

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

*DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN FROM
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE: A STUDY IN THE RURAL PART
OF MERMARSA AND KEBELE 07 OF ADAMA TOWN.
(Wife abuse, Butta and Seggaba)*

THEODROS W/GIORGIS

02961

JUNE, 2004

C 3

*DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN FROM
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE: A STUDY IN THE RURAL PART
OF MERMARSA AND KEBELE 07 OF ADAMA TOWN.
(Wife abuse, Butta and Seggaba)*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

BY

THEODROS W/GIORGIS

ADVISOR: HIRUT TEREFE (DR)

JUNE, 2004

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRAGUATES

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN FROM CULTURAL
PERSPECTIVE: A Study in the Rural Part of *Mermarsa* and *Kebele 07* of
Adama town

By
Theodros W/giorgis
College of Social Sciences

Approved by Board of Examiners:

Hirut Tempe

Advisor

J. H. Tempe

Yesomawork Gossaye

Examiner

[Signature]

M. Hywabir

Examiner

M. Hywabir

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	I
Dedication	II
Abstract	III
Preface.....	IV
Operational definition	V
Abbreviations	VIII
List of Tables	IX

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Statement of the problem	2
1.3. Guiding questions	3
1.4 .Objective of the research	3
1.4.1. General objective	3
1.4.2. Specific objectives	3
1.5. Methods of research.....	4
1.6. Significance of the study.....	5
1.7 limitation of the study	5
1.7.1. Points that may help us in overriding the limitation	5
1.8. Brief description of the study areas	6

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review	11
2.1. Grand theories on violence	11
2.1.1. Intra-individual theories	11
2.1.2. Social-psychological theories	12
2.1.3. Socio-cultural theories	13
2.1.4. The outlook of mainstream and feminist	15
2.2. Some strange reflections of violence against women	19
2.3. The four world conferences on the issue of women	20
2.3.1. The first world conference	21

2.3.2. The second world conference	21
2.3.3. The third world conference	23
2.3.4. The fourth world conference.....	24
2.4. Domestic violence against women in Ethiopia	25
2.5. An overview of sexual violence in marriage	27
2.5.1. Examining the truth of sexual violence in marriage	27
2.5.2. Consequences sexual violence in marriage	29
2.5.3. Reasons for under reporting sexual violence in marriage	30
2.6. Abduction in Ethiopia.	31
2.6.1 Reasons for practicing marriage by abduction.....	33
2.6.2 The process of marriage by abduction.....	34
2.6.3 Reconciliation	35
2.6.4. Consequences of marriage by abduction	36

CHAPTER THREE

3. Description of case histories, focus group discussions	39
3.1. Case history A	39
3.1.1. Main points in A's case	43
3.1.2. Interview with A's husband	46
3.1.3. Interpretation of the couple's case (Y and A).....	47
3.2. Case history B	49
3.2.1. Main points in B's case history	51
3.3. Case history C	52
3.3.1. Main points in C case history	57
3.4. The D case history	57
3.4.1. Major issues in D's case	60
3.5. The E case history	62
3.5.1. Core points in the E's case history	64
3.6. Focus group discussions (FGDs) made with wives.....	65
3.6.1. Main ideas in the FGD's.....	69

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Process of abduction (<i>butta</i>)	72
4.2. Reconciliation process	73
4.3. Abduction case history F	81
4.3.1. Important Issues in F case.....	82
4.4. Abduction case history G.....	83
4.4.1 Comments made by other community members	84
4.4.2. Points that have to be mentioned in G's case	84
4.5. FGD's made by abducted and non – abducted women	85
4.5.1. Main points in FGD's made with women	87
4.6. FGD made with male youngsters.....	88
4.6.1. Points that should be underlined in the FGD	90
4.7. <i>Seegeba</i> - chasing out of widow partner	91
4.7.1. A case history of widow	94
4.7.1.1. Points in H case history.....	95

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Theoretical Explanation.....	96
5.2. The Comparison and Contrast	106

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusive remark	115
Bibliography	119

Annexes

Annex one: Map of *Oromia* Regional state

Annex two: Map of East *Shoa* Administrative Division

Annex three: Map of *Adama* Woreda

Annex four: Map of *Adama* Town

Annex five: A Map of Ethiopia that shows the prevalence of Marriage by
Abduction at region level (1997)

Annex six: Photographs

Acknowledgement

Many people have helped me in the making of this M.A thesis and I am grateful for all the advice and encouragement I have received. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Hirut Terefe, my thesis advisor, for her generosity, open and honest discussion about the paper.

I do appreciate my family who gave me so much support; Ato Wolde Giorgis Atreso, my father, W/o Askale Ashame, my mother, Fikerte W/giorgis, my younger sister, Yonas W/giorgis my elder brother, and Muluwork W/giorgis my elder sister, I don't have a word to thank all of you, but I can say God bless you and the rest of the family.

I would like also to extend my thanks to the people of the study areas, they are honest and cooperative, thank you again, I wish for the community all the best.

During the research time, there are NGO, and GO that gave assistance by providing clear and understandable information, for all those cooperation, thank you. Particularly, I would like thanking *obbo* Jamal Ismael, the staff member of *Adama* EWLA, for his open and friendly approach. Above all, I would like to express a big--big-- thanks to the almighty God that gave me courage and confidence in the time of joy or sorrow.

Dedication

I dedicated this thesis for those abused Ethiopian women and their children, which lived in the tragic incident of Domestic or public violence

Abstract

There are three stages of violence against women in this paper. A woman could be abducted (kidnapped) in public for marriage; this is one form of violence committed against them. Within the marital life there is also violence, what we call domestic violence. Even after the death of her husband a rural women in *Mermarsa* area will face a lot of harassments, if she choose her new partner to enter in her own house for living together with out the permission of *Folles*.

So, women face different violence acts before, through and after Marriage. That means these violence acts are observable when women are single (unmarried), married and widow. Domestic violence is one form of violence within the home; it could be seen among children, children on parents or parents on children. In this thesis it is attempted to see only the violence of men on women (husbands on wives), which is revolved around marital relationship, and the two publicly committed violence's against women i.e. abduction and *seegaba*. It is known that domestic violence is a word, which is widely used at present time in academic world, to explain the violence situation in marriage.

Preface

The researcher argues that, it is better to study violence acts against women from cultural perspective, because most of the researches that were made previously raise the issue from legal arena. Even if, the law plays its own role in alleviating the problem of domestic violence, the cultural aspect has to get much emphasis in tackling the problem of violence against women. In order to do this in to practice, the researcher tried to observe the situation of violence against women from cultural aspect.

There are six chapters in this thesis. The first chapter deals with the introductory part, in this chapter, the pattern of how the study was conducted explained in brief, and there is also a brief description of the study areas. The second chapter is the literature part; in this section the grand theories of violence are stated. In addition this, the situation and impact of domestic violence, abduction on women are reviewed by relating to the Ethiopian context.

Third and forth chapters are the main bodies of the thesis. In chapter three, the situation domestic violence is described and explained in the two study areas. In the forth chapter, *butta* (abduction) and *seegaba* are elaborated in detail. Next to this chapter i.e. chapter five, the theoretical explanation, and the comparison and contrast of violence against women are tried to be shown, in the two study sites. Finally, in the last chapter the conclusive remark is presented.

Operational Definition

Abba folle – leader of the *folles*

Adebar –the guardian sprit of the homestead

Areke and *Tella* – traditional alcoholic drinks

Atete –traditional female *ayana*

Ayana- divinity, sprit

Ayoutma – the mother of procreation

Baltena- women *Iddir*

Bareya – A derogatory term in *Amharic* that signifies an object which is similar with black in color. It is also synonymous with the word slave.

Buta – abduction

čaću – female ritual symbol

čaffe- meadow, *Gada* assembly

čate- a mild stimulant which is widely chewed in the study area

Dirrba- mantle

Dula- heavy steak

Fagulo – oil cake

Folle –warrior class in *Tulama* and *Mečč Gada* system

Gabe or *kuta*- Toga

Gada – the traditional socio- political and economic class system of *oromo* ethnic group that rotates every eight years

Gula- a man who has passed out of the *Tulama* or *Mečča Gada* system

Hafetu- unmarried girl over the age of seventeen

Iqubb- a credit and saving self help institution which is found in Ethiopia

Jaarsa- elder

Kalačā- a symbolic material which is believed to have had a supernatural power in alleviating problems and giving fertility to the community

kaličča – witch

Kallitti- wife of *kallu*

Kallu- 'shamanistic' ritual expert

Kebele- the lowest administrative body of the government

keye – an *Amharic* word which is synonymous with bright color

Kinčē- a food made of coarsely wheat and butter

Kollu- yearly *kallu* feast

Korema goremsa- calf and heifer

Koreta- tearing the toga in to two parts

Maheber(senbete) – religious based informal institution, predominately found among the Orthodox *thewahedo* religion followers

Medebe—a word which describes a small plot of land in which traders sell their items in open market places

Mermarsa- zigzag

Mukača- a traditional grinding material

Seegaba-chasing out of widow partner

Semaneya- a paper that signifies a contractual marriage agreement

Shemageles- elders

Tabot- ark

Tumtuma- blacksmith

Wereda -a government administrative body above the *kebele*

Waqqa- the sky God

Yegumare alenga- laze made of hippopotamus skin

Yenefeseabate –soul father

Abbreviations

C.S.A: Central Statistical Authority

E.C: Ethiopian Calendar

EPLF: Eritrean People Liberation Front

EPRDF: Ethiopia people revolutionary front

EWLA: Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association

FGDs: Focus Group Discussions

GO: Government Organization

M.A: Master of Arts

NCTPA: National Committee for Traditional Practice in Ethiopia

NGO: Non Government Organization

OWAB: Oromia Women Affair Bureau

P.A: Peasant Association

List of Tables

Table 1: Economic Activity of Dwellers in *Kebele 07 of Adama* town (Both sexes, Nov 2003)

Table 2: Occurrence of marriage by abduction in region (1997)

Table 3: Prevalence or marriage by Abduction by zone in *Oromia* Region (1997)

Table 4: Behaviors of Husbands Shown on their Wives after Consuming *čate* and Alcohol (Nov 2003)

Table 5: Husbands fight with wives (In both study areas, Nov 2003)

Table 6: Cause of a fight response made by husband (In both study cites, Nov 2003)

Table 7: Religion affiliation (Nov 2003)

Table 8: Land, Cattle and house ownership at national level (Nov 2003)

Table 9: Ways of Entering Into Martial Relationship (Both Sex, Nov 2003)

Table 10: Age at First Marriage (Wives, Nov 2003)

Table 11: Presence of children at the time of fighting (Both sex, urban and rural area, Nov 2003)

Table 12: Ethnic affiliation of *kebele 07* in *Adama* Town (Box sexes, Nov 2003)

Table 13: Level of education of wives in the two sites of the study (Nov 2003)

Table 14: The situation of wives when their husbands beat them (Nov 2003)

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Violence¹ can be considered as the darkest side of the society. Because in most cases violence acts like war leads to human and material destruction. The same holds true of other violence behaviors created in the society. This can be observed at Macro level like war or at micro level within the family. Violence against women² can be categorized under the latter one. This research is attempted to focus on implications of different violence acts committed against women from cultural perspective. In order to have a better Idea about the issue at hand, the study is conducted in *Mermarsa* Peasant association and *kebele 07 of Adama* (Nazareth) town. That means such a selection of study areas will give a better understanding about the nature and extent of violence against women in both rural and urban context.

There are different kinds of violence acts committed against women. Wife abuse, Abduction, Early Marriage, Circumcision (genital mutilation) etc are few among the others. The researcher is tried to address particularly those inhuman violent acts committed against women, i.e. Wife abuse, *Butta* (abduction) and *Seegaba*. Abduction is committed by a group of men against a girl, it is a sort of public or open type of violence. Wife abuse is a husband or a partner attack on his wife, the last one is *Seegaba*, it an institutionalized violence against women.

¹ Violence: - a conduct which demands and enforces obedience while humiliating and degrading the victim through the use or the threats to use force in the form of any object, power of body, power of mind, power of authority or power of law while it might be directed at the Victim or at any other person, animal or object related to the victim (ECA, 1993:3)

² Violence against women: - means any act of gender based violence that results in Physical, Sexual or Psychological harm of suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (plate form for action and the Beijing declaration, 1995: 73)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Violence against Women gets attention recently as a form of violation of human rights. It is also stated as an agenda in big world conferences, which discussed on women issue, like the Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). This shows that it is considered as a threat for human development at global level (The main aim of these conferences is discussed in chapter 2).

Most scholars, who have shown a very good concern about this issue, agreed that violence against women has an old age history (Hoff, 1990). Due to different social, cultural³ and political reasons it was covered as if it didn't exist. It is also considered as a personal concern or private matter within the family. Primarily the victims' of abduction, domestic violence and *seegaba* are women. The subordinate position of women, economically, socially as well as politically on men has big contributing factors on violence against them. Since we live in male dominated patriarchal society, men justified, abduction, wife abuse and *seegaba* and other type of violence against women as their right. This also supported by the socialization of children as male and female. Starting from childhood boys and girls are socialized in different domain. Domestic domain is for women and the public one is for men. This kind of dichotomy has deep rooted in gender⁴ relationship of men with women and vice versa. That is why most social scientist

³ There are different definitions of culture. These definitions are estimated up to 300. (Clukohone and Krober cited in Hirut: 2002, 7). However, E.B Tylor's definitions is the most widely quoted in anthropological literatures, Tylor defined culture as "...complex whole, which includes, knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"(1871[1958] p.1).

⁴ "In modern anthropology this term has increasingly replaced the term 'sex' in discussions of socially and culturally determined differences in the behavior, role and status of men and women. ... More recently it has been used to refer to the social, cultural and psychological patterning of differences between males and females. This distinction between sex, which is a biological phenomenon, and gender, which is a cultural classification, allows for the separation of the biological and cultural aspects of differences between males and females, thus avoiding a biological determinist position."(Smith: 1986,129-130)

considers gender as a social construct. The gender inequality that we observe in the present world distorts and decreases the status of women in the society.

1.3 Guiding questions

These are the Guiding Questions in which most of the study questions are referred.

1. Why men are motivated to commit violence against women?
2. What is the influence of violence against women in marital relationship?

1.4. Objective of the Research

1.4.1 General objective

The main objective of this research is to find out the implication of wife abuse, abduction (*butta*) and *seegaba*, as a form of Violence against women from cultural perspective, in *Mermarsa* peasant association and in *kebele 07 of Adama* (Nazareth) town.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

- To assess the connection between victimization and society's values.
- To examine how far socio-economic, cultural factors and power relations are inter-related with violence against women.
- To find out the view of victims of violence (women) on the effort of kin groups in alleviating the conflict.

1.5. Methods of Research

Both primary and secondary data collection methods are applied. In the case of secondary data collection, books, journals, magazines, newspapers and any relevant materials with the topic are reviewed.

The primary data collection methods that are applied in this study are the following.

- In-depth interview is the researcher's key anthropological research method, which helped the researcher to get more information about the problem. Informants are selected from different segments of the society, elderly women and men, youngsters, husbands, wives, government and non-government officials at different level etc.
- Case history⁵ is also very important to gather information for this research. For these purpose 8 case histories of women is taken. Such type of biographical sketch helped the researcher to evaluate their life condition before, during and after violence.
- Focus group discussion is also the other data collection method. A group of men and women discussed on some issues of violence against women on separate places. Each group comprises 6-8 members. This kind of discussion assisted the researcher to have a better idea about men and women view on the problem.
- A small survey with a sample size of 300 is conducted. One hundred fifty Questionnaires for *Mermarsa* and One hundred fifty for *Kebele 07* are randomly distributed. These 150 Questionnaires are divided in equal parts for husbands and wives in each study area. The reason that I use this method is to substantiate the data that gathered through the above-

⁵ Case histories reveal how specific people perceive, react to and contribute to changes that affect their lives. Such accounts can illustrate diversity, which exists within any community, since the focus is on how, different people interpret and deal with some of the same problems (Kottack: 1994,26)

mentioned qualitative methods. From the distributed questionnaires, 245 of them are properly filled and returned. So, the simple percentage explanation is based on this figure.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The researcher believed that the major significance of this study might be to contribute for ethnographic writing of abduction, wife abuse, and *seegaba as* violence against women in *kebele 07 of Adama town and Mermarsa*.

The other significance could be, it may shade light on policies that are very much related with women issue⁶. In addition to this, it may help for the development of theoretical framework, which can be related to the issue of violence against women from Ethiopian context.

1.7 limitation of the study

At the beginning, the researcher face a problem that informants, particularly those seriously abused one are not fully confident to explain about their secret of abuse, because they considered it shameful to talk to another person.

1.7.1 Points that may help us in overriding the limitation

As some scholars mentioned it and the researcher also acknowledges that the research made on domestic violence against women is not the same like other type of researches. It needs patience, and emotional attachment with the victims, since, the victims of domestic violence passed through different abusive conditions. In doing the interview there has to be an approach that frees the respondent to speak openly about her problem. That means the respondents must believe that she is not the only victim of violence. First and for most, to get the attention of the respondents

⁶ The available or the on going policies that targeted women can include the following points as critical issue
- E.g. sexual violence in marital relation, wife beating or the relation of abduction with rape, particularly the abductors year of imprisonment, if they found guilty. Choice of women on mate selection also must get attention. In doing this, the research reflects the main points in detail.

the researcher has to create awareness to the wider community through such means, like public gathering, by attending coffee ceremony, *Iddir* meeting etc. is important. To make this in to practice the assistance of the members of the community, GO, NGO is essential. In penetrating the target group the researcher applied the above-mentioned strategies.

Furthermore, in gathering data on violence against women, it is not a surprising to hear statements like ‘don’t you have another thing to do rather than insisting on questioning about the violence issues on women?’ When a researcher face such a confrontation, the first thing that he/she has to do is to control his/her temper and to explain attentively the main objectives/aims of the research. Only through peaceful dialogue that we can be able to convince such biased or misguided respondents, if we want to get clear and understandable information.

1.8 Brief Description of the Study Area

The two study areas *Mermarsa*⁷ and *Adama*⁸ (Nazareth) are located in *Oromia* regional state (see annex one). Previously, the *Adama Wereda* administrates these two areas. Now, the *Adama wereda* (see annex three) only administrated the peasant associations that are found around *Adama* town. Recently, the town is considered as a special *Wereda*, which is administered by a Mayer.

18,732,525 were the total population number of the *Oromia* regional state (CSA: 1998, 22). Out of this, 9,361,297 are the number of females and the remaining number is for males. When we came to the study area, *Adama Wereda* takes its share of population number by 261,341; from

⁷ The peasant association gets its name from the river that flow in the area at the rainy season, in *oromiffa mermarsa* means zigzag.

⁸ According to the informants the word *Adama* came from "*Adamin*", literally means cactus. Prior to the establishment of the town there were many cacti in the area. In 1945, the name changed from *Adama* to Nazareth. (*Gutama*: 1996). However, people use both names interchangeably. In this paper, I also followed the same pattern.

this females' population number was 131,803 (Ibid). This figure tells as something, as we look from the data the number of females are half of the entire population, but they get little attention in terms of socio-economic and political activities.

Form the *Adama Wereda* total population number, the town of Nazareth population size was counted as 127,842 (Ibid: 38). Out of this females population number is 65,877 (Ibid). As we go to directly to the *Kebele* level the Central Statistical Authority (CSA) didn't provide data on this lowest administrative point of the government. Therefore, the researcher tried to collect rough estimation of the population number from the P.A and *Kebele* officials. The *Mermarsa* peasant association (P.A) officials told me that the population number is estimated around 3600. Out of this the number of females is around 1700. The data that the researcher found in *Kebele 07* is better, meaning they have (*Kebele* Officials) a sort of Complied data, but again it faced the same problem like *Mermarsa* because they also didn't provide me exact figure. They roughly estimate the population number about 4971 in which the female population number takes its share around 2643.

Nazareth is one of the fast growing towns in Ethiopia. The Strategic geographical location together with favorable climatic condition has contributed much to the rapid expansion of the town. Since it is located centrally it becomes a focal point of many administrative regions. It is connected through all whether road with its hinterland: to Awash, *Arssi*, *Menjar*, *Awassa* etc. *Kebele 07* (see annex 4) is one of the *Kebeles* found in the town of Nazareth. The *Adama* rail way station is situated in this *Kebele*. The *Adama* town in its present form of foundation is very much associated with the small rail way station of 1916/17 (*Gutama: 1996*). Many informants told the researcher that in earlier times it is one of the biggest commercial centers in *Adama* town. However, as the train movement reduces business activity in the area starts to diminish, business men/women began to evacuate the place in search of business area in the other corners

of *Adama*. The researcher also witnessed the impact of the of rail transport in the area. During his field visit, the researcher observed the train movement (back and forth) from Ethiopia to Djibouti, once or twice a week. Many teahouses, shops that constructed along the rail way station were closed.

In the *Kebele* there are different quarters: *Jerba sefere*, *Čate tera*, *Menjar godana* etc. the reason that they call the place *Jerba sefere* is because the site of the *sefere* (village) is located at the back of the main road. *Čate* is one of the mild stimulants, which is widely chewed by the residents of the area. *Čate tera* is a place where the selling of *čate* is broadly accomplished. *Menjar godana*, literally means *Menjar* road. According to the informants, if some body follows the *Menjar godana*, she or he will directly enter to *Menjar* - a place found in the *Amhara* regional state.

Even if the railway transportation activity reduced from time to time there is high commercial activity in the area. Since *Kebele 07* is situated at the center of *Adama* town there is high demand of land for different business activity. The residential areas are full of dilapidated houses. The serial stores and business shops are conquering the residential place of the community; due to this many of the *Kebele* dwellers are on the way of selling their places for traders.

The majority of the permanent residencies of the *Kebele* are day laborers, women are worked in the big haricot bean and incense stores as a day laborers. Their husbands also engaged in different activities in the area as broker of farm animals or housemaids or as day laborers (look table one). From table one it can be understandable that 88 (73.3 percent) of the dwellers are engaged as day laborer. This place is a place where most of the urban poor are living. The inside roads are well planned (it is better from the inside roads of some *Kebele's* in Addis Ababa), even if they are dusty.

Table 1: Economic Activity of Dwellers in Kebele 07 of Adama town (Both sexes: Nov 2003)

Type of jobs	In number	Percent
Day laborer	88	73.3
Street venders	18	15
Government employer	14	11.7
Total	120	100

Source: A sample survey done in kebele 07 of Adama town by the researcher.

Mermarsa is a peasant association found in *Adama wereda* (see annex 3). The peasants informed the researcher that former *Dergue*⁹ government tried to resettle them in *Guracha* area. It is a hilly place found within the peasant association. This resettlement is a sort of nucleated one, which means putting the dispersed peasants in one area. After the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power, most of the peasants return to their original place. At the moment the peasants are dispersedly settled. There are different 'gots' i.e. segments of the P.A, *Xiddecha*, *Guracha* are few among them. If we look the meaning of the names of segments in the P.A; *Xiddecha* is a name of acacia tree, *Guracha* means black, in *Oromiffa*.

The people of *Mermarsa* are engaged in agricultural activities; *teff*, maize and haricot bean are the predominant agricultural products grown in the area. They also keep cattle's, sheep, and goat. *Gembetcu*, *Abere*, *Gullele*, *Yaya*, *Gumu*, *Ecca*, are the main *Gossas* (clans) that found in the area. These clans are categorized under the *Tulema* branch of *Oromo* ethnic group. The people are bi-lingual, they speak *Amharic* and *Oromiffa*, but they fluently talk their mother tongue *Oromiffa*.

In terms of service facilities, there is developed spring that provides clean water for the community. There is *Xiddecha* primary school from 1-4th Grade; another primary and junior

⁹ Literally the word *Durgue* means "Committee" in the *Amharic* Language. (Hawani and Aneesa: 1996, 26)

school from 5-8th Grade is under construction at *Dengore*. However, there is no health post in the area, in order to get the service the community has to go to *Adama* town or to *Welenchitie*.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review

2.1 Grand Theories on violence

Current theories that explain gender violence can be classified into three major categories. These are Intra-individual, social-psychological, and socio-cultural.

2.1.1 Intra-individual Theories

These theories explain violence in terms of the individual actor. Some of these theories see personality, abnormality, alcohol, and drug use as causing violent psychopathological tendencies in human beings (Gelles and Strauss 1979:554-555). Others consider chromosomes and hormones in males to be medically linked to violence. For instance, it is suggested that the chromosomes in certain individuals are productive of low intelligence, which correlates with low educational levels, limited occupational opportunities, and increased frustration to cause anti-social behavior and violence (Jarvick *et al*, 1973). Studies have also found a causal relationship between aggression and levels of androgens such as testosterone (Dabbs and Morris, 1990) and serotonin (Mckenry *et al* 1995). Still other theories have linked organic brain syndrome to violent outbursts (Monroe, 1970).

Certain shortcomings have been identified in the use of the above-mentioned theories. For example, Scut (1991) identifies that alcohol may be associated with violence, but does not cause it. In many families, drunkenness may occur without any violence being precipitated while violence may occur with out any alcohol being consumed. Leonard and Blane (1992) showed that, both the man's level of hostility and level of marital satisfaction moderate the relationship between alcohol use and violence.

2.1.2 Social - Psychological Theories

Social-psychological theories examine the interaction of the individual with the social environment, i.e. with other, groups, and organizations.

The function-aggression Theory views the expression of aggression either as a response to the emotion that an individual feels when some goal is blocked or as a response to frustration being the product of learning (Steinmetze 1988, Abraham, 1995). Violence is highly related to social stress like poverty and job loss. As couples lost their satisfaction in marriage, a growing sense of anger and frustration emerges that increase the potential for violence.

Social learning Theory explains violence as a learned phenomenon. Together with the role modeling theory it assumes that children learn violent behavior when they see their parents or other significant others resolving problems by means of violence (Abraham 1995). The children then model this role of violent interpersonal behavior when they themselves become parents. Social learning theory is built around the use of reinforcement and extinction as well as association stimuli. For example, when children see violence on the television, they become desensitized and no longer respond to environmental cues that inhibit their own tendencies towards violence. Thus people learn and internalize social and moral justification for abusive behavior. (Ibid)

Exchange Theory asserts that marital interaction is governed by an attempt to maximize rewards and to minimize cost. Reward, for the perpetrators or wife abusers, may include the release of anger and frustration as well as the accumulation of power and control, while for the victim it may be economic benefit. The cost of violence includes the victim hitting back, arrest and /or imprisonment, over status among friends and relatives, and divorce or separation (Gelles and Cornell 1990).

A related theory is **resource theory**, which explains that violence is used as a resource to gain one's wishes in a manner similar to the use of money, status and individual personal attributes (Steinmetze 1988). The extent of material resources controlled by husbands and wives determines their relative influence over major decisions and their control of marital power. According to Goode (1971: 624-629), violence is the ultimate resource in that it is used when other resources are perceived to be insufficient or to have failed to obtain the desired response. Thus men who lack these other resources feel power less and inclined to force and violence, while women with abundant resources may be less willing to put up with abuse.

The Conflict Theory of violence assumes that conflict is an inevitable part of human interactions, which are characterized by super ordinate and subordinate relations as well as competing goals. The family is viewed as an arena of confrontation and conflicting interests, and so violence is a likely the out come. For instance, social inequality is seen at play in the redistribution of family resources; when domestic labor is pooled within the family, men are seen to claim a greater share of domestic resources irrespective of whom-brings them in (Gelles 1987).

2.1.3 Socio Cultural Theories

Socio cultural theories focus on macro-level analysis. Hence such theories place marital violence within a wider explanatory framework that considers the impact of social institution and social structures on social behavior.

Structural Theory identifies the source of violence as stress, frustration and deprivation resulting from economic crises. People with fewer resources relative to other members of the society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. This people also have fewer materials, emotional, psychological, and social resources to cope life adequately.

Frustration from material deprivation may result in physical wife abuse because the husband is limited in his ability to provide basic necessities for his family and to meet normative expectations because of poverty or unemployment situations, and the stress and frustration may result in his use of violence. Hence, one would expect a greater prevalence of family violence among the poor, in large families and in crowded suburbs (Glenn 1987, Steinmetze 1988; Abraham, 1995).

Marxist Theory explains the source of violence from an economic and political perspective. Women are an oppressed economic class deprived of economic control, political power, and status. They are victimized by the patriarchal capitalist system, which fosters control of the oppressed class by their oppressors. Violence, then is employed as the males mechanism of controlling females (Mies 1986)

Feminists' theory highlights the oppressive character of structural inequality based on gender. For feminists, gender it self as a social construction of male and female identified with unequal social value. The institution of patriarchy, a system of male dominance, conditions women psychologically because of this they accepting a secondary status by embracing a process of sex role stereotype. While women are expected to be expressive in outlook, men are socialized to demonstrate instrumental traits. Social pressure is seen to keep women conforming to the expressive role, a role of rationality and power (Eisenstein, 1984; Sheffield, 1987; Glenn, 1987).

Feminist Theory criticizes male-female relationships as gendered constructions. Violence against women is seen as the most over and effective means of men social control of women, in that it is used when other and subtler methods of control do not elicit submission. (Hoffman: *et al*, 1994,132). The problematic nature of women to men relationship has been linked to its

centrality in patriarchy, the devaluation of women's work and the hierarchy of Gender (Glenn, 1987; Ferree, 1990).

2.1.4 The Outlook of Mainstream and Feminist Theoreticians towards on Violence against Women

These are two big polarizations on the study of domestic violence against women. i.e. between mainstream and feminist researchers. Broadly, mainstream researchers follow the positivist tradition in social science. As we know the idea of positivist approach makes the following assumption. The behavior of humans, like the behavior of matter can be objectively measured, just as the behavior of matter can be quantified by measures such as weight, temperature, and pressure. They further said methods of objective measurement could be devised for human behavior.

Positivist gives a particular emphasis on behavior that can be directly observable. Such things like meanings, feelings, and purposes are not particularly important and could lead to misunderstanding. For example, if the majority of adult members of society enter into marriage and produce children, these facts can be observed and quantifiable. Therefore, they form reliable data from their contextual argument. However, the ranges of meanings, their purpose for marriage and procreation are not directly observable.

Due to this, the mainstream researchers take drinking; unemployment, stress, or mental illnesses as the motivating "causes" of violence against women. In addition to this, positivist theoreticians that based their explanation on mechanical and natural science models support views of battered women as psychopathological disturbed (Hoff: 1990, 17).

In spite of this some scholars like Hoff argued that "even if alcoholism, stress, mental illness etc. are factors contributing to violence, to cite them as "causes" is reductionist (1990:5). Straus, Gelles and Steinmetze (1980) are among those advocators of the mainstream idea.

Feminist researchers, on the other hand, are closer to the interpretive tradition and conflict theory. They focus on the socially constructed political, economic, and cultural context in which they believe violence against women with implicit social approval, and emphasize qualitative methods such as interaction, historical and political analyses.

As it was indicated by winch (1958) and Giddens, (1979), in the context of these debates, explanation of violence against women and victimization must be considered. A cause and effect interpretation, paradigmatic of the natural sciences, is considered inadequate by feminist to explain a human, context-leaden phenomenon such as violence. It sounds more convincing that reason might clarify the meaning of some men/women behavior rather than causes that determine it. Such an approach assumes that social science is different, not only in degree but also in kind, from the natural sciences (winch, 1958).

Hoff also argued, humankind, who by nature are rational, capable, and governed by cultural rules, are engaging in social action whose sum is much more complex than individual behaviors. They are therefore responsible for their actions in various situational contexts, although consciousness may be clouded and responsibility mitigated by certain social, cultural, and/or personal factors like insanity or self-defense.

In most cases, feminist activists are concerned primarily with the political process and socio-structural change to improve women's overall status and reduce their personal pain (warrior 1978: Schechter 1982).

Feminist theoreticians continued their argument by saying; the topic of violence against women has emerged from-hundreds of years of silence. Such silence signaled the belief that battering was a private matter between partners, a manifestation of the dichotomy between personal privacy and public interest that has dominated western thought regarding the family and sexual relation (Hoff, 1990). Traditionally, men were in charge at home and abroad, while women were to fulfill her 'natural' destiny as reproducer and nurturer of children and men. That means traditional ideology supports oppressive social arrangements based on sex, race and class, and wife abuse was one result of unequal power relations between women and men. (Ibid)

Feminist view advocators also indicated that power relations between women and men implied with in the power disparity that women are not violent and that they are innocent victims and amoral beings. This view contrasts with research that suggests, men and women are equally violent (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980).

Gelles and Straus (1979; 554-5) discuss the confusion of theoretical and ideological concerns around aggression and violence and attempt to solve the problem with a 'purely behaviors' definition. 'It [violence] is a physical act [of aggression] which must be separated from its social meaning'. In a medical framework, violence is often viewed as a 'symptom' of a personality or mental disorder or as a response to stress, (Hoff, 1990). Feminists, on the contrary, see these social meanings of violence as a response to stress as it was indicated previously as clear manifestations of the unequal power relations between men and women. In addition to this, rationality has been associated predominantly with the public male domain, while emotional life has been defined as the proper domain of women and domestic life (Cloward and Piven, 1979; Gerhardt 1979).

Hoff also describes:

... 'Sexism' as behavioral patterns complementing a social structure of male dominance in which individual men can behave violently against women with tacit society approval, sexism and a patriarchal society are not seen as primary causes, but rather as contexts in which men choose violence to resolve conflicts. (1990:12).

When we see the experience of other countries like United States of America, feminist activists, cite FBI and other reports to inform legislators and the general public that nearly two million women are severely beaten¹⁰ each year, (Martin 1976; Browne 1978). On the other hand, activists take serious issue with statistics that report equal violence by women on men (Hilberman and Munson 1977/78:527).

Dobash and Dobash also found that 34% of all of the violent offenses reported to police department in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland in 1974 were assaults between family members. Most of these domestic assaults (76%) were committed against wives by their husbands, while only 1% by children, of children by their partners and between siblings (1977:426-442).

Even if it is not detailed information like this, the Ethiopian Women Lawyer's Association general assembly (January 1996 to June 1998) supporting 1480 women with legal problems related to matrimonial litigation and other gender-based violence. Out of these 1480 cases, EWLA had handled 1025 (62%) cases relating to domestic violence, divorce, sharing of common property and issues related with children born out of wed-lock. The research conducted by EWLA indicated that, in Addis Ababa 58% of the studied women are being assaulted by their intimate partners (Rakeb, 1997:49).

¹⁰ In Ethiopia compiled data on issues of violence against women was not available or released on yearly bases from courts or police stations. (Andargatchew, 1996)

Like Hilberman and Munson, other scholars argued that women were 'equally as violent' as men (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980), a finding which contradicted practically everyone's subjective knowledge of this topic. But, Hoff counter argued by saying,

If we see local country hospital statistics, 70% of assault victims as battered women, not men when these surprising findings were analyzed further, it was found that women engage in violence just about as often as men when merely counting physically violent acts (from pushing or a slap, to use of lethal force and weapons). However, women's acts of violence are usually in self-defense, and are much less physically damaging men (Hoff: 1991:250).

2.2 Some Strange reflections of Violence against Women

... It [wife beating] is something, which happens behind closed doors, and no one likes to talk about it. (Lydall: 1994, 205)

In many societies, violence against women is committed because of different cultural reasons. "It is almost universal,¹¹ its patterns and causes may differ from society to society" (Rakeb: 1997:9). Anthropological reports of wife beating are come from many societies (Quinn: 1977; 190). "The use of Physical force by men against women may be prototypical of the one-to-one, intimate relationship of marriage" (*Ibid*). Quinn further explained,

Marital relationship is the one in which male aggression against women is practiced or licensed; in some societies, it is reported, individual women may be beaten by their kin or gang-raped¹² by their

¹¹ It is still happened in most economically advanced European countries and the United States of America (see the previous Page in this research 18). It is also found in Economically Underdeveloped countries like Ghana (*Abane: 1997*), Kenya (*Machera: 1997*), Nigeria, (*Atinomo: 1997*) and Ethiopia etc.

¹² As described by Murphy and Murphy, (1974: 84-98) *mundurucu* are a people whose social life is undoubtedly patriarchal. They are also one of the most warlike. They associated the origin of gang rape in this society to some mythology. i.e., In mythology of trumpets or "*Karoko*". In the mythology, these were originally fish, and were captured by three women. Because the women owned the trumpets, they dominated men, forcing the men to live in the separate domestic dwellings while they lived in the communal house, forcing the men to have sex, to carry fire wood and to make *manio*k cakes all onerous duties of the women in the present. Finally, the men were able to take the trumpets because they were the only one who hunted and could provide the sacrifices of meat that the ancestor spirits in trumpets demanded. In the present, the men make offerings of meat to the trumpets and occasionally, in the secrecy of the men's house, play the trumpets from night until dawn. When new trumpets are installed in the men's house, the men parade around the village, while the women are confined to their dwelling houses, forbidden to see the trumpets with the penalty being gang raped. The women wail to express their sorrow at having lost their earlier powers. The anthropologists note that the women are not in fact as impressed by those male secrets as this scenario suggests. Nevertheless, these rituals are related to more concrete aspects of male supremacy.

husbands' age mates. It is inductive that Mundurucu women avoid gang rape by traveling together in bands outside the settlement. (Ibid)

In addition to this, she said

The relatively high frequency of wife beating among forms of physical aggression against women may simply reflect, as well as the intimacy of the marital relationship and the inevitable tensions which arise within it, the greater opportunity which men have to aggress against women when they are alone with them in the privacy of their households. (Ibid)

There is also an article "Beating around the Bush" by Lydall (1994:205-226). It is about the Hamar women. In this brief ethnographic description, Lydall tried to explain the cultural reasons that Condon wife beating in the Hammer society.

Among the Hamar in the Ethiopian Province of southern Omo, rather it [wife beating] is an open convention. Men are actually expected to beat their newly wedded brides, and when they do so, it is neither denied nor-hidden." (Ibid: 205)

2.3 The Four World Conferences on the Issue of Women: One- Foot Step in Attacking the Problem

Whatever justification and cultural reasons given to the violence committed against women the universal declaration of human rights (Article 5) states "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, in human or degrading treatment."

There are also four international conferences that gave much attention to the issue of women (Gaul: 1998, 2-8). In these conferences, it is the first step that the world acknowledges the violence acts against women and search for its solutions.

2.3.1 The first world conference on women in Mexico City, 1975

In this conference the status of women was convened to coincide with the 1975 International Women's Year, observed to remind the international community that discrimination against women continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world. The Conference, along with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) proclaimed by the General Assembly five months later at the urging of the Conference, launched a new era in global efforts to promote the advancement of women by opening worldwide objectives, identifying obstacles and reviewing the progress made.

The Mexico City Conference was called for by the United Nations General Assembly to focus international attention on the need to develop future oriented goals, effective strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. To this end, the General Assembly identified three key objectives that would become the basis for the work of the United Nations on behalf of women:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination
- The integration and full participation of women in development
- An increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace.

2.3.2. The second conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980.

There, the United Nations adopted the world program of action, which focused on international, national, and regional tactics to ensure equal rights for women.

The Copenhagen came to a close with the adoption of a programme of action, which cited a variety of factors for the discrepancy - between legal rights and women's ability to exercise these rights, including:

- Lack of sufficient involvement of men in improving women's role in society
- Insufficient political will
- Lack of recognition of the value of women's contributions to society
- Lack of attention to the particular needs of women in planning
- A shortage of women in decision - making positions
- Insufficient services to support the role of women in national life, such as co-operatives, day care centers and credit facilities,
- Overall lack of necessary financial resources
- Lack of awareness among women about the opportunities available to them.

To address these concerns, the Copenhagen programme of action called for, among other things, stronger national measures to ensure women's ownership and control of property, as well as improvements in women's rights to inheritance, child custody and loss of nationality. Delegates at the conference also urged to an end to stereotyped attitudes towards women.

One of the issues that the conference was raised is the issue of domestic and sexual violence. The report of the world conference of the **United Nations decade for women: equality, development and peace, Copenhagen, July 1980, U.N Doc A/CONF 94/35 (80. W. 30), was the first time that domestic violence was explicitly mentioned in an official document of the United Nations.** Domestic violence is referred to several times in the document. The legislative measures section states: Legislation should also be enacted and implemented in order to prevent domestic and sexual violence against women. All appropriate measures, including legislative ones, should be taken to allow victims to be fairly treated in all criminal procedures.

2.3.3 The Third World conference on Women in Nairobi, 1985

This conference adopted the Nairobi forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women to the year 2000.

This Forward Looking Strategies call for:

Sexual equality

- The elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
- Equal rights under the law
- Equal rights to marriage and divorce
- The establishment, in every country, of a high-level governmental body to monitor and implement progress towards equality

Women's autonomy and power

- The right of all women-- irrespective of marital status-- to buy, sell, own and administer property and other resources independently
- The protection of women's rights to land, credit, training, investment and income as an integral part of all agrarian reform and agricultural development
- The equal involvement of women, at every stage and level of development
- The promotion of women to positions of power at every level within all political and legislative bodies in order to achieve parity with men
- Measures to promote equal distribution of productive resources and reduce mass poverty among women, particularly in terms of economic recession

Recognition of women's unpaid work

- Recognition of the extent and value of women's unpaid work, inside and outside the home
- Inclusion of women's paid and unpaid work in national accounts and economic statistics
- The sharing of domestic responsibilities
- The development of services, to reduce women's child- care and domestic work load, including introduction incentives to encourage employers to provide child- care facilities for working parents
- The establishment of flexible working hours to encourage the sharing of child- care and domestic work between parents

Advances in women's paid work

- Equal employment opportunities
- Equal pay for work of equal value

2.3.4 The forth world conference on Women in Beijing, 1995

The Beijing conference adopted the plate form for action. The purpose of the plate form is to ensure the protection and promotion of human rights for women and girls in every piece of legislation, policy, program, and resource proposed by states.

The plate form documents commitments for legislative reform in health, education, decision-making, and the elimination of violence. State signatories are obligated to investigate existing attitudes, values, and practices both publicly and privately, in order to foster change. One of the platform's "Critical areas of concern" is dedicated to violence against women. In addition to this

women's right to control their sexuality and sexual relations was acknowledged. In the conference, the committee's wording added that women should enjoy this right "free of coercion discrimination and violence."

Generally speaking, in the conferences of Copenhagen and the Beijing the issue of violence against women gets much attention.

2.4 Domestic Violence against Women in Ethiopia

Most of the literatures in domestic Violence against women in Ethiopia tries to address the issue from legal perspective, '*Law and Status of women in Ethiopia*' (Danel: 1980), '*The role of the law in the implementation of affirmative action programs for women in Ethiopian*'; (Emezat: 2001). '*A report on a pilot study on violence against women fuel wood carriers in Addis Ababa*' (EWLA; 1998), '*The rights of women under Ethiopian penal law*' (Hilina; 1997), etc.

It has to be known that Domestic violence against women is a taboo topic, (Hoff: 1990, xi, Lydall: 1994, 205). Due to this, no one wants to talk about it. Further more

Women are made to accept physical and emotional chastisement as the husband's marital right. Because of this, domestic violence is almost never reported, and even, then, the police it self dismisses it as a 'family matter' without filing a complaint. In the name of custom women are trapped in violent homes in silence (Rakeb: 1997, 14)

According to *Rekab* the Ethiopian law does not have specific provisions dealing with domestic violence. Abused women have thus to rely on the general law dealing with assault, battery, and so on (*Ibid*). The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution in article 35 (4) has recently prohibited laws, customs and practices that oppress women or cause bodily or mental harm to women by giving them the right to protection by the state from harmful traditions.

We may be familiar to hear such violent crimes statistics against women like, every 15 seconds a woman in the United States is beaten by her husband (Dicanic: 1993, 284). However, when we see the case of Ethiopia, there is a scarcity of data on the issue of domestic violence against women. As it is mentioned by *Habetamu and et'al*, (Cited in *Belegn*: 2001, 34) the reasons could be:

- Victims may fail to report the abuse because they feel ashamed of being assaulted by their husbands.
- Abused wives may be afraid; they may have a sense of family loyalty.
- When women do report abuse, the statistics may be lost because the official fails to record the incident or record it in a way that is meaningful for research purpose.
- There may be statistics of assaults committed in a certain period of time; these statistics may not indicate the sex of the victim and of the perpetrator. It may not be able to be possible to distinguish domestic violence from any other type of random violence.

In spite of the scarcity of data, there has been a research made on gender and cross cultural dynamics consisting eleven major ethnic groups of Ethiopia which practically covers 95 percent of the countries geographical area and 85 percent of the country's population. *Afar, Amhara, Gambella Gurage, Hadiya, Harari, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, Tigre and Wolaita* are the major ethnic groups that included in the 1997 study (*Habtamu et' al* cited in *Belegn*: 2001, 36). *Gambella* region is the highest from other areas on the average number of beating of wife by husband, 29.08 and *Oromia* ranked second, 9.39 by the estimated average number of beating in six months (Ibid: 37). This kind of data is a good indicator that husbands tend to use physical force to resolve conflicts with their wives (*Belegn*: 2001, 38). In the researcher made by *Habetamu and et'al* beating of wives on husbands is very insignificant. The total average number

of beating of husbands on wives in six months is 6.98; contrary to this the total average number of beating of wives on husbands in six months is 1.29 (*Habtamu et' al* cited in *Belegn: 2001 37*).

2.5 An Over View of Sexual Violence in Marriage

Sexual abuse is the other type of violence committed against wives in marital relationship. Some times, it is also referred as wife rape (Dicanio: 1993, 287), "according to the laws of most countries there is no such a things as marital rape" (*Andargachew: 1996, 3*). However, Lips pointed out that "many countries have now changed their laws to make it possible for a woman to charge her spouse with rape. In 1990, France ruled that rape could exist within marriage 'rapist husband,' Britain has made this charge more recently'" (Lips: 1997, 214).

Ethiopian law does not recognize martial rape either, the 1957 penal code (which is still applied up to date) defined rape in article 589 as

The act of compelling Women to submit to sexual intercourse outside wedlock, whether by the use of violence, or gave intimidation, or after having rendered her unconscious or incapable of resistance.

Therefore, the penal code governs the crime of rape if and only when the rapist and the victim do not have marital bound.

2.5.1. Examining the truth of Sexual Violence in Marriage

Marital rape can be defined as any unwanted intercourse or penetration (vaginal, anal, or oral) obtained by force, threat of force, or when the wife is unable to consent (Bergen: 1996, 5; pagelow: 1992, 7; Russell: 1990 3). Most studies of marital rape have included couples who are legally married, separated, divorced or cohabiting with the understanding that the dynamics of sexual violence in a long-term cohabiting relationship are similar to those of married couple (Mahoney and Williams: 1998, 20). In the United States of America, researchers estimate that

between 10 percent and 14 percent of married women experience rape in marriage (Finkelhor & Yllo: 1955, 25; Russell: 1990, 21). When researchers have examined the prevalence of different types of rape, they have found that marital rape accounts for approximately 25 percent of all rapes (Randall and Haskings: 1995, 6-3) rape in marriage is an extremely prevalent form of sexual violence, particularly when we consider that women who are involved in physically abusive relationships may be especially vulnerable to rape by their partners (*Ibid*). Studies using clinical samples of battered women reveal that between one third and one half battered women are rape by their partners at least once (Campbell: 1989, 355-346).

The traditional definition of rape in the United States¹³ most commonly was, "sexual intercourse with a female not his wife without her consent" (Barshis: 1983, 383). As Finkelhor and Yllo (1985:29) have argued, this provided husbands with exemption from prosecution for raping their wives a "license to rape." This also has a resemblance to the definition of rape in the 1957 penal code (see the previous page, 27). The foundation of this exemption can be traced back to statements made by Sir Matthew Hale, chief Justice in 17th century England. Hale wrote, "The husband cannot be guilty of rape committed by himself up on his lawful wife, by their matrimonial consent and contract, the wife that given herself in kind into the husband which she cannot retract" (quoted in Russell; 1990,17). This established the notion that once married; a woman does not have the right to refuse sex with her husband.

Marital rape occurs in all types of marriages regardless of age, social class, race or ethnicity (Russell: 1990). Russell's research also revealed that traditional wives (measured by conformity to traditional female sex roles) were more likely to blame themselves for the violence and stay with their husbands. It is clear that marital rape is one extension of domestic violence (Johnson and single: 1997, 22).

¹³ In U.S.A marital rape become a crime on July 5,1993 (Bergen: 1991,3)

Husbands often rape their wives when they are asleep, or use, coercion, verbal threats, physical violence, or weapons to force their wives to have sex (Ibid). Importantly, some researchers have found that compared to batterers, men who batter and rape are particularly dangerous men and are more likely to severely injure their wives and potentially escalate the violence to murder (Browne: 1987, 50; Campbell: 1989:339).

Most researchers of marital rape agree that rape in marriage is an act of violence, an abuse of power by which a husband attempts to establish dominance and control over his wife. While the research thus far reveals no composite picture of a husband- rapist, these men are often portrayed as jealous, domineering individuals who feel a sense of entitlement to have sex with their "property" (Ibid).

2.5.2 Consequences of Sexual Violence in Marriage

Even if the historical myth tells us rape by one's partner is a relatively insignificant even causing little trauma, research in dictates that marital rape often has severe and long lasting consequences on women.

The physical effects of marital rape may include on injuries to the vaginal and anal areas, lacerations, soreness, bruising, torn muscles, fatigue and vomiting (Adams: 1993, 57-86; Bregen: 1996, 41) women who have been battered and raped by their husbands may suffer other physical consequences including broken bones, black eyes, bloody noses, and knife wounds that occur during the sexual violence. (Ibid) Campbell and Alford (1989:946-949) report that one half of the marital rape survivors in their sample were kicked, hit or burned during sex. Specific gynecological consequences of marital rape include vaginal stretching, miscarriages, stillbirths' bladder infections, infertility, and the potential contraction of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV-AIDS (Ibid).

Wife rape survivors seem to suffer severe and long-term **Psychological consequences** (Frieze: 1983, 532-553) similar to other survivors of sexual violence; some of the short-term effects of marital rape include anxiety, shock, intense fear, depression, suicidal ideation, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Kilpatrick *et al*: 1988, 335-344).

In addition to these long-term effects often include disordered eating, sleep problems, depression, problems in establishing relationships, and increased negative feelings about themselves. These effects are also observed in those women who are severely beaten by their husbands (Frieze: 1983:532-553). Psychological effects are likely to be long lasting-some marital rape survivors report flashbacks, sexual dysfunction, and emotional pain for years after the violence (Whatley: 1993, 29-39).

2.5.3 Reasons for under reporting sexual violence in marriage

According to Bergen, 1996; Browne, 1987; Russell 1990, reporting rape in marriage may become even more complicated because of the following reasons.

- Women that are raped by their husbands may hesitate to report because of family loyalty.
- Fear of their abuser's retribution
- Inability to leave the relationship
- Furthermore, many researchers have written about the discomfort that women feel when they discuss the sexual violence experienced with their partners.
- A final compelling reason they mentioned for women's under reporting is that many do not define their experience of forced sex in marriage as rape. Some believe that only

stranger rape is "real rape" and define forced sex as "wifely duty" and an obligation, not rape (Bergen; 1996,37)

Even if marital rape is a controversial issue at present time, one thing that can't escape without mentioning is that there are still women that lived in violent sexual marital life and it should get attention by the concerned bodies, particularly on preventive methods at family level.

2.6 Abduction in Ethiopia

Abduction is practiced in most ethnic groups of Ethiopia (see annex 5). In this thesis, it is presented as one form of violence against women. It has different names *Butta*¹⁴ in *Oromiffa*, *Hawe* in *Sidama* (Almaze: 1996:3), *Gochima* in *Ari* (Yintiso: 1995:31), *Kelita* in *Afar* (NCTPE: 2003, 155). At regional level, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' region rank first, 91.6 percent in the occurrence of Abduction, which is followed by *Oromia* region, 80.4 percent (see table 2). For additional information for the occurrence of marriage by abduction look Table 2 and 3.

¹⁴ Abduction is also referred as kidnapping, forced marriage (Almaz: 1996:3), Bride- capture (Yintiso: 1995:31), or Bride stealing (Dicano: 1993, 288). It is defined in Webster dictionary. "The unlawful carrying away of a women for marriage or immoral intercourse" (1961:2) The word *Butta* also has another meaning in *Oromiffa*. It has intimate relationship with *Gada* ceremony. *Asmarom* explained "Before assuming a position of leadership, the *Gada* class is required to wage war against a community that none of their ancestors had raided. This particular war is known as *Butta*" (1973:8)

Table 2: Occurrence of Marriage by Abduction in Region (1997)

No	Region	Percentage of marriage by abduction
1	Tigray	36.2
2	Afar	65.9
3	Amhara	33.4
4	Oromia	80.4
5	Somali	32.7
6	Benshangul Gumuz	68.7
7	SNNP	91.6
8	Gambella	41.3
9	Harari	42.6
10	Addis Ababa	7.5

Source: - National committee on traditional practice in Ethiopia (NCTPE: 2002, 21)

Table 3: Prevalence or marriage by Abduction by zone in Oromia Region (1997)

No	Zone	Percentage of women married by abduction
1	Misrak Hararge	11.6
2	Merab Hararge	9.8
3	Merab Wollega	15.1
4	Jima	4.5
5	Misrak wollega	7.1
6	Semen shoa	21.3
7	Bale	14.3
8	Illubabor	10.4
9	Merab shoa	15.7
10	Misrak shoa	24.7

Source: - (Ibid, 25).

Mesrake shoa zone ranks first by 24.7 percent (see table 3), in prevalence of abduction within the *Oromia* regional state; we have to remember that *Adama wereda* is situated in this zone (see annex two). The beginning of marriage by abduction is still in dilemma, some people connected the issue with socio-economic crises created in the country like drought. It is known that 85 percent of the Ethiopian population lived in the rural area and the people livelihood is dependant up on agriculture. When drought appears the economic base affected seriously. As the result of

this, most of the groom's families in rural area were unable to pay the bride price for the bride's family. In other words, poverty plays its own role in aggravating abduction in this area.

Some researchers take the issue of abduction to the northern part of the country:

According to lipsky marriage by capture was customary in the past. However, writing in the 1960's, --- the Amharas and the Tegrians did capture a bride for various reasons. He added that the captured girl "may be compromised or simply taken for safe keeping to the house of an elder". (lipsky cited in Andargachew 1996:16)

Andargachew also pointed out that in the *Fethanegest* abduction is indicated as unlawful act, "If the consent is extracted with violence" (*Abba Paulos Tzadua* cited in *Andargachew*: 1996, 10). Further, more, he explained the legal provisions do not necessarily indicate the existence and extent of abduction because the *Fetha Nagast* was introduced from out side rather than being proclaimed locally to meet indigenous problems (Ibid: 11).

2.6.1 Reasons for Practicing Marriage by Abduction

According to the base line survey of NCTPE, the major factors contributing to the practice of Abduction in Ethiopia among the different ethnic groups are the following (NCTPE: 2002, 27-28). It has to be known that the underlying factor for marriage by abduction is a reflection of the lower position of women, poverty, under development, poor educational status, etc. (Ibid)

- Anticipated refusal by parents of the girl.
- To avoid the expenses of wedding ceremony or other economic burdens while conducting the conventional marriage process.
- Inability to pay the cost of dowry by the bride groom.

- To outsmart a rival when a girl has many suitors and when the inclination of parents or the girls are not predictable.
- Difference between the bride's and the bride groom's family in economic and social positions.
- To avoid exchange marriage, as in *Shinasha*.
- Other reasons such as prior commitment of the couple (close to the elopement concept), and shortening the marriage process.

2.6.2 The Process of Marriage by Abduction

The NCTPE base line survey indicated the main process of marriage by abduction as follows (NCTPE: 2002, 28-29).

- The process and out come of abduction vary with the prior knowledge and consent of the girl or her family. When the girl is ready and willing, the process is much simpler and the consequences lighter. Nevertheless, as in most cases, when the girl is not consulted, does not agree with the act, and is not willing to accept the forced marriage, the process becomes more complicated and dangerous.
- In general, the abductor forms a group of intimate friends and relatives for the act. All the plane and preparations are made in strict secrecy so that the family or kin, the *Gossa* (clan) in the case of *Oromo* did not know that their girl is going to be abducted. The movement and activities of girl is closely studied in order to make the abduction very easy.

- In most cases, the act of abduction takes place when the girl goes to fetch water, to collect fuel wood, to school, to market or to attend some festivals. The abductor and his group usually perform the violence under the influence of alcohol.
- The group grabs the girl and carries her off. As the findings of the baseline survey (NCTPE: 1988) among the *Oromo* culture, the future husband is often the first to grab. If the girl shows resistance, she is forcefully dragged or carried on the shoulder of the abductor who might beat her in order to subdue her. If a member of the community intervenes to stop the abduction, the group reacts often by using brutal force.
- The girl is then taken to hide away in a place prepared by the abductor to a house of an elderly person. In most cases, forced sexual intercourse or rape takes place almost immediately. This could be the reason that as in most communities, a girl who has lost her virginity is not marriageable.
- Elders are then sent to the girl's family immediately to request their consent and blessing of marriage.
- Among some ethnic groups, abduction or kidnapping is done to another man's wife as a sign of bravery and manhood (in *Ari*).

2.6.3 Reconciliation

After the abduction is carried out, the abductor sends elders for reconciliation and to decide the amount of compensation he has to pay for parents of the abducted girl (Rakeb: 1997:12). In spite of this, there are cases that the reconciliation or negotiation may fail. The research done by NTCPE indicated that, the abduction, even with the negotiation of elders (after it happens) might lead to conflict between families. Thus in some cases for example in *Basketo*, *Dorzie*, *Kulo*,

Oromo it may degenerate into inter-community, inter- clan or even inter-ethnic conflict sometimes leading to loss of life (NCTPE 2003:157). It could entail high costs to the community or the family's interims of conflict settlement expenses.

2.6.4 Consequences of Marriage by Abduction

As it was mentioned in the findings of the baseline survey by NCTPE, (2002:30-33) some of the consequences of marriage by abduction are mentioned in this way.

- Maltreatment of the girl such as heating, inflicting body harm, suffocation, sometimes resulting in disability or even death.
- As it was mentioned earlier, conflict between families resulting in serious family or ethnic conflict and loss of life.
- Unhappy and unstable marriage and loneliness
- Heavy expenses to conflict settlement such as compensation to the family or through court cases.
- Rape
- Early marriage related consequences
- The bride may be infected by HIV/AIDS and in the action of abduction the girl may face death.
- A woman who has been abducted has undergone serious psychological crises during the process of abduction and rape. She develops a moral damage and a confused state of mind, which could result in serious psychological disorders such as nervous breakdown, sleeplessness, fear, anger, loss of confidence and self-esteem.

- Most marriages by abduction do not satisfy the requirement of a valid marriage, as a relation that begins with violence will be followed with conflict, unhappy relations, and loneliness, affecting the children born from such wedlock and resulting in divorce and separation leading to single parenthood.
- It also results in migration to urban centers to gain access to livelihood through prostitution, street life, housemaid, etc.
- Dropping out of school and preventing girls from gaining access to educational opportunity.
- Abducted girls lack educational opportunities and skill training to gain access for employment opportunities and thus become victims of poverty and economic dependency.
- As it was mentioned earlier, the case of abduction and rape is punishable by the Ethiopian law. Abduction is recognized by the penal code as the carrying of women by violence or after obtaining her consent to it by intimidation, trickery or deceives it (art. 558). The act of abduction is punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding three years. The crime is aggravated and its punishment rose to five years, where the woman has been rendered incapable of defending herself or of offering resistance (art. 559).

'Torture in Love'

*As the shades of darkness are drawn
own about her, blocking out any
possible sign of life she once knew; - - -*

*You can see the sorrow in her eyes,
once shining so brightly, now blood shot
from all those terrifying, and sleepless night - - -*

*How could this man, she'd once loved
so deeply, hurt her so badly? She had
done everything he'd asked! Was it
that he'd just stopped loving her? Was
he jealous? She'd given him no cause to be! - - -*

*When shall she be saved by peaceful death;
for this she feels, is the only answer, the only way
she'll escape this, 'torture in love?' And find
her freedom from this terror, pain, and fear,
her once so-called, 'love' has brought in to her fading life.*

(Hoff: 1990, 52)

CHAPTER THREE

3. Description of Case Histories, Focus Group Discussions and Explanation of the Main Points Arose in the study

As it was mentioned in the methodology part, case histories and Focus group discussion are the methods that are applied in this research. Therefore, the selected case histories, FGDs, and the main points of the research are elaborated in this and in the preceding chapters.

The following case histories explain the violence committed on wives by husbands. For the sake of informant's confidentiality, the researcher expresses their names in capital letters.

3.1. Case History A - (in Adama town at Kebele 07)

I was born in the city of Asmera from a military family. My father was a former Dergue government major and my mother is a housewife. As you know, there is a continuous civil war in Eritrea and my father was an active participant in the war. One day we heard that he lost his life in the battlefield. Then the civil war was getting aggravated seriously and the Eritrean People Liberation Front (EPLF) was on the way to control Asmera. At this point, my mother and the rest of the family moved from Asmera to the capital city, Addis Ababa.

A continued to describe her history, my parents was so nice to me, and they provided me good education up to diploma level. I have grown up as a free and happy child like the people of Eritrea, I speak openly, and I did not know any shrewdness at all. In my opinion this people are free and hospitable. When I was in Asmera I have been worked in government organization, which has different branches all over Ethiopia.

After my arrival to the capital, I contacted the head office of my organization. I was assigned to Nazareth branch. The town of Nazareth became a nice place for me because it was the first time I became independent from my parents. I rented my own house in Kebele 07. In the compound I was living, there were many neighbours. Next to the house I rented, there was a bachelor man. Gradually I became very much attracted to him because he was very shy and thoughtful. After frequent dating, I reached an agreement with my friend to live together, as cohabitant. My husband told me that he was born in Gojjam. He had passed different obstacles in his life. He even had served in the National Military Service of the former Dergue Government. He also worked in one of his relatives Hotel in Addis Ababa as a supervisor. Finally, they send him to Nazareth to work in oilcake selling store. However, as time went on, his family did not find the business profitable. Therefore, they closed the store. His relatives told him to return to Addis Ababa. You know, it is at this moment that I mate this man. He always told me that if he gets some money he could rebuild the business again. Then by putting this in mind, I asked him, 'do

you really run this business if I borrow some amount of money from my relatives?' He replied 'yes' in confident.

In my imagination, I thought it might be a good opportunity to start our own business. Then, I gave a call to my mother and told her every thing. She said, 'let me think about it?' After a couple of days she sent 10,000 Ethiopian Birr through the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, and passed the following message. 'If you married the person you are now with a wedding, I would have spent almost the same amount of money that you have requested to day. Therefore, try to do something real important with this money'. That day, I become so happy because, I thought that my life long dream of having our own business seems to come true. When I mate my husband, I told him that I got the money and that it was possible to start the business. He thanked my family and me too. He confirmed again he would restart the former business, which he did earlier. Since I didn't have that much know-how about oilcake (Fagulo - business) at all, I didn't give him any advice, but I gave him the money. He also said, 'on the next fifteen days I will start the work'

You have to know also that my partner (which I some times refer as husband) was living in my house, because I rented not from individuals but from the Kebele. I was the one who covered the whole household expenses. On some occasion my partner contributed. Beginning from the day he started living in my home, up to fifth month, we were peaceful, but some times there was a fight between us, (a minor one). I stayed in marital relationship with my husband for almost four years.

One day, (after we stayed together for a year), I told him that I was pregnant. He become so happy and told me that the baby would to be born. In spite of this, I was not in a position to agree with his thoughts. I have my own reasons to say this:

- *We did not have enough amount of money (income) to raise a child*
- *The house we lived in was too small to raise a child*
- *His business activity was at an infancy stage. If we started to spend money on raising a child, my husband would not be able to stabilize his work*

Even if I told him these reasons and tried to explain it in a very clear way, he rejected the reasons. He said, 'the infant has to be born.' During this debate with my husband, I was a one-month pregnant. I thoroughly thought by my self, weather to abort it or not. In the end I carried out my decisions and aborted the child.

Starting from the day that he heard I aborted of the fetus, his behavior changed. When there is a fight between us he always said, 'I know you don't like me, that's why you killed my child'. I don't know why he didn't consider the economic condition we had in at that moment.

Some times, I tried to have a visit in his work place and ask him how the business was going on. He would replay, 'it is fine'. But, I started to develop a suspicion, because his friend informed me that my husband business was not in good condition. I tried to investigate on my own way. I directly went to the store where he worked, and asked the day laborers, 'Is he in?' They replied he was not. But, I didn't believe them, so I got in to the store. Where there was a small room that my husband would chew čate. When I entered that room he and his friends were sitting together, the room was full of smoke. Every one of them was holding čate in their hand. I looked around the store. There was no sack that holds oilcake (cattle food). I questioned him in front of his

friends, why the store is empty? He tried to explain, but none of his reasons were convincing. Then I returned to my work place, hopeless.

That night, we disputed on the current activity of our business. He didn't want to tell me any detailed information about the business what concerned him at that moment was during my visitation to his woke place; he assumed that I insulted him in front of his friends. At this time, I become furious because of his answer. I replied to my partner, 'can they be called friends? They are digging a grave for you. They are there because you have the money. They chew čate, smoke cigarette and drink alcohol in the night'. Before I finished the statement he slapped and punched me on the face. I didn't believe what he did. Then he angrily said 'I lost the money because the business is not profitable!' He also gave a strong warning, 'don't talk to me like that again!' Then he left the house.

I just went to the mirror; saw my swollen face and black eye. I took an ice from the refrigerator and held on it. That night, he came late, drunk. I was in the sofa watching TV. He wanted to kiss me on the cheek as if nothing happened. I just turned my face then He said, «ሴቶች ስትባሉ ክብር አይወድላቸውም» 'setoch Setebalu Kebera Aywedelačhum' - (literally it means, women didn't like to be honored) I didn't like to replay for his stupid word.

Around midnight I just changed my night cloth and went to bed. I lay on the bed for thirty minutes. He came and started to hug me. I refused. Because of my refusal, he beat me on my nose, and, 'you are my wife, I have the right to have sex with you any time I need' He started to do it. I remained silent, senseless, and hopeless. I hate my self. This type of incident became a common thing from that day on wards.

In the office, my colleague asked, 'what is wrong with your face?' I replied, I fell and a window frame hit me. Always-different lies should be created in order to convince anybody who raised the same kind of question.

On the second year of our marriage, I became pregnant again. I deliberately did this because my age was at the end of thirties. My husband behavior didn't show any progress at all. He kept getting drunk, and fails in to bankruptcy. He always beats me, and I couldn't withstand any more. I had been in a hopeful dream in the past two years that, one day our marriage would be all right. But there is no change, it became like a hell. I remembered the incident when I told him that our relationship should be over.

It was in one of the weekends. He came very late at night, knocked the door heavily and my housemaid wakeup and opened the door. He was there drunk, speaking like damaged tape recorder cassette. He asked dinner, the servant served him. He said, 'my wife should bring it to me not you'; I told him I was tired.

At this time I was a five-month pregnant. He replied, 'come and serve me!' I simply sat, where I was. He immediately become hot and threw the bottle that holds water. It barely missed me and smash against the wall. At this moment, I just went to the bedroom, he came after me sat on the bedside and started his verbal abuse. I couldn't bear his verbal abuse. So I told him, 'I will never live with you, our relationship is over, starting from tomorrow'

He jumped from the bed and said 'what? You killed my son earlier, now you want to take this one away'. After this incident I don't remember what happened. The only thing I remember was the first beating. Then I became unconscious and fell on the ground. The next morning the housemaid told me that, 'after you become unconscious he went out from the house. I

approached you and I heard your breathing, then I run to the nurse home (there is a woman nurse who rented a house next to mine) she came and examined you and she told me there is nothing wrong. The two of us take you to the bed, the nurse left almost staying for an hour'. I thought nothing would change this man. On that day I just went to the police station and told every thing that happened to the officers. They summoned him to the police station. In front of them he spoken lie, he says I love my wife, I take care of her, she is the one that undermines me; it is obvious that humorously I sometimes said 'if this child is borne she/he will look like me, bright in color, (the informant looks like what in Amharic called keye) not dark (Bareya) like you' occasionally when he tried to explain something to some one, I may say 'you are not capable enough to explain this, please, let me do it'. May be this kind of expression made him to say for the police officers that, 'she undermines me'. The police officers didn't consider my accusations. They said, 'It is between you and your husband, try to solve the problem together'. Now, I know the police wouldn't help me. I just went to EWLA, they also told me that, 'Let us try to talk to him'. I strictly explained my decision, 'No negotiation, I want separation with this man'.

When my partner understood that my relationship with him was going to be over, he send our soul father (yenefeseabate in Amharic) and elders, in order to made peace. I told them every single trouble he made from the beginning. Our soul father said, 'our church doesn't simply see when husband and wife are separated like this, we are always teaching peace among people; Please, negotiate with your husband in the name of God' I asked our soul father, 'could you give me guarantee that he will not beat me again?' The priest replied, 'it is difficult to give a promise, but give him a chance, we will also give him a strong advice'.

The word of God has a big place in my heart and soul. And my husband knows this. So for the time being I stopped my accusation against him, and life seemed normal. However, after one week everything turned to its pervious situation. Everyday there is beating, humiliation etc. By collecting the necessary materials (Household items and clothes) that I have in the house I took a refuge to one of my neighbours. It was the first time that the neighbours recognized, (at least from my side) that there was a problem between my husband and me. Up to that time, I didn't tell any of my neighbours that my husband beats me because I considered it as a shame. I also gave a call to my family in Addis and they send over my brother. With my brother support I charged my partner in order to leave the house. Thanks to EWLA (Ethiopian Women lawyers Association) staff members they facilitated every thing legally. I am separated with my partner in a peaceful way. With out hesitation he left the house. As I mentioned earlier I rented the house in my name form the Kebele. After two-months of separation, I gave birth to a baby boy.

Even if, we are legally separated, his threatening didn't stop for two consecutive months. On some days he waited out side my organization and threatens me to come back home. On other days he begged me 'let us become together'. I confirmed to him, 'enough is enough'. As I mentioned previously such kind of threatening continued for couple of months. If he mates me at night, he would threaten me with a knife. Due to this, I was forced to change the direction of my way to my home.

I remember, one Sunday he came to my home broke the door and cut my phone line. I escaped through the back door and reported to the police station. By accepting my accusation they come to my home to examine the situation of the incident. In spite of the facts they saw in their own eyes, they asked me. 'Do you have an eye witness?' I confirmed to the policemen it was him who destructed my property. However, they finally said 'we didn't be able to arrest him because you

don't have an eye witness, who can witness that this destruction was committed by your former husband'. Due to this I wasn't able to charge him in court.

My partner also tried to establish a custody case to the newborn child. At this time the child was two years old. I immediately send my child to my mother's place in Addis. Now there is no threatening. His friends told me that my former partner has married another woman. I, at present mate a very gentle man, and we are dating for about one year. I am trying to examine this one from different directions, because I don't want to repeat the same mistake again.

3.1.1. Main Points in A's Case

▪ Cohabitation is a formulation of marital relationship. Scholars argued that violence against women in cohabitant way of life is the same as formal marriage (see the previous page no. 30). Cohabitation is defined as a man and woman living together in an intimate relationship with out being legally married (Cox: 1990, 105). In this definition we can observe that cohabitation could be defined as marriage¹⁵ but the only requirement it lacks is the question of legality. At present time, there is on going movement by political activities in Ethiopia to make cohabitation as legally recognized form of marriage in the legal arena.

In some cases individuals may say cohabitation can serve as a preparation for actual marriage, i.e. to know compatibility, satisfaction etc. But, research conducted on the quality of relationship after cohabitation experiences find little if any relationship between cohabitation and the degree of satisfaction, conflict, emotional closeness or egalitarianism in actual marriage (Cox, cited Maklin 1983; Jacques and Choson: 1979 et' al, 107)

In this case, A is the source of the capital in which her partner was able to begin business. Due to his inability or what ever his reasons could be, he lost the 10,000 *birr*. So, the conflict began to appear, when A requested an immediate answer for what happened to the money. He couldn't

¹⁵ Marriage may be defined as "a cultural approved relationship of one man and one woman (monogamy) or of one man and two or more women (polygamy) or of one woman and two or more men (polyandry) in which there is cultural endorsement of sexual intercourse between the marital partners of opposite sex and generally, the expectation that children will be born out of the formal relationship. Polygamy is the term that sub-sums both polygamy and polyandry" (International Encyclopedia of the social science: 1968,2). It is obvious that the definition of marriage at present time become a debatable issue because every one defines from his or her/own perspective. For the sake of explaining what do we mean by marriage the researcher used this one.

give her right answer, when she insisted to know the details about the issue. He rather physically, psychological and sexually abused her. Such kind of action served for her partner to cover up his faults and to show his domination.

In addition to this, her partner's mistreatment may come from his way of looking to wards women as weak and incapable of protecting themselves. For instance at some parts of the case history he said, 'You, women don't like to be respected'. This kind of statement comes from prejudice way of explaining women. This proverb like statement used to undermine the status of women. A research made on different ethnic groups in Ethiopia indicated that 'Ethiopians from all ethnic groups have proverbs which "degrade" women and children'. (Hirut: 1997, 559) This is also a good indication that gender inequality is a factor, which gives the women lower status in the society.

- A and her partner have a misunderstanding/dispute before her partner started to consume alcohol. During the fighting it was not the alcohol that made A's partner to abuse her physically, sexually or psychologically but it was the predetermined view of her partner that A is a weak and she could not easily attack him. His violent attack is also a cover for his mistake and a justification for his abuse. It is difficult to put alcohol as a cause for violent acts, according to the survey made in this research the number of husbands who are angry and eager for fighting are small in number during the consumption of alcohol and *čate*.

Table 4: Behaviors of Husbands Shown on their Wives after Consuming *čate* and Alcohol (Nov, 2003).

Character of the husbands on their wires after consuming <i>čate</i> and alcohol		
Response	In number	Percent
Nervousness and eager for fighting	5	8.2
I become playful and humorous	5	8.2
I become so open for any kind of discussion	4	6.6
I fill so bossy	21	34.4
If I saw few mistakes in the house I shout (i.e. verbal abuse), even beat my wife	26	42.6
Total	61	100

Source: sample survey conducted in Adama town of Kebele 07 by the researcher

From the table 4, we can see that those husbands that give a response of nervousness and eager for fighting are 8.2%. This shows that alcohol consumption by it self didn't create violent acts. At the end of the row in Table 4, the numbers of husbands who verbally and physically abuse their wives are 26 (42.6 percent). The cause of their abuse is not the alcohol consumption but their superiority mentality that they have to take measures in order to correct the mistakes.

May be the other issue that I couldn't pass with out explaining is, according to A, some times humorously (in humorous way) she addressed her husband as *Bareya* an *Amharic* word which served to devalue the status of individuals whose skin are black. In addition to this, she said, 'I undermined him as a person who didn't properly explain him self'.

•A also aborted their first infant by her own decision. It created the first crack with A's relationships with her partner. This shows that A used the natural mandate, which she has on the infant because the infant was sheltered in her womb. Such a one sided decision by A contributed for the aggravation of the conflict.

•In A's case history it is found out that she was physically beaten repeatedly (her husband punched and forced her to have sexual intercourse) and this made her to develop black eye, broken nose etc. This sexual violence is also considered as marital rape. Since her partner is

stronger than her, he forced A to have sex with out her own willingness. (For more information about the consequence of sexual violence in marriage from psychological as well as physical, see p29-30). In A's case we can see that the resource issue, frustration and the predetermined outlook towards women contribute for the violence acts committed on A.

▪G.T mentioned that friends or relatives effort both from her husband as well as from her side fails. In academic language the effort of marital therapy through traditional mechanism is not effective. The reason for this could be the reconcilers have no strong social pressure to correct Y's behavior.

3.1.2. Interview with A's husband

Up on the request of A, the researcher tried to contact Y, husband of A. First, he refused to give any information because, according Y, every relationship that he has had with A's is a past history and he said 'no comment at all'. In spite of this, through the assistance of Nazareth EWLA staff members he volunteered to give an interview. Later on the researcher is simply cross checking what A's told about the affair she has had with this guy.

Y started his case from where he was born. I was born in Gojjam at a place known as Dangela. My parents are peasants. I grew up as a peasant's son. I liked the style of living in the rural area. I also helped my father in farming.¹⁶ (Y repeatedly asked the researcher, are you a relative of A? The researcher replied he is not). He continued to tell about the relationship he has with A, I love her, she was a good wife, I also know she love me. But, you know, I couldn't use the opportunity I get with her. I had been with bad friends, I chew čate they chew čate I drunk, they drank, and I developed less interest in my job. As a result of high expense on the alcohol and čate, my economic strength decreased from time to time. Previously, when I worked with my relatives, I was a strong worker because I was employed. But now I was the boss and I couldn't manage the business properly. May be it is because I didn't see such amount of money in my hand in previous times. Step by step, I started to lose all the money that I get from A's family. When my friends also realized that the money I have minimized they left me alone. A also become contentious, she always questioned, where is the money that she gave me was? You know! She didn't understand my personal problems.

¹⁶ The researcher skip those episodes which are previously mentioned by A

As a result of the factors that I mentioned up to now, there is always a fight, I couldn't speak like her, she is talkative, she undermined me in front of my friends, and she laughed at me. To some extent I remained her to be silent, but the nagging and mistreatment didn't stop. It continued from time to time, day-to-day. I told her to watch her mouth. You know, she gave me a nickname Bareya I hate this name, I hate when people call me by this name. So, I started to beat her, she decreased her nagging and mistreatment. Y continued to say, my father always tell me that «ሴትና አሀያ ዱላ ይወዳሉ ካልመታህቸው አይታዘዙህም» (setena Aheya dulla Yewedalu Kalematahachew Ayetazezum)- literally it means a women and a donkey likes beating. If you don't beat them, they couldn't be loyal to you. This kind of mentality always recorded in my mind, when A challenged or refused me what I ordered her to do so, I would beat her. To some extent, this is the only last resolution I have as a means of controlling my wife and to force her to do whatever thing I like to do. Y said that I was socialized in a society which wife beating is considered as a normal thing. I observed during my childhood that my father beating my mother. At this point, the informant asked the researcher, 'is it something amazing? You can find it everywhere, in my opinion; a husband has a right to beat his own wife'.

A hates me, she refused to have sex, and I started to develop a suspicion that she may have an affair with another man. Due to this, I considered forceful sex, as a way of attracting A. It didn't work, and finally we broke up! You know! There is one thing I am disappointed by A, i.e. she stole my baby, and I don't know him properly. She prevented me from having contact with my son. Y requests the researcher, 'could you tell her at least to let me see my son: The researcher tried to tell A about the request made by her husband. A said 'I know, once he sees the child and know his where about, he might establish custody right in the court. I don't want the man who abused me and lost my ten thousand Birr, to be my only son's father. You know! My son will get the opportunity to know his biological father when he is at the right age.'

3.1.3. Interpretation of the couple's case (Y & A)

The first point that leads to conflict between this marital relation was created around economic issue. That means Y did not properly manage the money brought by A to begin a new business. As a result of this their marital relationship became rough. In order to resolve the created conflict Y choose Physical, verbal and psychological abuse as a solution. For further information, look at the following tables.

As it is indicated in table 5 those respondents, who say we have a fight with our wives, are 61 (93.8%), for Kebele 07 and 60 (95.3 %) Mermarsa. From this we can understand that husbands didn't deny there is a fight with their wives.

Table 5: Husbands fight with wives (In both study areas: Nov, 2003)

Do you have a fight with you wife	<i>Kebele 07</i>		<i>Mermarsa</i>	
	In number	Percent	In number	Percent
Yes, I did	61	93.8	60	95.3
No, I didn't	4	6.2	3	4.7
Total	65	100	63	100

Source: sample survey conducted in *Adama* town of *Kebele 07* and *Mermarsa* by the researcher.

Table 6: Cause of a fight: response made by husband (In both study cites, Nov 2003)

Cause of a fight		
Response	In Number	Percent
It is about our children's and household expense	24	19.8
My wife insisted me to help her own relatives	22	18.2
It is about personal relation between us	28	23.1
My wife is not loyal to me	27	22.3
My wife didn't properly handle the domestic activity	20	16.5
Total	121	100

Source: (Ibid)

The cause for conflict between A and Y can be categorized on the 3rd and fourth row (table 6). Because the business activity is the one created within their personal relationship, out of 121 respondents 28 (23.1%) of them say, it is our personal relation that cannot publicly stated which leads us for conflict. The fourth row, which states the question of wife loyalty, has some relation with Y's enforcement on having forced sex.

Y's alcohol and *čate* consumption drastically affected his income. Due to this he couldn't manage the business in proper way. It has to be known that it is not the alcohol or *čate* that made him to abuse his wife but the frustration that comes due to of lack of economic strength, which blocked him from satisfying his own as well as his wife's expectation. On turn this frustration and lack of

economic strength was considered, as a weakness from his wife point of view. In order to cover up his fault he started beating his wife.

A's husband confessed that during his childhood he observed that his father was beating his mother. So, even the community that he comes from Condoned wife beating as a normal thing. The average number of beating of wife by husband among the *Amhara* is 6.4 (*Habetamu et 'al* cited in *Belegn*: 2001, 37).

Y didn't deny A's accusation. But he stressed that A's inferiority out look to wards himself contributed for his forceful action. Here the point is that A considers it a humorous thing. In spite of this Y is provoked when A calls him by the nickname *Bareya*.

Both Y and A forgot that the child was the victim of their conflict. Their son lost his mother's as well as his father's love and affection. From this we can understand that the child is victim of family separation, as a result of domestic violence between husband and wife.

3.2. Case history B (in Adama Town of Kebele 07)

B explained her case history beginning from her place of origin, my place of birth is in Sebatebete Gurage area at a place known as Gunechere. Both my father and mother died when I was a three-year old child. Because of this, my uncle raised me up. At the age of eight my brother took me to Nazareth. He told me that I was going to be employed in some body's house as a housemaid. I agreed with his idea. I enjoyed working there, because there is Television, and Radio that are very prestigious commodities in the countryside. At the age of ten I got the opportunity for education. It is known that in the 1970's extending to 80's there was a National literacy campaign by the Dergue government (In Ethiopian calendar). Due to this, the Kebele officers came to our house and told my employers 'there is a child who couldn't read or write her name, so she must get the opportunity for education, which is given by the government'. My employers agreed with this idea and for the first time in my life I get chance to join school, I was educated up to 7th Grade.

Attending school at night gave me good opportunity in meeting new friends and knowing what is going on in the town. My classmates also told me that I could do better than this if I changed my job. Then I dislike being a housemaid. So, I became eventually a seller of secondhand cloth. Therefore, I rent two small plots of land (Medebe in Amharic) for thirty Birr per month for each plot.

Around the middle of 1970's the Dergue soldiers took my brother who brought me to Nazareth, to be trained in the National military service. And was send to warfront. Because he was wounded in the battlefield, he later on retired from military service and returned to Nazareth.

When I went to welcome and congratulate my brother in his return, I saw my present husband for the first time. Then after I found out that, he is my brother's friend and he belongs to Sebatebete Gurage. As time sent on, I showed remarkable progress in the business, I kept sealing women second hand clothes, particularly skirts. One day my brother told me that his friend (whom I mentioned earlier) wants me for marriage, I tried to delay the marriage by explaining a lot of factors like: I was not matured enough, that I had to accumulate more money etc. and so on. But, he insisted that I had to marry right then. In the end, he convinced me and at the age of sixteen I was married.

As followers of Islamic religion, I married my brother's friend through the Sheria court¹⁷. My first year with my husband was wonderful. On the second year of my marriage I become pregnant, which was a difficult time for my life. I couldn't handle my business properly- because of the pregnancy. My husband took my place, but he didn't handle the business in a proper way. This was due to the fact that his earlier job was very much related with selling men second hand clothes, so he had more experience in selling trousers and jackets than skirts. This also means he was lacking in how to handle my customers properly. The result was within the two months that I stayed at home; he lost most of my business. In spite of the reason that I stated, my main accusation (complain) on my husband for losing the business in my point of view is he becomes addicted of čate (a mild stimulant which is widely chewed in the area). Most of the time he sits with his friends for long period of time and chew čate. At this point we could not be able to understand each other, I insisted him always to abandon his bad habit, he ignores me and continued to chew čate, and he also started to drink alcohol. This shows he totally undermine my advice.

Even I went back to my business after the delivery; it was difficult to bring the business activity to its original place. I realized that I have lost most of my clients. This intern means I couldn't be able to handle the two plots of land (Medebs in Amharic) that I had rented. Since my husband's addiction to čate continued, he was not at all in a position to find a solution for the existed problem in the family. One day, I started to tell him seriously that he has to stop chewing čate and drinking alcohol. But instead of listening to me, he started laughing at me. I told to my brother about my husband's bad habit (the only relative that I had in Nazareth). My brother and my husband's relatives' did their best, in order to bring a solution, but in vain.

One day, he came home late at night. He started to mumble. I asked what is wrong with him and he said 'nothing'. I asked him again and finally he answered that 'you are spoiling (ruining) my reputation, you are going to every relative of mine who live in Nazareth telling him or her that I am addicted to čate and alcohol'. When I replied that it was the true explanation of his character, he rushed to wards me and slapped my face. I was shocked because I had never seen my husband acting like that. He continued to bit me. I begged him to live me alone. Then he stopped the beating and shouted on me that, 'I am your husband, and I make the rules of the house. You have to abide by my rules, don't you ever never talk to any one about my behavior or what I do with my own money'

¹⁷ Islam court- one of its functions is to legalize marital relationships for Muslim community.

It was my first experience of beating by my husband. Soon it becomes a normal part of my marriage. As time went on, the beatings become more sever and now and then I had been in feeling of dizzy and so depressed. Sometimes he has slapped on my left eye and my left eye is now impaired.

When I become pregnant for the second time, I brought my friend to run the salvage trade. The problem with my husband continued. From day today, the daily income that my relative brought started to reduce. Some times my relative would come with no money, after spending the whole day in the market. This made it impossible for me in paying the Medebes rent. My business in the second hand cloth activity ended up like this. The other job opportunity that I took was to work in the cereal stores as day laborer.

Even though my husband was the cause for the loss of the business, he nevertheless kept blaming me as if it was my mistake. He would blame me as bringing a bad luck, that I was the one; who led him to bankruptcy.

My first child becomes a second grade student. But, due to the fight between her father and me she couldn't attend her education properly. Though I tried to avoid disputing or fighting in front of my child, he didn't care whether this little kid could see the fight or not. You know, one day she came and told me that, 'why does my father always yell at you? Why he does beat you? Is it something that a man should hit a woman like this?' I had no answer for my daughter's questions. I simply told her don't worry, that was something your father and I had to deal with. Another day she came and told me that 'I couldn't follow my education at school, because I always remember my father beating you' I knew that my child was psychologically disturbed; my daughter had bad nightmares in her sleep.

Suddenly, my husband disappears. I waited for a day; he didn't show up, I called to his relatives in Gunchere. They told me, he didn't go there, I searched every place that I expected his presence but he was not there. Almost after a month, someone told me; my husband was in Jimma town. You know, that day I become so happy (this point the respondent eyes become full of tears), because at least my little kids have a father who was alive. Last year, before we celebrated Arafa (a big Muslim holyday), he sends some amount of money for its celebration.

Up to now, he hasn't showed. I am still waiting for him. In the Muslim community, particularly Gurage women always waited for their husbands. Since in the Gurage tradition the husband often migrates outside his birthplace in search of job, the wife has the duty to wait for him. The Gurage husbands never forget their home and family. Even tough I am afraid of his beating, I am still waiting for him for the sake of my children, that they may not be without a father.

3.2.1. Main Points in B's Case history

The main issue that creates the misunderstanding between B and her husband is

- The inability of B's husband to efficiently run the business activity
- His addiction to *čate* and Alcohol made him less motivated for work

- B's effort to alleviate the problem through her/his relatives wasn't considered as a good initiative by B's husband.

The economic destabilization of the family, which is caused by the first two mentioned factors contributed as the cause of B's conflict with her husband. In addition to this, by forgetting his own problem, B's husband blames his wife. Her effort to rehabilitate the marriage through kin groups also created unexpected consequence i.e. her husband feel ashamed of him self and starts to beat his wife. The average number of beating of wife by husband among the *Gurage* is 6.36 (*Habetamu and et'al cited in Belegn: 2001, 37*). B develops psychological as well as physical problems, psychologically she is full of stress and physically her left eye couldn't see properly.

B's daughter also disturbed due to her parents conflict. She couldn't be able to properly follow her education. In most cases, according to her mother, the child observes the fighting between the two.

B tried to rehabilitate her husband's bad habit (addiction to alcohol and *čate*) through the relatives of her and her husband's, however the effort of kin groups in correcting B's husband from his misdeeds was not workable. This may happen due to B's husband unwillingness to detach from his bad habit or the kin groups have no socioeconomic influence to correct him from his addiction.

3.3. Case history C (in Adama town Kebele 07)

C said my life History is very long. I have passed many ups and downs. I was born in Menjar from peasant community. I didn't know exactly my father as well as my mother because both died in my childhood. My grandma brought me up. She is a very cruel woman. I worked in her home like a servant. If she found any mistake she will punish me severally by burning my body with heated iron, in-fumigation with pepper and so on. When I passed to Grade seven, I went to Mojo town in order to live with my grandmother's sister. She is a very nice woman when I compared her with the previous one.

I joined one of the primary and junior secondary school in Mojo, but I failed on 8th grade two times, then I become an evening student. During this time, I was introduced with my present husband. He is a police officer. He accompanied me when I went to school or returned home. There were also other policemen who wanted me to be their girl friend. One day, my neighbour accused me of stealing her wristwatch. Since she was my friend, I do enter in her home, and she does come to mine. I didn't expect such an accusation from her. My neighbour informed me 'I was requested to come to the police station. In the police station, the officer that holds my case was my boyfriend. The officer informed the reason I was called. After a few minutes interrogation, the case was dismissed for lack of evidence. You know! at this time my boy friend informed me that 'he had save me from the jail. My boyfriend definitely wanted a favor in return. He wanted me to charge the other policemen who were trying to make me their girl friend. I had no option. I did what he asked. Some of his and my friends served as witness against them and they were charged with first degree of threatening crime and they were punished. Then after this incident, he asked me for marriage and I accepted his request. With a very small feast we were married.

On the 7th year of our marriage, my husband was transferred to Nazareth, so I had to move with him. After his transfer, my husband behavior changed, and he developed lots of bad habits. At this time I was pregnant of my third child. I don't know from where he would get that amount of money on daily bases, but he always came late drunk. He also showed incredible change in his physical appearance. He changed different expensive clothes from time to time. You know! Even if he showed unexpected change in his own life, he didn't do any thing for me or for his children. He only gave us a small amount of money for household budget on monthly bases. Then I started to ask him why he had come late, drunk? Why he didn't consider his three children and me? He replied, 'do you need more than this? I feed you, I buy clothes for you and for the children, I pay for house rent, isn't it enough?' He answered my question by question I didn't simply accept what he said, rather I continued to ask him to change his behavior he couldn't bear my requests and started beating me, shouting at me. I remain silent.

From that day onwards, I promised my self not to speak to him in that way. One Saturday, I remember where we all were in deep sleep; he came at 2 P.M as usual and started to knock at the door. Where I remained silent because I know, that day he was on night duty and I didn't understand for what reason he came back. The knocking of the door increased, then I decided to open the door for fear of my neighbours would be disturbed. Before two weeks ago the owners of the house had given us a warning, no more disturbances at night. If we couldn't correct our behavior they told me our contract would be terminated. After I opened the door he shouted at me 'why are you late to open the door!' I replied, I thought that you would be on duty. I immediately went back to the bed. I know he was furious and I was afraid some terrible thing might happen. He called my name, when I turned towards him, he slapped my face with his military shoes. I fell on the ground, blood started to flow from my nose, but he didn't care about me, and simply passed me over and sat on the chair. He ordered me to give him dinner. I didn't now what to do, I was so terrified. I was also afraid that he might continue the beating. By holding my nose with a piece of cloth I gave him dinner.

Fifteen minutes passed, he finished his dinner. I collected the dishes. I was confused and tiered of his beating. To protect my self, I rather choose to sleep with my kids. So I went to the small room where my children slept. All of them were in their own sweet dreams; I also hug them and tried to have a nap. Suddenly something shook my back, I woke up, and it was my husband, standing near by me. He commanded 'stand up! Come to our bed'. I told him it was better for me

to sleep here. 'No! Come with me' he replied. He holds my hand, and pulls me towards the bed. At this time the children's woke up. My husband didn't care weather they were awake or they saw his abuse. He pushed me, from my back. In order to avoid the children involvement in the fight I agreed to go to bed. I lay on the bed and he started to touch my whole body, I asked him not to touch me, but he didn't listen. I simply lay there senseless. After he forcefully has satisfied his sexual need on the second round, he started to beat me because I was any longer responding to his sexuality. His beating was intense, I started to cry because I couldn't control my self (at this moment the respondent eyes become full of tears) - For a couple of minutes C stopped telling her case then she resumed. He continued making love, is it love or torture? This is the question that always comes to my mind. Such kind of incident continued up to the day he got promotion to work at a place known as Metehara- 66 kilometer from Adama town.

On one side my husband's transfer was a relief for me because there would be no more abuse and beating, but on the other side, he stopped helping the children and me. In order to survive I started to look for a job. I got a job and in a certain organization as office cleaner. The income I got from this job helped me to cover the children expense and house rent.

After four months of separation he returned home for a two days visit. He didn't sleep at home, he only came to see his children. Even though I disliked him for his beating and verbal abuse, I still have some kind of attraction to wards my husband, since he is my children's father. After two days stay in Nazareth, he returned to Metehara. Due to one of his friend's involvement he agreed to send me some amount of money on monthly bases. At the end of every month I went to collect this money from his organization. So, one day as I went to the institution to collect the money, I come across a friend of my husband, who was also a good friend of mine. He started to ask me about my children and my husband. I told him that, most of the time I had a fight with my husband.

Then he told me that, when he went to Metehara for work, He saw my husband with a woman who he may has an affair with. I asked my husband in his return about the issue, 'Do you have a mistress? or have you ever married another woman?' He replied, 'it is none of your business'. Later on I my self found out he was still seeing with this woman, even after he returned to Nazareth as a permanent worker.

I always keep one day raising this issue again. I remember a day, which he comes home earlier. He didn't ask to be served a dinner, he just simply went to be bed. I just gave a dinner for the children, when they finish the dinner I told them to go to their bed. They ask me weather or not it is possible to play with their father because they have not seen him for the last four months I replied, there is something that me and your father has to discuss privately, just go to your bed. By accepting my command they went to bed.

In the bedroom my husband is just laying on the bed by wearing his night cloths. He reads a newspaper. I wanted to talk to him, but I become hesitant I simply staring at him, he dropped the newspaper and said' what is wrong with you, come and sleep with me. My blood started to be filled with agony. Is this man really my husband? He spends his time with an unknown woman and now he wants me to sleep with him. For the moment, I restrain my anger and asked him a straightforward question, with whom have you been while you are living in Metehara? He replied 'alone?' I also ask him, is there a woman, which has been lived with you in Matehara? He replied 'yes indeed, she is my servant'. At this point I start to realize he is not going to believe what he is done. I know that I am subordinated to him, and then what solution do I have? Just to accept, what he says.

In the next four days he found out that I am employed. He didn't like my being employed. So, we started to fight on this issue, and I clearly stated my reasons

- *In your absence the income I got from this job is the only survival mechanism for me as well as for the kids*
- *It is better for me to spent the day at work rather than spending the whole day Idle*
- *It is a means of earning my own income which supplement yours*
- *I will also get an opportunity to get my own source of finance*

For the time being, he agreed with my stand. But, by putting the household issue and children condition as a pretext he raised the issue of my employment and blame me, 'you have forgotten the household activity, the children's lack a person who looks after them, and so on. Regardless of his opposition, I continued to do the job. One Sunday, he made a proposal for me, 'I will gave you the amount of money that you earn. In addition with the household monthly budget, but this will be done after you stop your work. After thoroughly thinking the issue in my mind, I accepted his offer. For two months every thing went as my husband had promised.

My husband's families lived in Kersa- a place that is found in Arsi region. He went to his family for a short visit and returned home. In his return he told me that he had sold his two cows and earned a lot of money. With this money, he joined in one Iqubb (credit and saving institution which is widely practiced in Ethiopia). Even if he tried to stabilize his economic strength, he didn't stop seeing his mistress.

A friend of mine informed me again that my husband was starting going public with that woman. Then my suspicion starts to grow. I followed him, and for sure I know that he had a mistress, I asked him again he lied. If I repeatedly questioned him, he started beating me. I become fed up of questioning my husband about his mistress, for it, had a bad consequence, i.e. beating.

After this whole thing only happened, a more terrible thing started to appear in my husband's life. He stopped to go to work. He became dizzy and he simply would spend the day at home. When I asked him why? He replied 'I have taken my work leave', 'Ok! Why do you act like that?' He didn't tell me the truth. Finally, one of his best friends came home to visit my husband. After waiting a couple of minutes, my husband's friend stood to leave. I followed him up to the get and asked his friend, 'is every thing ok with my husband?' This man told me 'your husband almost lost 8,000 Birr' 'Why?' I said, 'the money was kept in your husbands mistress name in the Bank; she has some share with this money. I think, she withdrew all the money from the Bank with out notifying your husband' I told to my husband's friend. 'He didn't mention any of his stories'. I think my husband kept it as a secret. Why did he keep this amount of money in his mistress name? His salary is very small. I know that he also stopped paying the Iqubb. These were the questions that come to my mind.

From time to time my husband's health deteriorated, his mind didn't work properly, and he becomes psychologically disturbed. Everything lying on my shoulder, I took him to 'Holly water' place to St. John church. After repeated spiritual treatment he becomes normal person. He returned to work, I was very happy. After this incident passed, for the next two years he was a husband that loved his home.

My marital life started to be shaken again, when that mistress appeared in my husband's life again. She began to send a lot of remittance from Beirut. Then he forgets what she did and he received the money. With that money that his mistresses send, he began to build a house. I didn't expect him to leave me like this, I thought after finishing the house we will live there with our children. You know! The reverse happens! She returned from Beirut, he left me with the

children. Now he is living with his mistress. He didn't support us. Since then He forget us, as if he didn't belong to me or to his children. For the past three months he only gave us 50 Birr each month for the entire family. This amount of money is not enough to lead four members of the family. I am so confused at the moment.

I remember, one day, I directly went to his office. He didn't want to talk to me. I told the problem to every one in the organization. His friends tried to reconcile us, but he refused their reconciliation request. They also told me, 'your husband said she is no longer my wife, I don't know her, she is one time my servant and there is no marital relationship at all'. You know! We are legally married, I mean there are elders that were present in the marital ceremony (while we are living in Mojo) and both my husband and I had signed in front of the elders that he was my legal husband and I was his legal wife. But, the problem is the marriage paper (semaneya in Amharic) that shows the marriage contract between my husband and me is not in my hand. I searched everywhere, but I couldn't find it. I think that he were destroyed it. I also returned to Mojo to find those elders, but all of them that present in our marriage fifteen years ago are dead. There are people that were present in the wedding feast and I tried to use them as an eyewitness in court of law. Most of my effort in charging my husband in the court become delayed, because of his status as a police man, he refused to receive the summon many times.

My children are confused; they lack their father's love and affection. Two of them are forced to quit their education because of the conflict created between us. In the middle of the conflict, madness appeared in my life, I also cured through the assistance of my brother. He is the only relative of mine who is concerned about me. He lives in Addis, serving in one of the Orthodox Churches as a priest. He took me to the Holly water-to Entoto area. After intensive spiritual therapy I returned to normal condition. You know what happened! During my return to home I didn't find the children. I just left them in my husband's sister, she said, 'your husband always come and insisted to take them, I refused. One day when I went to the market, your husband came and took them away'. I asked her where I could find them. She replied 'I don't know' I searched everywhere and some one informed me that he saw the children in Kaliča (witch) house I started to recall that there was a woman Kaliča, who my husband frequently visited. I directly went there and requested the witch to return my children. She replied, 'I didn't know any children of yours' I gave her a strong warning by saying 'if you don't return my children, I will go directly to the police to tell them that you kidnapped my children. In the end, she returned them.

At present I live in a very small house, it is like a kitchen. I lost most of my weight and have become weak. If I get the opportunity, I can work as a daily laborer. My husband is now a traffic police with motor bicycle. He has become fat. You know! When I was in Menjar, I was an athlete. During this time, I had a healthy and strong body. My husband was simply thin, police man. When we struggle lovingly, I always won, because I was stronger than him. Now, he is a posted government official, he has denied his children and me. I have no money, I charged him in court. The EWLA staff member's helped me through legal advice. When he appeared in court he said he would help me because he couldn't deny the facts. After leaving the court, he forgets every thing. He even threatens me, So that I will stop the accusation. He always reminds me 'Just give me the children and go away'. I don't know what kind of mistake I made on him. Only God knows! I some times thought. 'Is a police officer allowed by the Ethiopian law to abuse his wife?'

3.3.1. Main points in C case history

- I. C is disappointed because her husband had a mistress. This leads to a series conflict leading to separation.
 - When there is a dispute he beats C, even he forced C to have forced sexual intercourse (i.e. sexual violence).
 - Her husband abuses her physically, verbally and psychologically.
- II. In order to make C economically dependent on him he forced her to abandon her job. This also made things easy for manipulation for C's husband.
- III. C's husband's status as a policeman made him easy to frighten her, in other words he also abused his authority. For instance, according to C by bribing other officers or because they are his friends, he didn't receive summon. He even refused to respect the legal decision passed by the court.
- IV. Their children are disturbed psycho-socially, they are not properly attending their education. Their father gave them for *Kalicha* to serve as a servant. As we all know this place is a very different spiritual place, that can't be easily adapted by children. According to their mother, due to they time they spent in the witch house, they developed frequent nightmare, suck their thumbs, and often wet their bed. Their mother also mentioned that the first child also showed aggressive behavior by looking his father's act.

3.4. The D Case history, (in *Mermarsa Peasant Association*)

The following case history is taken from a woman who is psycho-socially abused by her husband. In spite of her condition, D became very cooperative in telling her history of violence. Let's listen to her.

I was born in Gurača furda peasant association (see Annex 3). Like other girls I always assisted my mother in the household activity. At the age of eleven I got the opportunity to join school. I

became a good student. But, I was not lucky to continue my education. This was because somebody (who I didn't know) requested my family for marriage. My father is a very strong person he denied their request and told them (for go between elders) that I was too young for marriage. In order to protect me from other danger like abduction, I was prohibited not to go to school. After fifteen days of being absent, my family decided to let me go to school. For two months I attend my education peacefully. On the 3rd month of my schooling another man requested my father to give me for marriage. This time my father gave a different answer from the first one. He said 'my daughter is not ready for marriage, if the person who wants to marry her waits for two years she is his.' When I heard that he has agreed with the go between individuals i.e. elders, I became very disappointed, I asked my father, 'why you should do this to me' He said, 'I know what I am doing, if I couldn't agree today with this elders, tomorrow they will take immediate action to abduct you'. By saying this, my father delayed the marriage for a couple of years.

The promise time come for my future husband, after the necessary dowry arrangement, the exact date of the marriage ceremony was determined. Through a wedding feast, I married my present husband. He strongly opposed the idea of continuing my education. Due to this, I remained at home, to be a housewife. At the age of sixteen, I gave birth to my first child.

As you can see (she means the researcher), we are living in a form of kin group. This is to mean that my husband brought me to his father's place. His relatives settled around him. In other words my husband had them near by him: his mother, sisters, brothers, uncle etc. In the first year of my marriage I couldn't easily get along with my mother-in-law. She always gave me an order to do heavy domestic activity. On the time of the first childbirth, things seem to be changed. At least the hate from my mother-in-law subsided, in my point of view, it was because of my mother-in-law affection to the baby.

During the first two years of marriage my husband was available at home. He only went to Saturdays to Adama town or Welenchite for the purpose of buying some items in the market. However, gradually he was absent from home for longer period of time. On some occasions he was absent for two to three months. When I asked him why? He would reply 'I was doing daily work in town'. He also brought for the family small materials like cloth, salt, oil, electronics watch etc. When his father's family sees these things, they didn't care, whether he properly manage his house or not.

On weekend days, my elder brother or my mother always visits me. The distance between my husband's home and my father's home was not that much long. It only took three hours by foot. My elder brother and my mother raised a lot of questions during their visitation. 'Where is your husband?' I told them, he is in Welenchite or Adama doing a daily work. They would continue by saying ok! 'It is possible to spent the week days there, but why he didn't returned to you on Saturday or Sunday'. This conversation strikes some thing on my mind. I become suspicious, 'why he did spend the weekend days in town?'

On the fifteenth the day after I had such conversation, my brother took a short visit to me. I think it was Wednesday. He saluted and asked me whether or not my husband's father is at home. I told him he was on the farm field, He directly went there, I didn't assume at that moment that my elder brother came to discuss about my husband's affair with another woman.

Thirty minutes passed, I saw my elder brother and my husband's father come near to the house shouting at each other. They entered the main house. Suddenly, my brother came and informed me that 'your husband is having a mistress in Welenchite'. I became so confused and I asked my elder brother, 'where did you hear this information?' He told me, 'my best friend who lived in Welenchite informed me'. My elder brother also said 'in order to be certain, I just went to Welenchite and I know for sure that your husbands had a mistress. The reason I came here to

day is to discuss the issue with your husband's father. I told this thing to his father because he is old enough to handle this case. Your husband father didn't believe what I said. I firmly told him, he has to stop his son from hurting you and spoiling the relationship between the two families'. I know my elder brother had been concerned about me since childhood.

As usual my husband returned, his father asked him what exactly he was doing. My husband started to lie, his father told him some one come twenty days ago and informed that his son had an affair with another woman. My husband rigidly denied the accusation. For the moment every thing seemed normal. He also reduced his visit to Welenchite. However, on the second month of this incident happened, he returned to his former behavior. He even started to tell for his friends that he has a mistress. My brother heard the news. The tension between the two families increased, I also tried to talk my husband about this issue but he undermined my effort. He even said 'I think your elder brother didn't know his limit/boundary, now you belong to me and to my family, what ever I do, it is none of your families business. I wasn't discouraged by his meaningless propagandas. I continued my pressure, in order to stop his relationship with his mistress. One night, when I raised this issue he slapped me on the face, I remained silent. He graphed a heavy steak and continued to beat me, he didn't choose any part of the body, I started to cover my face with my hand. The beating become intense and my right leg were broken. At this time, I couldn't tolerate his beating and started to cry loudly. It was in the middle of the night and I saw my four-year-old child standing in front of me, sobbing. I was helpless and I was ashamed of my self. I lifted my head in prayer, o! Waqa are you there? Looking my suffering! My husband returned to the child shouting at him, go to bed! I beg my husband to leave him alone. The baby stood there confused of what to do. He wanted to be near me. He was also afraid. In the end, he runs towards me. I grabbed him and I continued crying. My husband didn't care about my pain. He left us and went to the other side of the hut, to sleep. The pain become very serious, so I couldn't easily move my body. Every part of my body was swollen, my leg has been broken, I stayed there hugging my child. He slept on my hand. I just put him beside me on the bed.

Early in the morning, my husband went for work. Nobody come to my hut. I know that everybody heard the shouting, crying, pleading, but they acted as if nothing happened at that night. That sleepless painful night couldn't be easily erased from my mind.

My child also wakes up and started to play. Since he was a child he forgot every thing that happened last night, he didn't know that I am in pain. At about midday some one calls my name. I replied, 'came in' it was my mother-in-law; she acts as if she didn't hear anything. I told her what happened last night. For the time being she seemed sad. Because my broken leg needed a serious attention, they called a traditional orthopedics. When the traditional orthopedics saw me she recognized me because she was my mother's friend.

The next day, my elder brother, father and other relatives came to visit me. After they observed the damage made by my husband, they seriously quarreled with my husband and my husband's father. My elder brother decided to take my case to the police. However, he told to my husband, 'now, I have to take my sister and her kid with me'. My husband and his father objected my elder brother's idea. Then the situation became out of control. During this time, my husband's kin group out numbered mine. In spite of this, my elder brother and my father insisted 'we must take our daughter including her kid'. At the end, elders (jarrsas) involves in the case. The negotiation continued. The elders made the following decision. 'It is better that, the injured women should return to her mother house for few days, because she can be treated in better way, if she went to her mother place. However, the child has to remain in the hands of the husband'.

My brother rejected the elders' decision and insisted that the children should also return. My father interfered and told my brother, 'No, for the sake of your sister, let's take her only, then we will request for the kid in the future.'

I returned to my fathers' home. My leg started to show a lot of progress from time to time. I stayed almost for two months nursed by my mother. My brother's scheme to take the case to police was rejected by my father. My father insisted that it is between the two families; that it should be finished in a traditional way. The reconciliation continued. However, my husband's family refused to pay compensation, and then the negotiation stopped at the middle.

*In the next month of my presence in my father's house, elders from my husband come and raised the issue again. During their request the elders stressed 'once you give your daughter to her present husband, it is no longer your right to retain her. Our son will not repeat the same mistake again, let's give him a chance to take her'. My father refused to accept what they said and rejected their request. The elders continued to come to my father for almost six times. One morning unbelievable thing happened. My husband showed up in front of the house holding *kalača* a powerful iron, which is believed to come from the sky, we consider it like the ark of *waga*. In our tradition, if some one holds a *Kalača* and beg you to do something, it will be very, very difficult to refuse. However, if you refuse to agree to the request made by the individual, who holds the *kalača*, then it is believed that bad thing will happen to you. Soon, my father discussed the issue with my elder brother including my mother; I couldn't hear their discussion. My father declared, 'your wife will be returned to you. But, if you do bad things on my daughter again, the *Kalača* will give you the punishment'.*

*In our belief a person who holds *kalača* can't speak, the other two individuals who accompanied my husband expressed their agreement. On the next day, I returned to my husband's house. My leg's bone didn't properly fit to its original place. As time went on I gave birth to two more children. My husband didn't show any behavioral change. He didn't detach from his mistress. When I rose about his relationship with her, he beats me. So, I remained silent, he was the boss, he had everything in his hand; the land, money, house, his kin group etc.*

For the past few months I become seriously ill, as you see me (she mean the researcher) my face is pale because of the sickness. The doctors said I have tuberculoses. My husband is also seriously sick; now, he is also in Adama town taking a treatment.

3.4.1. Major issues in D's Case

- Due to labor migration, D's husband stayed longer time in town and this might have created for him an opportunity to begin an affair with another woman. This is a point for their conflict. D's husband wasn't resolving the problem in peaceful way, but he chooses violence as a means of resolving the conflict.
- As it was mentioned earlier D faced severe physical damage i.e. broken leg-she also has had many scars on her face and leg.
- The type of residence contributes (i.e. patrilocal residence) for aggravating the situation of violence on D. Because even if her husband did so many physical as well as

psychological damage, her husband's relatives didn't do any thing to stop from his misbehavior. In fact, sometimes because he belongs to them, his violence on his wife was considers as rightful-thing.

- Because of the marital relationship between the two families, D father rejected her elder brother's idea of taking the case to he legal place. Particularly the traditional norm, which gives protection for male, reflects in this case. May be from the community point of view the issue that forced D's father to hold the case from the legal place could be that it may a create bad repercussion in the community. It is not a normal thing for them to charge a husband who broke his wife's leg. During the research period one informant said to the researcher 'do you really think I shouldn't have the right to beat my wife?' From what is said up to know we can say that, those kinds of individuals like D's elder brother-were forced to abandon their effort to take the abuser to legal place. Simply because the society's values and norms are predominantly protective of husbands.
- The traditional belief system in the area, *Kalača* is male oriented. In the case of D, when her father frequently rejected the request made by the elders, her husband brought *Kalača* as a final way of returning his wife to his place. He knew no one refused a person when he brought *Kalača* to his/her home. The traditional belief system of *čačukalača* is widely practiced by *Mečča* and *Tulama oromos* (Knutsson: 1967). In spite of this, D mistreatment by her husband didn't stop.
- As it was mentioned by D's case history, her little son observed the situation of her physical abuse. This reflects two things: one the child may hate his father because his father seriously beats his beloved mother. The other thing could be he learned something; a man beats a woman. May be it couldn't be easy to predict the four year old child

character at this point, but the incident creates psychological disturbance in the of the child's mind.

3.5. The E Case history (in *Mermarsa P.A*)

The following case history is about E, a woman who is abused by her husband. Let's follow the case history.

To be a wife is a very difficult thing, in my opinion starting from the morning I have no rest, in addition to household activity. I assisted my husband on the farm. When I say the household I didn't mean only my house but also my husband's family as well. There is more expectation from my mother-in-law I have to fetch water for them and mine; I have to prepare food for almost the entire extended family. My mother in-law is an old woman, but she is also the one who abused me together with my husband. Generally speaking my relationship with my mother-in-law was very rough.

My husband always blamed me for every wrong happening in the house. He was always a faultfinder. When the cattle's didn't return on time he blames me. By saying, 'you are lazy woman, you don't properly manage the house' etc. These were the daily abusive words I often hear from him.

I was born in this peasant association from economically better family. My husband's family was economically poor when we made comparison with mine. I was married through abduction, because my father refused my husband's father request. Even after he abducted me, a serious dispute was created between my family and my husband's. Due to this, until the reconciliation was to be done my abductor (my present husband) took me away to a very remote area. Finally, after a very long and tedious negotiation my father agreed and I became a wife to my present husband.

The problem is, in my opinion, my husband still realized that my father undermined him because of his poverty, I also knew this, during his drunkenness he always told me that he is proud of his poverty and how he abduct me for marriage etc. He would also say, one day He will become a rich man like my father.

I didn't always simply overlook this kind of expression, I now and then would try to respond 'if you continued to be drunk like this, how can you become a rich man?' Then we would start to argue. Some times if I convinced him, he didn't accept it peacefully. He would verbally abused me by saying that 'You are just like your father?' If he didn't control him self, he would beats me.

Particularly in the fifth and sixth years of our marriage, this kind of argument changed its direction. When he became drunk, he abused me verbally, if I respond he also would beats me by saying 'dubartiifi harreen reebicha jallatt'. Literally it means woman and donkey like beating. This kind of fighting becomes a day-to-day drama of our home.

We have four children the first one is attending school in Adama town; the other three are living with us. The last one is one year old. The next one is six years and the third one is ten years old. My husband didn't like our first child attending of his education in Adama. So he would bring this as a way of beginning a dispute, when he was drunk. He would say ' I will not ever and

never send money to this child; I can't see why he lives there, what is the benefit of his education after all? It will be more useful if he assisted me in the farming activity. You are the one who insisted to send him to Adama'. I would start to explain every thing from the beginning, it was good to send our children to that school, one day he may support us and so on. My husband didn't understand this, but when he was drunk he always raised this issue to starting dispute.

The other issue, which leads us to conflict, is time of assistance in the farming activity. I remember one-day he reminds me to come to the farm for help at around 2 clocks in the afternoon. The household activity in that day was abundant because it was around x-mass time. So I forgot to go to the farmland. Suddenly, I heard footstep out side the hut, when I turned towards the door, it was my husband. Immediately he entered the door, he grasped a laze made of hippopotamus skin (Gumare) and he bit me on my back. I held his feet and started to beg him. He didn't stop, unfortunately. His father came hearing my pleading. He shouted at his son to live me alone. He stopped the beating, but he continued the verbal abuse. He told his father that, 'she ignores me, she is not any more loyal to me, I told her to come to the farm to give me a hand, but she remained at home to fill her stomach'. His father patiently informed him, she forgets to come to you because she was highly concentrating on the Holyday preparation'. After along dispute with his father, he left the hut.

That day beating was severe. If I show you my back (she mean the researcher) now, there are lots of scars. In different times I face similar occasions like this one. As I have mentioned earlier I have three children. The two of them helped us by looking after the cattle's, sheep and goats one day one of the kids lost a sheep. The child didn't inform me about it. When my husband came home at night he looked at the domestic animals and he found out one sheep was missing. I was become puzzled; I asked my child who was looking after then. He replied ' I did tend them but I don't know, I thought, I brought all of them home. At this moment, my husband becomes furious and he started to shout on every one in the hut. All the children awoke from their sleep. He started to beat the child who kept the sheep. The beating becomes intense. The other kids also become so horrified, unexpectedly one of the kids started to urinate. The other was shivering because they were afraid that their father might beat them. I didn't imagine my husband's beating of the child would last that long. But he slapped him on the face; the child fell on the ground. My son's teeth started bleeding. At this moment I rushed to my husband and pushed him away. Since he was stronger than me, he staggered for the time being. By collecting his strength he threw me to the other side of the hut, I crushed to the wall. During the fight with my husband, my son who was beaten by my husband escaped out of the house. My husband didn't easily leave me at that night, he punched me on my teeth, and then one of my teeth was broken. He repeatedly beat me with a horsewhip. When he became tired of beating he left me and went to bed.

I am ashamed of my self. I hate my self. Because of one sheep disappearance, did my child and I have to be beaten in such a way? Isn't it the sheep also a property of mine? These are the questions that comes to my mind, I felt dizzy, terrified and every thing to began appear gloomy. It is not a marriage it is like hell.

My child who runs away from the house didn't return, I waited for a couple of minutes. He didn't show up. The voices of the hyenas were heard near the village. I began to worry very much. At the end, I decided to go out and search the child, to facilitate my search I hold a heavy steak and a kerosene lump. He was not in the compound. It became difficult for me to go far away from the house because it was too dark, midnight passed. I returned to the house crying and told my husband that the kid was not in the compound. He got out of the bed, went directly to other huts

and asked cooperation by informing his child was lost. Every member of the family and neighbours went out in search of the child. After a three hours search they found the child inside maize farm. When I heard they found my child I was so happy. Starting from the day that my child got severely beaten by his father, he has developed nightmares. He couldn't easily mix with children. He become fearful, in most cases he didn't speak freely, He had become too shy.

The next morning, my husband's father asked me what was wrong with the relationship with my husband. I told him every thing. The old man tried his best to create peace in the family. For the moment the beating and verbal abuse was reduced. But I know, after a couple of months he would return to his cruel behavior. I have no place to go, I am totally subordinated to him. May be I am cursed to live in this way.

3.5.1. Core Points in the E's case history

- The different economic status between E's family and her husband's creates a sort of inferiority complex on the husband's side. This may create a low self esteem out look in the husband mind. In other words E's husband always measures his economic position with E's family. This kind of unnecessary comparison of his economic status leads him for hate to words his wife, and when they argue he beats her.
- E's Husband didn't consider his younger child's education in *Adama* town as important. The money that he sent for his child considered as wastage. He rather chose his child to serve him in farm activity. May be E's husband considering the child labor as an asset for the family. Here the point is that since E's husband brought their child absence from home as a means of creating dispute which some times ends up with beating.
- E's husband' needs his wife labor in the farm activity. This means he is dominating her both in the domestic as well as out side activity. She didn't refuse him to assist in the farming activity. But he undermines the domestic activity. So, when she would be occupied with household activity, and forgets to help him in the farmland he considered it as disloyalty.

- Through out E's case history we can be able to observe that she is verbally and physically abused. That means she is an expose to repeated psychological and physical trauma.
- The violence committed against E's children also brings bad repercussion that could be seen in behavior after the violence act is committed. E mentioned that her children face nightmares and urinate in front of their father due to child abuse. Generally speaking, they face psychological trauma as a result of their father's abuse. Among the *Oromo* ethnic group the estimated average number of beating and pinching of parents on children in six months is 22.34 (*Habetamu et 'al* cited in *Belegn*: 2001, 37).
- In E's case we can see that, it is possible to say abduction is not only happened due to economic issue but also family refusal to give their daughter to a man. At the beginning of E's case, she said 'I married through abduction because my father refused my husband's father request'.

3.6. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) made with Wives

The following two FGDs are made by wives in *Kebele 07*. The discussion was on the main points that have relevance to violence against wives. The two groups comprise six to eight women. Participants were between the ages of 19-45. Their duration of stay in marital relationship is between 15-30 years. The main points that were raised on the FGD's are summarized as follows.

The first point raised is on the issue of marriage. The women in FGD's mentioned that

-Marriage should be arranged by the family- (These discussant are belong to the rural area)

-Others replied, it should be arranged by the full consent of the two parties (i.e. the female and male). These were participants of FGD from urban as well as rural origins.

-There were also informants who said before entering in to marital relationship, partners should know each other very well. But, most participants agreed that those partners who lived for longer period of time without getting legally married (like five years) should be considered as wife and husband. Because, they are acting in the community as husband and wife. The topic how marital relationship should be established served as an opening for discussion.

Also the issue of demarcation between public and domestic domain, arose the participants explained their view. All agreed that the cultural pattern given the upper hand for men to control the public domain and also to influence the domestic one. They related the issue with their own husbands. Our husbands, they said, owned everything. They are our source of income. They have the opportunity to marry another woman if they like, while keeping us at home. Our children hold their fathers name rather than their mothers. In the discussion, a Muslim participant told her own experience. She said 'A Muslim man have the authority to marry more than one wife, if he is rich. He can also prison his wives at home, with routine supervision'. This participant continued to say 'I am a poor woman. If I couldn't go to work my husband couldn't to cover all the expense alone. Due to this I served as a laborer in one of the grain stores'.

Another participant objected his Idea by saying, 'we women are the one who undermines our selves. We are equal, if we get equal opportunity. The legend we are told since our childhood affects our vision to day. For stance, we prohibit our husbands from coming to the kitchen area because we assume that the kitchen is the only place allocated for a woman'. This participant told her own experience, 'my husband is a very liberal man; he occasionally assists me in coking food. One day, he was doing this in the kitchen, when suddenly his father entered to the room (because we are neighbours). At that moment my husband didn't know what to do. He dropped the spoon from his hand, and immediately run to the main house where his father called him. After his father left, he come to me and said if his father had seen him doing this, he immediately

would tell to his mother that her son had changed his sex. From my experience we can understand that the society's normative expectation is one of the enforcing mechanisms, which prevents our husband from giving a hand in the home activity.'

On the issue of women's subordination, the discussant of FGD replied that

- We are not allowed to work outside, if our husbands' income is enough
- Some of us may work as a day laborers but our husband wouldn't support in the contribution of household budget. It means we are not capable enough to accumulate our own money.
- We are also socialized to be domestic oriented. We have not get equal access to education, job opportunity etc.

Next, the contribution of Alcohol and *čate* in motivating violence rise as point of discussion. The participants of FGD's consider as a factor, which creates big problem in their husband income. Most wives said they disputed with their husband's in order to minimize the money their husband's spent on *čate* and alcohol. But their husband refused to take their advice in to consideration.

The women in the FGD's underlined that if they have a fight earlier with their husbands, later on at the time of high consumption of *čate* and alcohol their husbands get courage to intensify their beating and verbal abuse. In other words it is not the *čate* and alcohol that caused the physical, sexual or verbal abuse but it is the predetermined view to wards women as a lower status group in the society.

The discussant agreed that they are not the only victims of the violence but also their children.

One participant of FGD also showed a scar on her leg She said it was created because of her husband's bating. This participant also said 'I have no income, no education. Everything is in the hands of my husband, the house and the money. I have nothing.'

The issue of forced sex (marital rape) was also rose in the discussion. For the first fifteen minutes participants were hesitant to mention it. In both FGD's participants rejected the presence of marital rape. But two active participants in the FGD's, broke the silence. One of them said 'It is a fact that there are occasions that I didn't want to have sex with my husband. If he is eager to do it, he will force me to do it'. After these speakers opened the floor by telling the truth, others also told their experience. Another woman also said, 'If I have a fight with my husband earlier, I am not be willing full to have sex with him. If I resisted him strongly he beats me to get what ever he wants'

Most of the participants in the two FGD's agreed that there are occasions where their husbands forced them to make love with out their consent. This also leads to physical as well as sexual abuse of wives.

There are factors that are raised by FGD's participants repeatedly. Most of our husbands are brokers. They sometimes earn a lot of money and other times they get nothing'. Seven participants from the two FGD's informed that when their husbands lack money for *čate* or alcohol, they forced them to give some money. Discussant in the FGD's also mentioned; this was also accompanied by beating. Another active participant in one of the FGD's informed that her husband is a house and cattle broker, in spite of his profession; he often remains at home Idle, because he is addicted with *čate* and alcohol. When he lacks money, he forced her as well as her daughters (they are working in the cereal store) to give him some money. She tried her best to correct him from his misdeeds. She talked to his brother about his addiction of *čate* and alcohol.

But, he didn't show any change. He even beat her because he considered her effort of correcting his bad habit as a way of distorting his reputation.

It could be said that most participants in the two FGD's mentioned their economic dependence on their husbands, their bondage with their husbands through children, the love to their husband's, their low and unsustainable source of income made them to tolerate violence against them.

3.6.1. Main Ideas in the FGD's

- Participants of the two FGD's have different views towards formulation of marital relation. Some of them agreed that marriage has to be established through family involvement. Others say it should be formulated with the partner's full consent. In addition to this, participants explained, if a man and a woman stayed together for longer period of time without legally married they have to be considered as husband and wife.
- The presence of forced sex (Marital rape) in marital relationship was also mentioned. This marital rape in most cases is accompanied with physical, sexual and verbal abuse of wives. A research made by Randall and Haskings stated that women (wives) who are involved in physically abusive relationships might be especially vulnerable to marital rape by their husbands. (1995: 3-4).
- Wives tolerate violence due to their economic dependence on the husbands. They also mentioned that children born from their husbands are factors, who forced them to remain at home. Others say it is the love to their husbands that made them to stay home

- Children born from wedlock also received physical as well as psychological abuse. That means, due to husbands violent behavior, the beating is transfer from wives to their children.
- Some of the participants mentioned that social normative expectation is the one which made women to be domestic oriented

'There was a girl, 10 years old I am told'

There was a girl, 10 years old I am told

Bright red dress, big brown eyes, a ready smile and lots of laughter she was so full of promise and potential.

On her way to school, one day she was or perhaps to fetch water

Singing gaily with her friends, sweet innocence radiating through her animated chatter her skin warm, rich and golden, glowing under the morning sun

Limbs soft, strong and supple-full of promise and potential.

Suddenly there was a scream, loud voices, hooves, shouts and muffled cries

Then SILENCE.

Now, sobs, moans, a slap and kick begging. Pleading.... SILENCE.....

There was a girl 10 years old I am told

Red dress torn and shabby

Eyes, once bright now dim, skin a dull and lifeless gray

All that potential turned to ashes burnt out by daily drudgery and toil

The promise long gone too worn down by the demands of wounded wedded nights

Belly big with ripe potential sheltering a new girl child inside

There was a girl, once, they say.)

(A poem by Abiola Awojobi: [http:// www. ecpat\) net.](http://www.ecpat.net)

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Process of Abduction

The main components of the process of abduction are mentioned in the literature part of this paper (pp. 36-37). Now, let's briefly look at the unique aspect of Abduction in the *Mermarsa* area.

When a man attempts to abduct a girl the first thing he does is to discuss the issue with his intimate friends. They discuss how they go about the abduction. They start to follow where the girl frequently goes: to school or to the market place. The then abducted girl's routine daily activity also investigated through a spy from her neighbourhood. This also helps the abductor (Kidnapper) to know about the experience of the girl in handling the domestic activity. In other words, it assists the abductor to know weather she could be a well-trained housewife or not.

The next step is to decide which time is convenient to abduct the girl. After deciding the exact day and time; a group of five to six men under the leadership of the girl's future husband will accomplishes the abduction. The kidnapers take the girl to a very far place, not to be reached by the girl's family.

In The following days, the kidnapper will sent elders i.e. *shemageles* or *jaarsass* (go between individuals) to the abducted girl family. This reconciliation process depends on the girl's family socioeconomic status, their bargaining experience and the age of the girl. Informants mentioned that abduction in *Mermarsa* is rampant during the main harvest-collecting period i.e. in December and January, because at this time the peasants earn a lot of money.

According to the information gathered through elders if the girl's father is a very respectful man (like official in the P.A, *Abba folle* or orator person) and economically strong (rich), the

reconciliation process takes very long time. The experience of the girl's family on bargaining has its own impact. One elder told me that there are families, who ask very high compensation. This intention will increase the amount of bride wealth they receive. For instance, if it is usually asked small jewelry, now they ask two or more gold jewelry or other additional material for the girl. However, if the girl's families become simply easy going, then it will become very easy for the elders to influence the girl's family. If she is going to be called *Hafetu* by the next year or then after few months, the reconciliation process becomes also very easy.

4.2. Reconciliation Process

Most informants asserted that in the process of reconciliation elders (*jaarsas*) would repeatedly go & back to the abducted girl's family at least eight times. If the time is convenient for the elders, then they could come to the abducted girl's family two times in a week within three to four days gap.

In the beginning of the reconciliation day three to four elders will come to the abducted girl's family house and stand in front of it. In most cases it is early in the morning that most family members are at home. Since it is a traditional way of requesting abducted girl's family, the visitation and begging has to be repeated at least three times before the actual reconciliation begins.

On the fourth appearance of the elders the father will come out from the hut and say, 'you are stealing our daughter, we will not let you to have her, and your boy is a rude one. It is not the proper time you have to come. It would have been better to come and request our daughter for marriage prior to the abduction'. Before the abducted girl father¹⁸ turns his face to the hut,

¹⁸ If the abducted girl didn't have a father, other male elder (it could be her uncle, her elder brother etc) will take the place for negotiation.

immediately the oldest elder from the go-between individuals will drop his toga (*Gabe or kuta*) on the ground (to indicate the abductor mistake) and say 'please, forgive us and let's talk about what should be done now'. Then the abducted girl's father will say 'let me discuss the issue with the family first'. He will give them an appointment. The reconciliation continues in such a way.

At some point, if the elders feel that the reconciliation will be distracted, they will take a calf and heifer ¹⁹ (*Korma goremsa*) to the abducted girl's family. When they reach around the girl's family they bless the calf and heifer by pointing butter from the cup and put it on the forehead and backside of the calf. They also pinpointed the butter to the tail of the heifer.²⁰ After this ritual is committed, children (a boy and a girl) take the animal to the byre of the abducted girl's family. This process facilitates the process for reconciliation. In most cases, if the abducted girl's family didn't chase out the calf and heifer from the byre, it means they are accepting the reconciliation. Then estimation of the bride price or wealth and about the time of wedding day is the next issue for discussion. Before the actual date of the wedding and after the accomplishment of the reconciliation, the abducted girl will return to her father's house for the purpose of the nominal wedding ceremony.

The bride wealth includes, Jewelry (ring and bracelet made of silver in some occasions Gold), and cloth for the abducted girl (the future bride and to her parents etc.) Then a small feast (wedding) is prepared in the groom's family house that can serve a very small number of guests.

¹⁹ It has to be known that the calf and heifer are only symbols, which beautify the reconciliation. That means, they will return to the owner after the reconciliation was done. Their peaceful return is an indication that the groom and bride will separate from their parent in order to establish their own house. If the abducted girl's family chase out the calf and heifer it implicates, rejection of the reconciliation.

²⁰ According to the informants, painting butter on the forehead, backside and on the tale has its own meaning. Butter in *Oromo* culture is a symbol of blessing. The calf symbolizes the abductor (he is a strong that shoulders his bride and always in front) the heifer symbolized the abducted girl (she is innocent girl who will be fertile in the future).

There are cases in which the abducted girl families reject the reconciliation. Even if the go between individual (elders) had been going back and forth for eight consecutive times to the abducted girl's family, the reconciliation offered by the elders (*jaarsas*) may not be accepted by the abducted girl's family. Then the abductor's father or mother brings *čaču* to the abducted girl's family. *Čaču* is fertility ritual dominated by women. The fertility is associated with domestic animals (cattle's, sheep, goat etc) and humans as well. As informants mentioned, every household in the *Mermarsa* P.A had its own *čaču*. According to the informant's explanation, it is big necklace made of different colored tiny beads (*chele*) that have a hole at the center. The ritual ceremony of *čaču* is done on November (*Hedar* in Ethiopian calendar). *knuttson* also mentioned about *čaču* in the following way:-

---- *in the cult of the female ayana the kallu, immediately before the possession, puts on a thick mantle like coat the kollo, described as the ayana's dress. It is dyed deep red and black but, according to the reports, can differ with different kallus. On these occasions the wife of the kallu wears over right shoulder abroad, leather band approximately five feet long, richly shells and trimmed at lower edge with brass bells. This is čaču, the chief female ritual symbol among the Mečča and also among the tulama oromo [Galla]. It belongs mainly to the cult of Atete, the traditional female ayana who is associated with procreation, fertility, and birth and who is therefore, also called ayoutma (the mother of procreation). When the moment for Miriam's arrival approaches, the kallitti hangs the čaču over the kallu's left shoulder.----* (1967:87)

Informants told the researcher that, on the time of the ritual, the women who owned *čaču* prepare purified butter, coarsely grained wheat, which will be combined with butter (i.e. *Kinče*- pan Ethiopian food) and milk. On the day of the ritual she sits by crisscrossing her leg at the center of the hut, she puts the *čaču* (necklace) on her neck. In front of her, the purified butter, the *kinče*, a fresh grass and the milk will be presented. Then the ritual ceremony begins, the whole family will be presented there. She starts to bless the member of the family, the land, domestic animals, the harvest etc. At the end she holds the fresh grass and immersed it the milk and spray in the house, out side the house, on children and on her husband. The only person who can eat the *kinče*

is the circumcised man that entered the *Gada* age set ceremony. Because he is a privileged person, some parts of the *kinče* will be poured at the back of the house, for the *Adebare*- the guardian spirit of the homestead.

Now, let's return to the reconciliation case. If the abductor's mother put the *čaču* on her neck and stand in front of the abducted girl's parent's house (in all this kind of cases as the informant asserted) the abducted girl's family immediately accept the reconciliation, since it is difficult to deny the fertility ritual i.e. *čaču*. If there are parents or individuals who deny this reconciliation that was brought in the name of *čaču*,²¹ then the woman just take out the *čaču* slowly from her neck and touch the ground by *čaču*. It means she has cursed the abducted girl's family. In spite of this, no one will want to be cursed. So they let the abductor to take their daughter. Most of the time the *čaču* played this role when the abductor's father has died or he lacks elder brother or uncle, who can take the *kalača* to the abducted girl's family for reconciliation.

The *kalača* is the other means of enforcing the abducted girl's family to accept the reconciliation. It is believed that it comes from the sky. There is a myth²², which is widely spoken in the area: 'once up on a time drought appears all over the country. Children, animals, plants etc started to die. People abandon their home, but they held strong belief that, one-day, this difficult time will pass. So, the people prey to wards sky god *waqa*, a heavy rain with thunder starts to be seen. Then after, *čačukalača* come from the sky. Beginning from that day that the rain becomes abundant all over the country, people started to plough, good harvest collected. Generally speaking the land and the people turn to their original place, fertile. The same kind of myth also

²¹ The researcher asked the informants to show *čačukelača*, contrary to his request all individuals who owned it refused to show. They said it has it's own time and ritual to bring it out or shown it to the people, *čačukelača*, have had their own special place that are kept in. Even, the informants mentioned that 'we ask *waqa* to have mercy on us mentioning it's name to you. Since, there must be special purpose calling *čačukelača*'

²² "Ever since Malinowsk' study of the function of myth, anthropologists have emphasized that myth and ritual legitimate or validate the resisting social organization" (Knutsson: 1967,47)

mentioned by knutsson about *čačhukalača*. The community referred *kalača* as thunder iron. Informants asserted that a true *kalača* show movement when there is a thunder. Knutsson also explained about *kalača* like this:

The kallu also possesses a kalača, the most respected of all ritual objects not only among the Mačča but also among all oromo [Galla]. Among the Borana and Guji in the south it consists of a phallic ornament worn on the forehead by the Gada system and by the fore most ritual experts of the tribe. Unfortunately, I was never allowed to see a kalača in the Mačča, but, according to the descriptions that I obtained, it differs somewhat from that of the southern oromo [Galla]. It is described as a conically formed 'lump' of back iron, and it made only by special Tumtu, blacksmith, who are believed to use metal brought from heaven by lightning. Whoever has the right to own a kalača orders one from an expert blacksmith. When it is ready, he must build a new house and sacrifice a bull and a cow. Only then may he take the kalača to the new house and keep it there. Twice a year at the sacrifices to the ayana abba it is taken out in the sun. It is placed on a special chair from which its owner, dressed in a dirriba nabi, lifts it up and holds it in his arms, after first gargling with water containing leaves of ebiča (veronia amigedalina). On these occasions the tumtu must also attend.(1967:89-90)

This belief resembles with the Ethiopian Coptic church ark (*Tabot*). Informants explained that, *kalača* is a means through which we communicate with sky God i.e. *waqa*. The only difference between the Ethiopian orthodox *thewahedo* ark and *kalača* is

1. Only selected priest shouldered the ark (*Tabot*), which is chosen by God as the priests said. Contrary to this any individual (a man) who lived in *Mermarsa* and who wants to take the *kalača* for reconciliation purpose can take it.
2. The ark (*Tabot*) is mentioned in the bible at old testament but not the *kalača*
3. The ark (*Tabot*) is made of wood, however the *kalača* is made of iron. There is also structural difference in the design.

4. The ark (*Tabot*) is kept in church but the *kalača* found in few individuals house that inherits from their forefathers.

The owners of *kalača* have no special status but they are trusted to keep it carefully and do the ritual it needs. Some informants mentioned that since it is a material made from thunder iron. Its price in the market is very high. So, Individuals who have a full trust by the community keeps it in a very safe and secure place. They informed to the researcher that there are two *kalačas* in the P.A.

The ark (*Tabot*) and *kalača* have had certain similarities like: both of them are believed to be come from the sky, they are considered as holly things, and they are a means through which man can communicate with God or *waqa*. It is not the intention of this paper to compare the two belief systems. But, it is to show the connection between the two. It has to be mentioned that the community living in *Mermarsa* is predominantly orthodox religion followers (see table 7). From the table we see that 125 (100 percent) are orthodox religion followers. Even Knutsson connects the myth of *čačukalača* with biblical explanation (1967:89)

Above all the main reason that the researcher brought the issue of *čačukalača* is to explain how far the *čačukalača* is feared in the society. In other words, by explaining the purpose of *čačukalača* a person can be able to understand why people accept an issue, which they denied earlier, when the person who seeks reconciliation asks by the name of *čačukalača*. In the preceding sections the case histories FGD's (with men and women) of abduction presented and it was tried to see the connection between the *čačukalača* and abduction.

Table 7: Religion affiliation (Nov, 2003)

Place	Type of religion					
	Orthodox <i>tewahedo</i>		Protestant		Muslim	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<i>Mermarsa</i>	125	100	-	-	-	-
<i>Adama town (kebele 07)</i>	49	40.8	18	1.5	53	44.3
Total	174	71.1	18	7.3	53	21.6

Source: Sample survey conducted in Adama town of Kebele 07 and Mermarsa by the researcher.

The community had a strong belief in *kalača*²³. A murderer is the only individual who can't be allowed to touch up or hold the *kalača*. Women also didn't allow being near, touching or holding it. *Kalača* serves for begging the lord to make the land, children, domestic animal etc., fertile. Let me communicate the issue of *kalača* to my topic of discussion. As it was mentioned earlier, the abductor's father, brother or uncle takes the *kalača* to the abducted girl's family home and stand out side the compound. Two elders also accompanied the individual that holds the *kalača*. According to the informants no one is allowed to pass or cross the individuals who hold the *kalača* when it is on the way. The individual who holds the *kalača* isn't allowed to speak while he holds it. Because, it is believed that the *kalača* speaks for it self and no assistance is needed. If the individual who holds it try to talk, it is believed that he will be burnt to ashes. It is the motto behind this notion.

Then the people who accompany him call the abductor's family name, then after the abducted family members showed up at the get, immediately they responded because the *kalača* is there

²³ It is know that *kalača* also used to resolve the problem of blood vow (*Guma*). In such case the murderer's brother or uncle or his nearest male relative takes the *kalača* to the dead person's house for seeking a peace negotiation. Knutsson explained the functions of *kalača* the following way " the *kalača* plays an important role in adoptions and reconciliation's after manslaughter. The party asking permission to adopt a child brings the *kalača*, of *kalhu* or *gula* or to have the reconciliation ritual *guma* performed. Such request, when made before a *kelača*, may not be refused" (1967:90)

seeking peace. Most informants mentioned that if the *kalača* comes to request for peace, rejection is unthinkable.

A respondent in the P.A informed the researcher 'my wife left me to her father because we couldn't be able to understand each other. I send elders to return her to my home. The elders tried their best to solve the problem but her father become hesitant to force his daughter to go back to her husband. Finally, people advised me to take the *kalača*, so that she will immediately return. By taking their advice in to consideration, I took the *kalača* to my wife father home, but she and her father rejects my request even if I holds a *kalača*, she refuse to came back home. I waited for long time standing out side her father's home. The two individuals who accompanied me also requested my wife to return, she insisted to remain in her father is home. Then I simply put down the *kalača*, touching the ground, which is located in front of the hut. You know what happened! After a couple months her father is become blind and my wife still remain in her father house as single woman. No one asked her for marriage. 'Other informants also mentioned, rejecting the reconciliation made by in the name of *čaučkalača* will have bad consequences, like burning of one's collected harvest at night, loss of children, property, even some times death may occur.

These kinds of episode create a fear in the community. Whatever faults an individual made, if he holds a *kalača*, his opponents will forgive him and peace will be created.

Weather *čaću* spent the night somewhere for whatever reason it could be, it returned easily to home. However, if *kalača* spent the night somewhere, a sacrifice is a must. Informants told me that sheep will be slaughtered and the *kalača* will passes over it. The informant further said 'sheep is slaughtered because it is the only rightful favorable animal by *waqa*. Truthful individuals are symbolized by a sheep'. If *kalača* returns on daytime it is the choice of the person

who takes the *kalača* that determines to sacrifice or not. In such occasion, the individual who took the *kalača* can give two *Birr* to the *kalača* owner, or he can bring a fresh grass.

Some informants said the *kalača* size is equal to dwarfed oil lump, it looks like a human face; others say its feature is like a traditional grinding material (*Mukeča*). Even if it is believed that it comes from the sky, there are informants that mentioned *kalača* could be made by blacksmith (*Tumetuma*) from copper or iron.

4.3. Abduction Case History F

I (F) was borne in Mermarsa peasant association. I had always been used to be a loyal girl to my family. I served my mother in the household activity, like cooking food, washing clothes and cleaning the house. For my father, I also gave different assistance in the farming activity, particularly during harvesting time. I also look after the cattle's. Up to the time of abduction, I attended my schooling (education) in a proper way. I always wished to continue my education in order to be a teacher. However, it remain a wishful thing because my husband didn't allow me to continue my education (This informant was abducted on sep. 24, 2003)

*In my spare time (i.e. after returning from school), I assisted my family. I always went to fetch water. If you go from our home to the site of the spring by foot, it will take you almost two hours. As usual, one day I load the Jerican (plastic water container) on donkey's back, I called out my friends name in the neighbourhood but she didn't replay to my call. I repeatedly called her name loudly, no answer. I become very surprised at the moment because before thirty minutes ago she had told me that when you went to fetch water please call me, I would accompany you. Then by cashing the donkey I started to walk to the spring. I found other girls on whom I known them earlier. These girls were my schoolmates; we continued going to the spring cites talking about the days at school. Some of them were talking jokes and were we laughing. Suddenly, I heard a footstep at the back of my side. When I turned there were five men behind. They encircled us. At this moment my friends shouted loudly, I was caught but they let the girls to go free. They were stronger than me. I tried to fight them. However, I couldn't resist their beating with their big hands and heavy steak (*dula*). By putting me on the horseback they took me to a place know as Dengore (a five hour road by foot from my village *xiddeča*)*

I had seen and know, there was always abduction going on in our P.A but when it comes to me, I was so shocked, and afraid of my abductor. I couldn't stop crying. Then in his house the abductor wanted to rape me. Then, a very terrible thing occurred, that means, I strongly resisted him. He strangled me then my whole body started to be weak and he did what he wanted to do. I wish some one would come and took me away at that moment.

On the next day, I had a plan to escape but it was not possible, because there were two individuals assigned by my husband to keep an eye on me. After a long negotiation with my family, the reconciliation was done.

Next to this whole thing happened I found out that, my families were also forced to accept the reconciliation. First, the elder's (Jaarsas) request for reconciliation was denied eight consecutive times, because my father considers the abduction as disrespect for the entire family. Even if he was very old in the time my abduction, in earlier times, he was feared by everybody in the P.A. Then after, my present husband (the then abductor) brought a kalača. Before this, the elders also brought a korma gormsa (calf and heifer) even at this moment my father denied their request for reconciliation. Then kalača comes and no one refused the reconciliation.

Later on my mother told me, it was better that my father accepted, the reconciliation, because I was to be 17 years old the next year. This means I was going to be called Hafetu²⁴. My mother also mentioned that since the abductor had raped me, then who will going to marry me once my virginity was taken away?

Because of the above reasons my family was forced to accept the reconciliation. I also found that the woman who I mentioned earlier that I called out to accompany me in fetching water is also served as a spy for my abductor. She informed my abductor what time I went to school to fetch water or to go the market.

4.3.1. Important Issues in F case

- During the occurrence of Abduction F is beaten in severe way by her abductor, he also raped her. This creates physical, sexual, psychological, as well as emotional trauma on her.
- As a result of the abduction, F forced to interrupt her education.
- F's family was forced to accept the abduction not by normal elders reconciliation but through the involvement of *Kalača* (a material which is believed to have had a supernatural power on the community traditional belief system)
- Implicitly, the societal normative structure which states girls should marry before they reach certain age is enforced through the concept of *Hafetu*. This also has its own contribution for accepting the reconciliation, particularly from F's mother.
- Abduction is practiced openly in public place, may be the abductors choose the right place and time in which the relatives of the abducted girl are not found around the area which

²⁴ It is a name given to unmarried women above 17 years old. According to the norm of the area women over seventeen years old didn't wanted by most men for marriage.

the abduction is committed. In spite of this, as it was mentioned in this case there are people around the area when F is abducted, however no one is tried to stop the abduction or tried to save the abducted girl from the kidnappers. This also shows that the community considered abduction as a normal part of their life.

4.4 Abduction Case History G

This case history is unique from the previous one, because the abducted girl returned home without being raped by the kidnapper. Since her relatives take immediate action, it was aborted.

Let's follow the case

G began telling her case by saying, life is very difficult if you born from the poor family. My family can be considered as even the poorest of the poor. I live with my mother, my little brothers and sisters. My father died when I was five years of age. Our mother's main source of income is selling local drink, i.e. Areke or Tella. In addition to this she had a small plot of sandy land in which she sell sand.

At the age of twelve I started to attend school, I get good results in every exam. I love my education. I always thought, one day after I finish my education I will take my mother out from this miserable life.

Last month, something happened that can destroy my dream. I was going to fetch water from the spring. There are three women that are going with me, unexpectedly six men come towards me and started chasing, by all potential I have, I started to run, my attempt of escape didn't work, and the end the abductors easily caught me. I know two of my kidnappers, because I saw them when they often come to drink Tella in our house. During the abduction I was seriously beaten and the abductors took me to Guraccha furda- a place of my abductor. In the time of the abduction, the girls whom I went with together shouted for help, but no one gives them attention. One of the girls told me (after I returned home) that she immediately returned to my mother to tell what happened.

As I mentioned earlier my Abductors took me to a very far place from our village. That day is the longest day of my life. I waited some action from my relatives but no one comes to rescue me. What I always thought was; - 'is my abductor tried to rape me? But he didn't do so.

At the middle of the night, I heard the door broken, individuals entered the house, first my uncle then my mother's boyfriend then the peasant association militiamen. My abductor escaped through the window because he couldn't be able to fight back. The P.A officials also hold a rifle (Klashinkove). Some of the kidnappers tried to resist for the time being, but at the end, they gave their hands to P.A officials. I always thought that, I am the luckiest woman in the P.A, because I may be the only girl who returned in peaceful way without being raped.

4.4.1 Comments Made by Other Community Members on the Case of G

G's uncle and her mother boyfriend said, 'It is terrible news for the family; she is only fourteen years old. Her abductor is a delinquent (*keshlebe*²⁵). He was living in *Adama* town as a day laborer. He chews *čate* and consumes very much alcohol (*Areke*). We also know that he had tuberculosis due to this he is in therapy. Some individuals (his nearest friends) told us that he is HIV- positive. Imagine what distortion would be created if this man become G is husband.'

Her teacher also informed the researcher that 'G is a very out standing student. Her rank is always second or third in the class. If this attempt of abduction can't be curtailed sooner, the school will lose one of our out standing students'. Finally, her instructor said ' Even if I had heard three other abduction cases in the peasant association, G's case should be a message for other youngsters who have a plan to abduct a girl. At least in my opinion, the community in this P.A seems awakened and started to realize the bad consequence of abduction'.

4.4.2 Points that have to be mentioned in G's Case

- Even if G's faced physical abuse i.e. beating during the time of abduction, she was saved with out being raped. Because, her relatives in cooperation with *kebele* officials took immediate action in curtailing the abduction.
- From the legal point of view, the measure taken by the P.A officials is still slow. In the researcher's opinion the P.A officials²⁶ (militiaman) should have passed over those abductors (criminals) to the police station rather than leaving them free.

²⁵ This word is used in the area to explain a rude person.

²⁶ The researcher found out that the *Kebele* officials free those criminals, because the P.A militia underlined, they have no right to prison the abductors. They simply say the case is transferred to higher officials.

- G's had an excellent academic performance. However, if the attempted abduction were successful, her future life would be damaged. She will be potential human resources that could be beneficial for her family as well as the country as a whole.

4.5. FGDs Made by Abducted and Non- Abducted Women

The next two FGDs are conducted in *Mermarsa* peasant association at a village known as *xiddeča*. In each FGD, six to eight women are participated. Some of the members are married through abduction others are not married. Such a combination helps to see the view of women who passed through it and those who didn't. In the first FGD, the age of women varies from fifteen to fifty. The next one is seventeen to thirty five. To avoid repetition, the main ideas of the two FGDs'are brought as follows.

As it was done in the previous FGDs the issue of marriage formulation was raised at the beginning

- In both FGDs the women asserted that marriage is an essential institution for the society. 'But as far as there is abduction we are afraid of it' (view of non- married women). One participant at the age 15 suggested, that 'I am always afraid of going to school because one-day any one may come to abduct me'.
- (An elder woman who participated in the FGD mentioned that, 'If a woman couldn't marry on time she will be called *Hafetu*. So, it is good to marry in a normal way. But if a girl's age is going to pass the required age for marriage, she has to be abducted. This woman also said a poor man who couldn't pay the requested dowry and lack the money for wedding feast, has no other alternative but, only abduction'

- Another woman who has a different view from this, mentioned that 'I know that your son marry through *Butta* (abduction), that's why you support abduction'. This woman continued her explanation, 'this kind of thought is a very traditional one, may be you and I passed during that backward time. However, the present time is different. If a man wants to marry, he must ask the girl's family in proper way. Abduction is nothing but simply stealing a girl!' By supporting her idea other discussant gives hand claps. In support of this woman idea, another woman said 'it is not lack of finance to pay for bride wealth or to prepare a wedding feast, but on some occasion it is due to the competition for the girl by several men.'
- A girl around the ages of fifteen (she is also a 5th grade student) mentioned that 'there is a problem from the women too. I know there is a girl who is abducted from our neighbourhood recently. A girl who I didn't want to mention her name now served as a spy for the abductors. She told them every place the abducted girl went. This made the abduction very easy. In spite of this, if the spy girl warned the abducted girl's family, the situation would have changed.'
- Participants of the FGDs mentioned that alcoholic local drinks like *Areke* is a mild stimulant, which rides the abductors like a horse.
- A woman who married through abduction explained that 'in abduction there are two bad things. One is, critical beating and the other one is forced sex (rape). Most women resisted their abductors during the time of kidnapping; this resistance exposed them for serious beating. I am old woman, I saw a lot of abduction in my life, and I hate this practice. It hampers and even kills a girl's future life. Most abductor's immediately raped the girl after the abduction. This creates a deep scare on the mind of the abducted girl.'

- The abductor takes her virginity. If she returns to her father's home, she will not be wanted for marriage. Because a girl who lost her virginity is not needed for marriage. It is a very complicated problem. The government must give education to the community'
- Another discussant raised a different issue i.e. the *čačukalača* case. She said, '*čaču* has its own purpose in our tradition like blessing the lord in order to made our land or women more fertile and *kalača* to reconcile conflict between individuals or family. However, in *Buta* (abduction) it served as a final enforcing mechanism to impose the will of the kidnapper on the abducted girl's families. The reason I bring this here is, I heard youngsters saying 'I can abduct a girl and the final thing in reconciliation could be to bringing *čačukalača*'

4.5.1 Main points in FGD's made with women

- Due to abduction girls fear to go to school.
- Parents are afraid with the negative connotations of the word *Hafetu*. Because if their girls may pass the marriage age limits the probability of getting a husband is very low.
- There are also women who seriously object abduction in favor of formal marriage and vice versa.
- Abduction is also practiced due to men's competition over one girl.
- Women are indirectly participating in the abduction; some of them serve as spy, for the abductors.
- Traditional alcoholic drinks like *Areke*, gives the abductors a courage to abduct a girl
- Abducted girls are interrupted from their education.

- *čačukalača serve* as a means of a final enforcing mechanism of abducted girl's family to accept the reconciliation.

4.6. FGD Made with Male Youngsters on the Issue of Abduction

This FGD is conducted among five to six male youngsters between the ages of 16-20 years. Some of them are married by abduction, others are in formal marriage and the rest are on their education, meaning they are unmarried.

The first question raised is why do men choose to abduct girls rather than marrying through formal way? The first speaker mentioned, 'it is due to the lack of financial capacity for bride wealth and wedding ceremony'. He further said, 'if some one wants to marry in a formal way: he must bring horses or rent a car for himself and the bride, for his best men and for participants of the wedding that should accompany him. The whole process may cost him from 2000-2500 *Birr*. However, abduction only costs 700-800 *Birr*, including the reconciliation process. Imagine with in the present peasant life condition, it is impossible at least for the majority of peasant community to cover this formal marriage expense. This is also due to poverty because from time to time the production that we get from our land deceased.

On the issue of how a man can abduct a girl, participants respond in the following way. The next speaker continued by saying, 'I am always observing abduction starting from childhood, that men in-group abducted a girl. When I reached at the age of sixteen, I started to plan for my own abduction. In order to implement my plan, I shared my Idea with my intimate friends, and all agreed. Unfortunately, my father rejected the Idea. He said, 'If you abduct a girl, I will not be responsible for the consequence that comes letter on'. I had no other alternatives but to agree with what the old man said. After constructing my own hut in the compound, my father started to request a girl for me. She was twelve years old at that moment and her family said 'he has to

wait until our daughter reaches the preferred age for marriage'. Starting from the day that my father sent elders (go between individuals) to the girl's family, I was sending gifts like, clothing to her and to her family always on Holydays. When the marriage date becomes nearer I paid the necessary bride wealth. In the end when she reached fourteen, I married her with a nice wedding. In my opinion, men don't want this long procedure. They always find a short cut, which is abduction.

Another youngest participant explained his Idea by opposing the explanation that says 'men abduct women because it is a short cut.' He stressed it is their poverty that forces them to do it. He continued by saying, 'for instance, I came from a very poor family. I live with my mother. We have a very small plot of farming land. The harvest that is collected from this land doesn't feed the family all year round. In order to supplement this I am forced to work as a day laborer. I married my present wife through abduction. Some of you helped me in the abduction (he mean the FGD's participants) because you believed that this is the only way that I can get a wife.

This participant elaborated the condition of abduction a little bit further, 'the reconciliation process also took long time. The elders become discouraged. The abducted girl's family didn't want to give me recognition as a husband. I think it is due to my poverty. At the end, my mother took *čacu* to the abducted girl's family and the reconciliation be come fruitful.'

The participants of the FGDs also discussed on the issue of girl's age at first marriage. Almost all said the girl has to be between the ages of thirteen to fifteen. Their main reason (justification) for saying this is:

- Women become older, faster than men, so a man has to marry them at an early age.

- There is family pressure that, if a person marries a woman between the ages of 17-20, every member of the community will undermine (criticize) him, by implicating to his wife as *Hafetu*.
- If she is very young she could give birth for more children.
- Men can make a woman pregnant any time. But, if a woman passed certain age limit (> 45 age) she can't give birth. Therefore, the participants mentioned the girl should be at an early age to give birth for more children.

4.6.1. Points that should be underlined in the FGD Made by Male youngsters

- According to informants, poverty is considered as a main factor that forces men to abduct girls in the P.A. i.e. high costs related with bride wealth and wedding ceremony, which is not coverable by a peasant.
- Other participant blame the abductors by saying, since formal marriage process takes long time and it is costs a lot of money, men choose abduction as a short cut.
- *Čaču*²⁷ a woman dominated fertility ritual practice, played as a last enforcing mechanism for reconciliation with the abducted girl's family. On this occasion it plays like the role-played by *kalača*.
- The biological factor also presented by the participant as a point of argument about why men choose to abduct a girl at an early age was that women become old faster than men. So, to have more children, man should marry the girl at an early age.

²⁷ Informants call *čaču* when they associate with women fertility, females also dominate it. But *kalača* is associated and monopolized only by men. Inmost cases the researcher-heard respondents calling *čačukalača*, by combing the two belief systems together. However, it has to be known that *čaču* and *kalača* have their own separate ritual ceremony.

4.7. *Seegeba*- chasing out of widow partner

The word *seegeba* in *Mermesa* implies the affair of a widow in marital relationship with a man. When an individual enters to a widow house without a marriage process it is called *seegeba*. The reason that I brought this issue is that, in *Mermarsa* area a widow has no right in allowing her new partner to live together with out notifying *Abba Folles*.

From the *Folles* point of view the word *seegeba* implies avoiding man from entering to a widow's woman house, if he didn't ask their permission.

Folle is a *Gada* class in the *Tulama Oromo*. Knutsson who made intensive research on the *Mečča* and *Tulama Oromo* groups mentioned that

In Tulama today only two classes still retain something of their character and functions. One is folle, --- the folle play the part of clown and dance troupes they are allowed considerable sexual license and at the same time have a right to molest those who do not follow the accepted sexual moral code. The second class still ceremonially distinguished is luba, at its conclusion the members celebrate the butta feast at which they are circumcised (1963:170)

In *Mermarsa* area each *Abba Folle* has 40-50 dance troupes under him. If the *Abba folle* didn't allow the man to enter to the widow's house or if a man enters with out asking the permission of *Abba folle* immediate action will be taken on the man.

For instance, if a woman has a lover after the death of her husband and if this man (her lover) starts to live with the widow with out informing *Abba folle*, he will call the dances troupes i.e. *Folles* and take immediate action, according to the informants always *Folles* sing and dance in group.

In Holydays like in St. *Geberal* and in St *Micheal* day their activity is frequently observed. In these days, they dance and sing together starting from the church yard and march to every part of the P.A: blessing the land, the people, thanks giving to the *Waqqa* and 'cursing the misbehaved' is

the main purpose of their dancing and singing. If they have information on who is entering in which widow's house, without their permission then they will take measure on both the widow and her lover. That means when they reach at the home of the widow, in which a man enters without their permission, and then they directly entered the house and beat both of them while destroying what ever they found in front of them. Since they come suddenly, it is difficult for the widow and her new partner to escape.²⁸ The beating of the widow as well as her new husband is a very serious one. The *Folles* action doesn't stop by doing this, they take a Toga (*Kuta*) from the house of the widow and they went directly to the near by river and tears it in to two parts, what they call *Koreta*. This implies that the widow and her partner are marginalized from the society. Even their nearest relatives couldn't be able to come in order have social commitment because of the sanction made by *Folles*. In other words, the two couples are cut off from the entire community. No one will come near to them in time of happiness or sorrow.

As Knutson said,

----- they (*folles*) are allowed considerable sexual license and --
----- they have a right to molest those who do not follow the
accepted sexual moral code (*Ibid*).

The point here is, when illegal premarital or extramarital sex is committed by the *Folles*, the societies condone it because they are authorized by the tradition. However, when it comes to the poor widow who wants to start a new relationship, *Folles* beat her and her partner. They ostracized both of them from the society.

Respondents who served as *Folles* in the time of the research replied 'we are doing this because we have to keep the widow from an outsider who comes to inherit her property'. In addition to this, they say 'we have the responsibility of the community that the children's of the dead person

²⁸ However, there are cases that the widow partner leaves widow the house before the attack made by *Folles*, this can happen if and only if the widow or the widow partner has the information from the insiders.

have to be well protected. So, we immediately take action in order to avoid the abuse that will be made by an outsider'.

In spite of *Folles* claim, implicitly they are in a way keeping the land from occupation by an outsider. As other informants suggested, it is not for the sake of protecting the widow but it is for a need of *Korma goremsa*.

One research that was made in the eleven ethnic groups in Ethiopia indicates that 78.3 percent of girls are not acceptable, when they propose for marriage (Hirut: 1997, 562). Even if this figure shows only the girls response, it can show how far women are denied when they propose for marriage. As we look to the following case history the problem becomes more complicated when a widow choose her partner for marriage.

The widow may have the possibility to get permission if she gives the *korma goremsa* (calf & heifer) through her partner to the *Abba Folle*. Even if she can be able to give this, her partner should be a person that belongs to the clans that are found in the area. If the person is not belonged to them, the request will be rejected.

Here two important things that affect the widow right can be explained.

- I. If the widow or her partner didn't have the financial capacity to give the *korma goremsa* to *Abba folle* then both of them will be humiliated in front of the community. For lacking the financial capability to give the gift to the *Abba folle*. In other words, the widow is dined her human right to choose/ marry whatever person she like to marry. This also implies, women in that area are not considered to be consciously administrable their property (land, house etc.) or their own life after their husband's death.

- II. Even if the widow has the financial capacity, she must choose an individual who is known by the *Folles*, who is found in the P.A. In spite of this, if the widow chooses unknown person by *Folles* even if he belongs to the clans that are found in the area the *Folles* deny her request.

4.7.1. A Case History of Widow (H) that faced a Terrible Attack from *Folles*

H told her case history in the following way. Let's follow her. *I was borne in the Mermarsa peasant association. I grew up and married here. My husband was a very good man he takes care of me and his children. Because of the recent the Ethio-Eriterian war he went to the warfront. In the first year that he went to the war front, he sent us a small amount of money. This served as an indicator for his survival. On the next year of his departure, his financial assistance stopped.*

I have a small plot of land. Since the militiamen family whose husband's went to the warfront gets a special attention, I was one of the beneficiaries of this scheme. For few months, the P.A officials ordered the community to look after my farmland, by turn. This, to some extent reduces the burden of my workload.

*After the war stopped the P.A officials told me the news of my husband death. I was mourning for long time. I never expected to lose him in such incident. Starting from the day of my husband's death news, my life became gloomy. Gradually, the P.A community stopped to give assistance in farming activity. Then life began to be very difficult. I had to employ a peasant who can assist me in the farming activity. This didn't become that much useful, because when I compared the salary I paid for the peasant with the profit I get from the harvest out put, it showed a loss. So, I stopped hiring a peasant. For two consecutive harvest times, my brother assisted me but he is old enough and I didn't want to bother him. I realized that life shouldn't be continued in this way. Then, I decided to live with my boyfriend. I know this man since my husband's death. We have been acquainted for one year; he had a good feeling towards the children and me. He also assisted me in the farming activity. Finally, we agreed to live together. For the first two months everything seems normal. But, last month the *Folles* suddenly came to my hut, bit my new husband and me. The verbal abuse and physical beating was very severe on both of us.*

*The *Folles* took the toga (kuta) from my house to the river and torn it in to two parts. I knew this is a message, which indicates that my partner and I are cut from the community. My neighbours secretly contacted me; even my relatives also reduced their visit. In spite of all these social sanctions made by *Folles* my new husband and I still live together. I knew earlier that some of the *Folles* need me for friendship. I didn't like any one of them and I like my present husband. Now, the case is in the hands of the police. However, since the P.A militiamen support the *Folles*, whatever security protection that the police ordered for us to the P.A militiamen, it is not yet come to be practical. Some of the *Folles* threaten me verbally when we meet on the road. They say, 'If you don't chase out this man, we will burn your house'.*

My husband also faced the same threatening. I told him to restrain his anger. I always tell him the issue is in the hands of the legal men that we have to stay calm and wait to the final police

decision. The policemen informed me that after they conclude the legal procedure, they would pass it over to the prosecutor office for a court decision.

I am a very poor woman; I have no financial strength to buy calf and heifer (*Korma goremsa*) that could be given to the *Folles*.

4.7.1.1. Points in H Case history

- As a result of her husband's death in the warfront H faced a big problem in her life. The P.A community stopped the special support, which was ordered by the government, for those individuals that went to Ethio-Eriteria warfront. This creates high pressure on H's life.
- To alleviate her problem that was created around the farming activity, H hired a peasant. But this couldn't give her a last resolution in the farming activity, due to the incompatibility of the final output of harvest with the payment for peasant. To alleviate this problem, creating an alliance with a new partner was a strategy applied by H.
- The *Folles* immediate reaction on H's action is on the pretext of keeping the dead man's property, the woman and her children's right. The *Folles* humiliated H and her partner by beating and verbal abuse.
- H sought a legal protection in order to be secured. However, the P.A militiamen didn't implement the order given by the police, to protect H from any verbal threat or attempt of attack by *Folles*. It seems that the *Folles* are highly influential on the action of the P.A militiaman.
- The violence committed on H's and her partner is a sort of institutionalized sanction because the authority of *Folles* is accepted by the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Theoretical Explanation

This chapter deals with the association of the research with grand theories of violence against women. In doing the theoretical explanation the researcher is attempted to relate to the main components of the research.

As we observe the case histories, FGD's and the research result, we can take the following question in the explanation of theories of violence against women.

- Why did men initiated to use violence as a means of conflict resolving mechanism?
- What factors contributes for continuation of violence or how did violence against women Condon within the community?
- How did men (husbands) learn violence against women?

These questions are tried to be touched in the proceeding discussion.

In this study the researcher didn't believe that one theoretical explanation (framework) didn't explain the whole idea of violence against women discussed in the research i.e. Wife abuse, Abduction and *Seegeba* (Chasing out of widow partner). Due to this the different theories that are explained earlier (pp.11-15) are applied.

The first theory that I would like to mention is the function aggression theory. Proponents of the theory; Steinmetzei, 1988 and Abraham, 1996 propagates that an individual feels to committee violence when some goal is blocked or as a response to frustration. As it was mentioned in the case of A and B, their husbands become not successful in the business, they fail in to bankruptcy.

That means their imagination of becoming well-stabilized trader is curtailed or blocked because of their personal reasons. As a result of this failure, the husbands of B and A become highly addicted to *čate* and alcohol. This condition may lead them to social stress. Then a growing sense of anger and frustration emerges in the marital relationship. i.e. when A questioned her husband what is wrong with the business, he beats her. In other words this situation increases the potential for violence.

B and A mentioned that when their husbands chew *čate* and consume alcohol their husbands encouraged to committee violence. At this point I want to mention what Scut (1991) says that alcohol may be associated with violence but does not cause it. Leonard and Blane (1992) also mentioned the relationship between alcohol use and both the man's level of hostility and level on marital satisfaction moderate violence. It is clear that the first case and second case histories (A's and B's respectively) showed that their husbands become hostile to them because of the stated reasons in each case history. For instance, A always insisted to know about the business failure, Y (A's husband) assumed that A has a superiority outlook towards to him and A also aborted his first child. Due to this he may become hostile to her and this may force him to beat A.

When we come to B's case her effort to rehabilitate her husband's addiction from *čate* and alcohol was not considered as a way of assisting by her husband but as spoiling his reputation. In spite of B's effort, her husband develops a hostile out look towards her, which ends up in beating and abandoning of her with the child.

From the above mentioned two points we can say that alcohol didn't cause violence but the predetermined hostile outlook of the husbands of B and A which made them committing the violence act. It has to be known that, in many families, drunkenness may occur without any

violence being precipitated while violence may occur with out any alcohol being consumed. (Scut: 1991, 45)

Resource theory elaborated violence as a resource to accomplish one's wishes in a manner similar to the use of money, (Steimetz, 1988). There is beating, verbal abuse and finally forced sex in marital relation. Such violence acts become a resource for abusive husbands because when their wives refuse to have sex, they use violence as a resource to meet their target. (Look the issue of marital rape in A case, pp.39-43 and C case, pp.52-56).

Exchange theory also explains the issue of violence against wives. For instance, if we take the case of A her husband is frustrated due his bankruptcy, misunderstanding with her, A's superiority complex etc, this anger and frustration may be released during the Y's abuse of A. In other words anger and frustration release through wife abuse is a reward for the perpetrators (i.e. Y) as well as the accumulation of power and control. So, the cost of violence in Y is Separation. Gelles and Corvell mentioned that (1990) cost of violence includes divorce or separation.

The theories that are discussed up to now are categorized under social psychological theories.

The socio-cultural theories also have their own place in explaining the violence acts committed against wives. Structural theory is one of the theories that are streamered out of socio-cultural theories. The case of E (pp.62-64) can be explained in this theory. Her husband has fewer resources, in terms of materials and emotional, due to this he always frustrated, some times he heard to be said 'I am proud of my poverty' and when he face confrontation with his wife, violence become a means to pass over it.

Feminist theory has its own reflection in explaining violence. It is known that feminist consider gender as a self as a social construction of male and female identification with unequal value. As

Marxist stated it, this theory also revolved around two concepts, patriarchy and Patriarchy describes the institutionalized system of male dominance, which condition psychologically because they accept a process of sex role stereotypes. Patriarchy implies men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of to such power (Lerner: 196:239). When sexism explained from the feminist point of view ideology of male supremacy, of male superiority and of beliefs that support and sustain it (240)

By putting this in mind we can cite a lot of points in the theory, which have relevance in the histories, FGDs and results of this study. For example, if you take the D's case (pp.57-60) patrilocality; her husband's action of having a mistress which is not considered a wrongful act by the society are the core points that are constructed around male supremacy.

It is also a fact that male domination is condoned in the society. Through out D's case her husband had done a lot of damage on her, physically, psychologically as well as sexually. He severely beats and abuses D, even after her relative takes her for treatment, he forced her to return home by bringing *Kalača* to her father's house. From this we can understand that the system, which is used for reconciliation is in support and favor of the male dominance rather than female.

In the FGD made in *Kebele 07*, Women also explained that they are highly influenced by male-oriented ideology in their house as well as in the working environment. The participants in the FGD mentioned that women didn't get equal access to education, job etc. Sexist ideology is reflected in the case of A as some part of the case her husband said 'women didn't like to be honored' and Y (A's husband) told by his father that 'a woman and a donkey likes beating, don't beat them, they couldn't be loyal to you'. This kind of view that is inculcated in Y

from childhood helped him to justify his violence acts. By reviewing what is said up to know we can be able to say that males employed violence as controlling of females (Mies, 1986).

The issue of Abduction can be explained both by resource theory (which is categorized under social-psychological theories) and Feminist theory (that is included with social cultural theories). Resource theory explained that violence issued as a resource to gain one's wishes (Steinmetze; 1988) Goode (1971) elaborated that violence is the ultimate resource in which it is used when other resources are perceived to be in sufficient or to have failed to obtain the desired response.

In the case histories of Abduction (case F-pp. 81-82 and case G, p.83) it is clearly indicated that men use such violent acts to steal bride (i.e. kidnapping) because they lack the financial resources (for weeding and bride wealth) and feel powerless, so to accomplish their desire they use force and violence.

The issue of patriarchy and sexism comes that men also abduct woman to out smart a rival. This kind of prejudice male ideology comes because of male supremacy. In the community females are considered as property rather than full-fledged human being. Men control every thing the land, the harvest, children, hut, women, generally speaking everything. One research made by *Hirut*, (1997: 550) showed the ownership situation of women in Ethiopia.

Table 8: Land, Cattle and house ownership at national level

No	Ownership	Land		Cattle		House	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
0	Not answered	37	1.6	49	2.1	42	1.8
1	Men/Husband	1379	58.2	1507	44.6	895	37.8
2	Women/wives	96	4.1	111	4.7	347	10.4
3	Both men and women	808	34.1	1141	48.2	1172	49.5
4	Other	49	2.1	11	0.5	113	0.5
	Total	2369	100.0	2369	100.0	2369	100.0

Source: (*Hirut*: 1997, 562).

Table 8 showed, those who respond about the ownership of land, cattle and house for women is 4.1 percent, 4.7 and 10.4 respectively. This showed that the ownership right of women is very in significant when we compare with men. In other words and as it was mentioned earlier, in patriarchy system men control (hold) the important institutions of the society (Lerner: 1986:239). In such a way women become at subordinate position to men. This creates a favorable condition for men to control women in every direction. This reality is clearly reflected in the feminist and Marxist theory.

When we return to the discussion of Abduction this subordinate position of women to men is observed. Men forcefully catch women through abduction without their willingness because men can easily legalize the abduction to formal marriage with few costs, because they have every thing at their own hand as a result of patriarchy.

At this point we could be able to see the convergence of the resource theory and feminist theory. In the researcher opinion first the patriarchal ideology is existed, there in the society. Due to the lack of financial resource to give for bride wealth and wedding ceremony, the formal way of marriage request is passed over by the patriarchal value and norms existed in the society. Some one may raise a question that if patriarchy is the one that molds the socio-economic and socio-cultural ideology in the society, why men denied the previously consensually agreed pre-request of formal marriage and changes to other forms of marriage i.e. abduction.

This could be due to the economic deterioration and men start to lose the economic strength to pay what was stated earlier for bride wealth and preparation of wedding ceremony. Since, men have the supreme power in controlling the economy, religion, family, politics (in traditional way) education they can easily manipulate and change what was stated earlier.

Therefore, Abduction becomes a very best way to cover up the incapability of economic strength. The abductors couldn't be able to say we are poor and please give your daughters with this amount of bride wealth and a very small feast. Because their forefathers are the one that clearly state earlier that the values and norms of the community for formal marriage should have to be implemented in such a way. So, as it was mentioned earlier abduction is the only way to pass such bottleneck (lack of finance) and this leads to the use of violence as a resource. From this we can see that the transference of man from formal marriage to Abduction can be easily done as far as patriarchal ideology existed.

In addition to what has been said up now, abduction also implicitly supported by the socially constructed concept of *Hafetu*. This concept is used as a means of social pressure, which implies a girl engagement to marriage at early age much as possible. If a girl is passed certain age limit she is likely to be called *Hafetu*. During the research time it is found out by the researcher that women in the P.A. didn't want to be called *Hafetu*. As it was described in F case history (see p.82) her mother told to F that if her age were passed to 17 she would be called *Hafetu*. The bad connotation towards this name is also away of social pressure that tacitly enforced families to accept abduction and early marriage as a way of marriage formation. It has to be known that it is only the female that will be called *Hafetu*, if she passed certain age limit, not the male.

In the literature part of this paper (p.32) *Oromia* region ranks second at country level and within the *Oromia* region, *Misrake Shewa* is the first one in the occurrence of abduction. When we come to *Mermarsa* P.A the number, percentage of abductions occurrence and age at first marriage shown in the following tables.

Table 9: Ways of Entering Into Martial Relationship (Both Sex: Nov, 2003)

How do you start martial relation ship		
Response	In number	Percents
Through Abduction	89	71.2
Through formal Marriage	34	27.2
Through <i>Seegaba</i>	2	1.6
Total	125	100

Source: Sample survey done in *Mermars* by the researcher.

Table 9 shows that 89 (71.2 percent) individuals marry through abduction; this shows that the occurrence of abduction in the *Mermarsa* is very high.

Table 10: Age at First Marriage (Wives: Nov, 2003)

Age at first Marriage		
Response	In number	Percent
At 12 year	9	14.5
At 13 "	5	8.1
At 14 "	13	21
At 15 "	19	30.6
At 16 "	7	11.3
At 17 "	6	9.7
At 19 "	3	4.8
Total	62	100

Source: Ibid

As we look in Table 10 the majority of women married between the age of 12-15, if we add down wards up to the 15-year, it is almost 46 (74.2 percent) respondents married before they reach sixteen years. This also clears indication that the concept of *Hafetu* and early marriage are very much-interrelated one. That means girls will marry at an early age before they pass

specifically stated age limit in the area through abduction or formal marriage. But abduction shares a great number. (See table 9).

When we return to feminist theoretical explanation, the patriarchal ideology is also reflected in the belief system. For instance, the *čačukalača* is used in the reconciliation process of abduction case. This belief system is male oriented; men are the only creatures that allowed holding and reconciling through. In the case of abduction, it is the will of abductors that is imposed through *Kalača* on the abducted girls and her family. The same function also played by *čaču* in reconciliation process of abduction. It is obvious that *čačukalača* has other important function in the society.

In other words, to paralyze the abducted girl's family refusal for reconciliation the *čačukalača* belief system in association with frightful suction keeps the right of the perpetrators (Abductors) Interest. This clearly shows how much male social pressure that is manifested through traditional religious belief system keeps women in confirming to expressive role a role of rationality and power (Elisenstein, 1984; Sheffield, 1987; Glenn, 1987).

Feminist theory can also explain the issue of *seegaba*- prevention of widow not to establish marital relation, or chasing out of widow partner. The point here is that women (widow) is not considered as a conscious, human being that can properly administrated/ lead her own life because of this wrong out look *folles* immediately react on her. This is done because they are patriarchal society in terms of every thing; residence, inheritance etc. The *folles*, which are legitimatised through the tradition of the society, decide on the life of a pity widow. They didn't consider her human right or the problem she faced starting from her husband death. (See the *seegaba* case history pp.94-95). This is also highly mitigated because a widow (totally women) has unequal social value in the society. Since *folles* have the ultimate power in the traditional administrative political system in the area, they have the authority to lay sanction on widows.

There are no women that can be elected as *folles*, because the institution of *folle* by it self is totally dominated and manipulated by men.

Social learning theory explains how the male members of the community internalize these violence acts against women. As it was mentioned in chapter two, together with the role modeling theory social learning theory assumes that children learn violent behaviour from their parents. (Abraham, 1995)

Table 11: Presence of children at the time of fighting (both sex, urban and rural area: Nov, 2003)

Are children available at home during the fighting?		
Response	In number	In percent
Yes, because we live in one room	156	71.2
No, because they have their own separate class	36	16.4
I didn't have a child	27	12.4
Total	219	100

Source: sample survey done in Mermarsa and kebele 07 of Adama town by the researcher.

From the above table (11), we can be able to see that out of 219 respondents on hundred fifty six (71.2 percent) of them replied that most of the time children are their observing the incident of violence against their mother.

In the case of A's, her husband (Y) clearly mentioned that in his childhood he is observing his father beating his mother. Y also asserted that just like his father doing, he use violence as a means of resolving conflict and controlling his wife.

This theory also applied to abduction. Male children grown up by looking that their older brother uses abduction as a way of starting marital relation. In other words they are socialized through

this process. As Abraham (1995) puts it children can learn violent behavior when other significant others resolving problems by means of violence.

In *seegaba* i.e chasing out a widow partner; the *folles* are part of the *Geda* age grade system in the *Mečča-Tulama Ormo* (Knutsson: 1963), one of their functions is to keep an eye on a widow not to let her lover to enter in her own house.

The age grade system in the *Gada* ceremony has its own way of socializing male youngsters. Meaning it has its own rite of passage. At the right time and age men enter to *Folle* stage and they are clearly socialized by the tradition, in what way to act and react. This kind of learning process helped them to know how a widow could be abused, if she didn't ask their permission for letting another man to enter in her own house.

Up to know the researcher tried to see the main theoretical explanations, which have relevance to the topic of discussion. From what is said up to now, the researcher believed that one single theory couldn't be able to explain the whole situation of violence against women. Therefore, violence against women should be explained by different theories in a comprehensive manner.

5.2 The Comparison and Contrast of the Violence Against Women in the two Sites of the Study

Throughout this paper the three Violent acts, wife abuse, Abduction *Seegaba* which revolved around marital relationship are tried to be seen, now in this part it is attempted to compare the situation of these violence acts against women in the two study areas. Wife abuse is found both in the rural as well as urban areas, however abduction and *seegaba* are predominantly the typical violence acts committed in the rural part. If you look table 2 on page 32 abduction is stated in the city of Addis Ababa. The researcher contacted the NCTPE office in the capital city about this in

formation, one of staff member stated that abduction is not appeared at the center of Addis but it is in the periphery areas of the city. Since the city is enlarged horizontally many peasant associations are included by the city administration. That means that abduction cases mentioned in those P.As are the one that is included under Addis Ababa. As far as the researcher information is concerned the case of *Seegaba* has not been seen in the center of *Adama* Town.

The first point that I would like to mention for point of comparison is the livelihood of the community in the two study areas, i.e. Kebele 07 of *Adama* town and *Mermarsa*. The people of *Mermarsa* are engaged in agricultural activity, sometimes the peasants supplemented their income by participating as day labourer in the construction of the main highway which passed through the P.A. In contrast to this wives in the P.A are totally subordinated to their husband's in terms of resource (Land, money, house etc). As it was observed in other parts of Ethiopia (we can take the case of *Gurage* women (see Shack: 1966) women in *Mermarsa* didn't participate in the informal sector of business activity like pity trade.

The researcher observed that women in the area visited market places (to *Adama* or *Wolenchiti*) for buying household items. This implies that a little amount of means of earning their own income is not available for *Mermarsa* women. It is obvious that there are few women engage in the selling of local drinks like *Areke* and *Tella*.

In contrast to these women in *kebele 07* of *Adama* engaged in different types of job. The majority of them are engaged as day laborer. Such kind of employment gave for women to earn their own source of finance. Women respondents informed the researcher that some times they cover all the expenses of the household budget and they also gave pocket money to their husbands.

The reason that I bring the economic issue here is that violence against wives by their husbands has a relationship with control of resources. Wives in *Mermersa* are deprived of acquiring

resource; this increases the potential for violence. In the time of beating or whatever kind of abuses that women face, they remain at home because they lack the essential resources to lead their own life. If there is separation or divorce happened because of the violence acts committed on wives, they have no permanent source of income, but to depend on their relatives or may be to migrate to nearby urban centers. Different from this, wives in the study area of *Kebele 07* earn a small amount of money. Even if their daily income is not enough, it has something to do with their status in the domestic area, i.e. they didn't always expect money from their husbands. They can full-fill their own needs up to the limit of finance they earn on daily bases. When marital problem existed (separation divorce) they couldn't face the same tragedy like the *Mermarsa* women in terms of financial scarcity.

It has to be known that this didn't mean women in *Mermarsa* and *Kebele 07*-face domestic violence in different way, but they both face the consequence of violence equally. In both areas there is verbal, physical as well as sexual abuse.

The second point of comparison is place residence after marriage. In the *Mermarsa* area husbands bring their wives to their father place, i.e. patrilocal residence. Wives that bring in to this patrilocal area become monopolized or dominated by husbands and his kin group. As it was mentioned in the wife abuse cases in *Mermarsa* area we could see that how their husband kin group, particularly their mother in law, influences wives. This type of residence creates conducive environment for abusive husbands because there are very low involvement of the wives relatives, unless and otherwise the beating is very severe.

Contrary to this in *kebele 07* it is observed that husband and wife live in neo-local residence i.e. neutral from husbands or wives' relatives. This is because most of the dwellers are migrated from different regions. It is obvious that there are few cases in which kin groups settled in certain parts

of the *kebele* as a group. Like *Gurages* in one area, or *Oromos*, *Amharas* in another place, however, the social controlling mechanism in this kin-ship based settlement in urban area (like *Adama*) is not that much effective. Because the urban dwellers may not necessarily be dependant on kin-ship based social or economic organizations, this type of social or economic organizations are replaced by other forms of informal organizations like *Iddir*, *Iqqub* etc. (Lewis: 1973) The majority of the population in *kebele* 07 is Heterogynous. There are different ethnic groups (Look table 12). It is also known that those indigenous organizations are also found in the rural areas but contrary to urban areas they are monopolized by homogeneous group.

Table 12: Ethnic composition of *kebele* 07 in *Adama* Town (Box sexes: Nov, 2003)

Ethnic affiliation of respondents	In number	Percent
Amhara	29	24.1
Oromo	44	36.7
Gurage	32	26.7
Selti	11	9.2
Somali	1	0.8
Tigrawe	3	2.5
Total	120	100

Source: sample survey done in *kebele* 07 by the researcher.

The reason that I bring the place of residence as a point for comparison is that the violence committed in the rural area become very intense and secret due to this type of residence, it covers the wrongful acts of husbands. As it was mentioned in the limitation part of the study, at the beginning, the researcher faced a problem in getting a case history that can be mentioned here. It is not because of the absence of wife abuse but it is the fear that the information given to the researcher may reach to their husband and bring violence. This problem is tackled through the cooperation of the community members and government and non-government workers in the area. The researcher also repeatedly mentioned to the informants that every thing what they said is confidential, no names will be mentioned.

In contrast to this, neo-local type of residence, which is shown in the *kebele* 07 of *Adama* reflects something, people in the *kebele* live in a very congested situation (look the photos at the end of the paper). When there is a fight between husbands and wives the chance of interference by neighbors is very high, when we compare from that for *Mermarsa*. It is obvious that place of residence didn't have a change on the violence committed against wives, but it matters for the third person in involvement in stopping the violence of husbands for the moment, before it reaches to unrecoverable physical damage on wives.

The geographical location of the two sites also have their own impact on the report of violence incidence happened on women, to the concerned bodies as well as the awareness of the community and particularly women about their rights.

There are very few infrastructure facilities in *Mermarsa*, for instance there is no adjacent police stations within the *Adama wereda*, no telephones (at least public Tele center), no electricity, no health post, the only advantage, the community has is the Ethio-Djubute high way that passed through the P.A. In order to get the above service facilities they have to go either to *Adama* town or *Welenchite*. Now the issue here is if an abducted girl's family wants to take the case to the police they must come to the center of *Adama* town.²⁹

In different from this, the women in *Adama* town get easy access to basic infrastructure facilities, as it was mentioned in wife abuse cases of this paper victims get immediate attention from the legal bodies depending on their appeal, but this does not mean that wives will get immediate and satisfied solution for their abuse.

²⁹ It is known that the government administrative structure is established up to the P.A. level but the officials of the P.A are not that much cooperative to act on the abductor's. According to the informants it is only recently that they immediately react to abort abduction cases. (For example see the case of G pp. 99-100)

What the researcher tried to say is that in *Mermarsa* area, due to the unavailability of near-by police station the low enforcement is very slow. This distance and long process to report to legal bodies gave the opportunity for the plaintiff to destroy the evidences or escape from the area. This also discourages those few individuals not to bring the abductors or other unlawful individuals to the court of law. But, wife in *kebele 07* didn't continually accept the abusive acts of her husband, if it is beyond the relatives' assembly or from immediate friends' capacity, she will have the opportunity to report or get immediate free legal aid advice from NGO's like EWLA, or the victim women may take the case to the police or to the court.

When we come to the awareness of the community in the two research areas, the community in *Mermarsa* area gets very few accesses to get education towards the bad consequence of violence against women. During the research time it was found out that there are efforts to educate the society by means of public gathering or through *xiddecha* primary school. But the education is given periodically meaning it is not continual. The researcher also observes and respondents also informed him that there are few radios within the community. Even those who have radios listen the main headline stories or news transmitted. Other than this they didn't listen other radio programmes (some of the radio programmes that are transmitted in the Ethiopian radio are concerned about women issue) due to the high consumption of dry cell batteries by the radios. The problem may be avoided if the P.A gets access to electricity.

In contrast to this the community in *kebele 07* get high access to these services like radio, T.V etc. even some one who didn't have these facilities may hear the side effects of violence against women from his neighbours radio or T.V or through recreational centers (Bar, Hotels) or through news papers and magazines etc.

It was found out that the FGD's participants in the *Mermarsa* area have low awareness about the human rights of women from the legal perspective. However, in the case of *kebele 07 of Adama* town the FGD participants have more awareness about the human right of women from legal point of view. This could be explained by the problems that have been mentioned in the above paragraph, in addition to that the educational status of the respondents in the survey may tell as something. (Look table 13)

Table 13: Level of education of wives in the two sites of the study (Nov, 2003)

<i>Mermarsa</i>			<i>Kebele 07 (Adama Town)</i>	
Education Status	In number	Percent	In number	Percent
Only reading and writing ability (Literate)	10	16.1	1	1.8
Primary education	9	14.5	13	23.6
Secondary education	-	-	27	49.1
Tertiary education (Higher)	-	-	-	-
Inability to read and write (illiterate)	43	69.4	14	25.5
Total	62	100	55	100

Source: Sample survey done in *Mermarsa* and *Kebele 07 of Adama* town by the researcher.

From Table 13 we could be able to see that those women respondents in *Mermarsa* that couldn't able to read and write (illiterate) are 43 (69.4 percent), when we compare this to *kebele 07 of Adama* town the illiteracy rate reduces by more than half 14 (25.5%). This also reflects that the low educational status become a bottleneck for *Mermarsa* women not to understand about the issue of women from the news papers, brushers, magazines etc. It is also possible to relate the high illiteracy rate of women in the area to abduction, because girls are not sent to school due to fear of abduction or they interrupted their education at early stage as a result or abduction.

The concept of *Hafetu* and *Seegaba* is seen in different way in the two study areas. It is clear that *Hafetu* and *Seegaba* serve the society as a way of social controlling mechanism of women life in

marital relationship. If girls passed certain age limit, they are called *Hafetu* in *Mermarsa*. A widow also has no right to live in marital relationship with other man, if she didn't get permission from the *Folles*. When we come to *kebele 07* of *Adama* town there are women who marry above the age 16 or 17 but no one call them *Hafetu* because the cultural pattern in urban way of life is different from the rural area. In rural area there is a sort of homogeneity in terms of belief system, ethnicity etc. but, when we come to urban area like *kebele 07* of *Adama*, it is a sort of mosaic or melting pot of cultures that come from different parts of Ethiopia. In addition to this, the urban way of life creates its own life style; a person can have its own right to decide on his own life, the kin group involvement is very loose in urban centers. In other words kinship controlling mechanism in marital relationship is weak in urban area when we compare it with the rural one. For instance as one study conducted in urban area indicates that women entered to marital relationship between the age of 25 to 40 this late marriage is existed due to different socioeconomic factors. (*Theodros: 2000, 9*)

Finally, I would like to raise the issue of wives reaction in the time of violence. The following table shows the situation of wives during the abuse by husbands in the two study areas.

Table 14: The situation of wives when their husbands beat them (Nov, 2003)

	<i>Mermarsa</i>		<i>Kebele 07 (Adama Town)</i>	
	In number	Percent	In number	Percent
Ways of wives action during the beating by their husbands				
Due to lack of strength I remain silent	15	26.3	17	35.4
I plead him to leave me alone	28	49.1	3	6.3
If the beating become severe, I will loudly shout to get the attention of others for help	9	15.8	16	33.3
In sometimes fight back in self defense	5	8.8	12	25
Total	57	100	48	100

Source: *Ibid*

In table 14 we can see that wives in both *Mermarsa* and *kebele 07* may consider as violent due to their fight backs. When we see in terms of respondents answer, it is stated as (5: 8.8 percent), (12: 25 percent) for *Mermarsa* and *kebele 07* respectively. But what we have to remember is that violence acts mentioned from wives side is in self-defense.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusive remark

Violence against women is a very serious problem. It violates the human rights of women in time and place. Throughout this thesis it is attempted to show the impact of violence in the marital relationship of the rural as well as urban women. Before I wind up this thesis I would like to give brief conclusive remark, on what is done and what is better to be done, in order to alleviate or at least to minimize the violence acts against women.

During the research time, it was found out that there are GO and NGO that work on the problems that are associated with violence against women. The *Oromia* Women Affair Bureau is widely working in the study area. The staff members of the office informed the researcher that economic empowerment of women through micro-finance, increasing women enrollment to the political arena, giving education about the consequences of violence against women are the main objectives that the office is working on.

EWLA is also the other NGO, which coined most of its objectives in giving protection to the women from legal point of view. The Nazareth EWLA branch gives legal aid advice to the women victims of violence. In addition to this, they gave education about the cause and consequence of domestic violence against women. Men also have the opportunity to get the counseling of legal aid advisors, if they come to the organization.

A good beginning started to be seen in this nongovernmental organization. This NGO gave education about the problems associated with women issues by using difference means in order reaching the urban as well as rural community. In this case media plays a big role in educating the people, this NGO has its own program in the Ethiopia radio entitled *Berche* literally it means

'be strong'. In reaching the rural areas public gathering is the other means of teaching about the cause and consequence of violence on women.

In the researcher opinion the education should not only based on the sorrowful news of abused women, but there has to be an education that can teach how women defend themselves during the fighting, and how husbands and wives can tackle the problem existed in the marital life. This also should not only to be the concern of lawyers, but also it needs the involvement of psychologist, sociologist or Social anthropologist, in order to find a solution for the existing problem in a very comprehensive way or integrated manner. In line with this, to implement whatever strategies in to practice it needs further study. However, informal social organizations, e.g. *Iddir*, *Maheber*, *Yesete baletena*³⁰ etc that are existed within the society can be the potential driving wheels in bringing the desired changes. This could be done just by contacting the leaders of these informal organizations, and convinced them to raise the issue of violence as a point of discussion during the time of weekly or monthly meetings.

The teaching system given by EWLA and OWAB needs further modifications, which means, it should not only give by the staff members, but also through active involvement (participation) of women that passed through abusive marital life. In other words this may help to encourage other women who hide in some where behind close doors to come out to get psychosocial, medical, and legal assistance. These victims also know that they are not the only women that are abused by their husbands. By doing this, the abused women (wives) may learn to develop a confidence in tackling the problem of violence acts. To implement this in to reality, as it may be agreed by most of us, it needs hand in hand or joint venture works with the whole members of the community. Finding a solution from one side is just like clapping by one hand.

³⁰ it is women *Iddir*

In the researcher view, side by side with the legal aspect the preventive strategy in tackling the violence against women must be strengthened. For instance, in alleviating the violence acts like abduction and *Seegaba* in *Mermarsa* area *Folles* may come to be very instrumental. None of the above-mentioned organizations tried to use this approach. The only thing they tried on tackling these problems is by providing periodic education, but it lacks something, the traditionally authorized key bodies in the area, i.e. *Folles*, what the researcher tried to explain is that the presence of *Abba folle* or *Folles* in the public gathering is to listen not to teach. As it was mentioned previously 45-50 *Folles* are lead by a leader known as *Abba folle*. On the cultural issues, the community in the area listens what the *Abba folles* has to say, rather than the government or nongovernmental officials ordered or advised.

It is clear that abduction, *Seegaba* and associated concepts (e.g. *Hafetu*) are a longer time social constructions in the minds of the people. The researcher argued that in alleviating (changing) this violent behavior the solution has to come from the community. During the research time there are *Folles*, which clearly understands the danger of violence against women. These informants stressed that, 'the victims of abduction and *Seegaba* are our sisters and mothers, why should we act like that? We must correct and teach the people to change from this violent behavior in to peaceful manner of establishing marital relationship'. May be it seems difficult to change the values and norms of the community that are inculcated through socialization starting from childhood, but those few *Folles* courage may gave us a green light that, there is a way or brake through to find a solution.

At this point the role of the social worker, the educator or social anthropologist could be to work with the community and modify his or her teachings methods with the cultural norms and values of the community. After finishing this, it is a time to discuss and convince the side effects of violence against women to the *Folles*. If and only if we can be able to convince these key figures,

then the probability of seeing change may start to be seen. However, the change may not be immediate as it is expected. In the researcher point of view, if the *Folles* get a chance to deal with their own problems by themselves, then the change will come sooner.

Whether we like it or not, the deconstructions of taboos need the involvement of key figures in the community, like *Folles*. As it was indicated earlier, first the *Abba folles* and *Folles* should get the education intensively then they will easily disseminate the information by their own traditional (cultural) way to the community. This is because *Folles* are the one who has the upper hand in demolishing or constructing such taboos within the community's social framework.

The researcher also remarked that, there are discriminatory laws about women issue, which needs further clarification in the penal code, e.g. the 1957 Ethiopian penal code didn't clearly defined rape; because in the penal code marital rape is not considered as a real rape. It is not deniable also that there is progress shown from the government side, in the year 2000 the previous family law is corrected and ratified by the Ethiopian Federal Democratic government parliament.

In the research period, the *Adama* EWLA staff member informed the researcher that the *Oromia* regional state council didn't approved the recent ratified family law, due to legal procedure in *čafe* (parliament) *Oromia*. At this time, may be it has been approved.

At the end the researcher underlined that, even if the right of women had written in the constitution, it shouldn't be remained as a paper tiger, the government in collaboration with the people of Ethiopia must have to do a great effort to implement it.

Bibliography

- Abane Henrietta, (1997) 'Towards research in to wife battering in Ghana: some methodological issues.' *In Men, Women and violence*, Oyekanmi Felicia (ed.), A collection of papers from CODESRIA Gender institute, (pp 1-24) Dakar, Senegal.
- Abraham, M., (1995), 'Ethnicity, Gender and Marital Violence: South Asian Women's Organizations in the US; *in Gender and Society*, Vol 9, No. 4.
- Adams, C. (1993). I just raped my wife! What are you going to do about it, pastor? In Buchwald, P. Fletcher, & M. Roth (eds.), *Transforming a rape culture* (pp. 57-66). Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.
- Almaz Hailselassie, (1996). The impact of rape and Abduction against women on the social, Economic and psychological conditions of the victims'. A paper presented on the conference organized by A-BU-GI-DA. Addis Ababa.
- Andargachew Tesfaye (1996), Rape and Abduction; A historical perspective, (unpublished paper), department of sociology and social administration, A.A.U, Addis Ababa.
- Asmarom Legesse, (1973), *Gada: Three Approaches to the study of African Society*. New York: the free press.
- Bammeke Funmi, (1997) 'Gender differentials in student's perception and participation in violence: A casestudy of the university of Lagos. *In men, women, and violence*, oyekanmi Felicia (ed), A collection of papers from CODESRIA gender istitue (pp. 51-77), Dakar, Senegal.
- Barshis, V. (1983). The question of marital rape. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6. 383-393.
- Bergen, R.K, (1996), *Wife rape: Understanding the response of survivors and service providers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: sage.
- Browne, A. (1987), *When battered women kill*. New York: Free Press.
- Campbell, J.C., & Alford, p. (1989). The dark consequence of marital rape. *American Journal of Nursing*, 89, 946-949.

- Campbell, J.C., (1989), women's responses to sexual abuse in intimate relationship. *Health care for Women international*, 10,335-346
- Cloward, R.A. and piven, F.F. (1979), 'Hidden protest the channeling of female innovation and resistance' signs, *In Journal of women in culture and society*, 4; 451-69.
- Cox, D. Frank, (1990), *Human Intimacy: Marriage, the family and it's meaning*. west publishing company, New York.
- CSA, (1998), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*. Result at country level, volume I, Addis Ababa.
- Dabbs, J.M. Jnr., Morris, R., (1990), 'Testosterone, social class and Anti-social behaviour in a sample of 4, 462 Men', *Psychological science*, vol.1.
- Daniel Haile, (1980), *Low and the status of women in Ethiopia*, African Training and Research Center for women, Addis Ababa.
- Dicanio Margarete, (1993), *Encyclopedia of violence: origins, Attitudes, Consequences*. New York.
- Dobash, /R.E and Dobash R.R (1977)- wife beating-still a common form of violence', *in social work to day*, 15: 426-42.
- Economic commission for Africa, (1993), *Violence Against Women on Africa*, (fourteen meeting of the Africa regional coordinating committee for the integration of women in development).
- Eisenstein, H., (1984), *Contemporary Feminist Thought*, London, UNWIN.
- Emebet Hailu, (2001), *The role of the law in the implementation of affirmative action programmes for women in Ethiopia, A human right approach*. B.A faculty of law, A.A.U.
- EWLA, (1998) *Violence against women fuel wood carriers in Addis Ababa: A report on a pilot study*. A.A.
- Federal Negarit Gazeta, proclamation Number 1/1195, *The constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*. Brehanena Selam Printing Enterprise, Addis Ababa.

- Ferree, (1990), 'Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and Family Research', in *Journal of marriage and the family*, Vol. 52.
- Finkelhor, D., & Yllo, K. (1985). *License rape: Sexual abuse of wives*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Fourth world conference on women, Beijing, China, 1995, *platform for action and the Beijing declaration*, united Nations, Department of public information, 4-5 September.
- Frieze, I. (1983). Investigating the causes and consequences of marital rape. *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society*, 8, 532-553.
- Gaul Elise, (1988), *Domestic Violence Against Women: Reports on 17 soroptunist countries*, legislative guide.
- Gebre Yintiso, (1995), *The Ari of Southern Ethiopia an exploratory study of production practices*, department of sociology, Anthropology and social Administration, Addis Ababa University.
- Gelles, R.T. and Cornell, C. P, (1990), *Intimate violence in Families*, California, sage.
- Gelles, R.T. and Strauss, M.H. (1979), 'Determinants of violence in the family: Towards a Theoretical Integration', in Burr, W. *et al*, (eds.), *Contemporary Theories About the family*, in B. Hess and M. Ferree (eds.), *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research*, London sage.
- Gelles, Richard, J., (1987), *The Violent Home*, (updated edition), London, sage.
- Gerhardt, U. (1979), 'coping the social action: theoretical reconstruction of the life-event approach in sociology of health and illness, 1: 195-225.
- Giddens, A (1979), *Central problems in Social Theory*, Berkeley: university of California press.
- Goode, W., 1971, 'Force and violence in the family', in *Journal of Marriage and the family*, Vol. 33.
- Gutema Imana (1996), *A History of Adama (Nazereth) town from its foundation up to 1964* u.p.M.A thesis in history, Addis Ababa University,

- Hawani Debella and Aneesa Kassam, (1996), 'Hawani's story', in *being and becoming oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*. Baxter P.T.W, Hultin Jan, Triulzi Alessandro (eds.), Gotab, Stockholm.
- Hilberman, E and Munson, K. (1977/78) 'Sixthly battered women', in *victimology*, 2: 4 60-70.
- Hillina Taddesse, (1997). *The Rights of women under Ethiopian penal Law*, EWLA-Sponsored Research.
- Hirut Terefe, (1997), 'Gender and Cross Cultural Dynamics in Ethiopia with particular Reference to Property rights, and the role and Social Status of women', In *13th International conference of Ethiopia Studies*, Fukul Katsuyoshi, Kurimoto Eisei, Shigeta Masayoshi (eds) Kyoto, Japan pp. 551-568.
- Hirut Terefe, (2002), 'violence Against Women from Gender and Cultural Perspectives, in *Reflections: Documentation of the forum on Gender*. Master printing press, Addis Ababa.
- Hoffman, K.L., Demo, D.H. and Edwards, J.N., (1994), 'Physical wife abuse in non-western society; An in the grated theoretical approach', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 56, no.1.
- Hoof, L.A, (1990), *Battered women: As survivors*, New York: Rutledge.
- <http://www.ecpat.net> 12. p.m, 2003.
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968), David L.sills (ed.), vol., 10 the Macmillan Company and the free Press, New York.
- Jarvick L.F., Klodin V., Matsuyama s.s, (1973), 'Human Aggression and the extra chromosome: Fact or Fantasy? In *American Psychologist*, Vol. 28: 674.
- Johnson, I., & Sigler, R. (1997). *Forced Sexual Intercourse in intimate relationships* Brookfield, VT: Dartmouth/Ashgate.
- Kilpatrick, D.G., Best,C.C., Saunders, B.E., & Vernon, L.J. (1988). Rape in marriage and in dating relationships: How bad is it for metal health? *Annual of the New York academy of Sciences*, 528, 335-344.
- Knutsson, K-E, (1963), *Authority and Change: A study of the Kallu Institution among the Mācha Galla of Ethiopia*. Göteborg: Ethnografiska Museet.

- Kottack, C.P, (1994), *Anthropology: the exploration of human diversity*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lener Gerda, (1986) *The creation of patriarchy*, oxford university press, New York.
- Leonard, K.E. and Blane, H.T., 1992, 'Alcohol and Marital Aggression in a National Sample of Young Men', *Journal of Interpersonal violence*, vol 7.
- Lewis S. Herbert, (1973), 'Neighbors, Friends, and Kinsmen: principles of social organization among the Cushitic-speaking peoples of Ethiopia'. *In the first united States conference on Ethiopian Studies* Horold G. Marcus (ed), Michigan.
- Lips M. Hilary, (1997), *Sex & Gender: An introduction*, 3rd edition, Red ford university, California.
- Lydall Jean, (1994) 'Beating around the Bush' *in proceedings of the eleventh international conference of Ethiopian studies*. Behru Zewde, Pankhurst, R., Taddese Beyene (eds.), Volume II: 205-226.
- Machara Mumbi, (1997), 'domestic violence in Kenya: a survey of newspaper reports'. *In men, women and violence*. oyekanm Felicia (ed), a collection of papers from CODESRIA gender institute, (pp.25-50), Dakar, Senegal.
- Mahoney, P., & Williams, L. (1998). Sexual assault in marriage: prevalence, consequences and treatment of wife rape. In J. Jasinski and L. Williams (eds.) *Partner violence: A comprehensive re view of 20 years of research*. Thousand oaks, CA: sage.
- Martin.D. (1976), *Battered wives*, san Francisco; Glide Publications.
- Mckenry P., Julian T.W. and Garazz S.M., (1995), 'Toward a Biosocial Model of Domestic Violence', *Journal of marriage and the family*, Vol. 57.
- Mies, M., (1986), *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a world_Scale*, London, Zed Books Ltd.
- Monroe, R., (1970), *Episodic Behavioural Disorders. A psychodynamic and Neurophysiologic Analysis*, Cambridge, Harvard university press.
- Murphy, Y., Murphy, R.F. (1974), *women of the forest*. New York: Colombia university press.
- NCTPE, (2002), *Early Marriage and Marriage by Abduction*, Addis Ababa.

- NCTPE, (1998), *Final Report: Base line Survey on harmful Traditional Practices in Ethiopia*.
Addis Ababa
- NCTPE, (2003). *Old beyond imaginings: Ethiopia harmful Traditional Practices*, Addis Ababa.
- Negarit Gazeta, Number 158/1957 *Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia*.
- Pangelow, M. (1992). Adult victims of domestic violence. *Journal of Interpersonal violence* 7, 87-120.
- Quinn Naomi. (1977) 'Anthropology studies on women's status' *In Annual Review of Anthropology*, 6:181-225)
- Randall, M., & Haskings, L. (1995). Sexual violence in women's lives. *Violence Against Women*, 1(1), 6-31.
- Rekeb messele, (1997), *Violence against women and the role of law enforcing institutions*, Ethiopian women lawyers association, Addis Ababa.
- Russel, D.E.H (1990). *Rape in marriage*. New York: Macmillan press.
- Schechter, S. (1982), *Women and Male violence*, Boston: South end press.
- Scut, J.A., (1991), 'The Domestic Paradigm; violence, Nurturance and stereotyping of the sexes', *women's studied international forum*, vol. 14, No. 3.
- Shack A William, (1969), *A people of the ensete Culture*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Sheffield.,C.J. (1987), 'Sexual Terrorism: The social control of women in Beth B.Hess and Myra Ferree (eds.). *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of social Sciences*, London, sage.
- Smith S. Charlotte, (1986). *Dictionary of Anthropology*. Macmillan press Ltd. Landon.
- Steinmetze, S.k., (1988), 'Family violence, past, present and future', in sussman M.B. and steinmetze S.K. (eds.), *Handbook of Marriage and the Family*, New York, Plenum Press.
- Straus, M.A. Gelles, R.J. and steinmetz, S.K. (1980). *Behind closed doors: violence in the America family*, New York: Anchor Books.
- Theodroes Wlgiorgis, (2000), *Delay in marriage: the reasons and its consequence. A study done in Addis Ababa with a particular reference to Abenet Area*. B.A in Sociology, Addis Ababa University.
- Tylor, E.B., (1958). *Anthropology: An introduction to the study of man and civilization*. London: Macmillan.

Warricor, B. (1978), *Working on wife abuse* (7th edition) Cambridge: Macmillan.

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1963), U.S.A.

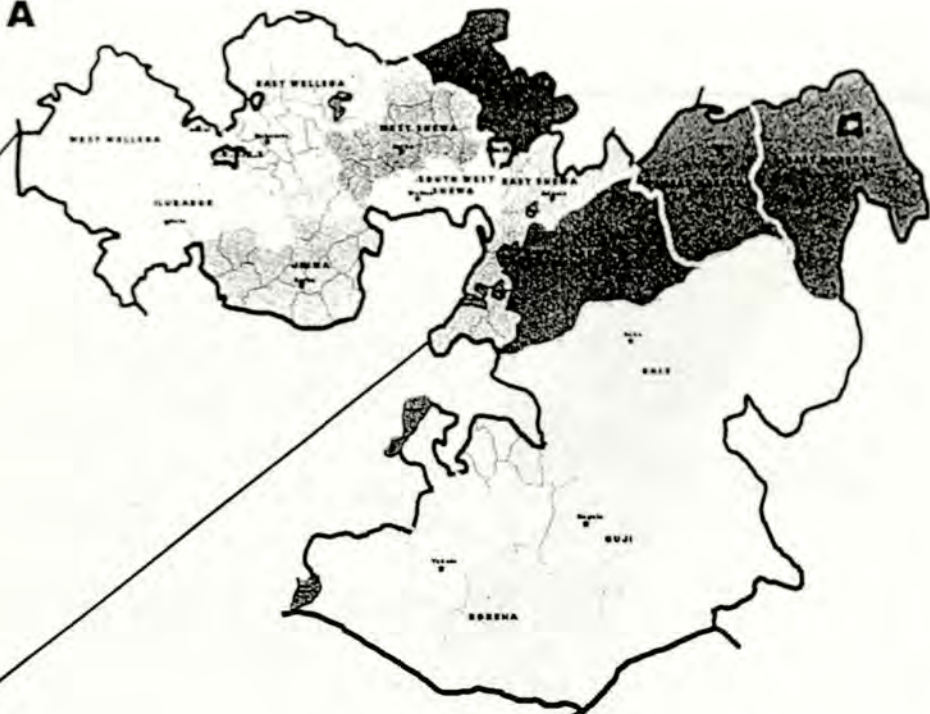
Whatbey, M. (1993). For better or worse: The case of Marital rape. *Violence and Victim* 5, 8, 29-39.

Winch, P. (1958). *The idea of a social science and its relation to philosophy*, Landon: Routledge and Keganfaul.

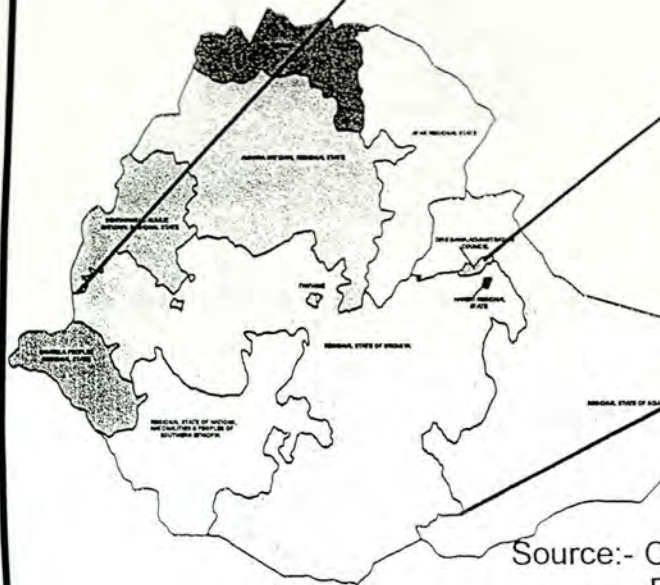
REGIONAL STATE OF OROMIYA

OROMIYA IN ITS REGIONAL
AND NATIONAL SETTINGS

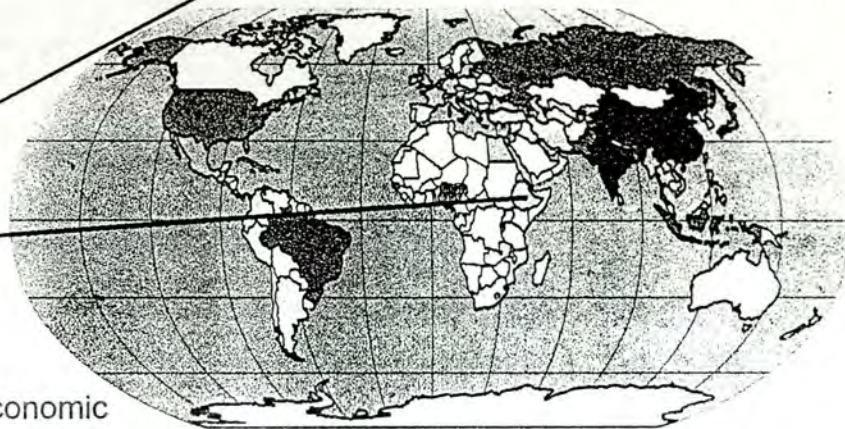
Annex one



ETHIOPIA



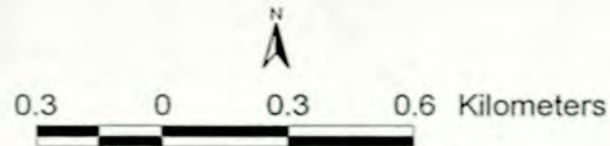
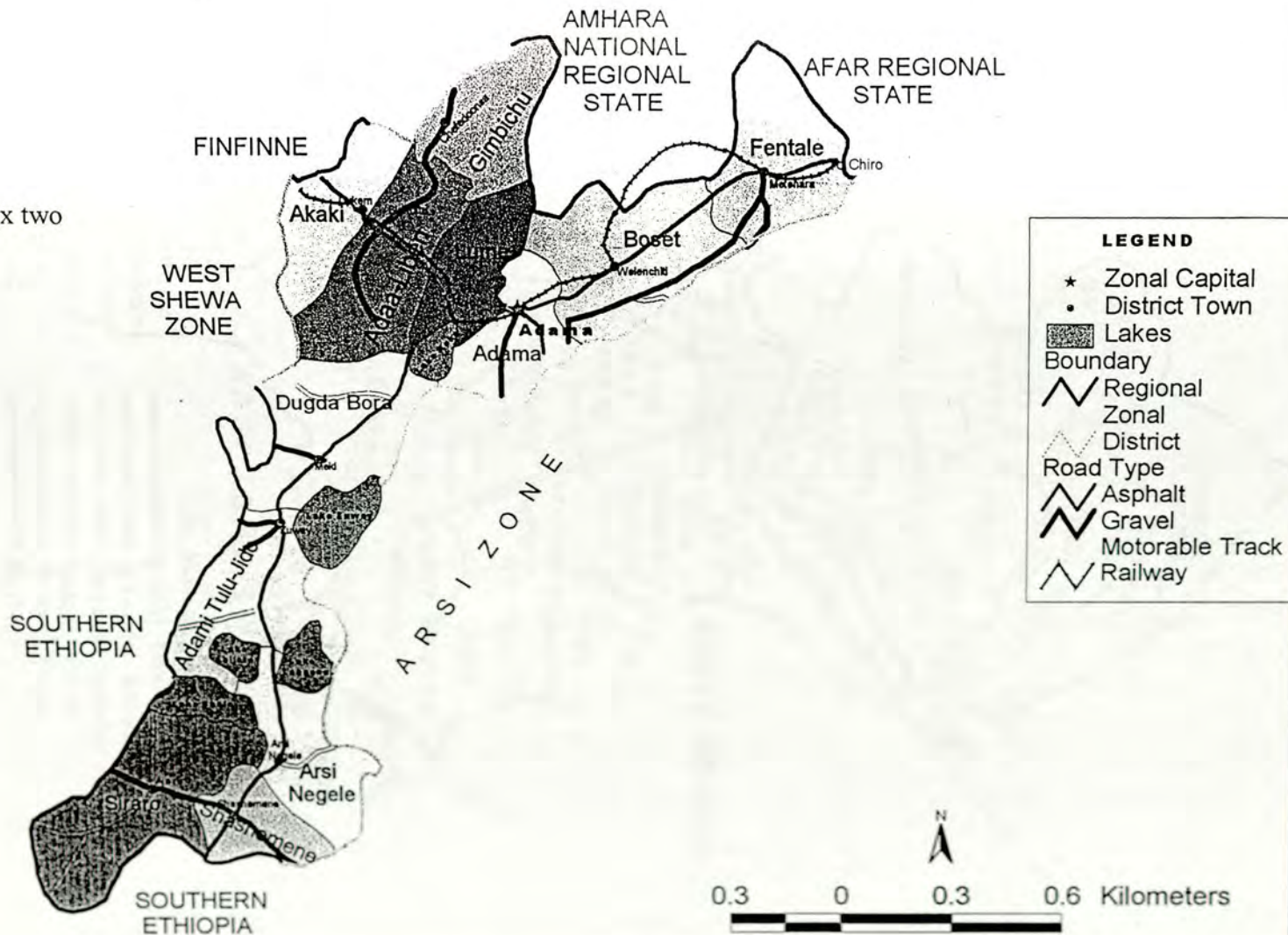
World



Source:- Oromiya Finance & Economic
Development Bureau

EAST SHEWA ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Annex two



Source: Oromiya Finance & Economic Development Bureau

A DAMA WOREDA

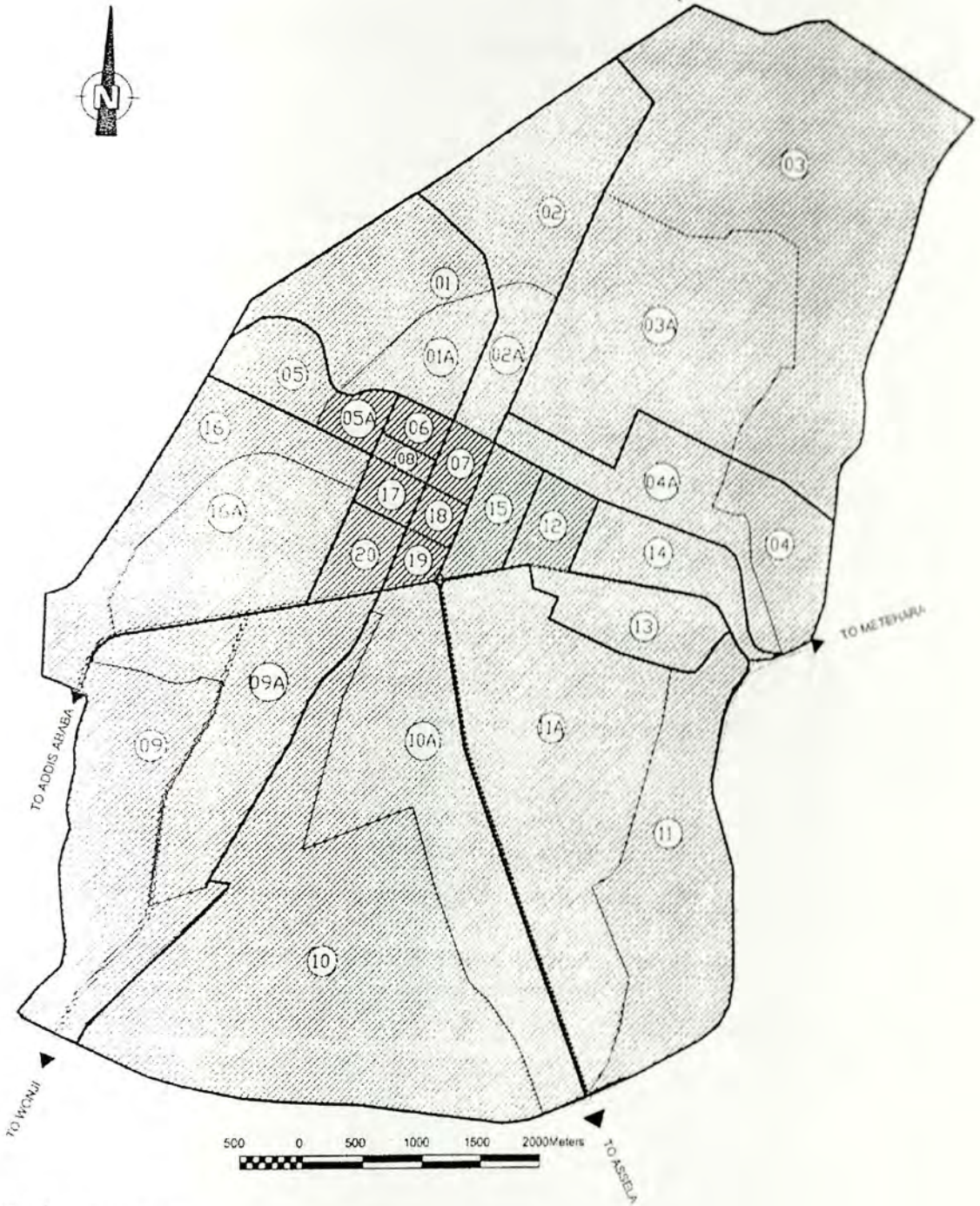


LEGEND

- Zonal Boundary
- Woreda Boundary
- Peasant Association Boundary
- Asphalt Road
- Gravel Road
- Railway
- River
- Lake
- Woreda Capital

Source:-Oromya Finance and Economic Development Bureau.

SCALE 1:250,000

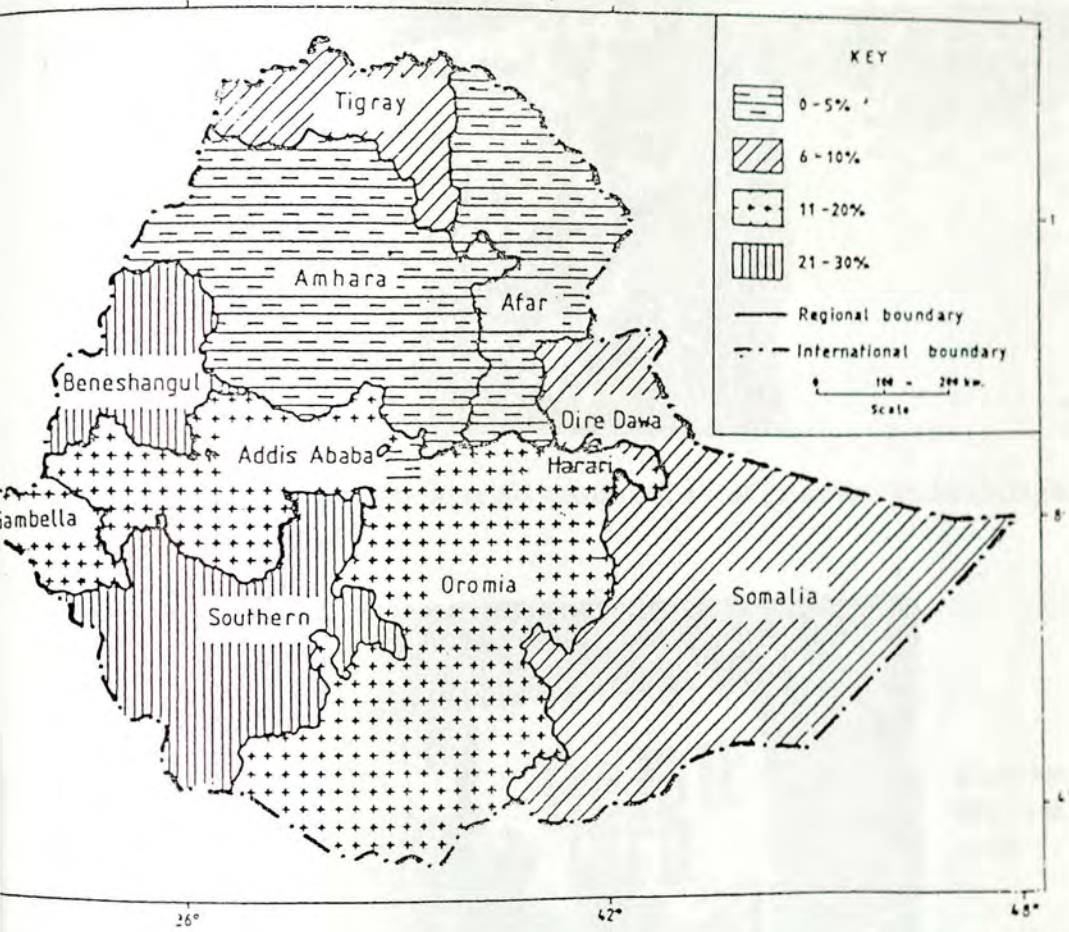


Map of Adama town

Key: (07) - Kebeles

Source: -The Adama town Administrative office.

Annex Five: - Prevalence of Marriage by Abduction (MBA) by region in Ethiopia: 1997



Source: -(NCTPE : 1998, 105)

Annex Six: - Photographs taken during the fieldwork



Photo No 1

Fatuma Abedulahe, a Ninety years old woman and one of the earliest settlers in the town of Adama. She is also a good informant.



Photo No 2 participants of FGD's in kebele 07 of Adama town



Photo No 3
Partial view of the Mermarsa P.A

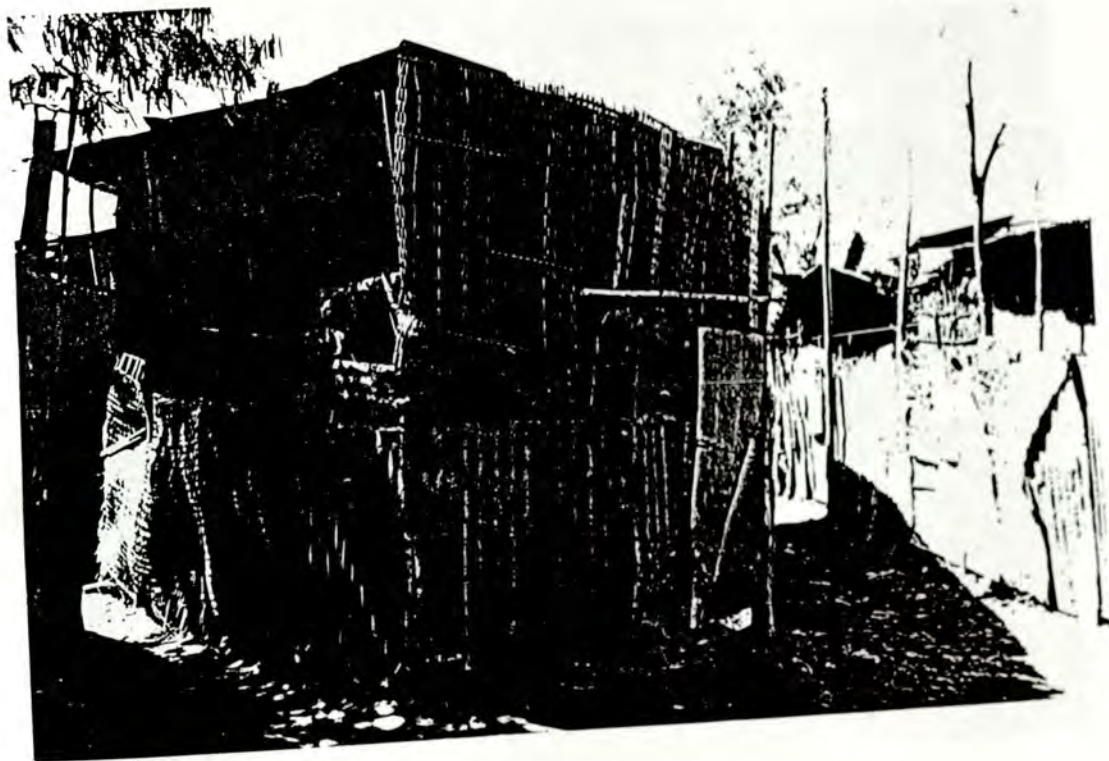


Photo No 4
The condition of houses in the Kebele 07 of Adama town



Photo No 5
Members of Folles in Mermrsa P.A



Photo No 6
A woman in Mermarsa, fetching water from the spring



Photo No 7
Partial view of Kebele 07.



Photo No 8
Amena Duale one of the
eldest Settlers of Adama
town of Kebele 07. She is
well-qualified informant.



Photo No 9
Cattle of Mermarsa.



Photo No 10
The community of Mermarsa in public gathering



Photo No 11
Some of FGD Participants in Mermarsa P.A.



Photo No 12
Women working in the cereal stores in kebele 07 of Adama town.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Theodoros w/ giorgis

Signature 

Place and data of submission: A.A.U

June 2004

Advisor

Name 1) Hirut Tessele (PhD) Signature 