromo people have different traditional institutions that serve as mechanisms of ensuring social wellbeing of the society. Some of these institutions promote peace, tolerance, unity, and prosperity. Among those institutions *Ateetee*, *Siinqee*, *Qanafaa* are indigenous to the Oromo people in general and the people of Hetosa district in particular. The general role of these institutions are ensuring gender equality and advocating harmonious life. The discussion of each of the above institutions presented as follows.

4.2.1.6.1. *Ateetee* Institution

according to my key informants and focus group discussants, *Ateetee* is a deity or divinity that women worship for fecundity, happiness, wealth, prosperity, etc. among the Oromo of Hetosa district. *Ateetee* is a mechanism to assist child delivery, negotiating between nature and god, defend violence of man on woman. In the absence of modern health care among the people of Hetosa district, *Ateetee* celebration was serving as indigenous way of assisting child delivery among the community. According to my key informant who was an old woman, as soon as a woman shows a sign of child delivery, the local women gathered and surrounded her singing and calming their hands. The song is a pray for healthy delivery of a baby and the woman gives a birth immediately as the women begin their celebration.

My informants further elaborate that the celebration of *Ateetee* also extends to please god during the drought season where there would not be rain and survival of humanbeing and animals are at risk, women come together to celebrate *Ateetee* ritual. According to my key informant, the place for *Ateetee* celebration during the drought season is around the riverbanks. According to Jeylan, this is a part of a belief system that women are closer to nature in their nurturing and life sustaining activities. In the Oromo legend, as soon as women pray for rain by *Ateetee* ritual at the time of drought; god responds to their pray by giving sufficient rain for the community (Jeylan, 2004). From the above concepts, we can understand that the role of women in negotiating between human and god is significant specially at the time of natural crisis like drought, flood, earth quake, storm, etc. thus women are considered as an agent of peace, prosperity, fecundity, happiness, wealth through the celebration of *Ateetee* ritual.

According to women key informant, the practice of *Ateetee* has also the role of securing and protecting women from violent acts of men that could be sexual, physical and/or psychological. In case a women is violated in one of this types of violence, the local women will be gathered together and force the man to confess his mistake and compensate the woman by slaughtering cattle or sheep. If the offender could not confess his mistake the curse of *Ateetee* woman disorder the overall health of the man who committed the violence. Jeylan (2004), stated that the curse of *Ateetee* woman is believed

to affect the offender in many ways. It may result in *dhukubaa* (incurable ailment), *deegaa* (economic death) and *namaa bayyuu* (complete madness). Before the curse of *Ateetee* brings any bad thing up on the man who violates the right of a woman; the local men approach the woman and identify why they have protested. If the local men does not intervene constantly, the woman moves to the neighbouring clan and take a shelter. The clan to which the woman move accept her with respect. The council of male elders in the host clan would also communicate the matter back to the council of male elders of the clan in boycott. After that, the council of the boycotted clan receive the woman by compensating them and promising to look for the problems very seriously. If the man who commit violence on women admit his mistake and the womens are satisfied with his regret, they may free him from godly punishment of any type by praying to god and allow him to live normal life.

According to my key informant, during the wide practice and acceptance of *Ateetee* ceremony among the people of Hetosa district, men refrain from violating the rights of women due to the fear of *Ateetee* curse. They know that it will have a serious negative consequences of health, and economic impact; if an individual could not abide to *Ateetee* curse. *Ateetee* inistitution empower women with the authority to punish and correct those who are violating there personality both in the public and domestic lifes. This institution protects women from different consequences of gender based violence like woman beating, burning, discriminating, insulting, sexual harassment, etc.

Now a days, *Ateetee* and other Oromo cultural heritages are endangered due to various internal and external factors. This factors like the expansion of Christianity and Islam. This two religious teachings are intolerant to indigenious traditions and beliefs. So that, they consider these tradition as evil. According to my informant, Islam better tolerates this beliefs and traditions when compared to Christianity. But this is not to mean that, indigenious beliefs and traditions are parts of their teaching. Currently Muslim women are not at the status of celebrating *Ateetee* rituals as they do before in Hetosa district. Due to the eradication of indigenious cultural practices, women are vulnerable to violence and social disintegration. The change in the religious practice, the influence of globalization and human movement from place to place devalues their practice and fear of *Ateetee*

worship in the current situation. This in advance makes the large part of the rural community not to fear for *Ateetee* curse which is imposed by women on violent individuals. As a result of the weakening of *Ateetee* institution, different gender based violences are increasing in type and amount among the Oromo of Hetosa district. The current social controlling mechanisms like the court and elders council are not as effective as women's indigenous institutions like *Ateetee*. Because they are male dominant and the decisions are also influenced by patriarchal social institutions.

4.2.6.1.2. *Siinqee* Institution

According to women focus group discussants, *Siinqee* is literally a stick that is purposely fashioned and given for a married girl to symbolize the respect of a married woman. It serves to safeguard their rights, to bless or curse those who violates women. The stick of *siinqee* is made from a tree locally known as *Harooressaa*. In the absence of *Harooressaa*, a tree called *Ejersaa* is used for making *siinqee* stick. The reason for selecting this type of tree for preparing *siinqee* is that they are not easily breakable and very strong among the trees found in Hetosa district. *Siinqee* is a stick of justice by which women fight for gender based violence in their community. According to my key informant, *siinqee* is given for a girl at the time of marriage by the mother of the bride. The function of *siinqee* is not similar with the function of any type of stick used for different purposes. One cannot beat donkey, human, cattle, etc by *siinqee*. A woman who has *siinqee* has special respect by the community and no one cross her while she is along the road.

A woman who has *siinqee* is empowered to protect herself and others from any type of misbehavior imposed by men on women. In case a woman is beaten by her husband, women of the local area call each other by ululating in the surrounding. As soon as they are hearing to the sound of ululation, each woman pick up their *siinqee* and move to the place where violence occur by fast. According to my key informant, all married women in the compound of the violated woman went out of the compound having their *siinqee* and added to the group of women. Then the women address the issue to the elders how the violence was occurred and they identify the issue of the two parties. Finally, proper punishment is given if the offender is founded to be guilty of doing the violence. The punishment could be to the extent of slaughtering one of his big ox he loves most. The

women who appeal to the elders implement the punishment and lastly took the violated woman to her home.

Siinqee institution has also the role of settling conflict between non partners. A woman with *siinqee* in her hand is authoritative to stop any type of conflict between clan or individuals. As soon as the women having their *siinqee* intervene in the middle of the conflicting group or individual, they are obliged to stop the conflict. This was what the society culturally approved and accepted in general. The full operation of this institution played a pivotal role in securing womens right and setting social and individual conflicts during the Gada system of governance among the Oromo of Hetosa district.

Due to the decline of this institution again men are confidently violating women in the domesstic context, work place context, scool context, etc. One of an old woman said that currently they celebrate *siinqee* during governmental holidays like the foundation day of Oromo People Democratic Organization (OPDO), International Womens Day Ginbot 20 (May 20), etc. It is percieved that this inistitution lacks its original feature and serves for political purpose where the local government bodies are in need of surprising and attracting the attention of the audiences. Other than this time, it is difficult to see *Ateetee* celebration by the local women.

Since the majority of Hetosa district residents are Muslims and Christians, they are not in a position to celebrate as well as respect the ritual and the curse of *siinqee*. Among the followers of Christianity and Islam those traditional institutions are seen as demonic by nature. One Muslim woman told me that, in their religion a person or individual who is found to be celebrating both *Ateetee* and *Siinqee* inistitutions would not have a pray by the religious leaders of the Mosque at the time of his or family death. Inaddition, there could not be financial contribution and aid which further extends to limit themselves not to eat from the home of an individual. In the followers of Christianity as well the one who celebrate this institutions are considered to be out of the domain of their religious group. Exclusion of an individual is strong among the followers of Protestant religion than Orthodox religion followers in the area. Because of this factors this institutions are not functional among the peoples of Hetosa district where different gender based violences are flourishing in the society. Generally, the decline of these indigenious institutions pave

the way for the rapid growth of gender based violence in the study area. Women are also becoming unauthoritative to solve gender violence and that of social group conflict.

4.2.6.1.3. *Qanafaa*

Qanafaa is a wooden curved in diabolic shape worn by women on their forehead during the first five to six months after giving birth. The postpartum rest period for a woman who is called *ulmaa*. The Oromo mothers celebrate the event by tying *Qanafaa* on their forehead to symbolize the highest dignity they have assumed by the virtue of child birth. *Qanafaa*, insignia of honor, was a sign that a woman was granted to wear on her forehead after she had delivered. This implies that a woman who wears *Qanafaa* is wayyuu (Ginbar, 2010:122). *Wayyuu* stands for the sacredness and respect of that woman who delivers a child. According to my informant, the duration of tying *Qanafaa* on the forehead by a woman who delivered a child among Hetosa district is for five months. The woman tied *Qanafaa* from the day of bathing or taking a shower. The woman take a shower in the third day if she gives a birth for a baby girl or in the fourth day if she gives a birth for a baby boy. Starting from this days to the coming five months, a woman who has *Qanafaa* on her forehead is respected by her husband and the community at large.

The word *Qanafaa* was derived from the term *Qarruu argadhuul qaramii ba'i*, which means be got complete mending or be sharpen. Those tree species like *Bichannaa* from which the *Qanafaa* made from was believed to be *Mukkeen falaa*, those healing trees that protect women from certain diseases related to delivery. The *Qanafaa* phase was a period of mending from delivery and an abstinence from sexual intercourses. This was due to the believe that a woman with *Qanafaa* was thought to have got ample time for resting to recover from tiresome during deliverance (ibid). Among the people of Hetosa district, women who were tied *Qanafaa* are abstaining from sexual intercourse for five months until she take it to her neck. At this period, the husband of the woman prepare sleeping bed outside of the sleeping room of his wife wearing or tying *Qanafaa*. This isolation is made to limit any initiation of sexual interest between the couples. The sacredness and respect of *Qanafaa* tied woman empowers her with the authority to settle conflict and peace among the community.

A woman who tied *Qanafaa* on her forehead is not beaten by her husband and other men in conflict. This woman has special respect by the community so that beating her would have a serious punishment. She has also the role of building peace by intervening between conflicting parties of different sex. Respecting the process of stopping conflict soon a woman tied *Qanafaa* intervene is the social responsibility of any member of the group. If one could not respect the interference and never stop the conflict he or she is cursed through *Ateetee* and *siinqee* institutions. This curse do have a strong negative economic and health consequences to an individual so that; people are strongly abide to this institutions before the introduction of Christianity and Islam among the rural people of Hetosa district. With the coming of these two religions, the role of *Qanafaa* in securing womens right remains neutral. Currently, most women are not tying Qanafaa following their child birth and postpartum sexual taboo is minimized to 40 days than it was five months in the period of Gada system of governance. There is no strong social punishment upon men who violate the right of women since the decline of *Qanafaa* ritual especially for women who gave a birth. In general the role of *Qanafaa* in safeguarding the right of woman that deliver a child and settling peace between conflicting parties was significant.

4.2.2. Part Two: Non Cultural Causes

4.2.2.1. Individual /Group Interest

This is non-cultural cause for gender violence where it emanates from an individual. For example, there is no culture of the society that promote females to be raped forcefully or involuntarily by the male. The cause for such violence is more of individual than the values, norms and beliefs of the society. In such circumstance, a cause factor might be wider enough. According to Fulu and Warner, et al, the acknowledged motivations for rape highlight its foundation in gender inequality: men reported that they raped because they wanted to and felt entitled to, felt it was entertaining or saw it as deserved punishment for women (Fulu, Warner, et al, and 2013:45). In addition, violence can arise from individual or group interest based on pornographic films, mass media advertisements and emotionality.

Pornography is defined as material that combines sex and / or the exposure of genitals with abuse or degradation in manner that appears to endorse, condone, or encourage such behavior(but)Erotica refers to sexually suggestive or of all the human beings and animals portrayed (Rusell, 1993:3). Now a day's pornographic films are everywhere in the world through the development of technologies like mobile, television, computer, internet and so on. Some people consider that pornography is not a challenge for the rural peoples in countries like Ethiopia. This is due to lack of exposure to new technologies.

In the rural of Hetosa district where I conducted this research, young population are more familiar with pornographic films. For most of them, mobile phone is the mechanism to transfer and access to it. This observance to pornographic film initiates the observers to practice sex of any type weather volunteer or involuntary. It creates the interest of sexual relation between male and female through mental order to exercise what they think in their mind. Pornography is also a challenge to marital relation in most marriage affairs. According to my informant who is working on the district court, some of the marital divorce request is due to the influence of pornographic films. She explain that some men like to practice the sex type they observe in pornographic films on their wife which is unfamiliar in our culture. Due to this, a woman refuses and resist to the practice of the man and later violence arises in between. As a result of this behavior, the man has two possibilities. One is forcefully enforcing the woman to his self interest and the second is divorcing her.

Media do have also strong potential in initiating individuals to ward sexual violence. Different advertisements in television, radio and internet pages are presenting girls as sexy to attract the attention of public. In most advertising, females are presented as spices of the product to be announced. All body appearances, wearing styles, body make ups are purposely made to attract the followers of different media programs. This do have it's own effect in driving individuals towards sexual interest of uncertainty. The advertisement of products like condom, birth control through mass media also creates confidence to practice any types of sex either voluntarily or forcefully without fear of sexually transmitted disease or unwanted pregnancies.

4.2.2.2. Low Education/Illiteracy

Since the rural is much more lack access to education, awareness to different technologies and social transformation is minimum. According to my female informant, the more a girl has access to education, the higher she ensures her right and decides upon her family and property. As well the lower, she has access to education, the higher to suffer from violence both in the public and domestic spheres. One of the major factors for the prevalence of gender based violence is lack of education. But, educated person can be seen as perpetrators of gender victims in urban areas and literate females are also the subject of the violence. When we look in comparison, rural women are culturally tied to discriminatory social practices that need social awareness and education to be changed.

Most of the women never know how to present in front of the court or police to report what they suffer from their counterparts. It is difficult for them to write and read different articles related to women's right and responsibility. Hence, they find it better to locate their issues at the elder's council. This institution never requires advanced knowledge, much money, long time processing. According to my key informant, council of elders is men biased even though it is affordable. Hirut argues that, Arsi elders investigate in their own ways about who has done wrong. If it happens that the man is wrong and mistreated his wife, elders would advise him not to do it again, but not in front of the wife who has complained. Thus an Arsi woman refrain from complaining against her husband for should be told by the *ardaa* not to make the fire continue- "*atti dhiisi ibidda hin bobeesini*". In Arsi, a woman can be labeled crazy if she is talkative, especially talking in public against her husband (Hirut, 2000:91).

The local attitude towards women education highly affects women educational attainment and their role in social, economic and political spheres of life. Up to the recent years, the community sees sending girls for education in the rural areas of Hetosa district as dangerous. It is believed that the girl might be abducted or develops behavior of unwanted relationship with boys. Furthermore, the right places for girls were seen as the domestic than the public. In that, she learns the different responsibilities. On the other hand, those few women's who have access to education have double responsibility. They have to cover the domestic activities soon they return back from school and expected to

have study hours for their education. Due to lack of time for study, most of the girls remain ineffective in their education and goes to marriage as optional. This further exacerbates gender violence among women. According to Guday daughters are usually expected to help their mother with household chores when a family has the capacity to educate children, it is the son who gets the chance to be educated. The reasons why sons are chosen than daughters for educations is that they are thought to stay with and could eventually turn out to be assets to the family. Daughters on the other hand, are meant to go to another family when they get married (Guday, 1998:95).

According to my focus groups discussants, girls are not believed by the society as competitive as boys in education. They prefer to send boys to school than girls. They consider females /girls as weak natures that are not capable to learn new concepts like boys. This attitude degrades girls moral for education and made them to look for another option of life. Generally, women illiteracy or lower level of education affects women of the rural areas of Hetosa district in one way or another in their knowledge of gender equality between sexes. This lack of knowledge makes them passive to react up on male domination and females subordination.

4.2.2.3. Alcohol and Drug Abuse

The supply and demand for alcoholic drink increases from time to time in Ethiopia. There are different alcohols producing companies planted in Ethiopia in the last few years. This shows us the demand for alcohol drinking are increasing in the country. In addition to those produced in factories, there are different local alcohols producing system. The local alcohol producing system is most of the time indigenous to the society. There is strong relationship between alcohol consumption and gender based violence in the rural of Hetosa district. According to my focus group discussants who were women, the majority of men who consume alcohol violates their family while they return back to home. This violation ranges from oral insulting of the family members to physical attack. The violence is not only confined to the family, it extends to the neighbors and the local peoples. As one of my informants explained, the majority of rural people of Hetosa district consume the locally produced alcohols like *Arake* and *Tela*. In some rural areas (villages) there is also the supply of beer and other different types of modern alcohols.

Arake have high alcoholic content than any other alcohol whether those produced in factories or locally produced types. The consumption of *Arake* by many of the rural farmers causes family violence since a man is highly affected by the alcohol. It affects the whole body function and makes the man uncontrolled. One of the woman I encounter at women and children's affair office told to the experts that her husband is disturbing her every evening while he came back home. She is a pregnant women suffering a repeated violence from her husband. She said that "he beat me every evening unreasonably due to the alcohol he drinks. I was trying to call elders to advise him not to drink or reduce drinking to bring peace among his family. He accepts elders advise not more than two or three days and become the earlier person." Shouting every evening is common for her to survive from the attack of her husband

Another key informant also told me that some rural alcohol selling rooms are becoming center for girls sexual appropriation. It is through the owner of alcoholic beverage room that girls are recruited and used for the sexual purpose. The girl is negotiated by money with the owner of the beverage and the man in need. A virgin girl is appropriated with about one thousand birr that is mutually shared by the girl and the supplier of the beverage. This sexual relation is most of the time uncontrolled and unsafe. There is no concern for sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS and others. In addition, exposure to unwanted pregnancy and induced abortion are the major problem of these girls. There is also a time when non matured girls are appropriated for adult man in the same manner. There is high risk of fistula for those girls who engage on sexual relation with incompatible person.

Youths are among these who are vulnerable to alcoholic beverages. The uncontrolled consumption of alcohol by youths creates a society where crime and violence is prevalent. Women are among those populations who are highly affected by alcohol users. In Hetosa district, Women cannot freely move from place to place during the night because of sexual and physical attacks they suffer from those alcohol users. Other than the domestic violence which arises from alcohol consumption, sexual harassment, rape and rape attempt, physical attack are common in the public arenas. Those who are derived by alcoholic drinking commit a crime and regrets after they came back to their

normal body functioning. Since an individual never control himself due to excessive alcohol drinking, he never control himself to take a measure of any type especially on women. Women are vulnerable to this attack because they are culturally dominated by men and physically weak to defend themselves.

In addition to alcohol, drug abuse is another factor behind gender based violence in Hetosa district. Khat is the dominant drug that is prevalent to the rural areas where it has proximity to the urban. In urban surrounding villages, the youths are more prevalent to Khat addiction that they adopt through urban interaction. One of my informant who were experienced chewing khat said that "khat have a good initiation power and creates a sense of happiness for the users." Another key informant told me that initiation arises from khat differs from individual to individual. In some, it creates a feeling of silence and concentration and in others it creates a feeling of emotionality and craziness which results in violence and disturbance. Hence, khat derived emotion creates violence of any type like physical, psychological, and sexual up on women and the rest of the community.

Further, both alcoholic beverage consumption and khat addiction have an economic impacts. Men most of the time due to the dominance status in the society invest their money on those alcohols and khat without the consultation of the family. In the long run, the families economic well-being falls on danger of survival. At the family level, women are more affected by the behavior of the men since they are economically dependent on their male partner. The survival of the family would be also questionable due to the addiction to these different alcoholic beverages and khat. In the past, khat chewing was seen as abnormality by the local community and now a day it becomes a habit among many rural dwellers.

4.2.2.4. Risk Calculation

Risk calculation stands for perpetrators assumptions about what he will suffer after he commit genders violence. In recent years, the issue of risk calculation before committing a certain crime comes to be the concern of perpetrators of a crime. According to the discussion with the local judge in the district, societies are awared about different crimes and their corrective measures taken to solve these problems in the society. This

awareness creates both positive and negative impacts on increasing as well as decreasing crimes. For some, awareness creation helps them to refrain from wrong doings that the law of the county never allows. They are aware that passing over the law have its own punishment (corrective measures) through the government institutions and other social systems.

Individuals who commit gender violence first calculate the social risks of his action. In that, an individual has different options to use in order to violate the right of others, specially women. One is considering that my act is right in the norm of the local community and nothing comes at the end, for example wife beating is not surprise among the rural of Hetosa district. The other way to commit violence is through ensuring that there is no witness in the area of crime to be committed. These individuals assume that no one can see me if I do wrong up on someone, I want to attack or I can escape soon after the violence. For example, those who commit rape on women make sure the environment whether there is a witness or not. When the surrounding environment is full of silent, they force women to unwanted sexual suffering emanating from self interest. The absence of witness even after the perpetrator accused mostly results in leaving free the individual with crime. Expert of women's and children's affairs states that many of the women who experience rape victim are silent to report their problem to the police and court since they lack human evidence. Those who reporting their sexual suffering also remain unsuccessful as result of the absence witness.

The other extreme option to violate women is through the assumption that if I rape I will punish this much. If I beat a woman I will punish this much and if I harass women I will prison this much is the other dimension of violence. That type of individual never worries about the presence and absence of witness about their gender violence. They think how much I will suffer when I attack women's physically, psychologically, or sexually. If they found the corrective measures easier than his expectation, he is energized to commit his crime on women. One old woman who was economically discriminated by her husband with the other two wives told me that he is frustrating her to kill holding knife and following her while she move to the field. The woman also adds that his perception of legal measures after murdering a person is negative. This means, he assume that killing a

person does not put him in prison for very long years so that murdering the old woman gives him a relief.

Generally, those different types of risk calculations energize gender based violence among the people of Hetosa district in the current situation. The perpetrators to full fill personal interest commit different crimes knowingly without worrying for another. The magnitude and types of gender based violence's are increasing from time to time with complexity to find solutions as well. One of the reasons behind the increase in magnitude and complexity of the violence is associated with perpetrators risk calculation. This way of committing violence on women is a planned arranged and organized

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER BASED VIOLENCE IN THE STUDY AREA

The widely prevalent nature of gender based violence in the world in general and in this research site in particular have so many consequences. There are different types of consequences identified in the people of Hetosa district. Some of the major consequences are marital divorce, poverty, physical harm or injury, unwanted pregnancy and induced abortion, vulnerability to sexually transmitted disease, mental illness, and an act of murder. These consequences are arises from one of the different types of gender based violence discussed under chapter four. I discuss them one of by one as follows.

5.1. Marital divorce

Divorce is the breakdown of marriage between couples. Due to domestic violence and the influence of globalization, divorce rate is increasing in different parts of Ethiopia. According to the interview with Hetosa district court, there were 527 cases of husband and wife presented in the last nine months to them for divorce. Among this number 164 were solved through the council of elders and the rest 363 were solved by the formal court system. According to this report, the majority case was a request for divorce as a solution for marital inconveniencies. The majority of those who report for the request of divorce are women. Women are among the population who suffer a lot from gender based violence. They never have access to the property of the family, beaten by their partner, and sexually abused by men because they are female. These and other gender based violence aggravates divorce among the people of Hetosa district.

One of my key informant who is 30 years old and living in Hetosa district said that:

I was married to a man at the age of 18 ten years ago. My parent has nine children and I am the second born among them. My husband and his family pay a bride price while they were asked for marriage to my family. They had paid 15,000 birr to my family for the purpose of owning me as their own family member and property. After I married to the man, he began to

dominate every matter of my life that is common among most men in marital union. I was beaten if he thought that I was a wrong doer in different activities. Due to the frequent violent acts, I escape from my husband in the last two months. I left five children with my husband at the time I decided to divorce with him. My first born daughter is nine years old and she is the one who is cooking at home after our divorce.

Divorce have it's own impacts. It disintegrates the unity of the family and results in family dispersal. This is the great social consequence that most families suffer as a result of divorce in Hetosa district. Rural areas are where there is strong social attachment between the neighbors, the local community through *Ikub*, *Idir*, *Mahber* and other local institutions in order to a adopt the challenges of life. Those institutions are very much important for the family at the time of happiness and grief. Therefore, divorce can disorder all the functioning of these institutions at the family level by passing the sense of hopelessness and confusion.

According to my second focus group discussants, divorce as a result of gender based violence also creates female headed household which makes a great burden up on a single parent. This single parent relation weakens the other parent child relation; usually between the child and the father. At the time of divorce, children are most of the time remain to the side of mother either legally or by the preference of the children's. Due to the experience of divorce from their parents, children are also socialized and develop such type of behavior in their life. Their attitude towards marriage is negatively shaped by what they have observed, heard, and experienced. It is also difficult to build the children's attitude unless a long and experts of the subject matter invest time taking counseling and guidance up on them. Divorce due to gender based violence is also a cause for children parent love sickness. This is the need to have both the father and mother in the same room as like that of their neighbors or the local families.

Further, the children of divorced family faces challenges like lack access to education due to lack of income which support the family as usual. The children are also decrease in education acceptance since they think much of the time about their family. According to women, children's and youth affairs expert, school withdrawal is one challenge for the

family of divorces in Hetosa district. It forces children to engage in crime and drug abuse that further complicates the survival of the family. The habits of crime and drug abuse of also exacerbate family problems to the extreme of dispersal. Generally, divorces have so many side effects on the family even if it is a relief for the woman who experienced a long time domestic violence from her husband.

5.2. Poverty

Poverty is the deprivation of basic human needs such as food, clothing and shelter. It can also extended to lack of access to education, health care, clean water, freedom and safety of individual and groups. Women suffer from the victim of poverty much more than men counterparts. This implies that poverty have a direct link with gender ideology in which men are economic decision maker and owner of property and women's are subordinate in the society. Poverty can be both causes and consequences of gender based violence. In this study poverty is analyzed as one of the consequences of gender based violence. In the case of gender based domestic violence context, women are exposed to poverty much more than their earlier life while they are divorced from their partner. One of the challenges for many women's who escape gender based violence is economic difficulty or earning capacity. Traditionally women engage on the domestic spheres where earning of money is not possible. According to my focus group discussants, the domestic position of women in gender division of labour is a challenge to earn income by engaging on the public spheres of life. In addition, the men dominate the public spheres of life so that free space for women is minimum. The cultural influence have it's own role to perpetuate women's to poverty. The culture shapes the attitudes of both men and women towards economic decision maker and decision implementer.

Gender based violence induced poverty accelerate women's rural to urban migration in order to earn income. It is perceived by many rural community that there is employment opportunities in urban areas. Having this assumption on their mind, women most often fly to the urban areas in search of employment. Some of the challenges that they face in the urban life is adaptation crises, absence of employment which they perceive in the beginning, economic crises, etc. Adaptation to individualistic way of urban life is the first stage of life challenge for rural women since they were adapted to sharing, reciprocity

and social life. Having and not having is not a worry for rural people since the culture of the society promotes sharing among themselves. A quite different way of life which promote individualistic life style lacks to provide the non haves with that type of economic advantage. Hence, economic adaptation has to have it's own solution by women. According to my focus group discussants, those women who escape gender based violence start to engage on informal economic sectors like commercial sex, local alcohol preparation and selling, small business like making *injera* in private houses, washing clothes and so on.

Some of these informal economic sectors are risky for women's physical and mental well beings. For example, commercial sex working is full of risk for women physical as well as sexual life. It is the place where they are repeatedly exposed to sexual violence by the male who has different sexual behaviors. Due to the absence of option and extreme poverty, they are forced to exercise sexual relation of any type with their customer. Most of the time, it is not only the mother that escapes gender based violence and exercise commercial sex work, their female children are also forced to be part of this life. Poverty due to gender based violence further complicates women's life and questions their survival as free human being.

According to my key informant who is a Judge, Poverty can also expose children to the burden of income generation by engaging on activities beyond their capacity. This causes child labour exploitation which is legally restricted by the law of the country. Children can suffer a lot to come back home with money that they are expected to do by the parents. According to one of my informant, child labour exploitation is common for those who are coming from the rural areas to urban. Specially girls are hired as a servant in large families where they are expected to prepare family food, wash clothes, clean the house, caring for children, etc. The haves (rich) physically and emotionally exploit those immature girls because she is from the family of the poor. According to women's and children affairs expert, the probability of these girls to be raped by the family member is higher when compared to other girls living with their parents. Because, she is under the control and exposure of the family with diverse interests of human nature like sexual interest and others.

5.3. Physical harm/ injury

This is another consequence of gender based violence where women are suffering from body damage to simple injury. According to my focus group discussants, violent crimes like wife beating, rape and early marriage causes different types of physical harm or injury up on women. Among the traditional marriage system of Arsi, wife beating is culturally allowed except those body parts like eye, ear, and teethes. Injury up on these body part have social punishment up on the man who commits the crime. But, an injury to the rest part of the body is tolerable by the society since it is culturally understood most of the time. Experts from women's and children's affair office said that there is a woman who was burnt around reproductive organs by her husband in the rural areas of Hetosa district. The man who was the husband of the women burnt her in his suspect of her with another male partner while he was away from home. This woman was highly injured by fire from her husband as a punishment to his suspicion.

There is also a time when females or women experience physical disability that is posed from gender based violence. There are women who are broken their legs, hand, shoulder, etc. Disability by itself maximizes level of dependence of women on men since they made to remain in the status of physical imbalance. The partial or complete damage of their body refrain them to play the usual role in the domestic spheres. My informant said that:

My husband is drinking alcohol each evening and come back to home at the mid night. He is knocking the door every time he drunk at the night. One day I was silent to open the door while he was knocking again and again. He was shouting to call my name continuously. Then, I open the door after our nieghbours were coming to see what was happening in our compound. He entered in to the room and sat down until our nieghbours went out of the compound. Then, he took a stick and beat me repeatedly for which I could not open the door. He broke my hand and injured my noise in that evening. I remain to be unhealthy since I was bleeding very much due to the beating of my husband from time to time and one of my hand is never working properly as usual.

Additionally, they become a burden for the family in the need of treatment and care from them. Disability also creates responsibility gap among the family where food preparation, cleaning the house, making *injera*, caring for children, milking a cow, etc are the sole responsibility of wife in the absence of matured girls. Since women share the large amount of household economic activity, disability of women due to gender based violence have also economic impacts on a family.

Another type of physical harm that women experience from their men counterpart because of gender violence is fistula up on female. Festula can be occurred during forced sex or child early marriage. Both of them are type of gender based violence with different prevalence rates in the rural of Hetosa district. Rape is more common than early marriage among the people of Hetosa district. According to one of my informant who have seen a girl suffering form fistula, "some of forced sex up on immature children causes fistula sickness." The probability to encounter fistula by women is not only limited to immature girls, those matured women are also victims to the sickness of fistula due to multiple rape action arranged by men at different times. Fistula have different health and social crises up on the life of women. It is a reason for social exclusion, feeling of discomfort, depression, lack of orgasm in future sexual life, pain, not sexually appetite and so on.

5.4. Unwanted pregnancy, childbirth or abortion

This type of gender based violence consequences emanates from rape of woman without the preparation of girls. In addition, unwanted pregnancy, child birth or abortion is a typical feature of cohabitation. This is a sexual relation without formal marriage and family consent of the two sides. When we look the issue form the dimension of rape, it is crucial to think of the possibility of unwanted pregnancy to the woman without preparation. A research finding among college students of Assela reveal that out of 119 females who encounter forced sex, 62 were faced pregnancy and 57 are not. Among those 62 female students who were suffering from unwanted pregnancy, 40 of them were gave birth and the rest 22 were engaged in induced abortion (Seife ,2007:17). Another study conducted in female Mada Walabu University shows that, from all respondents 12(1.5%) had ever been pregnant and almost more than 90% of this pregnancies were reported as they were unwanted. The median age at first pregnancy was 19±1.6SD years. The overall

prevalence of unwanted pregnancy among those who ever had sexual experience was 11(8.1%) while 11(1.4%) from total respondents. Unwanted pregnancy was 7.82 times higher among study participants who encountered unexpected sexual intercourse when compared to those who did not encounter (Motuma and Amene, 2015:53). Some women are exposed to repeated rape in their lifetime due to their living condition that makes them Vulnerable to forced sexes. The risk of unwanted pregnancy and associated problem is higher for these women than other.

After unwanted pregnancy comes to be true after gender violence, the next step is deciding on whether to give birth or abort the fetus. In some instances, unknown individuals commit the rape so that it is difficult to know and find the father of the child. In my systematic observation in women's and children's affairs, I noticed a woman who was raped and give a birth at the home of her family. Her family is using different coercion mechanism to know who the father of the child. But, she never know the man who raped her before the day they sleep together. This woman is challenged by the pressure of the family, means of income to feed the baby, place to live and so many others. This gender based violence up on this woman complicated her relation with the family and her means of survival in the future.

According to my woman key informant, women are also suffering from family or relative rapes that result in unwanted pregnancy. This kind of pregnancy is culturally considered as taboo among the people of Hetosa district. In my key informant interview with an educated woman, the rape of relative is also seen as another area where women are forced to unwanted sex, most often without their consent. She further elaborate that there was pregnancy between relative in the recent time in one of the rural villages of the district. The sex and pregnancy was occur between a girl and her uncle's (father's brother) son who is living together in the family of the girl or his uncle's home. After the pregnancy was know and identified that it is from her uncle's son, the boy escape from home and move far to unknown area. The family of the girl knew the pregnancy after six months of her pregnancy. Hence, they found it difficult to practice induced abortion and decided to allow her give birth. Since having a child from someone who is kin (relative) to one's own is culturally prohibited, they decided to give the child for adoption. This cultural

taboo is most of the time common among Christian communities than the Muslim. Among the Muslim cross cousin marriage is culturally not taboo.

The other way by which unwanted pregnancy occur as a result of gender violence is through a relation of cohabitation. In this relationship, many of the women are sexually attached to a man that is not formally approved by the society. At the time when pregnancy occur between the two, most men prefer to leave the woman than to continue with her. The reason behind is that they are not ready to afford a child or their relation is only for the interest of sexual relation. In my stay at the police office to gather data, I was looking to these women's with such life coming to report to the police. These women were not economically independent and ready to well come the new baby. This is a challenge to women specially due to absence of family consent in their relationship

Some women prefer induced abortion than giving birth in order to be free from the stress of child caring. This induced abortion is sometimes facilitated through traditional medicines with unknown dosage and side effects. This can have different body dysfunction effects on women in the short or long term periods. Other women facilitate induced abortion through health centers by assisting with medical doctors. According to my key informant, abortion is the means to hide sexual violence by women from the eyes of the family in particular and the society in general. Many women suffer from abortion side effects by calculating the social and economic costs in the future. Lastly, we can able to say that gender based violence have enormous impacts of unwanted pregnancy and abortion up on women of every age and every place

5.5. Vulnerability to sexually transmitted disease

According to my first focus group discussants, one of the major risk of gender based violence is the high probability to expose to sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS. AIDS is acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Women with rape experience and women with polygamous marriage have high probability to suffer from sexually transmitted disease. Awareness to HIV /AIDS is lower in rural areas than it is in urban areas because of exposure to school, mass media like television, radio, magazines ,etc. An act of rape is most of the time associated with uncontrolled sex which is to mean

without preventive mechanisms. The only preventive mechanism during rape is the use of condom. The man who rape have the ultimate power to use or not to use condom during forced sex. The woman is not in a condition to decide about using condom since she is forced and physically controlled by the man. Forced sex or rape with a man having HIV/AIDS have high probability of transmission to the women due to biological nature of females. In this case, HIV/AIDS infected woman may face high problem of health and social problems.

The first gap of rural women is their knowledge of HIV/AIDS transmission mechanisms. Awareness to test blood for HIV/ AIDS is much lower in rural areas due to lack of access to such institutions that facilitate blood test in their local areas. A women who experience rape remains to be silent until she faces health problem in her life. This silence have a negative impact on the woman health in the long run which can go up to death in many women in Ethiopia.

According to my second focus group discussants, many women with HIV/AIDS in Hetosa district prefers to die without proper medication to the problem than they are socially stigmatized. This do have a continuous effect on the well being of the family health and social life. Women who suffer from HIV/AIDS due to gender based violence can also affect their families by the disease through communal use of sharp materials and improper blood contacts.

In the future of her life of marriage, the woman can also transmit the virus to her husband and their children since she never knows that HIV positive. This is the continuum effect of HIV virus on the well being of many rural peoples of Hetosa district. My second focus group discussants also added that the transmission of HIV virus to the newborn baby is the serious problem that has to be emphasized by many of stakeholders. Other than health problems, HIV/AIDS have also social consequence like stigmatization. Even though different awareness campaigns have been made both in rural and urban areas, stigmatizing women with HIV/AIDS is still visible especially in the rural setting of Hetosa district. This stigmatization process hinder social interaction of the family with the virus so that life becomes difficult. According to my key informant, it is difficult to many rural peoples to eat and drink with someone having the virus. They think that the

virus can transfer from one person to another through hand to hand salutation, eating together, drinking together, sitting side to side, etc.

My focus group discussants further elaborate that, investment on HIV/AIDS by the family is another dimension that causes economic crises. Family member with a sickness due to HIV/AIDS needs a continual health follow up and investment of money up on an individual. It becomes additional burden for the one who cares for an individual's health in the family. The time an individual spent for economic activity, social life, education ,etc can be taken by caring for the sick in the family. This in turn reduces the family income and leads to further poverty where survival of the family is questionable. The multi dimensional effects of HIV and AIDS are one of the consequences of gender based violence on woman of the rural areas of Hetosa district in the current situation.

According to the interview with women, children and youth affairs, marriage polygamy is another area for the vulnerability of women to sexually transmitted disease among people of Hetosa wereda. As polygamous marriage is embedded in the religious teachings of Islam and the culture of the society in general, the likely to be affected by HIV virus is higher for those having multiple wives than those with single wife. The vulnerability of one woman is the vulnerability of the husband and the rest of the wives. The vulnerability of the husband is also the vulnerability of all wives to the virus. My key informant who is of 60 years old stated me that:

I am the first wife of my husband. He married two wives after me and has some cattle and land as a means of economic activity and asset. He is the one who decides up on the matter of the three wives and children. He visits the three houses turn by turn either weekly or more days at the time he feels to do so. I never know where he spends the night after he departs from my home. I thought that he might be with the second wife or the third one. Once up on a time, he was very sick and taken to Hospital for medication. It was found that, he was HIV positive. I never know whether he was infected by the virus through sexual relation out of marriage or from other wives. Then, he has died after three years of medication at Hospital. Since I am also HIV positive, I am following traditional medication to get cured from the virus.

According to my second focus group discussants, polygamy is also an act of gender based violence where a man marries more than one wife for the sake of choice in sexual partner and economic advantage where the woman covers the bulk of the families economy by selling wood, charcoal, grass, etc to the urban dwellers. According to my focus group discussants, many of the women under polygamous marriage never worry about HIV and AIDS, rather they are in the tension of income generation for their respective family which otherwise is difficult to survive.

5.6. Mental illness

This is the psychological aspects of the impact of gender based violence on women. According to my first focus group discussants, the complex feeling of a woman after she suffers violence by men varies according to the nature and strength of the crime. Women with different gender based violence experience develop the sense of mistrust of others, depression, isolation, madness' etc. Women develop the sense of mistrust to others especially on boys in their life after violence. My key informants consolidate this idea that those women are in fear of loving their intimate partner in their future life. They think that the same thing may occur in their life by another person that they think as their love partner. Hence, their life is associated with a sense of hating boys, which they think that all man is similar and violent toward women.

In addition to this, they added that depression, anxiety and loss of confidence are another behavior of gender violence consequences for women. They spent much of their time thinking about their suffering and searching for solution at home. The difficulty of life after escaping the violence specially the domestic partner is another issue that puts women on long time depression. They feel worry with the problems they face which some of them have social, economic, health consequences up on women. This can erode their confidence to do what they want to do in all spheres of their life. The weak psychological makeup of these women further strengthens their status of subordination in the society.

Continual depression, anxiety and loss of confidence lead women to other social impact known as self-exclusion or self-isolation. This increases mental stress since no one is

sharing their idea and they are in different decision making process that can affect their life in a negative manner. According to my second focus group discussants, social exclusion of women suffering from different gender based violence have infinite social crises up on women. It limits their participation on the social spheres like *Ikub*, *Idir*, *Mahiber* which have great economic, social, and psychological advantages for the members. *Ikub* is a traditional saving institution that requires social interaction, common way of income accumulation through a regular meeting and fixed contribution. *Idir* is also another social institution that is very important at the time of emergency of death. The financial support, the labour service that one deserves from *Idir* is very much significant at emergency of death in the family or individual. The nature of these institutions highly requires a strong social interaction and unity.

Some gender based violent acts leads to craziness or madness. Long time violence creates great mental stress and cause craziness up on women. According to women children and youth affairs experts, many of the women coming back from Arab countries abused economically by their husband or friends and finally exposed to mental disorder. This is also common among women who experience rape violence by multiple men at a time. This strong emotional disorder causes a long lasting psychological impact on women.

5.7. Suicide or Homicide

Women who experience gender based violence are also vulnerable to crime of suicide or homicide. According to both focus group discussants, there were different homicide acts among couples which was said to have been caused by the violent acts of the male partner. My group discussants elaborated that in a family of one village the husband was drinking alcohol and frequently beat his female partner most of the time. As a result the wife of the man become feeling so much to tolerate the violence and kill him by knife while he was asleep by drinking alcohol. Homicide as a result of violent acts of gender have social and psychological impacts on the one who commit the crime in most part of his/ her life since the action is taken place due to immediate emotional pressures. It would be a feeling of regret and wrongdoing in everyday life of the one who take the action. Further, because of the death in one parent and the imprisonment of the other, the family

members especially children are highly vulnerable economically, socially, and psychologically.

Women who are violated by men never limited only to killing their partner; they also kill themselves to get relief from the pressures. My female key informant explain that self-killing of women occurs when their partners highly and frequently violate them. Furthermore, women who are raped and vulnerable to sexually transmitted disease (STD) like HIV/AIDS are closer to kill themselves than others. Those who are experiencing forced sex and fistula are also among those who kill or attempt to kill themselves. Those women try to kill themselves in order to be free from psychological and social stress that is traumatic to regain the normal status of life. Hopelessness pushes those women to decide on their life and leave the world.

Suicide or homicide due to gender based violence have a family and social problems between the affine. According to my second focus group discussants, both the group of the husband and group of the wife in the domestic violence context are becoming enemies than allies after one party is committing suicide due to violence. The groups further attack each other in order to compensate the dead member of the group by whatever means they think the proper way to get relief from their grief. The unstable social relation between the two groups complicate the other ways of life which is basic among rural communities like *Ikub*, *Idir*, *Mahiber*, *Daboo*, *Jigee*, etc. In case the issue is non domestic partner and somebody else commits the violence, the consequent act of suicide or homicide have also different complicated outcome between the family of the perpetrator and the women. In general, different violent acts in the community harm the life of many women and men that are the immediate outcome of gender based violence.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Conclusion

This study revealed that the prevalent types of gender based violence among the people of Hetosa district are economic abuse, sexual harassment/ emotional abuse, wife beating and rape among the others. It is also identified that the causes for these violent acts are cultural and non cultural by their nature. Cultural marriage through the bride wealth is a means to own the bride as the property of the bridegroom that empowers the husband to do whatever he wants on his wife. Religious and cultural ideologies associated with polygamy are another cause for gender based violence. The religious doctrine of Islam allows multiple wives with economic and psychological readiness of the man that on the other way round is not pre condition in the study area. It is found that polygamy has a direct relationship with gender based violence. Gender socialization mechanism is another area where women are socialized to the subordinate status and men to the administrative and decision making status. This power differential between the sexes from early childhood period paved the way for unequal power relationships. Further the weakening of traditional institutions that safeguard the right of women like *Ateetee*, *Sinqee*, and *Qanafaa* are among the causes of rapid expansion of gender based violence which is identified by this study. Women who were practicing and entitled to practice this institutions were respected and could settle any types of conflicts in the community. Now a days, these institutions are no more functional in the community.

The other causes of gender based violence in the Arsi zone of Hetosa district is non cultural causes. These includes the claim of property right by women which is not the case in earlier times. Women were dependent on their partner and never ask for property. The gradual change of this economic ownership brought physical and emotional violence by their partner to secure the traditional economic status of men. Out of economic relationships, women are violated due to individual and group interests. This emanates from individual or group interests that women are violated sexually or emotionally. No culture is found among the Arsi zone of Hetosa district that promotes women rape and other sexual abuse. The causes for this act of violence are found to be individual or group

interests to fulfill biological and emotional needs. Women are also vulnerable to violence due to lower education or illiteracy. They are disfavored from educational access when compared to the men counterparts from their early time of their childhood. It is found that illiterate women are more experiencing gender based violence than literate women. Illiterate women face the challenge of when, where, how to address their violences to the concerned bodies. That is why they remain silent under violent acts of the men in rural areas. In addition, the violence against women emanated from the habit of alcohol and drug abuse by the men that resulted in emotional and physical disorder, psychological and sexual violence on women. Finally, this study founded that risk calculation is another major cause for gender based violence among the Arsi zone of Hetosa district. Some of the perpetrators of women right found that they calculate the social, economic, and personal risks associated with their violent acts. If they found that the risk would have minimum social, economic, and individual expectations on the perpetrators, they are encouraged to violate women physically, psychologically, and sexually.

Gender based violences have so many health, psychological and social consequences on women. Marital divorce is one among these consequences where women escape from extreme domination and oppression that results in disintegration of the family. This does have psychological and social crisis in advance on children and parents. Women are further experiencing extreme poverty as a result of family breakdown where they are forced to migration, commercial sex work, and adaptation crisis of the new life. Some women are also suffering physical harm or injury due to gender based violence. An extreme act of physical injury causes disability that brings further dependence of women on their men partners and economic expenses on health. The other consequences of gender based violence is unwanted pregnancy, child birth or abortion. Socially, unwanted pregnancy out of marriage is considered shame on the woman and her family. So, it is difficult for the woman to run the regular social life through interaction of day to day life. Unprepared childbirth also have economic crisis by which the baby grows and the mother survives. The process of abortion that takes place due to unwanted pregnancy has also health problem on woman. Medically, abortion is not the primary choice to solve problem of unwanted pregnancy. Both cultural means of abortion and that assisted by

medical practitioners have their own health side effects like bleeding, pain, sexual disorder, fistula, etc.

Women who experience gender based violence can also be more vulnerable to high risk of sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS and others than those women who does not experience gender based violence like rape. They are forced to engage on unprotected sex that maximizes their likely to be affected by different disease. As like that of unwanted pregnancy sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS have social, economic, psychological, and health problems on individual and the family. Stigmatization, investment on health care, sickness are the few crisis associated with sexually transmitted disease identified in the study area. Further, victims of gender based violence exposed to disease of mental illness like mistrust of others, depression and anxiety, self isolation, craziness, etc. these mental illness have their own social, economic, political, cultural crisis on individual in particular and the society in general.

In order to minimize the challenges of gender based violence, there has to be: Alternative sexual orientation, religion and belief system; inclusion of boys and men in gender sensitization campaign, Use of legal systems, State led advocacy against gender based violence.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Tables

Table 1: Population aged 10 years and above by sex, Economic activity status,
Urban rural residence

Table 2: Economically active persons aged 10 years and above by sex, Employed,
Unemployed

Table 3: Population by Religion and Sex.

Appendix 2. List of Diagrams

Diagram 1: Language Classification of Afro Asiatic Super family and the location of
Afaan

Oromoo

Diagram 2. Genealogy of Arsi

Appendix 3. Data Gathering Questionnaires

Questionnaires for key informants and women's and children's affairs.

Name _____ Sex _____

Age _____

Education level _____

Marital status

Married _____ First Husband/ wife _____ Second Husband/ Wife

_____ Other _____

Unmarried _____

Number of the Family _____

Economic Activity _____

1. What do you understand by gender based violence?
2. Do you think that these problems prevail in rural areas than urban areas or vice versa?
3. How is the prevalence of this problem in rural areas of Hetosa district?
4. What are the possible causes of gender based violence in your community?
5. What are the pressures those come up on women due to gender differences?
6. What are the proverbs used in the culture of Oromo in order to mention strengths of women?
7. What are the proverbs used in Oromo culture in order to state the inferiority of women?
8. Where do you think women report about the violent acts they suffer from? The formal court or the elders? Why?
9. Why do you think women could not prioritize the formal court while they face gender based violence from their male partners?
10. What is the role of *Ateetee*, *Siinqee*, and *Qanafaa* in safeguarding the rights of women?
11. What are the social and individual consequences of gender based violence that women faces?
12. What does the power relationship between men and women looks like in social and individual decision making?
13. Do you think that rural women of Hetosa district accept gender based violence as the cultural norm of their community?
14. What is the strength and weakness among the society in disclosing perpetrators of gender based violence in Hetosa district?

15. What has to be done in order to solve the problem of gender based violence against women?

16. Is there another compulsory idea that must not be passed according to your assumption?

Questionnaires for police officers

Name _____ Sex _____

Age _____

Education level _____

Marital status

Married _____ First Husband/ wife _____ Second Husband/ Wife
_____ Other _____

Unmarried _____

Number of the Family _____

Economic Activity _____

1. What is gender based violence from your own point of view?
2. Do you think that gender based violence prevails either in urban area or in rural areas.
3. What are the types of gender based violence that women suffer from in Hetosa district?
4. What are the causes for gender based violence that women face in the community you serve?
5. What are the consequences that come as a result of gender based violence in Hetosa district?
6. What is the attitude of the local community toward gender difference?

7. What are the measures taken by police officers and other stakeholders to solve the problem of gender based violence in your district?

8. Is there any idea that shouldn't be missed besides the above once?

Questionnaires for district court

Name _____ Sex _____

Age _____

Education level _____

Marital status

Married _____ First Husband/ wife _____ Second Husband/ Wife
_____ Other _____

Unmarried _____

Number of the Family _____

Economic Activity _____

1. What is the legal interpretation of gender based violence?
2. Do you think that gender based violence prevails either in urban area or in rural areas.
3. What are the types of gender based violences that women report to the district court?
4. What do you think are the possible causes of gender based violence among the people of Hetosa district?
5. What are the problems that encounter women as a result of gender based violence in the rural areas of your district?
6. How many gender based violence cases have been judged by the district court in this year?

7. How does the district court respond to gender based violence when reported by the women victims?
8. What are the procedural measures that the district court takes to identify the perpetrators of sexual violence like rape?
9. What is the awareness of the society in disclosing perpetrators of rape to the police or the court?
10. Do you think that legal measures taken upon gender based violence perpetrators are corrective enough to eradicate the problems?
11. How do poor women get justice when they suffer from gender based violence?
12. What do you think has to be done in order to solve the problem of gender based violence against women?

Questionnaires for the Sheria court

Name _____ Sex _____

Age _____

Education level _____

Marital status

Married _____ First Husband/ wife _____ Second Husband/ Wife
 _____ Other _____

Unmarried _____

Number of the Family _____

Economic Activity _____

1. What is Sheria court means?
2. What is the difference and similarities between Sheria court and "general" court?

3. What are gender issues judged by the Sheria court?
4. Where does the problem of gender based violence prevails more? Urban or rural?
5. What are the types of gender based violences that women suffer from?
6. What are the possible sources of gender based violence identified by the Sheria court?
7. Can a non Muslim present his/ her cases to the Sheria court?
8. What are the consequences of gender based violence in the life of women?
9. Is there something that you would like to add more?

Questionnaires for Focus Group Discussion

Name _____ Sex _____

Age _____

Education level _____

Marital status

Married _____ First Husband/ wife _____ Second Husband/ Wife
 _____ Other _____

Unmarried _____

Number of the Family _____

Economic Activity _____

1. What is gender based violence according to your own understanding?
2. What are the different types of gender based violence you know in your area?
3. What is your personal experience of gender based violence?
4. What are the causes for these different types of gender based violence?

5. What are the consequences of gender based violence that you know from your life experience or from your observance in the community?
6. Do you think that the court or the elder's council play a role in solving problems of gender based violence? If yes, how? If no, why?
7. what was the role of *Ateetee*, *Siinqee*, and *Qanafaa* in solving problems of gender based violence?
8. If there is something important that you would like to add more?

Appendix 4 List of Key Informants

Name	Sex	Age	Date of Interview	Educational Background	Marital Status	Means of livelihood	Place of Interview
KI 1	F	36	Feb3,2015	Diploma	Married	Civil servant	WCY affairs office
KI 2	F	38	Feb5,2015	Degree	Divorced	Civil servant	WCY affairs office
KI 3	M	45	Feb6,2015	Degree	Married	Civil servant	WCY affairs office
KI 4	F	23	Feb9,2015	10 th complete	Married	Farmer	Shaki Sherera kebele
KI 5	F	36	Feb11,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	Dawe Guticha Kebele
KI 6	F	22	Feb13,2015	10 th complete	Unmarried	unemployed	Sero Anketo Kebele
KI 7	M	37	Feb16,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	Guri Dabula Kebele
KI 8	M	60	Feb23,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	Hate Handode Kebele
KI 9	M	68	Mar2, 2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	Dawe Guticha Kebele
KI 10	F	38	Mar6, 2015	Degree	Married	Civil Servant	Police Office
KI 11	M	40	Mar9, 2015	Degree	Married	Civil Servant	District Court Compound
KI 12	M	37	Mar16, 2015	Degree	Married	Civil Servant	District Court Compound
KI 13	M	42	Mar23,2015	Degree	Married	Civil Servant	District Court Compound

Appendix 5. List of First FGD Members

Code Name	Sex	Age	Date of Discussion	Educational Background	Marital Status	Means of Livelihood	Place of Discussion
D 1	F	23	Apr2,2015	10 th complete	Married	Farmer	District Court Compound
D 2	F	36	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 3	F	50	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 4	F	43	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 5	F	34	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 6	F	29	Apr2,2015	Grade 3	Married	Farmer	
D 7	F	47	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 8	F	59	Apr2,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	

Appendix 6. List of Second FGD Members

Code Name	Sex	Age	Date of Discussion	Educational Background	Marital Status	Means of Livelihood	Place of Discussion
D 1	F	41	Apr14,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	Shaki Sherera Primary School Compound
D 2	F	50	Apr14,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 3	F	39	Apr14,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 4	F	27	Apr14,2015	Grade 4	Married	Farmer	
D 5	F	31	Apr14,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	
D 6	F	54	Apr14,2015	Illiterate	Married	Farmer	

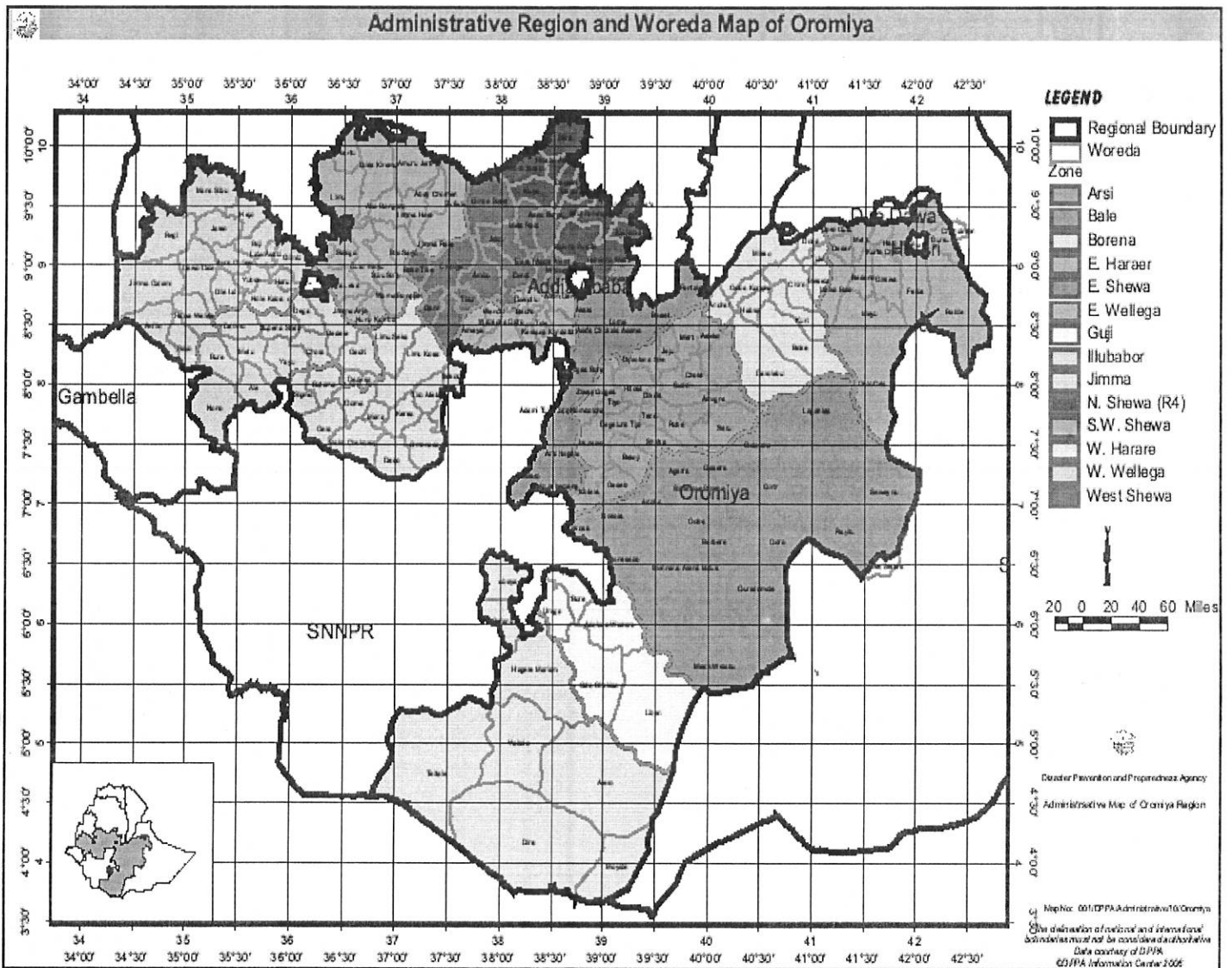
Appendix 7. List of Maps

Map 1: Map of Ethiopia Showing Different Zones



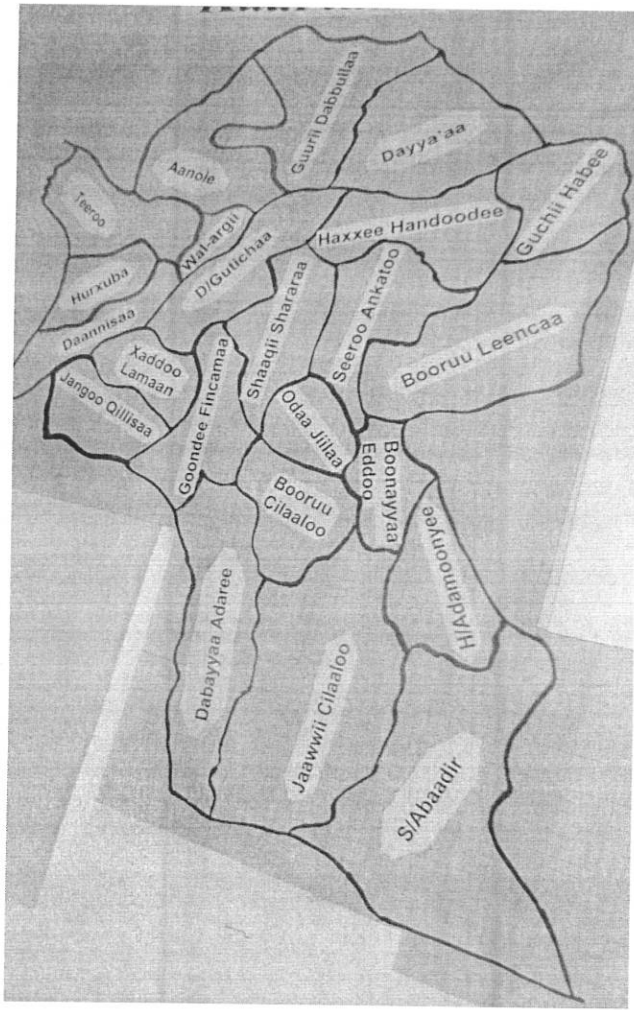
Source: Hetosa District Municipal.

Map 2: Administrative Region and Wereda Map of Oromia



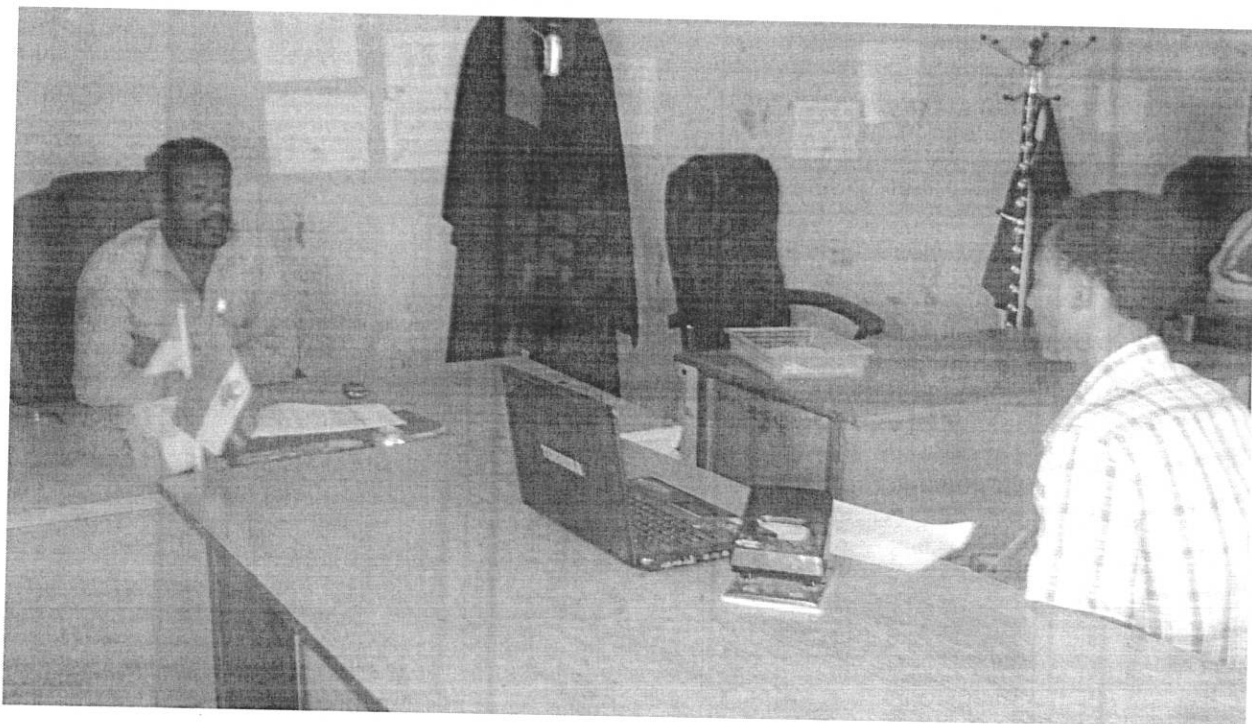
Source: Hetosa District Municipal.

Map 3: Map of Hetosa District Showing Different Kebelles.

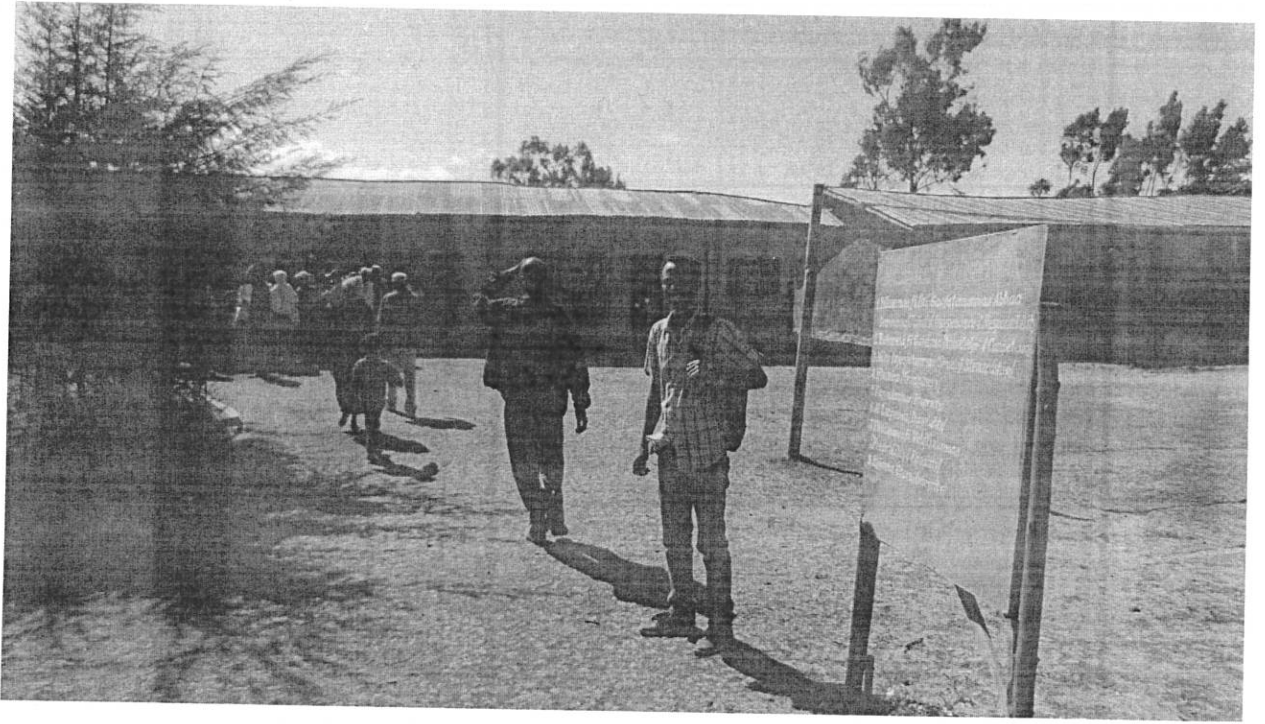


Source: Hetosa District Municipal.

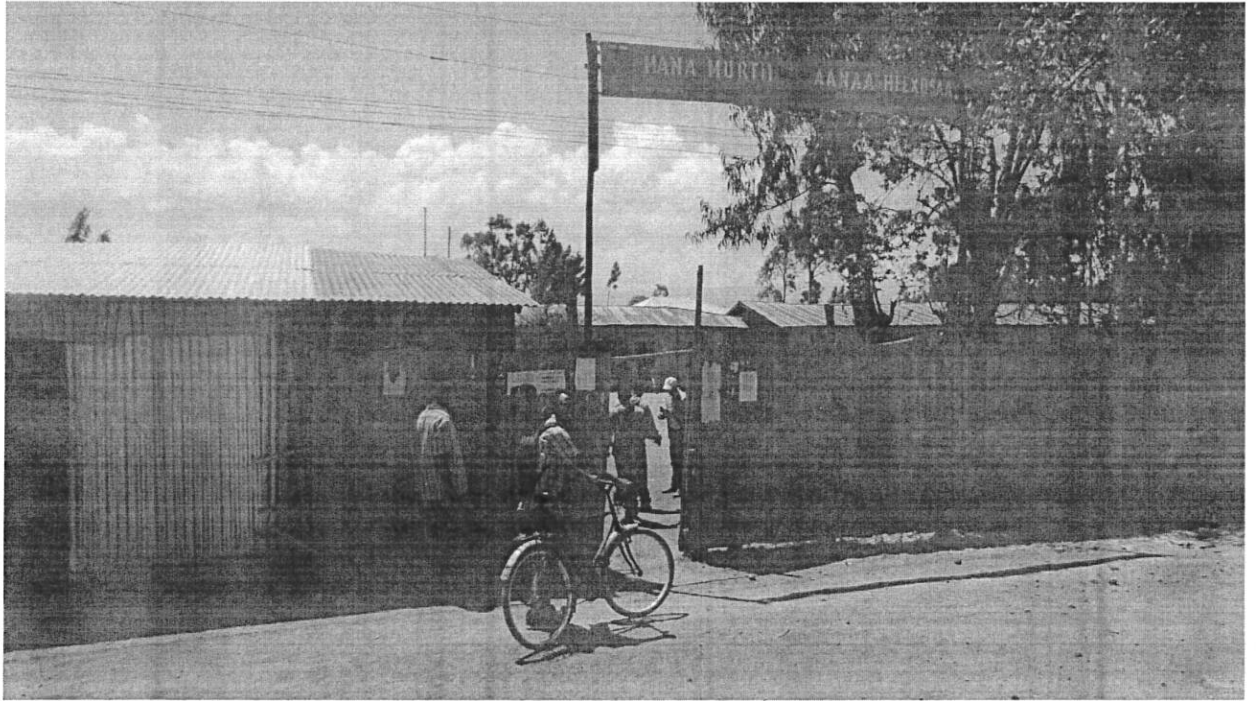
Appendix 8: Photographic Documentations



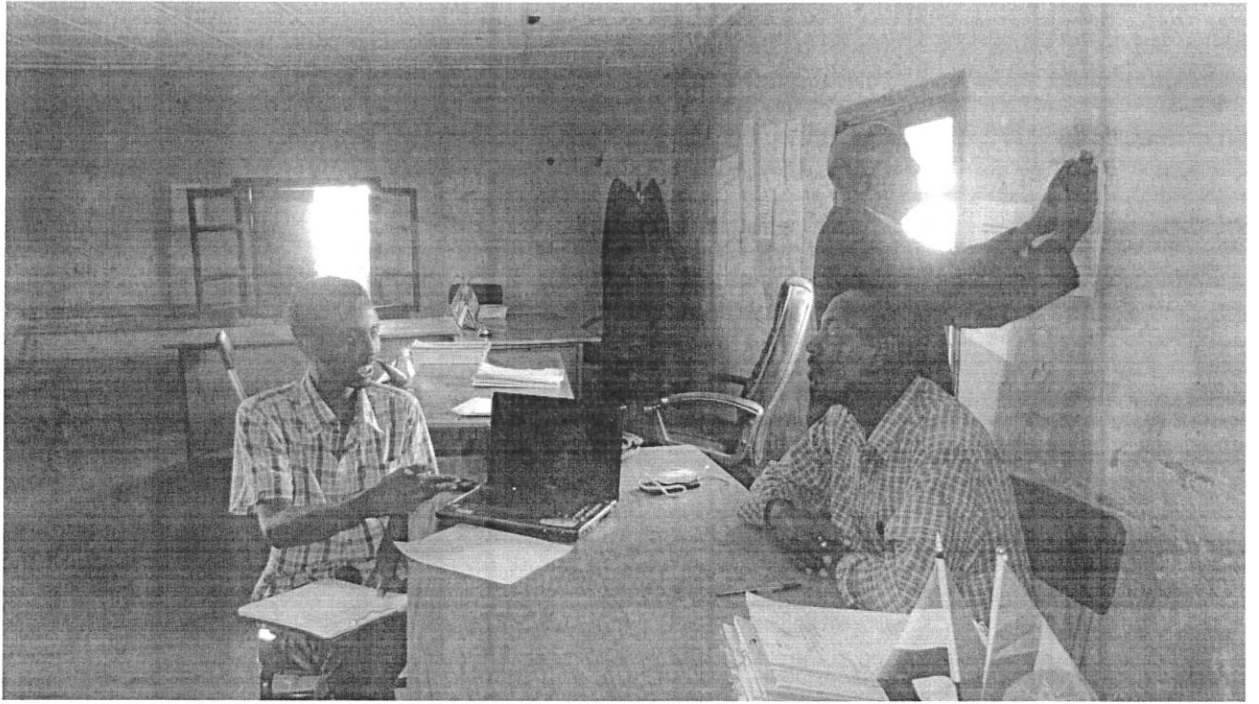
Interview session with the district judge



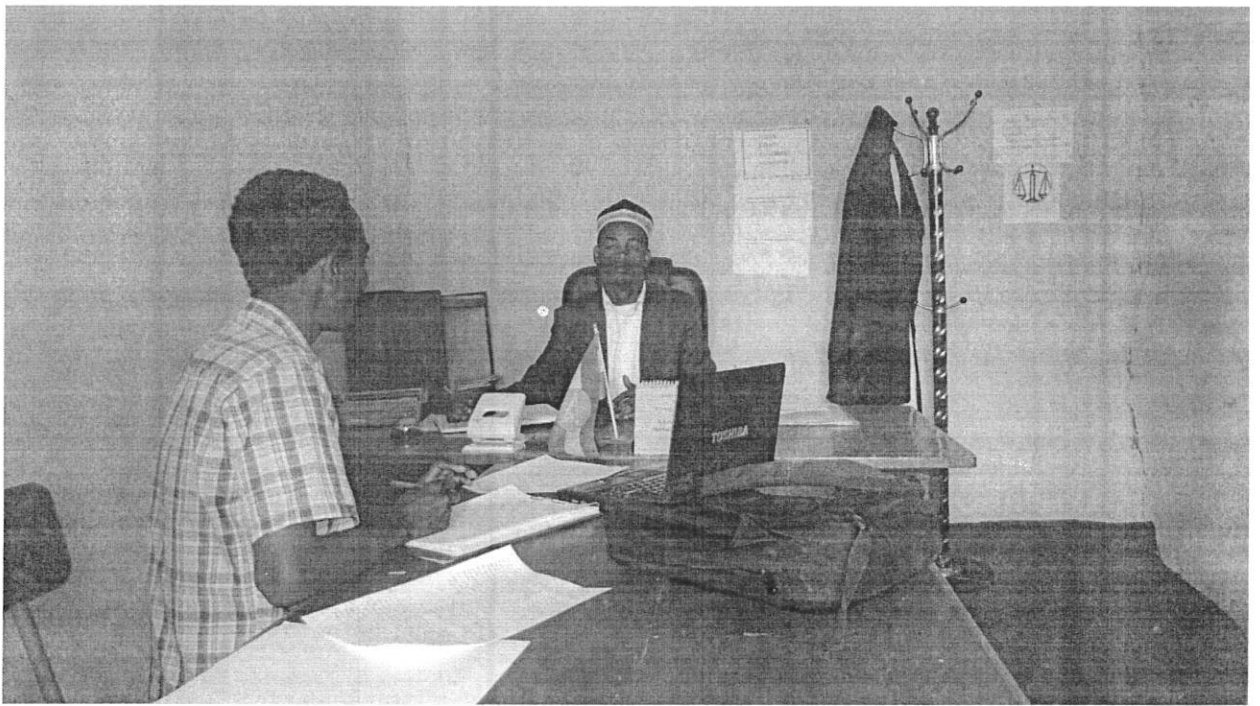
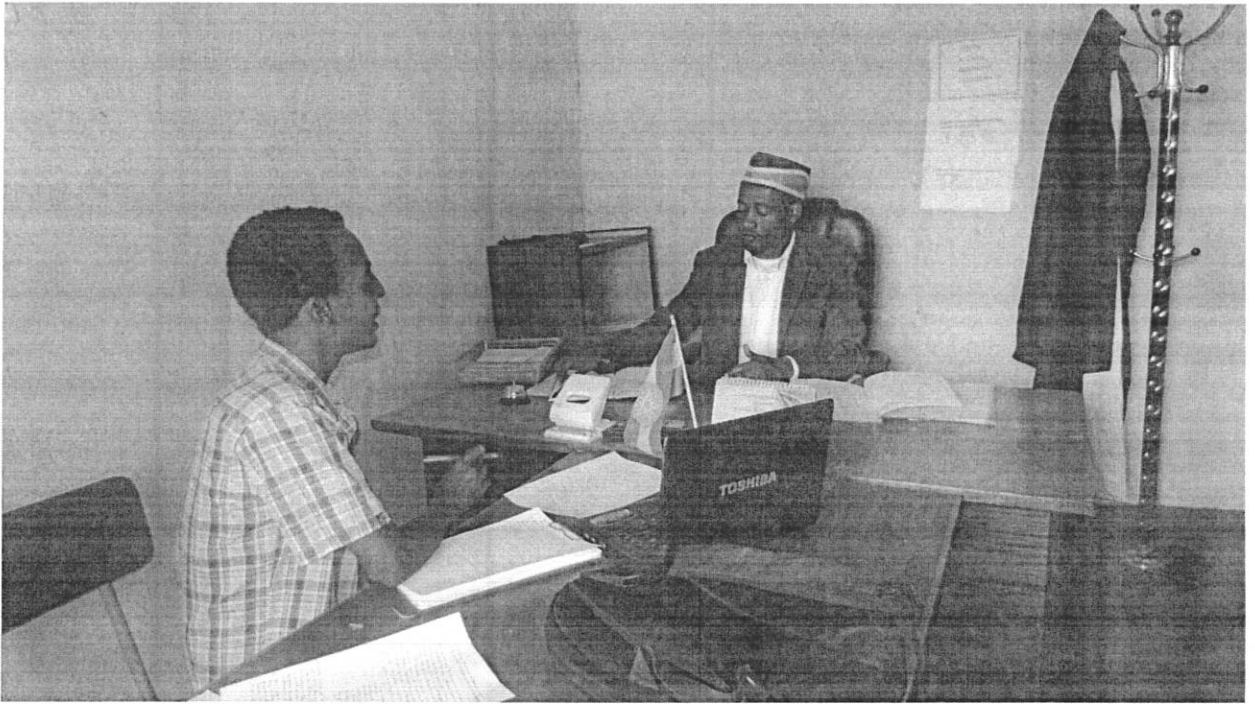
District court compound



Entrance to the District Court



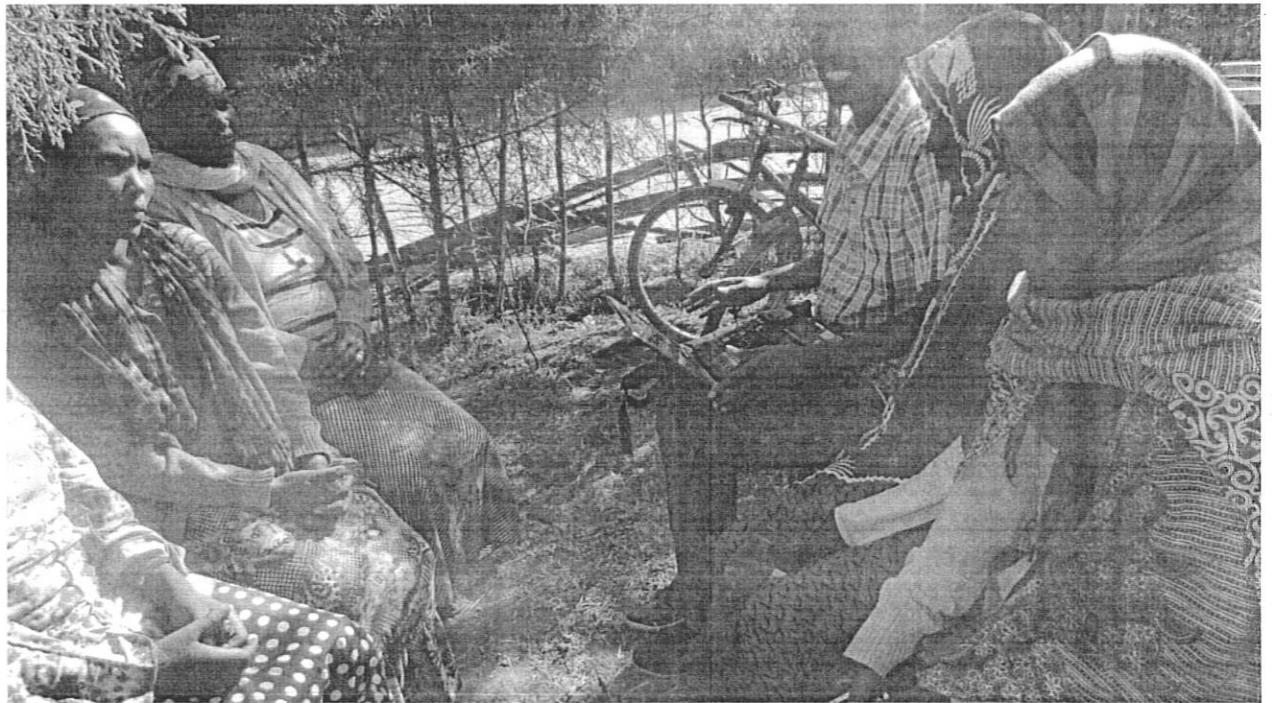
Interview session with the judge



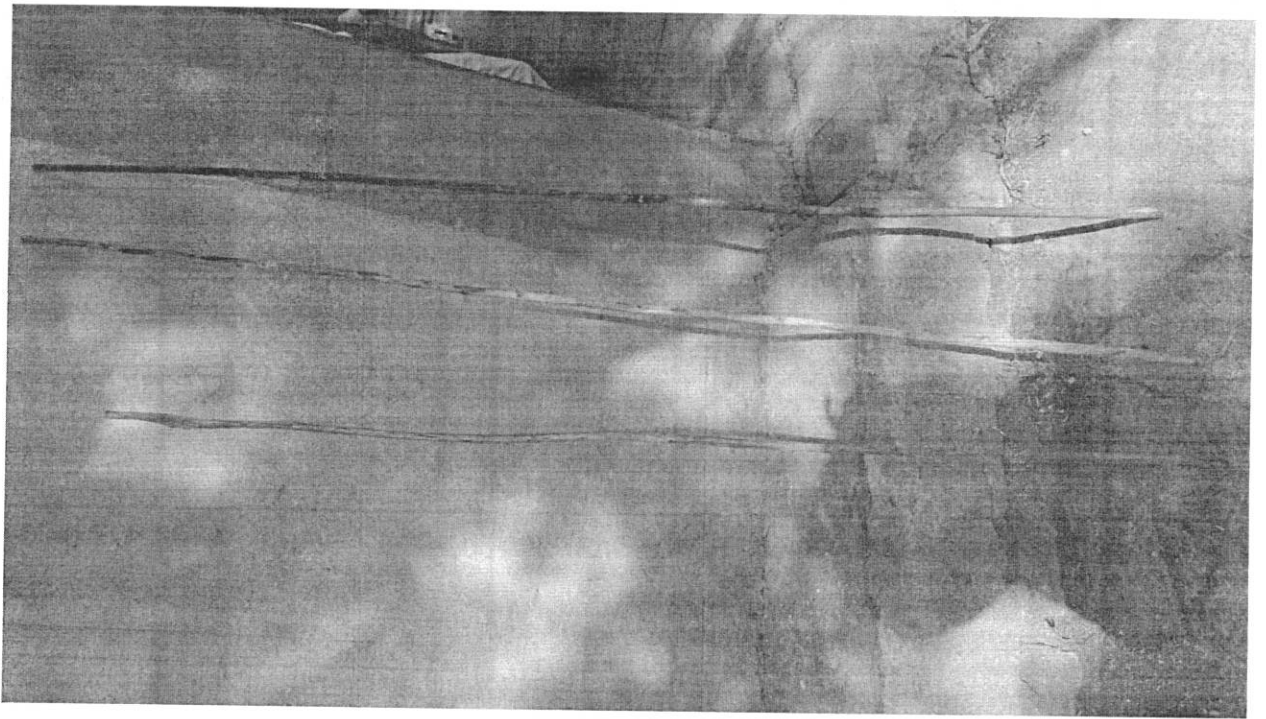
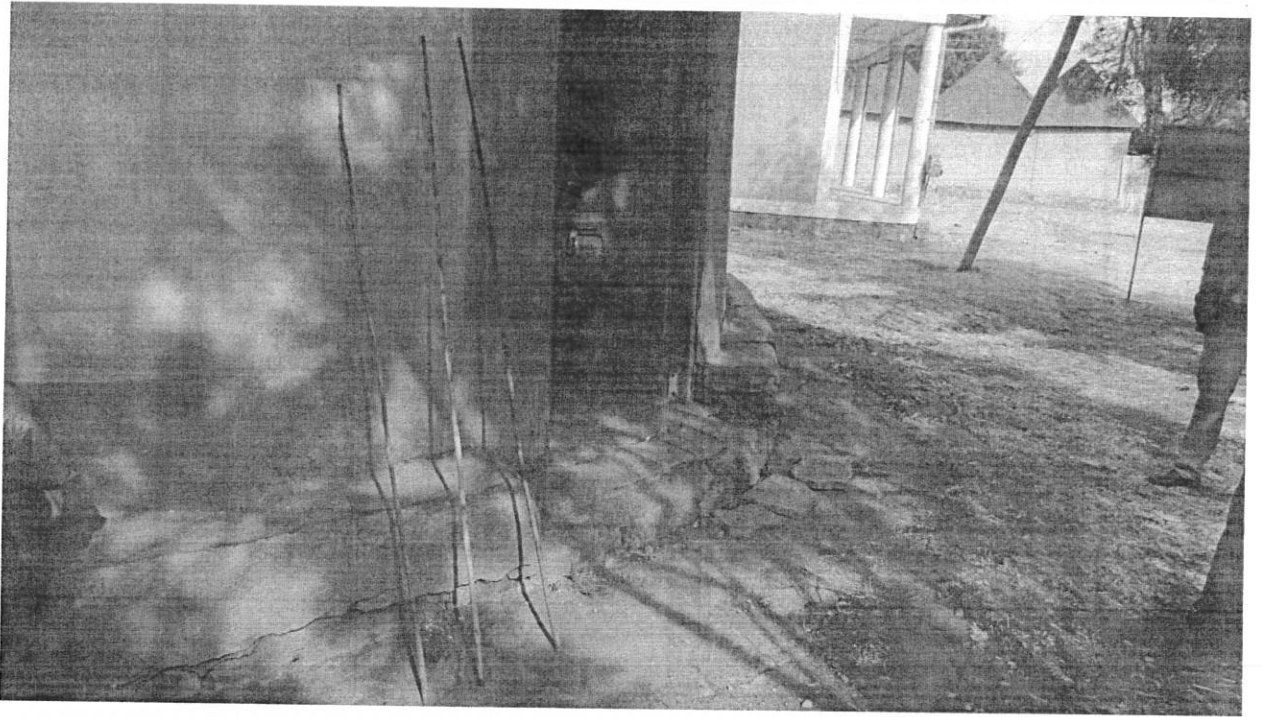
Interview session with the Sheria court (kadi)



First FGD group with women at Shaki Sherera Kebele

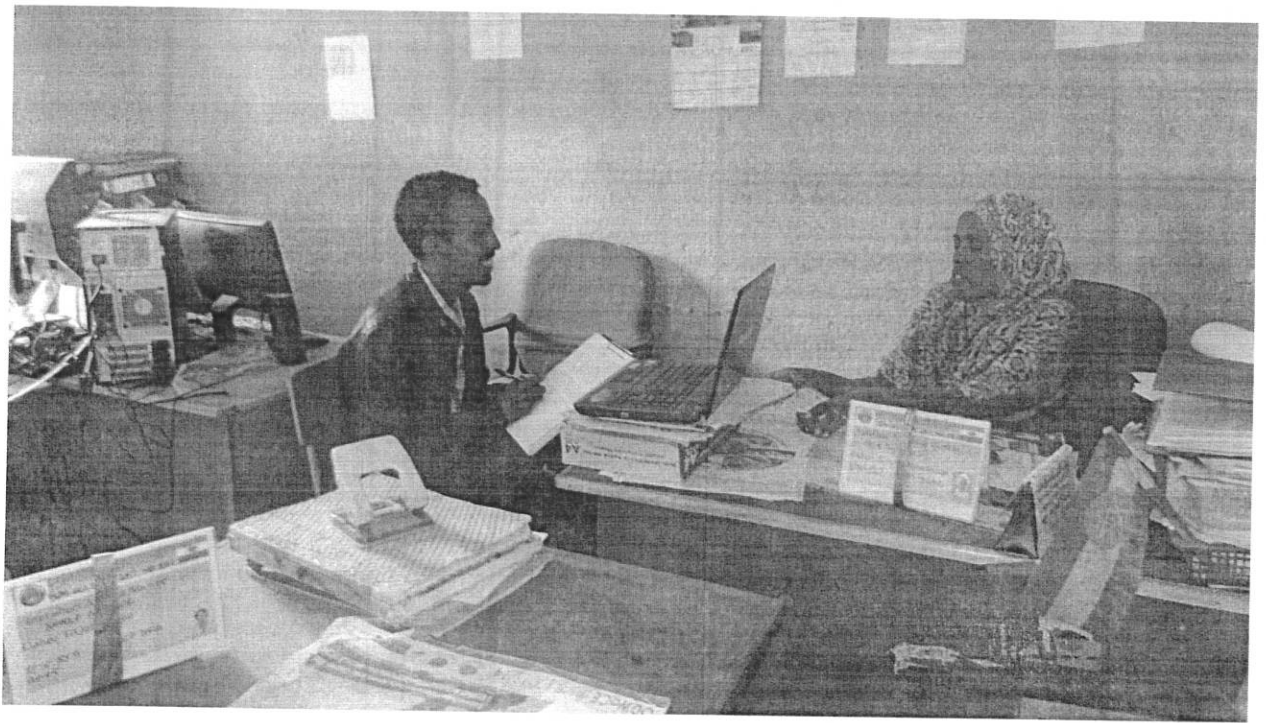
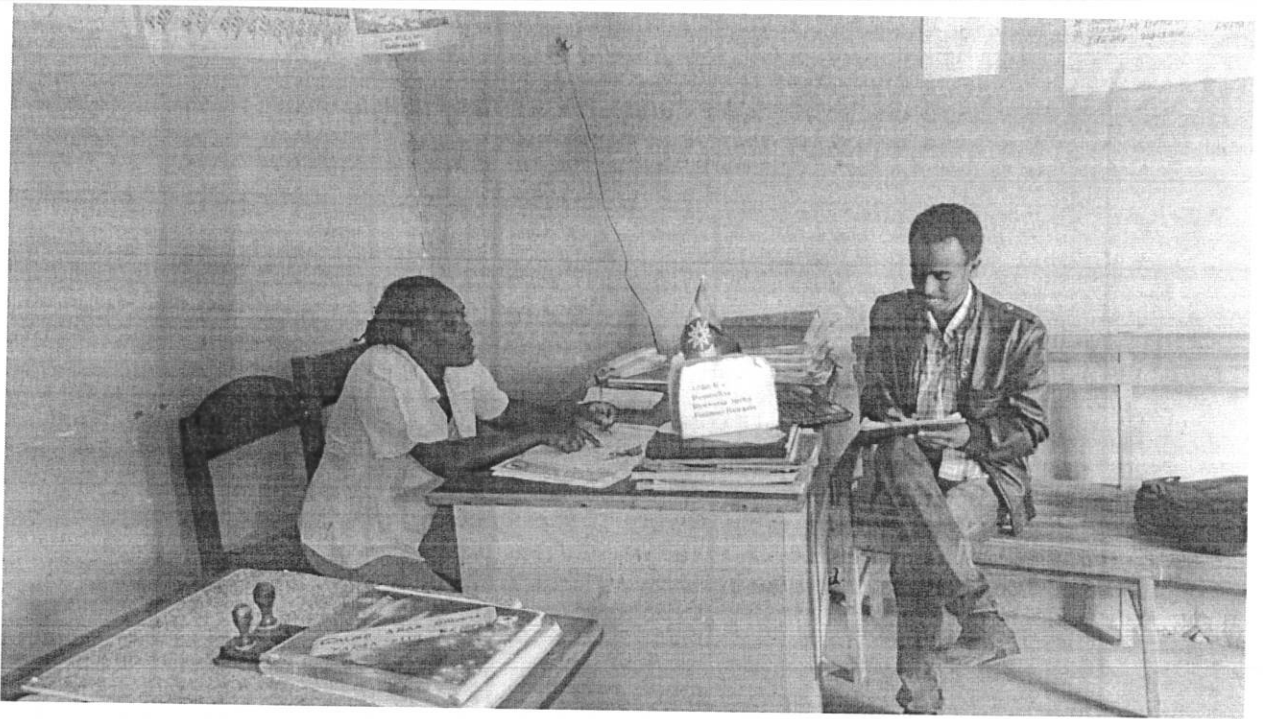


Second FGD group with women at Shaki Sherera Kebele

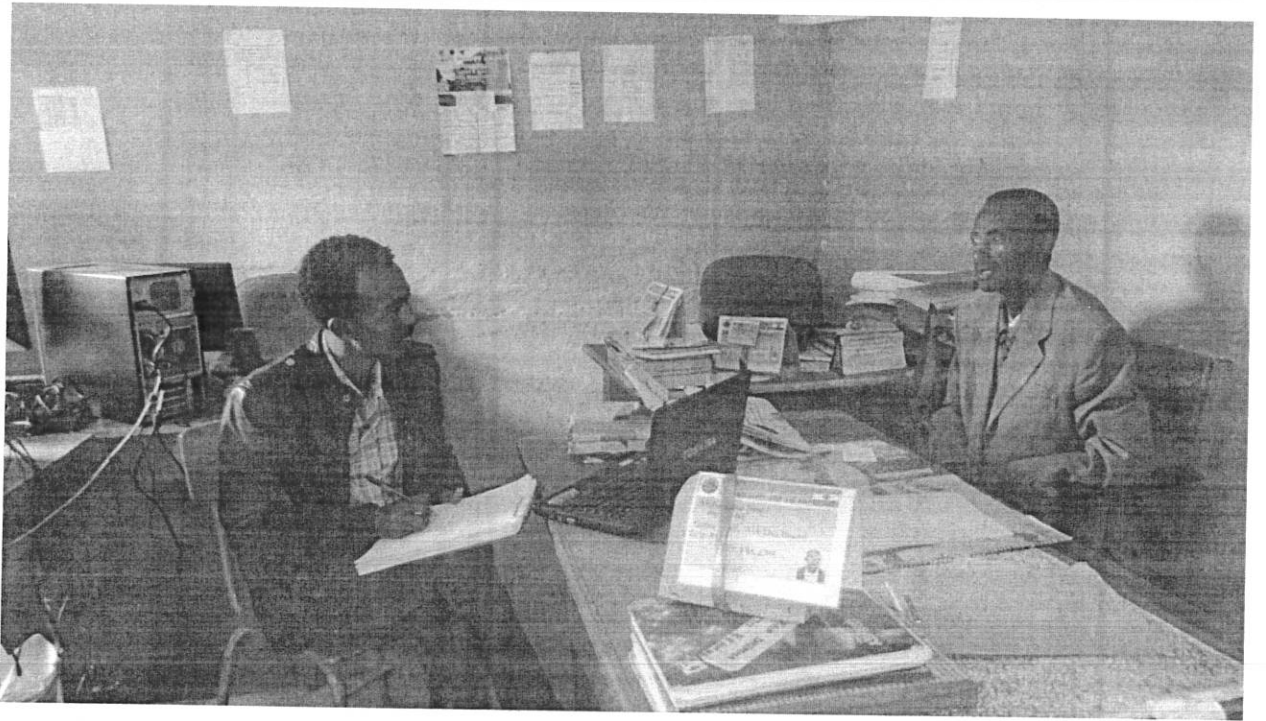


Siinqee- a stick of justice

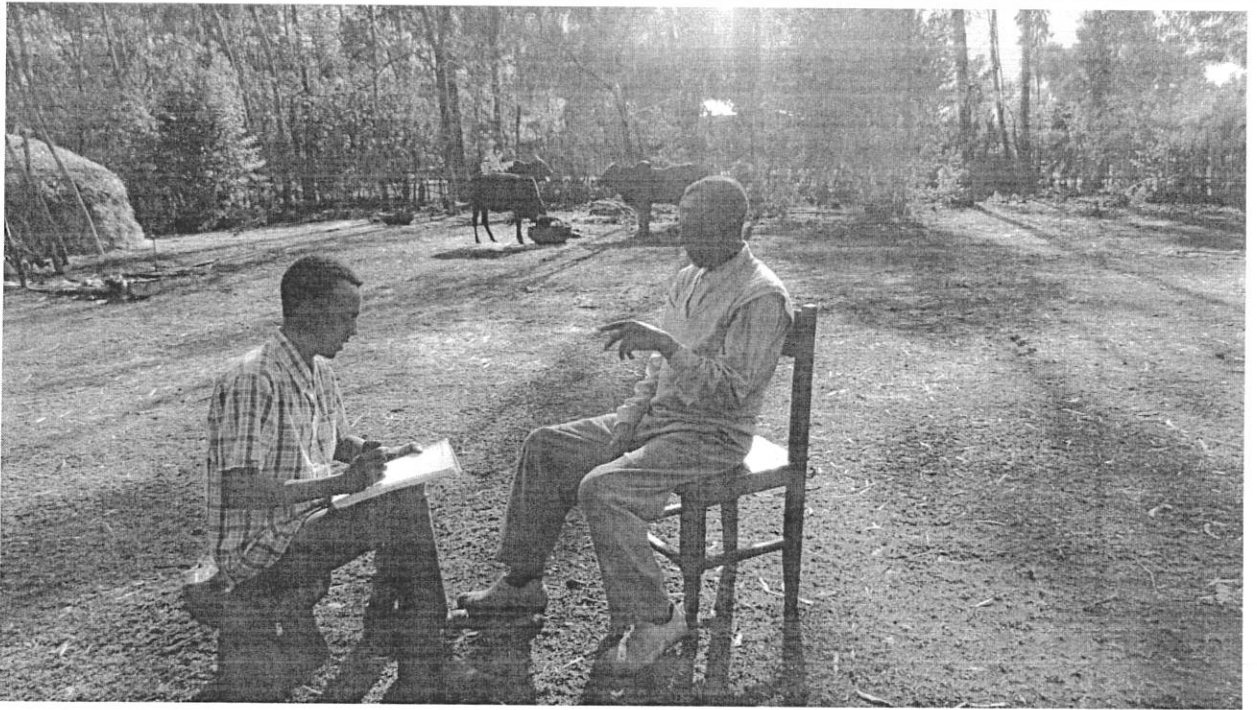




Interview sessions with women's children's and youth affair experts



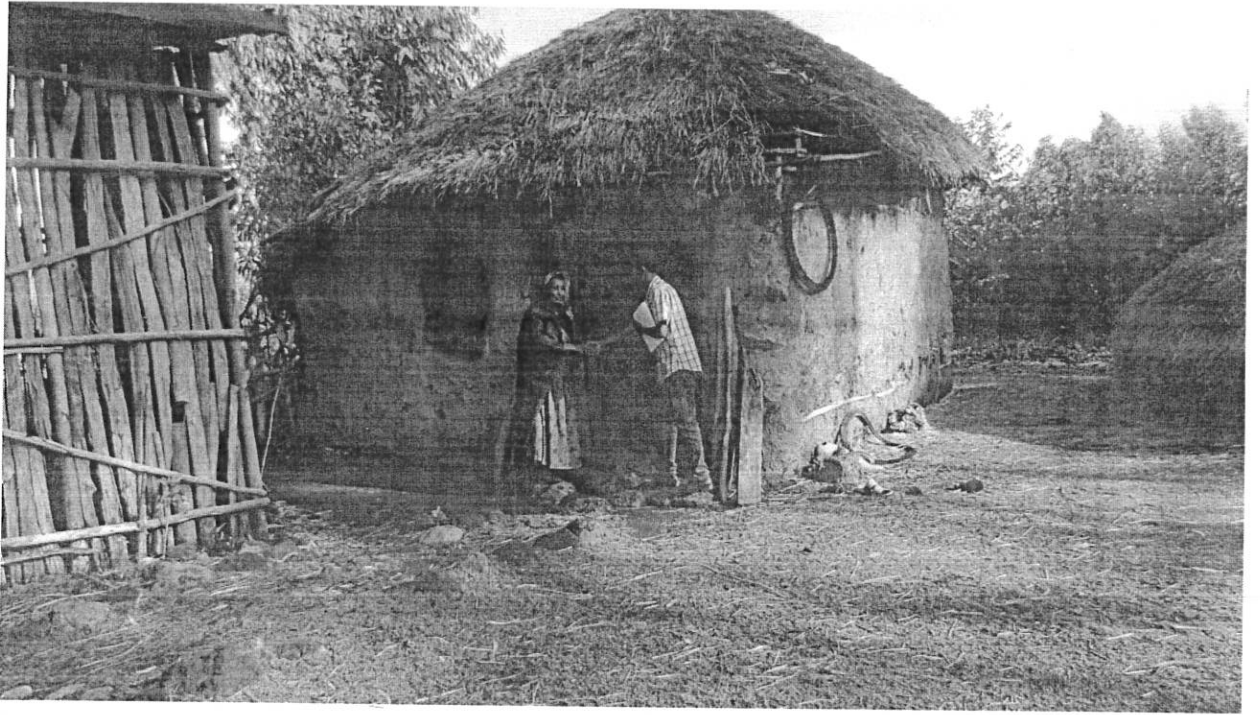
Interview with women's and children's affair experts



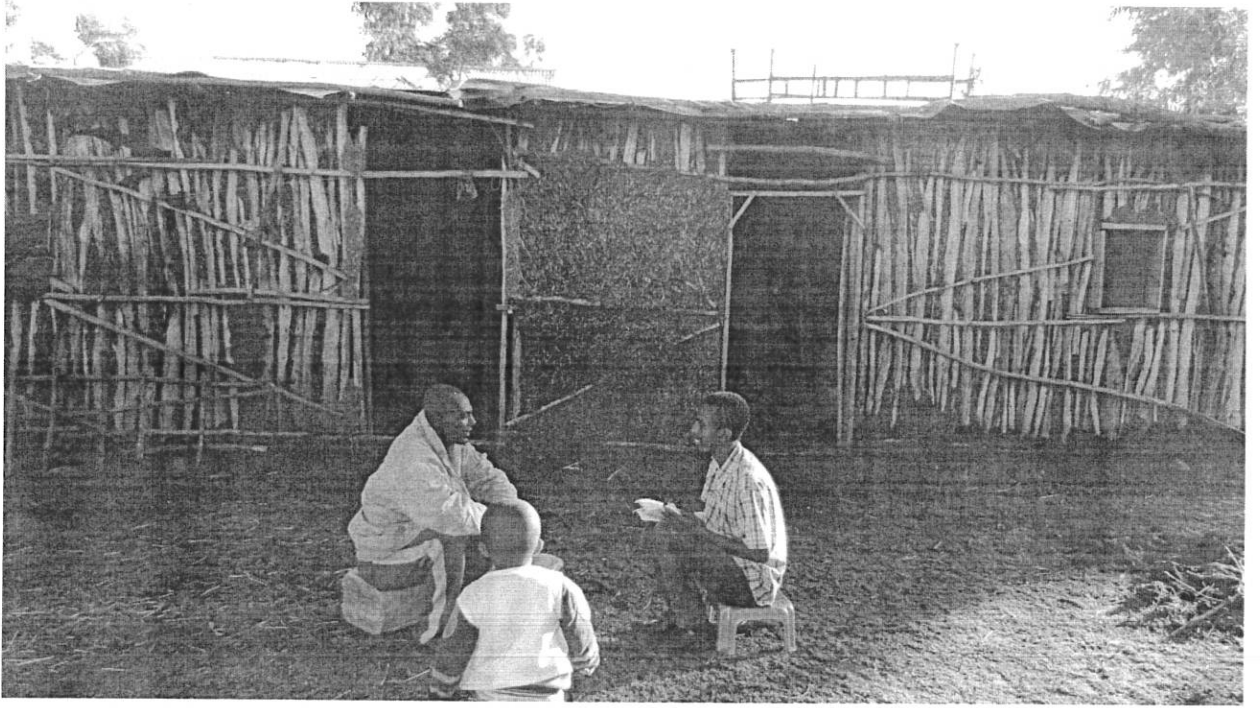
Interview with key informants



My key informant's compound



Woman key informant at her home



Interview session with key informant

Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my work and that all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name Tsegaye Megersa

Signature _____