

A Study on Violence against Girls in Primary Schools and Its Impacts on Girls' Education in Ethiopia



**Save the Children Denmark
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Women's Affairs**

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Addis Ababa
AAU	Addis Ababa University
ANPPCAN	Association for Action for Prevention of and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
ANRSWAO	Amhara National Regional State Women’s Affairs Office
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DFID	United Kingdom's Department for International Development
DTS	Development Technical System
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EFMA	Early Forced Marriage and Abduction
EM	Early Marriage
ESDP	Education Sector Development Program
EWLA	Ethiopian Women’s Lawyer Association
EYC	Elimu Yetu Coalition
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD(s)	Focus Group Discussion(s)
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FMRWG	Forum on Marriage and the Rights of Women and Girls
GC	Gregorian Calendar
GAC	Girls’ Advisory Committee
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GEAC	Girls’ Education Advisory Committee
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GO	Government Organization
GPO	General Publication Office
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IAC	Inter-African Committee on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IER	Institute of Educational Research
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
KCTE	Kotebe College of Teachers Education
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NCTPE	National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia
NEP	North Eastern Province
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organization(s)
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development
NY	New York

OAU	Organization of African Unity
OSSREA	Organization for Social Science Research in East Africa
PTA(s)	Parents Teachers Association(s)
SCD	Save the Children Denmark – Ethiopia
SCS	Save the Children Sweden – Ethiopia
SNNPRS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendants
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TTC	Teachers Training College
TTI(s)	Teachers Training Institute(s)
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCHR	United Nations for Human Rights
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the Ethiopian Constitution proclaim that children are to be protected from any kind of harm, violence or abuse. Despite the legal provisions and efforts to reduce and eliminate violence against children, particularly girls, violence and abuse seem to be widespread in Ethiopia - taking place at home, in schools, and in the community at large.

Cognizant of the prevalence of violence against school girls, Save the Children Denmark (SCD) - Ethiopia, in collaboration with the Federal Ministries of Education and Women's Affairs commissioned a national study that involved the key stakeholders of the education sector (students, teachers, parents, and others) living in diverse geographical and cultural settings.

The main objectives of the study were to:

- Identify and analyze the types, prevalence, major causes and effects of violence against girls in and around schools;
- Assess the availability and effectiveness of policies, rules and regulations; and
- Recommend ways to reduce and eliminate violence against school girls.

The study included school girls in 41 sample *woredas* from all nine regional states: Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, SNNP, Gambella, and Harari. Two-city administrations, Addis Ababa and Dire-Dawa, were also included in the study. The study covered different geographical locations and diverse, socio-cultural, and urban/rural settings. Data were collected from 116 primary and 11 secondary schools and five teacher training colleges (TTCs). A total of 1,268 students (761 girls and 507 boys), 342 teachers, and 324 parents responded to questionnaires prepared for each group. A total of 452 focus group discussions were conducted separately with female students, male students, female teachers and parents. In addition, 318 in-depth interviews were conducted with school principals, *woreda* education experts, officials from women's affair, the police and elders in the respective communities. While *woredas* were selected purposefully, a random sampling procedure was used to select schools, students, teachers and parents. Experience of selected number of school girls who were also victims of violence were also considered.

Thematic approach was followed in the analyses and presentation of the findings of the study. The data gathered from various sources through quantitative and qualitative surveys were triangulated, and analyzed using frequency distributions and percentages.

The first draft of the report was presented in three regional validation workshops and feedback from participants was incorporated in the final version of the report.

The most overwhelming finding of the study was that a great number of teachers, parents and students in Addis Ababa, Afar and SNNPR perceive the level of violence in schools in their areas to be high. Compared with Dire Dawa and Harari where respondents perceived a much lower rate of violence in schools.

Teachers, parents and students shared the view that verbal assault represents the most prevalent type of abuse against girls in the school. Parents and students tended to perceive physical attack (beating up) to be more common than name-calling and humiliation whereas

teachers appeared to perceive this form of violence to be much less common than the students and the parents.

Perceptions of the rate of incidence of violence on the way to and from school appeared to vary from region to region. Comparing the ranking of the regions on violence in the school and on the way to and from school, 4 out of the 5 highest ranked regions were in both categories: Addis Ababa, SNNPR, Benshangul-Gumuz and Amhara.

Students, parents and teachers agree that verbal insult and beating are the most common types of violence against girls on the way to and from school. In contrast to teachers and students who believed that sexual harassment is more prevalent parents believed humiliation and name-calling are more prevalent.

Schools are expected to provide safe and protective environment for students. In this respect, the FDRE Constitution of 1995 and the Federal Ministry of Education guidelines (MoE, 1981, 1988 E.C.) discourage the use of corporal punishment in schools. However, a significant proportion of students (34%) and teachers (25%) reported the existence of corporal punishment in schools. Corporal punishment was perceived to take different forms and includes beating up, slapping, twisting students' fingers with pencils, pinching ears and flogging with rubber strings. Such corporal punishment was seen as being perpetrated by teachers, school guards and school principals.

Paradoxically, in many schools one can find written statements, such as: "Corporal punishments in the schools should be abolished." "We children need advise, not sticks." "Let's protect children from all forms of violence and exploitations." In practice, however, despite these impressive campaigns, corporal punishment is widespread.

Although corporal punishment in schools is prohibited by the legislation, there is no law against corporal punishment at home. The kinds of corporal punishment in the home are varied and include beating with sticks, burning parts of the body, putting hot pepper in fire and forcing girls to inhale the smoke and burning the genital with hot iron like spoon. Respondents thought that elder brothers and parents are responsible for this.

Girls are also physically attacked for non-punishment purposes i.e as an expression of harassment, degrading and attempts at sexual relationship. The perpetrators of this are mainly older boys both in-school and out-of-school and it primarily takes place on the way to and from school. From the qualitative data, it appears that in many cases physical attack (beating up) is linked to a desire by boys for a romantic or sexual relationship with girls. Girls who refuse such initiations risk being beaten up.

Other forms of bullying by boys are manifested in the form of snatching personal belongings including school materials and other valuable items of the girls. This act may seem rather innocent, but it may also be accompanied or lead to physical attack and other forms of sexual harassment including even rape. The loss of personal belongings this way could also result in punishment by parents and teachers.

Four types of psychological violence and abuse were identified: verbal insult, degrading/humiliating, threatening and name-calling. All types were found in all three settings, although they appeared to be most common on the way to and from school. The perpetrators of the psychological violence that occur in this setting are older school boys, boys out of school as well as adult members of a local community.

Teachers were reported by school girls to humiliate them in front of their classmates if, for instance, they give wrong answer to a question. Some findings indicate that the severity of verbal abuses by teachers tends to increase with beautiful and attractive girls. Another example of abuse reported concerned a girl who requested permission to leave the class for reasons to do with menstruation was embarrassed by her teacher for asking permission.

Some parents believe that humiliating, degrading and threatening their daughters is a way of protecting them against pre-marriage relationships with boys and men. Girls reported that their efforts to learn are sometimes met with humiliation and teasing at home since they are not expected to succeed in their education. The psychological abuse may refer to the fact that girls are reluctant to disclose to parents incidents of abuse outside, for instance, those that happen on their way to and from school.

Sexual violence and abuse may take place in schools and on the way to and from school. The home environment is also not completely free of it. Girls were also asked about their own experience. The most common experience of girls was that members of school communities used bad or abusive language against them, as a result of which they felt their self-esteem is badly damaged. Other types of sex-related violence directly linked to the school environment include the following:

- “Sexual gestures were made to them by teachers or male students.”
- “Physical punishment directed to selected parts of their body by teachers.”

It must raise deep concerns that these types of abuse and violence are found within the school environment.

Seduction is the act of alluring school girls with the intention of arousing sexual interest in them. Perpetrators of seduction often manipulate school girls by using their desire to get married or improve their financial situations. Seduction is committed by school boys, teachers, non-school boys, older men and sometimes by family members. It occurs in all social settings – in the school, on the way to and from school, in the community and even at home. Teachers, for instance, seduce girls by promising them good marks. In big towns like Addis Ababa, Adama, Awassa, Gonder and Bahir Dar, older men, popularly known as sugar daddies, were reported to be involved in seducing girls around the school.

Sexual harassment can range from subtle behaviour to explicit demands for sexual activity or even sexual assault. Students, parents and teachers were asked about their views regarding where sexual harassment is most likely to occur. Accordingly 24% of students, 53% of teachers and 35% of parents reported that most sexual harassment occurs in school settings. In contrast, 36%, of the students, 77% of teachers and 54% of parents considered the way to and from school is the place where most sexual harassment of school girls takes place. However, it should be noted that although school girls appear to be relatively safer in the home environment, they are not completely protected from sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment in schools and on the way to and from school was highest in Amhara followed by Oromia and SNNPR, while sexual harassment in the home was highest in SNNPR followed by Oromia and Amhara. The perpetrators include members of the school community i.e. school boys, teachers, administrators, school guards, and counselling officers. Some key informants indicated that acts of sexual harassment by teachers include asking girls for a date, touching their body parts, making persistent remarks on their physical appearance and body size (body attractiveness, fat, boring), threatening to punish by marks (i.e., some teachers threaten girls with low marks if they refuse for a date). The harassment on the way to

and from school is committed by non-school boys, un-married men looking for suitable partners or seeking to satisfy their sexual desires or married men hunting young girls for sex.

Rape is the worst form of sexual violence committed against school girls. The school environment appears to be relatively safer for school girls compared to the way to/from school and home. It should, however, be noted that 2.5% of school girls reported having experienced rape in schools. A wide variety of perpetrators of rape occurring on the way to/from school were identified. These included old men, truck drivers, civil servants, individuals renting rooms in girls' parents' houses, friends/friends of friends, rural merchants who shuttle between towns and villages, police officers and soldiers, and farmers. Perpetrators of rape in the home are reported to include uncles/male cousins and step fathers/fathers.

The students, parents and teachers were asked about whether female genital mutilation (FGM) is practised in their area. The quantitative data show that there is a similar pattern of perception of the prevalence of FGM among the three groups. For instance, 59.6% of teachers, 46.3% of parents and 43.5% of students reported that FGM is one of the violent acts that school girls encounter at home. The study further uncovered that parents are not the only ones who insist on circumcision of their daughters; sometimes the girls themselves may demand it because of the direct and indirect cultural pressure associated with the negative attitude and prejudice against uncircumcised girls in their locality. An attempt to see the regional variation of the occurrence of FGM shows that Somali Regional State (70.0%) takes the lead followed by Oromia (53.7%), Afar (53.3%), Amhara (50.7%), and SNNPR (44.4%). The practice of FGM is the least common problem encountered by school girls in Addis Ababa.

The data in this study also indicated that although there have been strong awareness-raising activities targeting the negative aspects of FGM; the attitude has not yet changed much. Negative attitudes and derogatory statements against uncircumcised girls tend to contribute to the perpetuation of this harmful practice.

Abduction (*telefa*) implies the taking away of a girl without her consent. The girl is attacked and forcefully taken away. In most cases, she is raped by a man who will subsequently be her husband. In many cases, the man's parents endorse abduction. With some nominal compensation, the girl's parents also generally accept that their daughter is now married to her abductor. In most cases, the marriage is then formalised by the involvement of elders. Having been raped, she is no longer an attractive wife for any other men.

The students, teachers and parents involved in this study indicated that abduction continues to exist in many areas. Quantitative data show that abduction is mainly committed on the way to and from school: 18.7% of the students, 55.2% of the teachers and 28% of the parents maintain this view. The long distance girls often have to travel to get to school exposes them to abduction. This is further exacerbated by the rugged topography and existence of dense forests in some communities. According to 10.7% of the students, 30.2% of the teachers and 23.4% of the parents, abduction also takes place in and around home. Although abduction was seen less common in urban areas, the study revealed that abduction is practised in Gulele sub-city of Addis Ababa, particularly among the inhabitants of Kechene and Entoto areas.

In some areas and among some particular groups, abduction does not seem to exist among ethnic groups such as Somali, Harari, Argoba, Agnuak, Nuer, Kafa, Yem and Bench . Abduction is not practised because it is against their culture.

The findings confirm the widespread practice of early and forced marriage. About 33% of students, 68.% of teachers and 36% of parents reported the existence of early marriage in their locality. However, there was a tendency for the parents to deny the existence of early and forced marriage. Parents, being aware of its illegality, were not willing to admit the existence and prevalence of the practice in their locality. Parents arrange marriage for their daughters, as young as 6 or 7 years old, without asking for their consent. They even accept a marriage proposal from a man who is much older than the girl. They put pressure on the girl to lie about her age and tell to the community leaders, kebele officials or any other concerned bodies that it is with her consent that the marriage has been arranged.

While work as such may not be harmful for school girls, excessive work both at home and on the farm is detrimental to their physical, emotional and intellectual development. It is from this stand point of view that excessive work is considered an abuse. About 45% of students and 52% of parents indicated that school girls are subjected to excessive work mainly in the home setting. While parents are the main perpetrators of assigning the girls excessive workloads, older brothers/sisters and other family members may also participate in coaxing school girls to undertake various kinds of domestic and farm work.

School girls in urban and rural areas perform different activities. In most rural areas, school girls are engaged in household chores including taking care of the mother at the time of birth, which becomes a full-time job for school girls for the first 1-2 months. Girls in urban areas also participate in household chores. However, they generally tend to be involved in income generating activities to support their families economically. In Adama, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, and Harari, school girls are forced to work in cafeterias, bars and coffee/tea shops to support themselves and their families.

The study found out that school gates are closed on late comers by school guards as a punishment. That is to say, they are not allowed to get into the school compound. The research team also observed that the majority of late comers are female students and this is mainly due to the excessive workload at home. In some schools in urban areas, late comers are kept away for the whole day, while in other schools they are made to stay outside the compound for two to three periods until break. This exposes girls to many types of abuse and violence, including rape and abduction.

To understand why girls are subjected to so much violence and abuse in schools and on the way to and from it, the study developed a model which explains the clashes between the traditional gender role of girls and the norms and values underlying the modern world, represented by the school. The model also includes the school environments in which girls are subjected to abuse and violence. Most school environments, reflect the patriarchal society and demonstrate discrimination against girls. By analysing the social and cultural values and norms that lie behind the traditional types of violence and abuse, such as FGM, abduction and early and forced marriage, an attempt is made to establish the overall picture of the traditional expectations of a girl child. The analysis shows the traditional norms and values related to the girl child, such as early marriage, excessive workload at home and the need to be silent and obedient are creating clashes in meeting the requirements of the modern education system, which expects school girls to arrive school on time, well-prepared and actively participate in class. But the girls are overburdened with work at home and have no or little time for doing homework. They arrive at school late, unprepared and often find it difficult to participate in class. When girls reach the age where they traditionally should have been married, they are subjected to more sexual violence and abuse. The analysis clearly

established that there is a clash between the old tradition and the modern world that school girls in Ethiopia are facing. In particular, the form of violence and abuse on the way to and from school is likely to involve rape and abduction. Even within the school environment, the findings show that older girls in particular suffer because they are seen opposing the traditional expectations by trying to get modern education. The strong discrimination of girls found in some schools also clearly indicates that even within the modern system of education, the traditional norms and values still prevail in a disguised form.

Besides the clashes between the “traditional” and “modern” worlds of girls there is also the low level of education of parents’ in general and lack of awareness about policies, rules and regulations designed for the protection of school girls. However, few educated parents had a relatively higher level of awareness about such matters.

The progress made in increasing the enrolment rate of girls in schools tends to have led to problems of some types of violence and abuse. However, it is only through education that the dominant traditional view discriminating against girls could be changed..

One of the immediate effects of violence and abuse on school girls concerns poor class attendance of girls. A girl who has been verbally abused or sexually harassed by her teacher is more likely to skip the teacher’s class in order to avoid further abuse or harassment. A girl who has been sexually assaulted on the way to and from school is discouraged from going to school and, as mentioned, excessive workload at home often leads to late arrival at school . Consequently, school girls may be forced to miss one or two lessons or whole school day because of the closed-school- gate policy. The majority of the girls said that the various types of violence and abuse against school girls negatively affect their regular attendance leading to increased rate in school absenteeism. The study also shows that the various types of violence and abuse have a high negative impact on school girls’ ability to concentrate in class, which in turn has an impact on their class participation and performance.

Degrading comments and verbal assault by teachers and school boys certainly do not encourage the participation of the girls in class. Some teachers embarrass and even sexually harass girls who give wrong answers. Moreover, brighter girls who try to be active in the class may face ill-treatment and harassment from their fellow male students.

There was an agreement among student respondents that violence negatively affects girls’ class participation and this, in turn, has a strong impact on school girls’ participation in classroom activities. Similarly, constant pestering of school girls has a destructive effect on girls’ ability to complete homework. A girl who has been verbally abused or sexually harassed is not likely to be able to concentrate on her study and complete homework on time.

One ultimate effect of all such ill-treatment and discrimination is that girls will suffer a higher rate of grade repetition and eventual dropout from school. The various types of violence and abuse against school girls have also negative impacts on their future lives. Of course, not being able to get education negatively affects their future lives in various ways. Some types of violence, such as rape and abduction, expose girls to HIV/AIDS or other diseases and mental health problems. Early and forced marriages often end in divorce and teenage girls who are divorced tend to leave their area and migrate to nearby towns and some of them end up being commercial sex workers.

Significant progress has been made to efforts to overcome the plight of children in Ethiopia. In 1991, Ethiopia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

(UNCRC). Following the ratification of the Convention, the government issued Proclamation No. 10/1992 for adaptation of the Convention into the Ethiopian legal system. The CRC is also reflected in the Constitution of FDRE.

There are, however, problems with respect to implementing the provisions of the Convention primarily because: 1) there is no officially accepted translation of the Convention (although it has been translated into 11 local languages), and 2) because the text of the Convention is not reproduced and promulgated in the *Negarit Gazeta*, the official Ethiopian instrument for publicizing laws.

The Civil Code regards the securing of the consent of children through duress as a violent act and provides for the possibility of having the contract invalidated arising from it. On the other hand, the Code allows guardians “to inflict light bodily punishment on the minor for the purpose of ensuring the latter's education” (Article 267(2)). There are other similar articles.

The Federal Family Code of Ethiopia in Article 6 states “A valid marriage shall take place only when the spouses have given their free and full consent”. Article 7 provides the age of marriage to be 18; thus the legislation against early and forced marriage is there.

The Criminal Code includes many articles which are very relevant for the protection of girls. In particular, the Criminal Code devotes a whole of Chapter III of Book V to criminalizing harmful traditional practices that cause the death of human lives, injury to person and health.

As regards bail rights, there is discrepancy between the expectations of ordinary people and what is provided in the law. There are complaints about the fact that perpetrators of violence against school girls are released on bail no sooner than they are arrested and interrogated by the police. The law is clear as to when bail is to be granted and not to be granted.

Both the judiciary system and the institutions of law enforcement in Ethiopia have been characterized by lack of human resources and essential facilities which in turn hamper the enforcement of the laws. Police and public prosecutors must get special training to equip them with knowledge and skills for handling cases of violence against school girls.

A culture of silence and secrecy has a negative impact on children and in the sense that it discourages reporting and/or disclosing violent acts. The stigma attached to going public and disclosing violence has made situations even worse. Many children remain silent. Even parents and relatives in many circumstances would prefer to remain silent and would not be willing to expose violence perpetrated against their own children or children who are closely related to them.

Transparency ensures good governance that is free from corruption, nepotism and favouritism. And the absence of these vices contributes to the implementation of laws whereas lack of transparency is indeed another impediment to implementation of laws.

The tension between modern laws and the traditional and age-old customary practices and values continues to hinder the implementation of laws and policies protecting children in general and girls in particular from violence and abuse. Lack of awareness of existing policies, rules and regulations maintain this situation.

The following recommendations which are based on the conclusions of the study emphasise the need for the involvement of all sections of the society in tackling violence and abuse

against girls. It is also important to note that girls should not be regarded just as victims; they should be encouraged to play active role in introducing new practices and values into the traditional Ethiopian culture, which is characterised by strong patriarchal values. The education system and stakeholders must, therefore, provide the necessary support to girls in achieving their goals. To quote a girl participant in one of the validation workshops of this study: “We are living in something old, but trying something new!”

Below are some more specific recommendations for addressing the problem by concerned institutions and stakeholders at all levels:

- Train all teachers in non-violent methods of disciplining students.
- Include in the civic and ethical education curriculum topics such as children’s rights and gender equality, effects of HTPs, effects of violence against/among girls and boys to create harmonious and equal relationships between boys and girls.
- Strengthen gender component to the curriculum, and continuously educate and create awareness among school communities to stop physical, psychological and sexual violence and abuses.
- Put in place a system for follow-up, reporting and ensuring the enforcement and implementation of school rules and regulations.
- Develop a comprehensive national policy on all aspects of children's affairs with concrete strategies for actual implementation. In addition, consolidate and harmonize into comprehensive children’s acts the different provisions on child rights and protection laws that are currently found scattered in various laws.
- Establish and strengthen girls’ and boys’ clubs in higher primary as well as secondary schools, and build up their capacity to report and follow-up on violence and abuse against school girls in and around schools.
- Establish and strengthen school children’s protection committees with representatives from school children and school communities, including female teachers, which will be responsible for monitoring violence and abuse against school girls within the school, on the way to and from school, and in the home/community.
- Raise awareness among parents/communities and children about the children’s rights in general and school rules and regulations in particular.
- Make sure schools have separate toilets for girls and that the toilets are not located in a remote part of the school compound.
- Secure fencing of school compound.
- Stop the practice of closing school gates on late comers and introduces alternative measures to address the problem of late coming.
- Establish at a school level a mechanism for reporting violence and abuse and providing appropriate counselling and support for victims of violence and abuse.

- Raise awareness about the negative effects of HTPs within the local communities through effective mobilization of religious & community leaders, including health professionals, educators, *Iddirs*, etc.
- Establish Child Protection Units at all levels within the structure of regional Police Commission and improve the knowledge and attitudes of law enforcement authorities concerning violence and abuse against school girls.
- Involve NGOs and CSOs in efforts of community mobilization and creation of child protection structures (including the way to and from school).
- Work with CBOs to:
 - Change the attitude of parents to a culture which promotes open dialogues with children on issues related to child rights, values and benefits of girls' education.
 - Mainstream activities related to preventing and challenging violence and abuse against school girls in the school system and in local administrative systems.
 - Provide training to parents in alternative methods for disciplining children and useful ideas on child rearing.
- Create income-generating activities for school girls coming from poor families to empower them economically and protect them from becoming victims to perpetrators like sugar daddies.
- The UNCRC & the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Child should be reproduced and promulgated in the *Negarit Gazeta*; and the text of these documents should also be translated into the local languages in regional states.
- Strengthen and support the national framework for monitoring the implementation of CRC at all levels, particularly at *kebele* level.
- As the main focus of this study was on primary schools and was done with a view to assessing the problem, there is a need for further research addressing problems related to violence and abuse against school girls in secondary and higher education institutions, as well as those not enrolled schools.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Article 19 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) defines violence as "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse". A more extended definition offered in the World Report on Violence and Health (WHO, 2002) reads: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (P.5). Both definitions indicate that violent acts include physical, sexual, and psychological abuse and neglect.

Gender-based violence occurs in every segment of a society regardless of class, ethnicity, or country. Several studies indicate that violence is the result of the complex interplay of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors (Panos 2003; Belay Hagos 2005; UN 2005; WHO, 2002). For instance, traditions that approve of male superiority tolerate or even justify violence. In addition, the fact that sanctions imposed by the society against perpetrators are not tough may also contribute to the problem. Other factors such as poverty and the low status that is accorded to women in a society contribute to gender-based violence (GBV).

The Government of FDRE ratified the UNCRC in 1991 and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Child. With a view to providing more information on the different types of violence and abuse against girls in school, the FDRE Ministry of Education and Save the Children Denmark (SCD) - Ethiopia commissioned this study on Violence against Girls in School. The study hinges on the following selected articles taken from these two key documents:

Article 28 of the UNCRC states that state parties:

- *Recognise the right of the child to education, with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity.*
- *Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of dropout rates [sub-article (e)].*

As per Article 29 of the UNCRC, state parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

- a) *The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;*
- b) *The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.*
- c) *The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;*
- d) *The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;*
- e) *The development of respect for the natural environment.*

Article 19 of the UN CRC states the following:

State parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has care for the child.

Article 16 in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child states the following:

State Parties... shall take specific legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse, while in the care of a parent, legal guardian or school authorities or any other person who has the care of the Child.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to examine the nature of violence and abuse against girls in schools. More specifically, the study is intended to:

- Identify and establish the extent, types, and causes of violence on girls in and around schools;
- Assess and establish the effects of violence on girls' education (including participation and performance);
- Find out if there are policies and strategies dealing with violence against school girls and assess their effectiveness in tackling the problem;
- Propose viable mechanisms and holistic ways of addressing the problem by stakeholders at all levels

1.3. Scope of the Study

This study was conducted at a national level and covers the regional governments of Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, SNNP, Gambella and Harari as well as Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa city administrations. A total of 116¹ primary, 11 secondary and five tertiary schools in 41 *woredas* selected from these regional states were covered. Selection of the sample was made considering settlement pattern (rural and urban) and other relevant socio-cultural factors.

The primary focus of the study is on the situation of violence against girls in primary schools. This focus is determined by the strategic focus of SCD, which is access to quality primary education. However, as a means to assess the situation of violence against girls at various levels and with a view to generating data needed to comprehensively tackle the problem, the study has also reviewed the situation of violence on girls in selected secondary schools and teachers training colleges/ institutions. The study was conducted in 2007 throughout Ethiopia.

1.4. Organization of the Report

The report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction to the study. This is followed by a discussion of the methodology in Chapter Two. Chapter Three represents a brief review of relevant literature. The results of the study are presented in four

¹ Out of the total 116 (113 planned) primary schools, five schools contained both primary and secondary levels.

consecutive chapters. Chapter Four presents data and findings on the types and prevalence of violence and abuse in schools. The focus of Chapter Five is on the causes of violence. The effect of violence and abuse in schools is dealt with in Chapter Six. This is then followed by a discussion of relevant policy issues in Chapter Seven. The last chapter outlines conclusions drawn from the study and recommendations for dealing with the issue of violence in schools.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The study called for two kinds of data on violence and abuse against school girls: primary and secondary data. This chapter describes the tools and procedures used in collecting both types of data.

2.1 Desk Work and Consultations

The desk work involved review of relevant literature, documents and reports produced by different government institutions, non-government organizations and scholars in the field. Themes covered were related to the following:

- Violence in general and gender-based violence in particular;
- Right and welfare of children;
- Abuses;
- Violence and health,
- Sexual violence and abuse;
- Traditional and cultural practices and other related issues.

2.2 Field Work

The field work involved conducting structured as well as participatory surveys and the collation of cases. Prior to the field work, questionnaire as well as interview/ discussion guides were developed. The instruments developed were then translated into four local languages (Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrigna and Somaligna). The tools were also pilot-tested-with a view to ensuring the content and face validity as well as its suitability for the purpose of the study. Students, teachers, parents and officials drawn from different offices were involved in the pre-testing of the study instruments. All members of the study team jointly conducted the pre-testing of instruments for two days in six schools – i.e., two schools each selected from rural and urban settings near Addis Ababa in the Oromia National Regional State, and two schools selected from Addis Ababa City Administration.

2.2.1 Structured Survey

The structured survey was carried out using samples of students, teachers and parents drawn from different areas in the **country**. The design of the survey, the sample size and the sampling procedures are discussed below.

a) Design of the Survey

A stratified three-stage cluster sampling procedure was adopted in selecting sample from among the target groups. The nine regional states and the two city administrations were used as strata to facilitate the sampling process and to ensure proper representation. Accordingly, *woredas* were first selected from the current list of *woredas*. Each sampled *woreda* was then further stratified into major urban centre (regional or zonal capital), small urban centre (other than regional and zonal capitals) and rural settings to ensure that the different locations, socio-cultural practices and or customs, are well represented in the survey. This was followed by the selection of primary schools (grades 1-8) from among the clusters existing within the selected *woredas*. Finally, primary school students (female and male) were selected from within the selected primary schools.

b) Sample Size

Schools: A total sample size of 116 (113 planned) schools were considered to be adequate and representative. This sample was selected in a way that captured possible variations among scattered schools and took into account the clustering of primary schools within strata in the selected *woredas*. That gives an allocation of three schools (one from major urban center, one from small urban center and one from rural) per sampled *woreda* in each of the relatively larger regions (Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and SNNPR). In all the other regions, two schools per *woreda* (one from urban center and the other from rural settings) were considered for the survey. Similarly, two sample primary schools were considered from each of the three sub-cities in Addis Ababa and two primary schools from Dire Dawa City Administrations. Table 2.1 below presents details about the sample used in the study.²

Table 2.1: Sample Distribution by Region – Structured Survey

S/N	Region	# of <i>woredas</i>	# of sample schools			# of sample students			# of sample teachers	# of sample parents
			Primary	Secondary	Tertiary (TTC)	Female	Male	Total		
1	Tigray	3	10	1	1	69	42	111	30	26
2	Afar	1	2	1	-	18	12	30	6	5
3	Amhara	9	28	1	1	173	117	290	84	83
4	Oromia	11	33	1	1	196	132	328	97	86
5	Somali	2	4	1	-	30	20	50	7	12
6	Benishangul-Gumuz	1	2	1	-	17	13	30	9	9
7	SNNPR	8	25	1	1	155	105	260	72	69
8	Gambella	1	2	1	-	18	12	30	6	6
9	Harari	1	2	1	-	18	12	30	5	4
10	Addis Ababa	3*	6	1	1	49	30	79	20	18
11	Dire Dawa	1	2	1	-	18	12	30	6	6
Total		41	116**	11	5	761	507	1268	342	324

* These are Kifle Ketemas (sub-cities); ** Five schools – i.e., one each in Tigray, Amhara, Somali, SNNPR and Addis Ababa contained both primary and secondary levels.

Students: Considering the homogeneity of the target population and other factors such as time, and financial resources available,; a total sample size of 1268 (1130 planned) primary school students (761 females and 507 males) was considered enough to furnish reliable data for the study. The envisaged sample size was allocated among regions proportionally to size, a measure of size being the number of students in primary schools in the respective regions.

Teachers and Parents: In order to capture teachers' perspective of the issue under investigation and to meet data needs of the survey, three sample teachers (two females and one male teacher) per sampled primary school were included in the sample. Accordingly, a total of 342 (339 planned) teachers were considered adequate for the survey. Similarly, a total of 324 (339 planned) parents – i.e., about three parents in and within the vicinity of the sampled primary schools were involved in providing data on parents' perspective of the situation of violence against school girls.

² In Addis Ababa, sub-cities were considered instead as there is no administrative structure of *woredas*.

c) **Sampling Procedures**

The following procedures were followed in selecting sample *woredas*, primary schools, students, teachers and parents.

Sample woredas: Sample *woredas* were selected using the following procedures:

- Lists of *woredas* together with their respective of primary schools and students were obtained from the Central Statistical Agency and/or regional bureaus of education; and
- Sample *woredas* believed to represent the diverse socio-economic situations of regions were then identified by the study team in collaboration with SCD prior to the fieldwork.

Sample Primary Schools: Selection of sample primary school was made based on the number of primary schools to be selected in each *woreda*. Accordingly, in *woredas* where three primary schools were selected, the following procedures were used:

- Primary schools found in the rural and urban parts of the sampled *woreda* along with their respective addresses (location) were identified in consultation with the *woreda* education office;
- The schools were further categorized/ clustered into primary schools found in the *woreda* capital, in towns other than the *woreda* capital and primary schools found in the rural parts of the *woreda*;
- A school was then randomly selected within each cluster/ category in each strata; and
- Efforts were made to make sure that the chosen primary schools were representative of the *woreda* and/or did not lie adjacently. Alternative sample primary schools were re-selected as substitutes in situations where the already sampled schools failed to meet one of the aforementioned requirements.

The following procedures were used in *woredas* where two primary schools were selected:

- List of primary schools was obtained following the procedure mentioned above;
- The schools were further clustered into primary schools found in the urban and rural parts of the *woreda*;
- One primary school was then selected randomly within each cluster; and
- The already sampled schools were then examined to find out whether or not they truly represented the *woreda* and did not lie adjacently. In the event of negative result, substitutions were considered.

Sample Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges: Procedures used for the selection of sample secondary schools and teacher training colleges were as follows:

- In situations where there was only one secondary school or one teacher training college in the sampled urban centre (town), the secondary school and teacher training college was automatically included.
- Random selection of a secondary school and teacher training college was considered in situations where there were more than one secondary school and teacher training colleges in the sampled urban centre.

Selection of Sample Students: The procedures used for selecting sample students involved the following:

- The number of classes and grade levels in the sampled primary school were identified in consultation with the school director / college head;
- Four classes were randomly selected, to the extent possible, from the different levels;
- Three students (two females and one male) were selected from each of the first two sampled classes. Two students (one female and one male) were then selected from each of the last two sampled classes. Thus, a total of ten students – i.e., six females and four males were selected from each sampled primary school; and
- The selection of sample students was accomplished outside the sampled classrooms with the assistance of the school principals.

(Particulars of the sampled students in terms of selected variables are shown in Annex 2.B.)

Selection of Sample Teachers: Three sample teachers (two females and one male) were selected randomly from the list of teachers in each sample primary school. See Annex 2.C for details of sampled teachers.

Selection of Sample Parents: Three sample parents were also randomly selected from the vicinity of each sample primary school. See Annex 2.C for particulars of sampled parents.

2.2.2 Participatory Survey

The participatory survey included in-depth interviews and FGDs. The in-depth interviews with resource persons and FGDs among the different segments of the community were conducted in and within the vicinity of the sampled primary schools in the sampled *woredas* and or regions.

Table 2.2 below provides some details about the sample used for the participatory survey.

Table 2.2: Number of FGDs and In-Depth Interviews Conducted

S/N	Region	# of <i>woredas</i>	# of sample primary schools	# of FGDs	# of resource persons/ key informants*
1	Tigray	3	9	36	24
2	Afar	1	2	8	7
3	Amhara	9	27	108	72
4	Oromia	11	33	132	88
5	Somali	2	4	16	14
6	Benishangul- Gumuz	1	2	8	7
7	SNNPR	8	24	96	64
8	Gambella	1	2	8	7
9	Harari	1	2	8	7
10	Addis Ababa	3**	6	24	21
11	Dire Dawa	1	2	8	7
Total		41	113	452	318

* Includes three school principals – i.e., one in each primary school

** These are Kifle Ketemas (sub-cities)

As indicated in Table 2.2 above, a total of 452 - i.e., about four FGDs per primary school were conducted with female students, male students, female teachers and parents separately. Each FGD was composed of three to five discussants (see Table 2.2). Similarly, a total of 318 in-depth interviews - i.e., seven to nine per *woreda*, were conducted with different resource persons, including:

- Three school principals in each *woreda*, i.e., one in each primary school;

- A relevant official, selected intermittently depending on circumstances, from the different offices - viz., police (and or prosecutor's offices), Education, Health, Labour and Social Affairs, and Women's Affairs Offices; and
- Leaders and/or knowledgeable individuals from other entities like girls' clubs, Girls' Education Advisory Committees (GEAC), teachers' associations, family planning & anti-AIDS clubs and women lawyers; and
- Religious leaders and/or elders.

2.2.3 Collation of Cases

Cases related to major social, psychological and physical violence and abuses of schoolgirls – i.e., cases of victim schoolgirls who had experienced some form of violence were studied to complement data obtained through other means. In most cases, the victims themselves, as well as the mother or father and/or guardians or friends of the victims were identified for the FGDs and in-depth interviews of resource persons. Cases of victims who suffered different and multiple violent acts at different places – viz., in the schools, at home and on the way to/from schools, were compiled.

The methodology also involved conducting validation workshops with the purpose of triangulating data and enriching the preliminary findings of the study. Three validation workshops each involving relevant participants drawn from each of the nine regional governments and two city administrations were also conducted.

2.3 Composition and Background of the Three Groups of Samples

2.3.1 Students

In terms of location, relatively higher proportion (46.5%) of the interviewed students were from schools located in urban settings, 23.8% were from semi-urban areas, while the remaining 29.7% were from schools based in rural areas. Over a half of the interviewees (57.4%) resided within a walking distance (30 minutes) from their respective schools. The majority (93%) were in the age range of 10-19 years, of whom 86.5% were in grades 5-8. In terms of religion, slightly over half (54.7 %) were followers of the Orthodox. In addition, the sample contained Muslims (22.6%) and Protestants (19.9%), Catholics (2.0%) and other (traditional) (0.9%).

Students whose mother and father were alive constituted the majority – i.e., 91.7% said that their mothers were alive, while 84.8% said their fathers were alive. Slightly over a half (51%) of the interviewees lived with both parents (mother and father) by the time the data were collected, while those who lived with mothers only constituted the second largest proportion (16.2%). As regards to education of parents, the proportion of those who said their mothers were unable to read and write was 64.8%. The figure was 41.1 % for those had illiterate fathers. The mothers' occupation was housewife for 57.5% of the interviewed students, farmer for 19.6%, trader for 10.6%, daily labourer for 9.8%, and unemployed, civil servant and student for the remaining proportion of the interviewees. With regard to the occupation of fathers, the three most prevalent occupations are farmer (for 58.2% of the interviewees), civil servant (for 24.4%), and trader (for 9.4%).(See Annex 2 A for further details about students concerning location of schools, age, grade level, religion, and parents' education, occupation etc.).

2.3.2 Teachers

In terms of location, 41.2% of the interviewed teachers were from schools in urban settings, 24.4% were from semi-urban and the remaining 34.4% were from schools in rural areas. Slightly over a half (54.5%) were female teachers; and the majority (95.1%) were in the age range of 20-49 years. In terms of marital status, 66.4% were married and 29.8% were single. Regarding their qualification: 54.8% were diploma holders, 37. % had a TTI certificate and 6.4% had their first degree. About 59% of the interviewed teachers had served at least four years in the sampled school while the remaining reported longer experience. In terms of religion followers of Orthodox constituted the largest group while, Protestants and Muslims, represented the second and third biggest groups respectively. In terms of family size, over 84% had six or less family members. Annex 2.B provides further information about the teachers interviewed.

2.3.3 Parents

A considerable proportion of the interviewed parents (41.9 %) were from schools in urban settings while 34.4% were drawn from schools in rural areas. The remaining 23.8% were from semi-urban areas. Unlike the case of interviewed teachers, the majority – i.e., slightly under two-thirds (62.3%) of the interviewed parents were males, 70.5% in the age range of 20-49 years while the remaining 28.6% were older than 49. The majority of parents (87.9%) were married. In terms of level of education, 26.9% were unable to read and write; 28.1% had primary (1-8 grades) level education; 14.2% had secondary (9-12 grades) level education; and the remaining (22.8%) had tertiary level of education. In addition, it was found out that, 69% of the interviewed parents lived in localities within the vicinity of the school for 20 or more years, while the remaining lived in the area for less than or equal to 19 years. A pattern similar to that of teachers was discovered in terms of the religion of the parents. About 56% came from a family with less than six members while over 44% were from a family whose size was larger than this. (See, Annex 2.C for further details the parents interviewed for the purpose of the study.)

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

Recently, there has been an ever increasing focus on violence against children. This has also attracted many researchers in the area and has led to many publications. There has been a growing interest in research on the roles and lives of children and awareness about the need for the active participation of children in this regard. This is indeed a promising trend because every study on violence against children and every active involvement of children will hopefully increase the awareness of violence against children and the key role that children should play in all development efforts concerning their lives.

The literature review of this study is focused on a few selected publications of particular relevance to the present study.

In the review of these selected literatures, an attempt has been made to focus primarily on findings which supplement the findings from the present study. Thus, findings which are also identified by the present study have not been dealt with in detail in the review of the selected publications. The literature review also includes a more elaborated survey of research on FGM, early and forced marriage and abduction. These areas represent the main harmful traditional practices identified in the study and the sections included in the review provide background to the issues in this study.

1.1. Selected Studies on violence

This section provides a brief survey of literature carefully selected for its relevance to the present study. The first sub-section deals with research conducted at an international level while the focus of the second one is on literature or research conducted locally.

3.1.1 Studies with global scope

a) An End to Violence against Children (UN, 2006)

This study documents the outcomes and recommendations of a study by the United Nations Secretary-General on Violence against Children. It is the first comprehensive global study on all forms of violence against children. The study also represents the first United Nations study to directly and consistently involve children underlining and reflecting children's status as rights holders, and their right to express views on all matters that affect them and have their views given due weight. The UN Study is global in its scope and included nine regions: The Caribbean, South Asia, West and Central Africa, Latin America, North America, East Asia and the Pacific, Middle East and North Africa, Europe and Central Asia, Eastern and Southern Africa.

The importance of this study, apart from being the first of its kind, concerns the fact it revealed that much of the violence against children, in most parts of the world, goes unreported and unnoticed. Moreover, the study found out that parents often approve of and themselves perpetrate violence and that governments in many places do not have systems in place to address violence and its causes. In particular, the lack of information on the violence against children is recognized as a major problem. In this regard the study states:

No country can measure its progress towards the elimination of violence against children without reliable data. To estimate the magnitude and nature of non-fatal violence against children accurately, surveys are required that explore the use of violence

by parents and other adults, experiences of violence in childhood, and current health status and health-risk behaviours of children and adults... (p. 10).

The study attempted to give a magnitude of the problem by drawing on other sources:

- “WHO estimates that almost 53,000 child deaths in 2002 were homicides.
- In the Global School-Based Student Health Survey carried out in a wide range of developing countries, between 20% and 65% of school aged children reported having been verbally or physically bullied in school in the previous 30 days. Similar rates of bullying have been found in industrialized countries.
- An estimated 150 million girls and 73 million boys under 18 have experienced forced sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence involving physical contact.
- UNICEF estimates that in sub-Saharan Africa, Egypt and Sudan, 3 million girls and women are subjected to FGM every year.
- ILO estimates that 218 million children were involved in child labour in 2004, of whom 126 million were engaged in hazardous work. Estimates for 2000 suggest that 5.7 million were in forced or bonded labour, 1.8 million in prostitution and pornography, and 1.2 million were victims of trafficking.
- Only 2.4% of the world’s children are legally protected from corporal punishment in all settings...” (p. 12).

A number of general risk factors are identified. The context and settings in which children interact with others include the following their home and family environment, at school, institutions and workplaces, as well as in their community and broader society. Furthermore, economic development, social status, age and gender are among the risk factors identified in the study. The study also suggests that young children are at a greater risk of physical violence, while sexual violence predominantly affects those who have reached puberty or adolescence. Boys appear to be at a greater risk of physical violence than girls, while girls face greater risk of neglect and sexual violence. Social and cultural patterns of behaviour, socio-economic factors including inequality and unemployment, and stereotyped gender-roles also play an important role. The study also identifies patriarchal attitudes as a critical factor:

.Patriarchal attitudes – particularly when they perpetrate the entrenched inferior status of women in many cultures – are also associated with increased risk of violence. In some societies, extremely violent acts may be inflicted by boys or men if the girls or women in question do not comply with their wishes. Seeking a girl’s consent in such matters as sexual relations and marriage may not be considered necessary. Girls may also be blamed for male violence against them...” (p. 72).

The study identifies the following types of violence:

- Physical violence including homicide; non-fatal physical violence
- Neglect
- Sexual violence including violence related to sexual behaviour and perceptions of honour.
- Sexual violence in intimate relationships and child marriage including prevalence of child marriage; physical, sexual and psychological violence.
- Harmful traditional practices including FGM.
- Psychological violence

Each type is thoroughly described and analyzed in the report. The findings show a widespread and global practice of all types of violence against children. Violence against school children has also been shown to be wide spread. A further finding is that corporal punishment is practised in many countries.

The study has also identified the effects of violence against children. Thus, various psychological and physical effects which may have a lifelong impact on the mental and physical development of the child were identified. With respect to sexual and gender-based violence, the study found out the following:

....home is the place where gender-based inequalities are first experienced by children, and where future power-imbalanced relationships are modelled, or challenged. Boys may be encouraged to become aggressive and dominant ('takers' of care) and girls are encouraged to be passive, compliant caregivers. These gender-based stereotypes support the use of violence and coercion that perpetuates gender inequalities..." (p. 48).

The study also identifies factors preventing violence. Some of these include legislation and awareness rising:

At the same time, other factors may prevent or reduce the likelihood of violence. Although more research is needed on these protective factors, it is clear that the development of strong attachment bonds between parents and children, and the nurturing of relationships with children that do not involve violence or humiliation within stable family units, can be powerful sources of protection for children... (p. 72).

Finally, the study makes many recommendations. Some of the overarching recommendations call on governments to:

- Strengthen national and local commitment and action;
- Prohibit all forms of violence against children in all settings, including corporal punishment and HTPs as required by international treaties;
- Prioritize prevention;
- Promote non-violent values and awareness-raising;
- Enhance the capacity of all who work with and for children;
- Provide recovery and social reintegration services;
- Ensure the participation of children;
- Create accessible and child-friendly reporting systems and services;
- Address the gender dimension of violence against children;
- Develop and implement systematic national data collection and research efforts; and
- Strengthen international commitment.

b) Violence and Health (WHO, 2002)

The 2002 WHO report on Violence and Health is another global and very comprehensive study. The study was prompted by the realisation that violence increasingly leads to severe health (physical as well as mental) problems. The Forty-ninth World Health Assembly, stated:

Noting with great concern the dramatic worldwide increase in the incidence of intentional injuries affecting people of all ages and both

sexes, but especially women and children; Recognizing the serious immediate and future long-term implications for health and psychological and social development that violence represents for individuals, families, communities and countries; Recognizing the growing consequences of violence for health care services everywhere and its detrimental effect on scarce health care resources for countries and communities.. (, p. xx)

The report covers all types of violence and all groups affected by violence. The primary focus is on the impact on the health of the victims. For example, the chapter on child abuse discusses physical, sexual and psychological abuse as well as neglect by parents and other caretakers. Other forms of maltreatment of children such as child prostitution and the use of children as soldiers are covered in other parts of the report.

The chapters on intimate partner violence and sexual violence focus primarily on violence against women though some discussion of violence directed at men and boys is included in the chapter on sexual violence. There are also chapters on suicidal behaviour. This chapter is included in the report because suicidal behaviour is one of the external causes of injury and is often the product of many of the same social, psychological and environmental factors underlying other types of violence.

The report estimates 150 million girls have experienced forced sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence including sexual harassment, abduction, and rape. In regard to school girls, the report, among other points, states that sexual violence affects school girls in a number of ways including their physical, psychological, health and educational well-being. The multifaceted effects of sexual violence on children are summarized as follows:

Victims are likely to suffer from a range of psychological consequences, both in the immediate period after the assault and over the longer term. These include guilt, anger, anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, sexual dysfunction, somatic complaints, sleep disturbances, withdrawal from relationships and attempted suicide. In addition to these reactions, studies of adolescent males have also found an association between suffering rape and substance abuse, violent behavior, stealing and absenteeism from school... (p. 154).

The report further indicated that sexual violence especially forced sexual intercourse increases school girls' vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Especially, those who suffer rape are considerably more susceptible to HIV than would be the case if the intercourse were not forced as it is likely to increase the likelihood of engaging in unprotected sex.

In relation to violence based on cultural practices and norms the report states:

In various parts of the world, cultural specificity and tradition are sometimes given as justifications for particular social practices that perpetuate violence. The oppression of women is one of the most widely quoted examples, but many others can also be given. Cultural norms must be dealt with sensitively and respectfully in all prevention efforts – sensitively because of people's often passionate attachment to their traditions, and respectfully because culture is often a source of protection against violence. Experience has shown that it is important to

conduct early and ongoing consultations with religious and traditional leaders, lay groups and prominent figures in the community, such as traditional healers, when designing and implementing programmes... (p. 174).

3.1.2 Studies on violence against children and girls in Ethiopia

Several studies on violence against children in Ethiopia have been conducted. Dereje and Derese (1997) studied violence in junior and senior schools in Addis Ababa. They found out that while physical violence and snatching property of school girls were most frequent among junior high schools (grades 7 and 8), bullying and attempted rape were more common among senior high school students. The study reported that there was a considerable amount of violence ranging from intimidation and minor physical attack to bullying snatching personal belongings, attempted rape, causing injury to sensitive organs, stabbing and even killing in schools and around schools. The study further disclosed teachers and head masters commit violent acts on students when they fail to observe school regulations, or to do homework, and display disruptive behavior.

In addition, studies conducted by MoLSA and UNICEF (2006) indicated that sexual abuse and exploitation of children are highly prevalent in all regions and among all cultural groups. The root causes identified include: poverty, economic inequalities, dysfunctional families, rural-urban migration, gender discrimination, irresponsible adults' sexual behaviour, and harmful traditional practices. Rape and child prostitution were identified as the most prevalent forms of sexual abuse and exploitation of children in Ethiopia.

One of the most recent and comprehensive studies on violence against children in Ethiopia was published in 2006 by the African Child Policy Forum and Save the Children Sweden. The report was produced as an input to the UN Study on Violence against Children. The study focused on Addis Ababa and the regional states of Oromia, Amhara, Tigray and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS). The research addressed issues of physical, psychological and sexual violence against children at home, in schools and in the community. The sample children in the study include boys and girls, disabled children, street children and children in school.

The study includes a section in which perceptions of adults and children of violence are described. Adults consider more extreme forms of violence against children unacceptable implying that less severe form of violence are tolerable. For instance, corporal punishment and other types of punishment for disciplining their children were accepted by most parents. Furthermore, adults strongly disapprove sexual-related violence though they hesitated to judge FGM as a form of violence. Children, on the other hand, showed no tolerance of the traditional forms of violence including FGM.

The study primarily focused on corporal punishment in school and in homes. It found out that forms of corporal punishment imposed on children include punching, boxing, beating up, burning, pinching and kicking as well as other even more cruel types of punishment. The findings regarding corporal punishment in schools reveal that more than 60% of the children asked about corporal punishment in the school stated that hitting with a stick, hitting their head, pinching and forcing them to kneel down are administered sometimes as punishment in the school.

A constitutional provision prohibits the corporal punishment of children in schools. Education authorities have also passed enabling regulations.

Yet, corporal punishment is still practiced in schools. According to responses from children obtained from the questionnaires, and the outcome of the focus group discussions children experienced corporal punishment in schools by kneeling down (81.3 percent), hitting the head (77.8 percent), pinching (74.4 percent), slapping (72 percent), and hitting with a stick (60.8 percent) are the most widespread forms of punishment at school. Manual work, such as working on school farms or cleaning school compounds also exists in many of the schools contacted... (p. 30).

Psychological and sexual violence were also shown to be widespread in the sites covered by the study. The findings indicate that boys experienced more physiological violence than girls. Further, street children experienced more such violence than school children. Finally, it was found out that the harm inflicted on disabled children was more degrading than that inflicted on any other group of children.

The findings about sexual violence indicate that rape and sexual harassment are the most widespread types of sexual violence. Street children and children with disability were found to be the groups most at risk of being victims of such violence. Child labor in the homes was considered as a form of abuse against children.

Perpetrators identified in the study involved a wide range of people in the community including mothers, fathers, elder brothers and older boys in the neighborhood. The police were identified particularly by street children. Teachers were accused of this by relatively fewer respondents.

The study also identified some causes of violence. Some of these include failure to enforce law, lack of awareness of children's rights, urban migration and family breakdown. Some of the effects identified include: emotional distress and unhappiness, body injury, dropping out of school, unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS.

A further finding of the study is that children are sometimes punished for reasons they do not know or understand: "...Children mentioned quite a number of incidents when they were severely beaten and subjected to other types of cruel punishment for a reason they, or any third person, did not exactly understand..." (p. 35).

The review of these three major documents clearly indicates that violence and abuse against children, is widespread all over the world and that there are many patterns of similarity in the types of violence. Physical, psychological and sexual violence and abuse are the main categories. The victims of the violence and abuse are in many cases children and girls, who are in particular vulnerable to sexual abuse and violence. It is also clear that the violence and abuse have a severe impact on the victims; to the extent that it is today, by WHO recognized as a major health problem.

1.2.3.2 Harmful Traditional Practices

The studies reviewed above also deal with traditional types of violence and abuse. In the following sections, the main types of traditional practices found in Ethiopia which were also identified in the present study are discussed.

3.2.1 Female Genital Mutilation

There is an increasing amount of evidence to suggest that wide variations of mutilation are performed on the normal vulva in different countries and that they have been classified in

different ways over the years (NCTPE 2003:76-77). According to NCTPE (2003:77-78), four different types of FGM are still practised in Ethiopia. Type I (Clitoridectomy or Sunna) refers to the removal of the clitoral hood with or without excision of part or the entire clitoris. “Clitoridectomy” refers to the partial or total removal of the clitoris. Type II (Excision) refers to the removal of the clitoris together with partial or total excision of the labia minora. Type III (Infibulation) is the removal of part or all of the external genitalia and stitching/narrowing of the vaginal opening leaving a small hole for urine and menstrual flow. Type IV (Unclassified) includes pricking, piercing or incision of the clitoris and/or labia; stretching of the clitoris and/or labia; cauterization by burning of the clitoris and surrounding tissues; scraping of the vaginal orifice or cutting of the vagina; introduction of corrosive substances into the vagina to cause bleeding (Mariam Girz³) or herbs into the vaginal opening with the aim of tightening or narrowing the vagina; any other procedures that fall under the definition of female genital mutilation.

In Ethiopia, traditional birth attendants or other traditional practitioners who also happen to be mostly older women perform the mutilation under unhygienic condition involving the use of a razor blade, a knife, or other sharp objects. Little seems to have changed in the way this is done over the years since travellers from the 16th century reported similar procedures and implements (Pankhurst 1990a, cited in NCTPE 2003:80).

The woman is paid a small token in cash or kind for her service. In many instances, the mutilation is done at the girl’s home, but sometimes—if it entails a ritual whereby many girls are involved (example in Afar), a separate place is allocated for the occasion (NCTPE 2003:80). The procedure varies depending on the type of FGM, the age of the girl, and the experience of the circumciser who in many cases is an old woman who often also serves as a traditional birth attendant. When the circumcision is done on an infant, as is the case in most Amhara and Tigray regions and parts of Oromia, the baby is held in the arms of an accompanying woman and returned by the mother soon afterwards. Where FGM is practised on infants the occasion is similar to that of the circumcision of a boy and is not accompanied by any ritual and is considered a family’s private affair. There are, however, variations among regions in the days of circumcision. In Amhara, boys are circumcised on the eighth day or on any even day thereafter while girls are circumcised on the seventh day or on any odd day thereafter. The reason is mostly mythological and traced to the Old Testament roots of the Ethiopian Orthodox religion (NCTPE 2003:83-84).

Infibulation (Type III) is practised in Afar, Somali, and Harari regions and by some groups in Benishangul-Gumuz, and Oromia (NCTPE 2003:81). In regions where Type I and II are commonly practised, especially the northern part of the country namely, Tigray and Amhara and neighbouring Afar and the Argoba, the mutilation is done as early as the eighth day after birth. On the other hand, among Somali, Harari, and ethnic groups in the SNNPR that practise FGM, it is carried out at a later age, which could range from 4 years to over 20 years. Some ethnic groups require their daughters to undergo mutilation as a prerequisite and preparation for marriage just a few days before the wedding. This occurs among Arsi Oromo, Fadashi (Benishangul-Gumuz), and Goffa (SNNPR). No FGM related to pregnancy has been reported in Ethiopia (NCTPE 2003:81-82).

FGM is prevalent throughout Ethiopia. Afar (94.5 %), Harari (81.2 %), and Amhara (81.1 %), are regions where the practice is most prevalent. It must be remembered that the value of girls in Gambella is not based on their being or not being mutilated, if mutilation is indeed meant to preserve virginity because rape and abduction are punishable by “stone killing the

³ In Ethiopia the “Mariam Girz” involves blood letting with a sharp needle performed on girls with a stunted clitoris who are assumed to have been already circumcised by St. Mary.

offender” by her clan. Thus, girls are highly protected by social rather than surgical means (NCTPE 2003:86). Not surprisingly, in all the regions but the Southern region and to some degree in Oromia, the practice of FGM is more prevalent in the rural areas than urban areas. In Ethiopia, five ethnic groups, namely Somali, Afar, Harari, Oromo living in close proximity with these groups, and, to some degree, the Berta Jebelawi (Benishangul-Gumuz) practice infibulation. Infibulation is not practiced in SNNPR, Tigray and Amhara. The combined occurrence of FGM Types I and II in these regions is 54.4 percent, 91.8 percent, and 63.3 percent respectively. There is also evidence to suggest that the predominant type of FGM countrywide is clitoridectomy (62 percent) followed by excision (19 percent) and infibulation (3 percent). Some of the other types of FGM such as those described as Type IV have been recorded (NCTPE 2003:88).

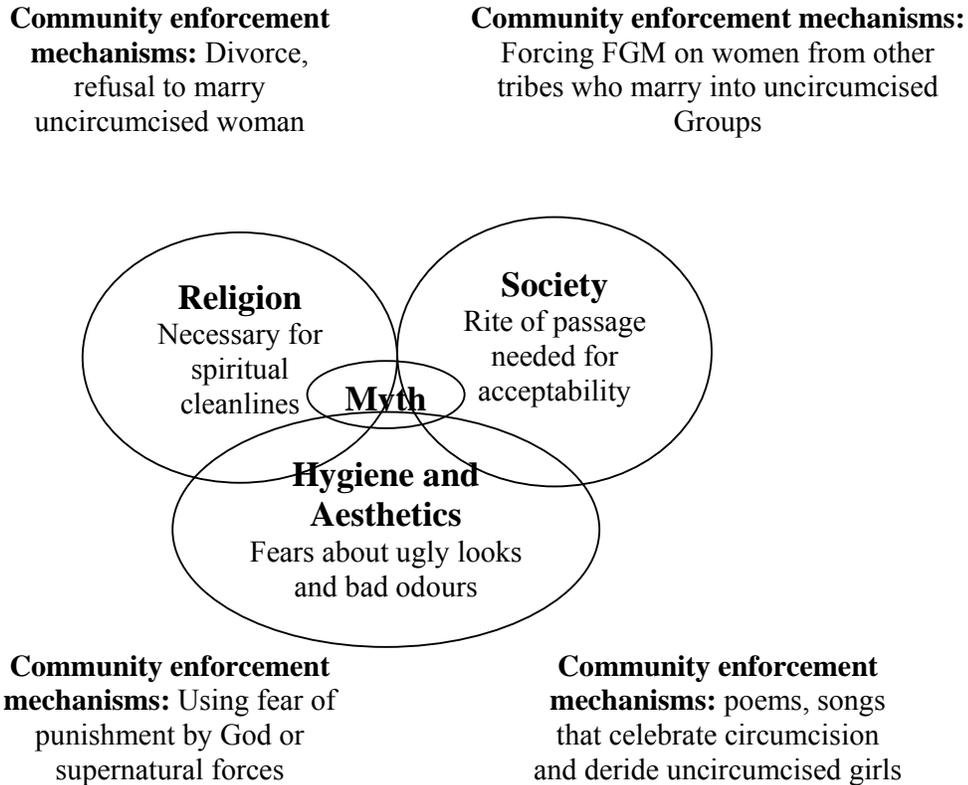
Some of the most common justifications for FGM include: (1) Establishing femaleness; (2) Enhancing fertility of a woman; (3) Maintaining purity or cleanliness; and (4) Securing marriage since a man will not marry a girl unless she is excised, etc. It is also believed that FGM is necessary to assume family stability and faithfulness of women since it reduces or entirely extinguishes sexual pleasure for women (Hirut 2001). In this respect, cultural expectations encourage women to undergo FGM since it is often associated with positive attributes such as gaining respect within the village and becoming a woman. Most importantly, girls who have not undergone FGM are considered more likely to be promiscuous and, therefore, unworthy of marriage. In short, the socio-cultural justifications for practicing FGM are related to the low status of women in a society (Guday 2004, 2007).

FGM has often caused several problems to girls. Some of the major problems associated with FGM include physical pain and permanent damage, psychological disruption and distortion of social relationship, and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, all of which are threats to the public and negatively affect the development of society (Aklilu & Taffese 2001, Hirut 2001, NCTPE 1997 & 2003). FGM, as a rite of passage, disrupts school girls’ education leading to dropout even before they complete primary education. A number of studies have identified FGM as one of the leading factors affecting girls’ education (FAWE 2001, UNICEF 2005, cited in Hungi 2006:42). Girls who undergo FGM are likely to grow up with lower levels of education attainment. Experience from other countries also show negative impacts of FGM on girls’ education. UNESCO (2005, cited in Hungi 2006:42) found that Guinea, which has the highest FGM national prevalence rate (99%) also has one of the highest women illiteracy rate (70%) (Hungu 2006:42). Studies (e.g. EYC 2005 in Hungu 2006) show that FGM makes school girls lose interest in education. The perception that once a girl undergoes the operation, becomes a “woman” and is ready for wifely duties negatively affects girls’ education in addition to leaving negative health implications (Oxfam 2005). As such, FGM has negative effect on girls’ enrolment as girls’ dropout soon after initiation (cited in Hungu 2006:42).

In Ethiopia, a successful campaign for the eradication of FGM requires an understanding of, and commitment to change perceptions and beliefs that cause its perpetuation. Regardless of where FGM has originated or where and how it is done, those who practice it share similar beliefs, - *a mental map that presents compelling reasons why the female genital organ, clitoris and the rest, must be removed*. The mental map in Figure 3.1 below provides a conceptual framework for understanding the role of FGM in a society. It highlights the social and psychological factors, and the societal, and personal beliefs that help to perpetuate the practice. There could be differences in the details of the map in different communities, and among ethnic groups in the same geographical areas, but the map provides community workers and others involved in the campaign grounds to consider. The eradication of FGM must, therefore, involve the social, religious and cultural transformation of communities

involved in the practice, rather than trying overturning or uprooting this base by hasty legal decrees (NCTPE 2003:119).

Fig 3.1: A Mental Map of Reasons why FGM Continues



Source: Asha Mohammed et al in Population Reference Bureau (2001)
Abandoning Female Genital Cutting (cited in NCTPE 2003:120)

3.2.2 Early Marriage

The acceptable age for marriage varies from country to country. According to the New Family Law of Ethiopia, the minimum is 18 years for both girls and boys. In this study, early marriage is taken as marriage carried out below the age of 18 years.

Though there are no accurate data on the prevalence as well as the current trend in early marriage in Ethiopia, available sources show that the practice is evident throughout Ethiopia and it is most common in the Amhara region.. According to NCTPE (1997), the prevalence rate of early marriage at the national level is 54%. However, early marriage is practised widely in Amhara (82%), Tigray (79%), Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella (64%). The survey also revealed that the majority of respondents – 62% in Amhara, 53% in Tigray, 51% in Addis Ababa and 50% in Benishangul-Gumuz - indicated that girls were married under age i.e. at the age of 15. In all regions of Ethiopia, most girls marry before they reach puberty compared to their male counterparts. Especially, among the Amhara, early marriage arrangements take place even before the birth of a girl-child. Early marriage, marriage before or during adolescence, takes different forms of arrangements in Ethiopia. Researchers have identified the following five types of marriage arrangements in regions of Ethiopia where the practice of early marriage is prevalent:

1. *Promissory marriage* whereby a family promises its new-born (or not yet born), daughter to another family which formally proposes marriage;
2. *Child marriage* whereby children under the age of ten are wedded in one of two ways: (i) the child bride is given to her in-laws immediately after wedding ceremony; (ii) the girl stays with her parents until such time as the two families agree that she is mature enough to go to live with her husband;
3. *Early adolescent marriage* which takes place between the ages of 10 and 15;
4. *Marriage of a young girl to an elderly man* where the man is typically between the ages of 40 and 50, but can be even over 60. The main reason given for supporting this practice is fertility considerations, followed by the perceived better adaptability of young girls to married life, need for labour of a young girl and submissive wife to provide care in the husband's old age, desirability of a virgin and increased wealth; and
5. *Late adolescent marriage* which takes place between the ages of 16 and 20.

According to UN ECA (1999), in each of the above-mentioned types of marriage, marriage is arranged after negotiations between two families. The bride who has no idea who her husband would be is required to prove she is a virgin.

The NCTPE (1997)'s national baseline survey results indicate that there is a high prevalence rate of early marriage in the Amhara Region, where 82% of the female population were married before the age of 18. However, the average age at first marriage in Ethiopia may mask the fact that early marriage may still prevail in some districts within the country or the region, where marriage agreements take place for girls as young as 4 to 5 years old and sometimes before birth (UNICEF 2002d, cited in Guday 2005). The Amhara National Regional State Women's Affairs Office (ANRSWAO 2003, cited in Guday 2005) also asserts that early marriage is most common in the Amhara Region where the rate of urbanization is less than 9%. In this connection EWLA et al (2002:2, cited in Guday 2005) notes that:

The extreme form of early marriage is still highly prevalent in the Amhara Region although it has a significant prevalence rate in Oromia as well. Relatively speaking, early marriage is not widely practiced in the Southern Region but the high incidence of abduction appears to have triggered early marriage in some districts. However, there are variations among the large number of ethnic groups in the Region. For example, in Sidama Zone, most girls marry at around 14. (p. 2).

Alemante (2004) found out that presently the age at first marriage is going down from 12 to 9 years with specific reference to one peasant community in East Gojjam Administrative Zone of the Amhara Region of Ethiopia. Guday (2005:159) has also found that:

Marriage before the age of 14 is the norm for girls. Currently, the average age at first marriage for the daughters' generation is getting down to 8 years compared to their mothers' generation, which was 11 years. This entails that the trend towards early marriage is now becoming more common than ever in the studied communities. This is contrary to the general assumption that early marriage was the norm for the 'older generation.' Of course, older women were also married before the age of 18, but their age at first marriage was not as early as the "younger generations of women. (p. 159).

In general, Ethiopia has one of the lowest ages at first marriage. A study in the early 1990s showed that almost all girls were married by the age of 20, a much higher proportion than in any other country except Mali. More importantly, early marriage does not seem to decrease as in most other countries. In one sample from Gojjam, 88 % of girls were married before the age of 15 and, 37 % before they were 10. In Tigray and Amhara in 1993, there was no difference between the rate among mothers and their daughters: 76 percent of the mothers and 78 percent of their daughters married before the age of 15 (NCTPE 2003:137-138). The 1997 National Baseline Survey shows that early marriage is still prevalent among the highlanders of Amhara and Tigray societies. In general, if it is defined as marriage below the age of 18, the legal majority age, female early marriage can be considered pan-Ethiopian. It is a serious problem in Amhara, Benishangul-Gumuz, Afar and Tigray regions. Early marriage is a serious problem (over 60 percent) also in 19 other ethnic groups. Amhara is clearly a stronghold for early marriage. All studies have unequivocally documented the high incidence of the practice. This is true for all ethnic groups in the region. Girls are promised for marriage in infancy, at 4-5 years, and, even in uterus. The marriage ceremony may be celebrated immediately although the girl often stays with her parents until “maturity,” age which is ten to thirteen (Amhara, Agew, Argoba, Kemant, Tigray, etc.). The marriage is consummated much later although there are reports of marital intercourse at as low an age as seven. However, there are also reports of girls divorcing three times before they have slept with any man. In some cases- up to 47 percent in Gojjam for example- the girl might be sent to the family of the in-laws’ home to be looked after by her mother-in-law (NCTPE 2003:140).

The factors involved in the justification, and the perpetuation of early marriage are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. It is a reflection of the gender bias in traditional societies where the status of woman in general is low. “The girl child, the wife-to-be, is seen as a chattel by her own family, as a source of parental advantages and threats to be controlled by them and disposed of as they are fit. She is disposed of as early as possible to limit the threats (loss of virginity, premarital pregnancy, loss of face) and maximize the advantages. Because of the high value accorded to virginity, she is guarded closely after a certain age, continuously warned and made insecure in her relationships with any male. Early marriage is one of the most effective ways of ensuring control over her productive and reproductive labour through virginity, and by inculcating the norm of obedience and subservience to the older “father-figure” husband at an early age (NCTPE 2006:153). Thus, from childhood, she is groomed to be subservient to father, brothers and any male relatives. As a child bride, she is subdued by the elder husband, the conquest of the nuptial right and the whole new environment of the in-laws. These are difficult transitions marking any girl for life but made even more difficult for the girl child (NCTPE 2006:153). Poverty has also exacerbated this problem with some parents marrying off their daughters to wealthy men at early ages because of bride price (Hungu 2006:41). Teenage pregnancy affects girl’s participation more intensely in the region because though there is a government policy on re-entry of girls after delivery, many parents in NEP are not aware of it and thus it has remained ineffective. As a result, girls in pastoralist communities in the country have been left behind in all aspects of education ((EYC 2005, Leggett 2005:139, cited in Hungu 2006:41). Although it looks that some reasons for early appear to have some degree of universality, the causes of early marriage vary from culture to culture. The most common reasons for early marriage are poverty and parents’ desire to protect the girl. In Ethiopia, researchers found that early marriage is related to underdevelopment, poverty, and the low status of women.

Early arranged marriage results in multidimensional consequences. The most frequently mentioned harmful effects of early marriage are greater risk of domestic violence, poor health, divorce/abandonment/ early widowhood, psychological disadvantage, lower education and work skills, reinforced gender stereotypes and roles and a cycle of poverty and abuse in

which children of young and illiterate mothers tend to face the same cycle of deprivation and abuse experienced by their mothers. In short, early childhood marriage has severe harmful effects on girls' well-being in particular and the well-being of the society at large.

3.2.3 Forced Marriage

Forced marriage entails mental and psychological coercion, bribery, and harassment used to force a girl to enter into marriage. In this context, forced marriage differs from early arranged marriage in the age of betrothal for girls might be even before birth takes place or after puberty. However, this can blur the fine line between forced and arranged marriage since the element of consent from the girl is usually absent (Guday 2004, 2007).

In Ethiopia, according to Zenebwork (2002), forced marriage is prevalent in Oromia and Southern Regions, where girls are often forced to marry relatively better-off men against their will and through pressure from elders and religious leaders. In both regions, forced marriage also includes *widow inheritance*, i.e., when a husband dies the widow is forced to marry one of his brothers or close relatives. In Oromia, when a wife dies, her younger sister is forced to marry her brother-in-law regardless of the age difference between the couples. In both regions, the existence of polygamy contributes to the prevalence of forced marriage. The prevalence of forced marriage in the form of *widow inheritance* in polygamous marriage customs causes a lot of problems for women and girls who have no say in the matter. There are instances where HIV caused the husband's death, and thus by marrying the widow a male relative risks infecting himself and his other wives (Guday 2004, 2007).

The reasons for forced marriage are almost identical to that of early arranged marriage. However, in the case of *widow inheritance*, it is justified in terms of ensuring the welfare of the children of the deceased and providing protection and help to the widow although the underlying cause of the practice is to prevent loss of property in case the widow decides to marry another man. The strong taboo related to unmarried women is another contributory factor as is the fear of being cursed by elders and religious leaders. The maintenance and strengthening of ethnic and religious identity are also major explanatory factors especially in the contemporary period of heightened religious and ethnic consciousness. The bride-price and relations with well-to-do families are also major incentives in the context of poverty and destitution and the widening gap between the "poor" and the relatively well-to-do (Zenebwork 2002).

Forced marriage has the following negative effects: (1) The disempowerments of women resulting from lack of schooling, ability to earn a decent income; and (2) Women's inability to make strategic decision resulting in marital instability, psychological trauma and limited alternatives which often end in poor employment and even exposure to HIV/AIDS. Hence, forced marriage of young girls/adolescents can cause lifelong psychological as well as physical problems, especially those resulting from early pregnancy and early childbearing.

Overall, early and forced marriage is a harmful traditional practice that affects girls' education and their future life. Being aware of the negative impacts of early and forced marriage on school girls, primary schools in rural Ethiopia bring together girls who might be vulnerable to early and forced marriage through Girls' Advisory Committees (GAC), which is aimed at preventing early and forced marriage of school girls and other forms of violence and abuse against school girls. GAC's work is linked to the Parent-Teacher Association to create a more positive environment for children at home and at school, by awareness-raising and other means. GAC members vary in composition, but include male and female students, sometimes a community member, and a female teacher as advisor. The student members act as links between families in the community and the school, reporting on upcoming early

marriages, abductions, teasing, harassment, and extended absence of girls from school. Where an impending marriage of a young girl is reported, the GAC visits the parents to attempt to dissuade them. If they refuse to listen, the GAC asks the parents to come to the school. The teachers then ask the parents to cancel the marriage, explaining that it is illegal. This is normally successful. Mothers are reported as saying they are glad that their daughter has escaped the life they were forced into, but they would not be able to protest the marriage without the backup of the school. In short, GAC's activity illustrates the necessity of an integrated approach whereby school girls' efforts are backed up by authority figures such as school teachers and the law (Gurevich 2005).

3.2.4 Abduction

In many parts of Ethiopia, abduction is considered as one form of marriage. Marriage by abduction, also called marriage by kidnapping or by capture, occurs to a varying degree all over Ethiopia (NCTPE 2003:154). The prevalence of marriage by abduction is 80 percent in Oromia Region; and as high as 92 percent in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR); with a national average of 69 percent (NCTPE 1997, cited in NCTP 2003:154).

Marriage through abduction appears to be on the increase, especially in some regions of Ethiopia. Although it needs to be verified through focused research, it appears that currently marriage through abduction is manifesting an alarming increase especially in some parts of Oromia Region and in SNNPR. In the SNNPR where the practice is widespread, community leaders are said to turn a 'blind eye' to abduction 'even when abuses are carried out under its guise'. What seems to be happening is widespread cases of rape, which are then mediated by elders as marriages to avoid imprisonment and other punitive measures (Zenebwork 2002; Heinonen 2002; Guday 2004, 2007).

The reasons for marriage by abduction are complex and intertwined (NCTPE 2003:159). Some of these include the desire to:

- Ensure that the girl of men's choice will not run away,
- Avoid payment of bride-price in anticipation of a rejection of their marriage proposal by households with a relatively higher social status, and
- Avoid expenses for wedding parties (EWLA 2001, cited in Guday 2004, 2007).

One of the root-causes of abduction and other forms of forced marriage is masculinity and societal expectation of masculine behaviour. A major component of this ideology is the societal perception of girls and women as commodities to be bought and sold into marriage. Research findings reveal that in the Southern Region, fathers openly and proudly boast how much they actually 'sold' their daughters (Zenebwork 2002).

Abduction has the same consequences as early and forced marriages. Given the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS pandemic in Ethiopia, the likelihood of spreading the disease through abduction is much higher. Abduction also perpetuates early marriage and inhibits parents from sending girls to school. Abduction often entails physical coercion followed by rape. Above all, marriage through abduction denies the rights of girls to make choice of their own marriage (Zenebwork 2002).

In general, marriage by abduction has serious harmful consequences for the girls. The mistreatment of the girl during the process of abduction is very high. She is often beaten and if not immediately intimidated suffers severe punishment leading to bodily harm. She might be suffocated in attempts to quell her cries for help. The whole process sometimes leads to

disability and even death. If she survives the torments of the kidnapping process, she has to face the ordeal of the first intercourse- although inevitably a rape. With these numerous physical and psychological traumas, the girl has to face the prospect of life with her “tormentor”. If she had started school, he could also be seen as one who has thwarted both her “destiny” as possibly an educated woman with an independent income and life, because most marriages mean the end of school life. In these circumstances, it is easy to imagine that most of these girls lead an unhappy life and some are even driven to suicide. Some others take desperate measures to escape their tormentor (NCTPE 2003:157-158).

CHAPTER FOUR: TYPES AND PREVALENCE OF ABUSE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST SCHOOL GIRLS

The findings presented in this chapter are based on the quantitative and qualitative data collected during fieldwork and the secondary sources reviewed. In many cases, the findings build on the perceptions of the key informants and responses from teachers, students and parents. As some of the issues are rather sensitive, it has not always been possible to ask for concrete experiences. An attempt has however been also made to obtain concrete experiences from girls as case studies.

To provide a general overview of the findings, the quantitative data has been summarized in the following four tables. The tables show the percentages of students, teachers and parents who have replied “yes” to whether the different types of violence according to their perception exists in the school and on the way to and from school. The tables, therefore, present an average of the “yes” answers by region and by type of violence.

Table 4.1: Perception of the Prevalence of Violence and Abuse in the School among Teachers, Parents & Students per Region

Respondents	Tigray	Afar	Amhara	Oromia	Somali	B-Gumuz	SNNP	Gambella	Harari	Addis Ababa	Dire Dawa
Students	21%	24%	27%	18%	21%	29%	25%	10%	23%	31%	24%
Teachers	42%	61%	44%	35%	24%	36%	57%	42%	5%	53%	21%
Parents	17%	38%	31%	24%	26%	29%	26%	37%	35%	58%	14%

As can be seen from the data in Table 4.1, the perception of the level of violence in schools is relatively higher among teachers, parents and student in Addis Ababa, Afar and SNNPR. The lowest level of perceived violence in the school setting is in Dire Dawa and Harari. Parents and students in Addis Ababa also share this view. Teachers ranked SNNP as the second and Afar as the highest. Students and parents also ranked Afar relatively higher (students as the fifth and parents as the second). Generally, the perceived level of violence in the school is high with most percentages being above 30%. This finding in itself is disturbing. Even if the actual level of violence is less, the very fact that teachers, students and parents perceive the level of violence to be high is a cause for worry.

Table 4.2 presents data on the perceptions of different types of violence in the school. Teachers, parents and students share the view that verbal assault is the most prevalent type of abuse against girls in the school. Parents and students perceive physical attack to be more common than name-calling and humiliation whereas teachers perceive physical attack to be much less common compared with students and the parents. All agree that abduction is the least experienced type of violence within the school. It should be noted that the percentages are generally above 30% and should also raise concerns.

Table 4.2: Perceptions of the Prevalence of the Different Types of Violence & Abuse in the School on Average by Teachers, Parents and Students

Type of violence and abuse	Students	Teachers	Parents
Beating	37%	30%	51%
Snatching of properties	16%	37%	23%
Verbal insult	48%	63%	54%
Deprivation of liberty	21%	38%	27%
Threats of harm	23%	45%	34%
Humiliation	28%	50%	42%
Name calling	29%	48%	45%
Demanding money	11%	24%	24%
Sexual coercion	11%	23%	24%
Sexual harassment	23%	46%	33%
Abduction	7%	17%	10%

Table 4.3 shows the level of perceived violence against girls on the way to and from school. The level of violence is perceived to be highest in Addis Ababa although generally, there are variations across regions in the perceptions of teachers, parents and students. The highest level of perceived violence by students on the way to and from school is in Dire Dawa and Tigray.

Table 4.3: Perception of the Prevalence of Violence and Abuse on the Way to and From School among Teachers, Parents & Students per Region

Respondents	Tigray	Afar	Amhar a	Oromi a	Somali	B-Gumuz	SNNP	Gambe lla	Harari	Addis Ababa	Dire Dawa
Students	38%	22%	32%	24%	28%	34%	33%	12%	31%	30%	40%
Teachers	69%	61%	64%	60%	40%	63%	74%	57%	48%	60%	39%
Parents	34%	32%	43%	44%	42%	56%	40%	60%	29%	76%	52%

Comparing the ranking of the regions on violence in the school and on the way to and from school, 4 out of the 5 highest ranked regions are, in both categories Addis Ababa, SNNP, Benishangul-Gumuz and Amhara. Thus, there seems to be a pattern between violence in the school and on the way to and from school.

The data in Table 4.4 suggests that there is a high degree of agreement among the different groups of samples concerning the types of violence perceived to be most prevalent. Students, parents and teachers agree that verbal abuse and physical attack are the most common types of violence against girls on the way to and from school. Teachers and students also agree that sexual harassment is frequent whereas parents believe humiliation and name-calling are more prevalent. All groups agree that abduction is the least common type although teachers consider abduction as prevalent as demanding money from the girls. Generally, the perceived level of violence is very high (above 40%), which is extremely high and indicates that the way to and from the school too is unsafe for school girls.

Table 4.4: Perceptions of the Prevalence of the Different Types of Violence & Abuse on the Way to and From School in Average by Teachers, Parents and Students

Type of Violence And Abuse	Students	Teachers	Parents
Beating	53%	74%	63%
Snatching of properties	20%	52%	40%
Verbal insult	57%	81%	74%
Deprivation of liberty	31%	67%	43%
Threats of harm	35%	68%	54%
Humiliation	32%	69%	58%
Name calling	36%	59%	56%
Demanding money	12%	45%	32%
Sexual coercion	25%	60%	49%
Sexual harassment	37%	73%	54%
Abduction	15%	45%	24%

In the following sections, the different types of violence and abuse are explained. They have been classified as physical violence and abuse, psychological violence and abuse and sexual violence and abuse. In addition to these, however, female genital mutilation, abduction, early and forced marriage, excessive workload at home and closing school gates on late comers, are also discussed.

4.1 Physical Violence and Abuse

This section presents data on the prevalence and perpetrators of physical violence and abuse against school girls. Three measures of physical violence were used in this study. These are corporal punishment, beating up (physical attack) and snatching away girls' personal belongings. The study reveals that school girls are subjected to a high level of physical abuse and violence within the school, on the way to and from school as well as in their homes. Interestingly, such ill-treatment of girls happen for no obvious reason. In many cases, it is difficult to completely distinguish between the different types of physical violence and abuse. However, the discussion will distinguish between corporal punishment in school and in home and beating up (not as corporal punishment), and snatching of personal belongings of school girls. Although snatching is detrimental to the school girls' psychological well-being, it is classified as physical violence since the action of snatching may often involve physical violence.

4.1.1 Corporal Punishment at School and Home

Corporal punishment is a violent act commonly applied on children in Africa. According to a study on violence against girls in Africa (African Child Policy Forum, 2006), 72.0%, and 60.8% of children were reported to have been slapped and hit with sticks respectively. In Ethiopia, corporal punishment takes various forms including beating, insult, slapping, hitting, punching and other similar physical acts.

Schools are expected to provide safe and protective environment for students. In this respect, the Ethiopian Constitution (1995) and the Federal Ministry of Education guidelines (MOE, 1981, 1988 E. C.) discourage the use of corporal punishment in schools. Nevertheless, the survey disclosed that schools in Ethiopia practise various forms of corporal punishment on boys and girls. Table 4.5 presents the responses of students and teachers on the prevalence of corporal punishment imposed on girls in schools.

Table 4.5: Perceived Prevalence of Corporal Punishment against Girls in School by Teachers and Parents

Respondents	Yes	No	Total No. of Respondents
	%	%	
Students	34	66	1263
Teachers	25	74	341

As can be seen in Table 4.5, corporal punishment is a common phenomenon in schools. A significant proportion of students and teachers reported the existence of corporal punishment in schools. More students than teachers reported that corporal punishment is imposed on school girls in schools especially in the form of beating up, slapping and having to kneel down.

Interview with the key informants and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with students, teachers and parents indicated that corporal punishment in the form of doing physically demanding jobs, forcing students to kneel down, twisting fingers/arms with pencils in between, pinching ears, flogging with rubber strings are common in schools. Such corporal punishment is perpetrated by teachers, school guards and principals when students (of both sexes) repeatedly engage in disruptive behaviour in the class, or fail to complete homework, or break rules and regulations or are late for school, etc.

During the field visits, the team observed the use of corporal punishments in almost every school visited. Paradoxically, the team came across several written statements written in bold face posted in school compounds, which talked about either the need to respect the rights of school children or about the need to eliminate corporal punishments. In one school, it read: “Corporal punishments in the schools should be abolished.” Another board displayed: “We children need advise, not sticks.” Another such slogan read:” Let’s protect children from all forms of violence and exploitations.”

In practice, however, despite these impressive written slogans, the team witnessed school children facing corporal punishments. The team came across students who were forced to kneel down both inside and outside of classrooms. Seeing canes or small sticks in the hands of teachers, particularly of unit leaders and guards appeared to be the rule rather than exception. There was a tendency for principals and teachers to deny the existence of corporal punishment during the interviews and FGDs. Parents, particularly those who were members of Parent Teachers’ Association also either denied or played down the existence of these forms of punishments in schools.

On the other hand, there were some reports of the trend of corporal punishment in schools declining. However, it was difficult to determine the truth of such claims as the issue fell outside the scope of the study. Parents and teachers also voiced their concern that, with no options for corporal punishment, teachers have become more passive and less able to maintain classroom discipline. This, parents and teachers reported, is not healthy for teacher-student interaction which should be based on respect and mutual understanding.

Although corporal punishment in schools is prohibited in schools, there is no law against corporal punishment at home. There are plenty of examples of corporal punishment at home involving flogging, burning part of the body with fire, putting hot pepper in fire and forcing girls to inhale the smoke in addition to causing injury to the genital with hot metal objects

like spoon. Elder brothers and parents are responsible for disciplining girls. An example from a focus group discussion explains how a girl was beaten up by her brother. When both of them returned from school, the mother was not at home. Both were hungry and the boy asked his sister to give him food. But there was no food at home. As a result of this, he beat her up with a flat stick usually used for firewood. No one said a word by way of disapproving it. According to the informants from Afar, Dire Dawa, Harari, Oromia and Somali, some parents do not believe they can discipline their girls without corporal punishment.

4.1.2 Beating of School Girls (not as corporal punishment)

The data in this study suggests that girls are subjected to physical attack directed at them not as form of corporal punishment but rather as a form of harassment, degrading and attempts at initiating sexual relationship. The perpetrators of this are mainly older boys both in-school as well as out-of-school.

Table 4.6: Perceived Prevalence of Beating of School Girls (not as corporal punishment)

Setting	Respondents	Yes	No	Total no. of respondents
		%	%	
School	Students	32	68	1259
	Teachers	35	65	340
	Parents	41	59	324
On the way to or from school	Students	46	54	1262
	Teachers	74	26	339
	Parents	62	38	320
Home	Students	42	60	1262
	Teachers	63	37	337
	Parents	50	49	321

Table 4.6 shows that such physical attack is common in school, on the way to or from school and at home. Beating up is more prevalent on the way to or from school than in the other settings.

The qualitative data also reveal that boys go unpunished for physically attacking their female counterparts in the school. As was mentioned in one of the FGD in Oromia, two parents came to school to complain about violent acts involving boys throwing stones at their daughters, damaging their clothes and bringing them down by firmly holding their hands. They complained that measures are not taken immediately and the school is very inefficient in this respect. The observation data also provided some confirmation of such ill-treatment of girls by boys in the school compound. The girls responded by crying and shouting. No response was witnessed from adults around the scene.

A male student in the FGD in Jijiga said that, although the religion of Islam prohibits the beating up of girls, physical and verbal abuse against girls is becoming a common phenomenon in and around the school. Male students ask female students to sit beside them in the classroom and if they refuse, they are beaten up on the way to and from school.

From the qualitative data, it appears that in many cases the beating on the way to and from school either by fellow male students or by boys out of school is linked to a desire by the boys for a romantic or sexual relationship with the girls. In Dessie town, for instance, evidence from the police department indicated that beating of school girls occurs when girls refuse boys for sexual relationship. School girls who come from rural areas to continue their

education after completing primary school are vulnerable to beating by boys. One police record shows that a girl who was living in a rented house in Dessie town was beaten by a boy who came from her home-village to seduce her taking advantage of the fact that she was away from her parents and relatives.

4.1.3 Snatching Personal Belongings

Snatching personal belongings of school girls appears to be a very common incident in school (Dereje and Derese, 1997), on the way to or from school and home settings. This type of violence includes but not limited to snatching learning materials, grabbing valuables and snatching pieces of food for disciplining children. Much of this act may seem rather innocent but snatching of properties may include beating as well as sexual harassment and even rape. Moreover, losing of valuable properties including school material is a stressful experience for girls as they may face punishment from parents and teachers for the loss. Table 4.7 shows snatching of properties of school girls as reported by students, teachers and parents.

Table 4.7: Perceived Prevalence of Snatching Properties of School Girls

Setting	Respondents	Yes	No	Total no. of respondents
		%	%	
School	Students	15	84	1259
	Teachers	45	55	336
	Parents	25	75	324
On the way to or from school	Students	23	77	1259
	Teachers	62	38	338
	Parents	39	61	322
Home	Students	12	87	1259
	Teachers	28	72	333
	Parents	14	87	321

The data in Table 4.7 shows that school girls are most exposed to violence in the form of snatching or mugging on their way to and from school. In all the three settings, more teachers than either students or parents reported the prevalence of snatching the properties of school girls.

The following case was narrated by a primary school teacher in Awassa town, SNNPR region who witnessed snatching property of school girls (Box 1).

Box 1: Case of Snatching Properties

Usually non-school boys wait for school girls on the way to and from school and snatch their school properties in order to force them to sexual activities. The teacher said that on the way from school she saw a school girl who was snatched her school materials by a non-school boy. After she was being snatched, the girl was following the boy and asking him to give back her materials. When the boy noticed that I am approaching them he threw her school materials and ran away.”

Interview with the key informants and FGD with students, teachers and parents confirmed that snatching properties of school girls is practiced in Oromia, Amhara, Tigray and SNNPR.

The perpetrators of the snatching properties of school girls are male students, non-school gangs and parents. Male students snatch the properties (e.g., learning materials) of school girls to force them to comply with their demands for sexual relationship and intercourses. Parents snatch the properties of school girls as a measure to discipline their daughters.

4.2 Psychological Violence and Abuse

This section reports results concerning the prevalence and perpetrators of psychological violence and abuse. Four types of psychological violence and abuse: verbal insult, degrading/humiliating, threatening and name calling were identified and described. These violent acts were merged resulting psychological violence and abuse on school girls. School girls are vulnerable to these psychological violence and abuse at school, on the way to or from school and at home. They are detrimental to the psychological development, well-being and education of school girls. Table 4.8 shows students, teachers and parents responses on the prevalence of psychological violence and abuse in the school, on the way to or from school and at home. Mean of the frequencies of responses of the three groups on verbal insult, debasing/humiliating, threat of harm and name-calling is used here.

Table 4.8: Psychological Violence and Abuse against School Girls

Setting	Respondents	Yes	No	No. of respondents
		%	%	
School	Students	34	65	1259
	Teachers	57	43	336
	Parents	41	59	324
On the way to or from school	Students	41	59	1259
	Teachers	77	23	338
	Parents	57	43	323
Home	Students	29	71	1260
	Teachers	56	44	336
	Parents	36	64	322

Psychological violence and abuse was reported to be most prevalent on the way to or from school and least prevalent at home. In all the three settings, more proportion of teachers than students and parents reported the prevalence of psychological violence and abuse of school girls in school, on the way to or from school and at home.

The following case (Box 2) is about a girl intimidated and threatened on the way from school because of refusal of sexual request.

Box 2: Intimidation and Threat of Harm

A boy asked me to be his girlfriend. I refused the request. Sometimes later, the same boy asked me for sexual intercourse. Once again, I refused the request. As a result, the boy took a revenge on me repeatedly by insulting, threatening, and intimidating. Some of the words he used to intimidate and threat me were: I want you for sex and not for marriage, you are excellent for sex, I will spread acid on your body, I will block the way you go home. This negatively affected my education in general and my academic achievement in particular.

The physiological violence and abuse against girls may take different forms depending on who the perpetrators are. However, there is a key element of gender discrimination in all the forms.

In the school teachers were accused by school girls of humiliating them in front of their classmates if, for instance, they give wrong answer to a question. The participants of the FGDs confirmed that instead of asking them the reason (s) why they failed to do homework they tend to use abusive terms and phrases such as: "You are the first person to roam around the village." This is the kind of criticism people forward against someone telling that he/she is not a responsible person but rather a person who walk here and there without a purpose or any specific duty. Some findings indicate that the verbal abuse by the teacher is even worse with beautiful or attractive girls. If a school girl is beautiful, some teachers may not have a positive feeling towards her.

The participants of the FGD involving female teachers in Arbaminch, for example, said that teachers address older girls coming to school as "*Mofer Sekay*" which means a girl who dropped a plough and joined a school. Similarly, the interviews held with key informants and FGDs with groups in North Shoa, West Shoa, and Gurage Zone revealed that smaller boys use the nickname, "mother" to refer to older school girls in the classroom or in the school compound. Some may taunt these students that they came to the school to look for a husband. This is widely reported by girls in rural areas. Another school girl who requested permission to leave the class due to the sudden flow of menstruation was embarrassed by her teacher for asking permission.

On the way to and from school, the perpetrators of the psychological violence are reported to be older school boys, boys out of school as well as other members of the local community. The latter group is reported to humiliate girls based on the fact that they attend education. Participants of the FGD held with female students in Jimma and Gomma *woredas* report an instance of this "a woman gives birth to a knowledgeable person but herself is not knowledgeable." Other reported comments from community members are: "an educated girl does not reach any where", implying that her destination is to be a housewife and a child bearer. Or "you are going to bring an illegitimate child." The Oromos say "one cannot have a pride or confidence with a girl" and "you get rid of an old mule and a girl with the assistance of relatives," implying that you must not keep a grown up girl at home as she may bring embarrassment to the family.

Most of the insult, debasing and name calling by boys on the way to and from school is sexually motivated and will be dealt within the next section. Equally most of the threats of harm are related to sexual harassment and demands for sexual relationships. Thus this will also be dealt within the next section.

Parents apply psychological violence and abuse when they become angry at the behavior of their daughters that failed to meet their expectations. Some parents believe that humiliating, degrading and threatening their daughters is a way of protecting them against pre-marital relationships with boys and men. Interviewed girls reported that their efforts to learn are sometimes met with humiliation and teasing at home since they are not expected to succeed in school.

For instance, a girl mentioned that her parents verbally harass and beat her up for not complying with their wishes. She said that her married friends insult her saying '*komo kere*',

one whose marriage is long overdue and therefore or who should be ashamed for not having a husband. She is also told that education cannot do any good to her.

The psychological abuse by parents against their daughters also means that girls dare not disclose the abuse they suffer, for instance, on the way to and from school. A girl from a school in Nazareth/Adama disclosed the following in an interview:

I don't dare to tell my parents if someone bullies me because they say that I perpetuated it through my desire to be spoiled. They feel that I purposefully dressed up and acted to attract violence or threat upon me. They say to me: You wanted to run here and there. As a result, you wanted him. It is you who forced him to have a relationship with you.

4.3 Sexual Violence and Abuse

Sexual violence and abuse represents one of the different types of gender-based violence committed against school girls. It is the act of forcing school girls to engage in sexually motivated activity without her consent and is often accompanied by other types of violence including physical and psychological ones. In this section, the discussion will focus on the three important types of sexual violence and abuse: seduction, sexual harassment and rape/attempted rape. Each is discussed in the sections below.

On average, girls in Benishangul-Gumuz have reported the highest level of experienced sexual violence and abuse and girls in Addis and Afar the lowest level of experienced sexual violence and abuse. The incidents are also relatively high among girls in Tigray, Amhara and Oromia. Generally and across the regions, the figures of such kind of violence and abuse must be considered high and alarming.

The most common type of sexual abuse and violence as experienced by girls involves the use of bad or verbal abuse by members of the school community aimed at undermining their self esteem. This type of abuse was experienced frequently among girls in Tigray (21%), Amhara (29%), Benishangul Gumuz (28%) and Gambella (22%). The lowest level of this type of experience is found in Afar (5%), Somali (3%) and Addis Ababa (4%).

The second most frequent type of violence experienced by girls involved touching their private parts. Here, it is SNNPR which has the highest score (29%) followed by Benishangul Gumuz (28%). Amhara, Oromia and Gambella also have a high score ranging between 16% and 17%. Lowest are Afar (0%) and Addis Ababa (2%).

The third highest sexual abuse and violence concerns punishment for refusing sexual requests made to them” and the fourth is an “uninvited kissing”.

While the type that ranked highest can be directly linked to the school setting, the next two cannot be directly linked to the school setting. However, several of the following types of sexual abuse and violence experienced by the girls can also be related directly to the school setting. These include:

- “Sexual gestures were made to them by teachers or male students.”
- “Physical punishment directed to selected body parts by teachers.”

It is naturally disturbing to see that these types of abuse and violence occur within the school environment.

Also ranked high, but not linked to the school community is: “Attempted rape.” This type of violence was reported by 17% of girls from Benishangul Gumuz, 15% of girls from Oromia and 15% of girls in SNNPR. Slightly lower was reported by girls in Gambella (11%) and Dire Dawa (11%). No girls from Addis Ababa and Harari reported having experienced attempted rape. Actual rape cases have been experienced by girl in Somali (7%), Afar (6%), and Gambella (6%). No girls in Benishangul Gumuz, Harari and Addis Ababa reported having experienced rape.

The reports about experienced abduction are relatively low. However, as the girls, who were asked to report on their concrete experiences in regard to these different types of violence and abuse were all in-school, it is not surprising to find a low score on abduction. It is also possible that most girls who had been abducted could have dropped out of from school.

4.3.1 Seduction

Seduction is the act of alluring school girls with the intention of arousing sexual interest in them. Several examples of this have been stated by participants of the different FGD conducted in the study regions. Although seducers often approach school girls in a friendly manner, their intention is to gain sexual favours at the expense of school girls’ health, their social and psychological well-being. Perpetrators of seduction often manipulate school girls’ psychology (e.g., their tender age), their desire to get married (e.g., promise for marriage), or their economic conditions (material incentives). Seduction is committed by school boys, teachers, non-school boys, older men and some times by family members. It occurs in all social settings – in the school, on the way to and from school, in the neighbourhood and even at home

The qualitative data collected from focus group discussions conducted among students, parents and teachers as well as key informant interviews indicate that school girls often experience various forms of seduction before they actually succumb to sexually motivated violent acts. School boys may seduce school girls by offering help with their studies/exams, by promising them protection against ‘naughty boys’ or by treating them with small gifts (e.g., clothes, snacks). School girls are also seduced by teachers who promise them good grades or marks from a lower grade to a higher grade. Sometimes teachers also promise marriage as a means of seducing school girls.

In big towns like, Addis Ababa, Adama, Awassa, Gonder, Bahir Dar, Jimma and Agaro old men not known to the girls (*sugar daddies*) often hover in and around school and try to seduce school girls. These people are mostly rich and drive expensive and attractive cars often looking for young girl just for sex. They may engage male or female students as go-betweens. They use their money to lure girls through mediators.

4.3.2 Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is any form of an offensive sexual attention that is uninvited and unwelcome. It can be a single incident or a persistent pattern of unwelcome behaviour with the intention of gaining attention. Although it often occurs in relationships of unequal power as in student/teacher relationship it may also take place between peers (between school girls and school boys). The majority of sexual harassment is directed at school girls but also school boys can sometimes be a target. Sexual harassment can range from subtle behaviour to explicit demands for sexual activity or even sexual assault.

It would appear that certain sexual harassment and sexual assault related encounters (e.g., asking for a date, insulting with sexual language, touching breast without consent) were found to be frequent among school girls mainly in Benishangul-Gumuz, Tigray, Oromia and Amhara regions. In the survey, respondents (students, parents and teachers) were asked about their views regarding where they think sexual harassment occurs. Table 4.9 presents data on places where sexual harassment is likely to take place. Accordingly, 24% of students, 53% of teachers and 35% of parents reported that sexual harassment occurs in the school setting. On the other hand, 36%, 77%, and 54% of students, teachers and parents, respectively, believed that on the way to and from the school is the place where most of sexual harassment against school girls takes place. The data clearly indicate that the school and on the way to and from school are the two settings where sexual harassment is most practiced against school girls. (Data from students regarding their views of the different types of sexual harassment and assault encountered by school girls in the different regions is presented in Annex 4.A.

Table 4.9: Respondents’ Views of Where Sexual Harassment Occurs

Respondents		In School	On the way to and from school	At home
		%	%	%
Students	Yes	24	36	24
Teachers	Yes	53	77	44
Parents	Yes	35	54	24

Total No. of respondents: Students = 1268; Teachers= 342; Parents= 324

Comparison of the views of the three groups of respondents indicated that parents and teachers appeared to be more concerned than students about the presence of sexual harassment on the way to and from school as well as in school. In all the three settings, teachers’ perception of sexual harassment appeared to be persistently higher suggesting that more teachers than students and parents believed that school girls often encounter sexual harassment. Although school girls appear to be relatively safer in the home environment, they are not completely protected from sexual harassment. In relation to this, it is important to note that both students and parents were in agreement in perceiving the presence of sexual harassment at home.

Further examination of students’ experience of sexual harassment in different social settings showed differences across regions. In this respect, sexual harassment in schools was highest in Amhara (28.9%) followed by Oromia (21.3%) and SNNPR (21.3). On the other hand, sexual harassment at home was highest in SNNPR (31.7 %) followed by Oromia (25.7%) and Amhara (21.8%) and sexual harassment on the way to and from school was highest in Amhara (26.4%), Oromia (21.6%) and SNNPR (20.7%)

Different members of society participate in perpetrating sexual harassment against school girls. These include members of the school community with whom they interact frequently (school boys, teachers, administrators, guards, counselling officers). This group often sexually harasses school girls in and around schools, though they also have opportunities to continue their harassment on the way to and from school. Sexual harassment in school by students includes making indecent or provocative remarks or writing letter as an expression of interest.

Some key informants interviewed indicated that acts of sexual harassment by teachers include asking girls for a date, touching their body parts, giving persistent remarks on physical appearance and body size (body attractiveness, fat, boring), threatening by marks (i.e., some teachers threaten girls with low marks if they refuse for date). FGD participants indicated that teachers sexually harass school girls by giving low marks if she refuses a sexual request of a teacher. According to the discussants, most teachers particularly the young ones look for young school girls. In one case, a seventh grade school girl who refused to have sexual intercourse with a teacher was made to fail in all subjects. She used to be one of the students with outstanding academic performance but unfortunately, she then lost interest and discontinued her school. Even teachers who are married and highly respected by students sometimes participate in the sexual harassment of school girls.

Sexual harassment on the way to and from school is committed against school girls by non-school boys who roam around the neighbourhoods (e.g., jobless youth), unmarried men looking for suitable partners or to satisfy their sexual desires, married men wanting for young girls. Although rural school girls are also vulnerable to sexual harassment, it is particularly an urban problem. Some family members (e.g., stepfathers, male cousins, uncles) also participate in harassing school girls at home.

4.3.3 Rape

Rape is the worst form of sexual violence committed against school girls. Its severity stems from the fact that it may leave scars on the body (like bruises, broken parts), psychological trauma and social stigma (e.g., lack of social acceptance) that are reminder of the horrors of rape. Rape is a severe expression of the dominance of males over females and occurs in unequal power relationships.

Student respondents were asked if they ever encountered sexual assault and rape in school, on the way to and from school and at home. As shown in Table 4.10, the school environment appears to be relatively safer for school girls compared to on the way to and from school and at home. It would appear that the home is not as safe for the school girls as the school, implying that school girls are more vulnerable to rape and sexual assault at home than in school. Comparison of student responses with those of parents and teachers also showed similar patterns; although, the two groups' (especially teachers) assessment of the risk of sexual assault and rape were found to be higher as both were asked about their perceptions, not actual sexual assault and rape.

Table 4:10: Distribution of Student Respondents by whether they Encountered Sexual Assault and Rape

Responses	In school	On the way to & from school	At home
	%	%	%
Yes	8	23	15
No	92	77	85

Total No. of respondents = 1261

To gather data on rape, actually experienced female students were asked if they ever encountered rape in school, on the way to and from school and at home. Of those who were asked, 19 (2.5%) admitted that they actually had experienced rape in different settings. Most rape cases occurred in and around schools (Box 3). School girls within the 10-19 age group were most affected.

Box 3: Rape is a senseless act that causes death.

A 9 year-old rural girl lost her life because of rape. She was living with her parents who depended on collecting and selling fuel wood for their livelihood. According to a police officer who was involved in the investigation, the rape took place on the 4th of October 2007. During the break hours of the morning shift, the girl together with her schoolmates were playing in the school compound when they were approached by a stranger who told them that he wanted to buy her 'bread' [pointing towards her]. The girl followed him, leaving her friends behind. She did not show up for class during the whole of the morning.

Her friends noticed her disappearance and reported to school officials. Her parents were informed about the situation and then started searching for her in the nearby bushes. She was found dead at about 5 PM in the afternoon not far away from where the school is located. Medical reports indicated that the girl was first raped and then killed. Police held a number of individuals as suspects but only one man was arrested with the help of students who saw him taking the girl out of the school. Police investigation was continuing at the time the fieldwork was being undertaken.

This is a grim reminder of how perpetrators of sexual violence go about targeting school girls for sex, including offering help with food. In their hunt to satisfy their sexual hunger, they do not even spare innocent, very young children. Perhaps, their tender age may make them more vulnerable to sexual violence.

Students were also asked how often they thought girls in schools encounter rape and their responses are shown in Table 4.11. One observation is that those who indicated that school girls face rape always represented a small proportion of the sample (6.7%) while more than half (55.9%) of the respondents believed that school girls sometimes face rape. Comparison across regions showed that the majority of respondents from Benishangul-Gumuz appeared to believe that school girls tend to experience rape sometimes (93.3%) while most Afar respondents did not think that school girls are exposed to rape.

Table 4.11: Percentage Distribution of Student Respondents' Perception of How often School Girls Encountered Rape by Region

Region	Always	Sometimes	Not at all
Tigray	4%	57%	40%
Afar	7%	27%	67%
Amhara	5%	65%	30%
Oromia	10%	52%	38%
Somali	10%	32%	58%
Ben-Gumuz	3%	93%	3%
SNNPR	3%	53%	43%
Gambella	13%	37%	50%
Harari	10%	30%	60%
Addis Ababa	13%	68%	19%
Dire Dawa	-	70%	30%

Total No. of respondents = 1266

However, there appears to be a major difference in how incidents of rape are perceived in the different regions and the concrete experiences reported by the girls. For example, the highest percentage of reported rape by girls was found in Somali although perceived rate of incidence is relatively low. On the other hand no concrete experiences of rape were reported by girls in

Benshangul-Gumuz and Dire Dawa, but attempted rapes were reported to be high. The perceptions of rape are high in both regions. In Addis Ababa, where also the perception of rape is high, there were no reported cases by the girls neither on attempted nor actual rape incidents.

Like sexual harassment, the perpetrators of rape on the way to and from school include a diverse group of individuals in the community. These includes old men, truck drivers, civil servants, individuals renting rooms in victim’s parents’ houses, friends of friends, rural merchants who shuttle between towns and villages, police officers and soldiers, and farmers. Perpetrators of rape in the home are reported to include uncles/ cousins and step fathers/fathers.

Some eye-witness accounts of rape committed by family members include a scene where a school girl was raped by her stepfather and when her brother reported the incident to her teacher, the mother denied the sexual violence and warned her daughter not to further pursue the case; a 12 year- old girl was raped by her father and became pregnant; a 5th grade female student was also raped by her father and this was discovered by neighbours who failed to bring the case to police attention and then the girl stopped going to school due to the trauma and a girl living in the neighbourhood of one participant of FGD was raped by her father.

Fellow school girls are also reported to be involved in creating a situation leading to sexual abuse, even including rape. They may play the role as go-betweens between their own girl friends and boy friends, trying to persuade the former to be nice and friendly to the latter. They may arrange dates, encourage them to get drunk resulting in rape. In some cases they do this for financial benefits and also to get some favour from boys (e.g., help with homework, study or during exams). Some of these girls had been victims of sexual violence themselves and hence they do not care for fellow school girls.

4.4 Female Genital Mutilation

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is defined as comprising ‘all procedures involving partial or total removal of the female external genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs whether for cultural or other non-etherapeutic [reasons]’ (WHO, cited in NCTPE 2003:76).

The students, parents and teachers were asked whether FGM was practised at home. The quantitative data show that there is a similar perception of the prevalence of FGM among the three groups. Table 4.12 below contains data on this.

Table 4.12: Respondents’ Perception of Prevalence of FGM

Respondents	Yes	No	Missing	Total no. of Respondents
	%	%	%	
Teachers	60	40	0.9	342
Parents	46	52	1.5	324
Students	43	56	0.5	1268

The above table (Table 4.12) indicates that 59.6% of teachers, 46.3% of parents and 43.5% of students considered FGM to be one of the most severe violent acts that school girls encounter at home. Here it should be noted that a relatively larger number of teachers affirmed the

severity of the practice compared with parents and children (students). This might be due to the fact that parents, being the perpetrators themselves, were not willing to disclose the practice and the school children might be afraid of disclosing it. The study further uncovered that it is not only parents who insist for circumcision of their daughters, sometimes the girls themselves insist to get circumcised because of the explicit and implicit cultural pressures they face due to the negative attitude and prejudice against uncircumcised girls in their locality. The FGDs held with female students confirmed this fact. Most of the participants of the FGD held with school girls in one of the schools in Arbaminch Zuria *woreda* indicated that they are also the victims of FGM practised in their community. In almost all cultural groups surveyed, FGM was reported to exist. In some of the cultural groups (e.g., Gamo, Arsi and Borena), uncircumcised girls are assumed to have aggressive behaviour. In some cultural groups, FGM was customarily performed with rituals, parties and festivity (as in the case of Arsi, Gamo and Hadiya). However, currently the practice has lost its ceremonial and public status and has become a secret or private affair. It has gone underground and sometimes, for instance as reported in Gamo, girls leave their place of birth to go to far away relatives and are circumcised and come back to their village after the wound has healed.

The data was further examined to find out if there were differences across regions in the perceived rate of incidence of FGM. If regions are ranked in terms of the degree of prevalence of the problem as reported by subjects included in the study, Somali Regional State takes the lead (70.0%) followed by Oromia (53.7%), Afar (53.3%), Amhara (50.7%), and SNNPR (44.4%). The practice of FGM is the least common problem that school girls in Addis Ababa encounter. The following Table 4.13 provides data on the distribution of FGM across regions.

Table 4.13: Percentage Distribution of FGM across Regions

Region	%
Tigray	30.9
Afar	53.3
Amhara	50.7
Oromia	53.7
Somali	70.0
Benishangul-Gumuz	26.7
SNNPR	44.4
Gambella	23.3
Harari	10.3
Addis Ababa	8.9
Dire Dawa	17.2

Total No. of respondents = 1011

The results of the quantitative data appear to be consistent with those emerging from the qualitative data. Almost all respondents and participants of the FGDs consistently indicated that there has been strong awareness-raising on the negative aspects of FGM but the attitude of the society has not yet changed much. Negative attitudes and derogatory statements against uncircumcised girls negatively reinforce the practice to persist. In one of the sample *woreda* where girls are required to get circumcised a few months before a marriage date, a girl challenged her parents telling them that it is possible to get married without being circumcised (girls' FGD). This was what her parents reportedly told her: “*An uncircumcised girl is like a man and we are arranging your marriage with a man. How come we arrange marriage between two men?*”

The study found out that FGM is still practised among the people of Somali, Afar, Bati (Oromia Special Zone, Amhara Region), North and South Gonder zones (Amhara Region), Dibatie (Metekel zone, Benishangul-Gumuz), Dorze (people from Gamo-Goffa), Murat (North-Shoa zone, Amhara region), and people in the urban settings such as Addis Ababa (Gulele) are practicing FGM in secret. Similar secret practices were identified in Sululta *woreda* (North Shoa, Amhara region) and Ambo *woreda* (West Shoa, Oromia region), Kabena (Addis Ababa), Gurage Zone (SNNPR) and Baso-Worana (North Shoa, Amhara region).

Among *woredas* in Amhara region, it was mentioned that Islam required both boys and girls to be circumcised. They further noted that it is believed that if girls are not circumcised, they will commit sin or considered as sinful (“*nejasa*”). Similarly, the female students’ focus group participants in Jijiga confessed that they had gone through FGM. It was commonly reported across all focus group participants in Somali and Afar that “sunna” is still being practiced in Somali and Afar. A female genital mutilator in Kobo, Amhara, admitted that her customers still visit her and most of them come with new razor blades showing that the practice is still found also in Amhara Region. On the other hand, in some of the *woredas* of the same region FGM has not been practiced at all (e.g., Awi zone).

4.5 Abduction

Abduction (*telfa*) implies the taking of the girl (bride) without her consent. The girl is attacked and forcefully taken away. In most cases, she is raped by the man, who will subsequently be her husband. In many cases, the man’s (abductor’s) parents endorse the abduction because they cannot afford the bride-price. In most cases, it takes a small compensation paid to the the girl’s (abducted bride’s) parents to get them to publicly acknowledge that their daughter is now married to her abductor. Following the compensation, the marriage is often formalised through the involvement of elders. Having been raped, the girl is no longer an attractive wife for any other men. The respondents said that abduction is still practised in their localities.

The three groups were also asked about the potential settings in which abduction may take place. As indicated in Table 4.14, the major places where abduction is committed is on the way to and from school. As 18.7% of the students, 55.2% of the teachers and 28% of the parents indicated abduction occurs on the way and from school.

Table 4.14: Places for Abducting School Girls

Respondents		In School	On the way to and from school	At home
		%	%	%
Students	Yes	7	19	11
	No	93	81	89
Teachers	Yes	18	55	30
	No	82	45	70
Parents	Yes	9	28	23
	No	91	72	77

Total No. of respondents: Parents= 323; Students= 1260; Teachers=335

The long distance girls often have to travel to get to school exposes them to all sorts of risk including abduction. This is further exacerbated by the rugged topography and existence of

dense forests in some communities. According to 10.7% of the students, 30.2% of the teachers and 23.4% of the parents' abduction also takes place in and around the home.

The quantitative and qualitative data were further explored to discover possible variations across regions. Key-informants from Afar, Dire Dawa, Harari, Gambella, Tigray and Somali regions pointed out that abduction is non-existent in these areas. It was also reported that abduction is not a common problem in Gojjam, Awi Zone and in North and South Gonder zones except some exceptional incidences. In these areas, the culture does not approve of abduction. If it occurs, it results in conflict among the abductors' and girls' families and/or their relatives. On the other hand, abduction has been reported to be a common form of violence in all visited zones of Oromia Region (with the exception of Borena Zone), the North Shoa zone and Bati *woreda*, Oromia Special zone of Amhara region, Dibate *woreda* in Benishangul-Gumuz region, especially among the Shinasha ethnic and Oromo groups, and all the areas studied in SNNPR (with the exception of Konso *woreda*). Although abduction was seen less common in urban areas, the study revealed that abduction is practiced in Gulele sub-city of Addis Ababa, particularly among the inhabitants of Kechene and Entoto areas.

Abduction does not exist in some areas. In the Somali, Harari, Argoba, Agnuak, Nuer, Kafa, Yem and, Bench ethnic groups abduction is not practised due to cultural disapproval.

Responses of girls who have experienced/encountered abduction were cross-tabulated with responses of those who have also been raped or attempted rape. According to the cross-tabulation results, there appears to be statistically significant relationship between rape including attempted rape and abduction (See Annex 4.B and 4.C). Concerning the link between abduction and rape, the findings from the qualitative data, especially, case stories told by key informants and focus group participants, are consistent with findings from the quantitative data. The following case study about the school girl who was abducted and raped in the same night clearly shows the strong link between abduction and rape (Box 4).

Box 4: The Link between Abduction and Rape

In Sululta woreda, a girl in the 7th grade narrated that her girl friend was kidnapped when she was in the fifth grade in a secret arrangement by her parents and the kidnapper's parents. She was raped the same night. All the family members consoled and convinced her to sign her consent. The case was reported to the school and police, but was dropped. She has now two babies, and tears fall down her eyes when she sees me, she says "my luck is broken and my dream to be a nurse is lost."

The qualitative data further suggested that abductors send elders and traditional and religious leaders to get pardon and pay compensation "*kasa*". In Oromia, for example, elders meet victims' parents with "*kalacha*" and bow. In Amhara elders and priests go with cross and in Muslim families' elders and the Sheiks go and pray to the parents. Parents find it difficult to refuse such traditional pardons and requests. Parents automatically agree and the girl sign confirming that she was taken with her consent as she has no options because she was already raped and could be soon pregnant. Going back to school is difficult because girls often feel that running away after being kidnapped and raped could be embarrassment to the family. Schools and police have made several attempts to rescue abducted girls, but as the girls have already signed consents and parents accepted compensation, the legal process is terminated.

4.6 Early and Forced Marriage

Early marriage, in its broadest sense, refers to “any marriage carried out below the age of 18 years, before the girl is physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing” (IAC 1995, FMRWG 2000). Forced marriage entails mental and psychological coercion, bribery and harassment used to force a girl to enter into marriage. In this context, forced marriage differs from early arranged marriage in the age of betrothal for girls might be even before birth takes place or after puberty. However, this can blur the fine line between forced and arranged marriage since the element of consent from the girl is usually absent (Guday 2004, 2007).

Legally speaking, marriage involves the consent of both spouses and entails a minimum age requirement. Consent should be the corner stone of any marriage. Accordingly, Article 7(1) of the Revised Family Code of Ethiopia (2000) states that “Neither a man nor a woman who has not attained the full age of 18 years shall conclude marriage”. Article 6 of the same Proclamation states that “A valid marriage shall take place only when the spouses have given their free and full consent.” Despite these stipulations, however, both early and forced marriages are prevalent in many parts of the country. Most customary marriages among the rural majorities of Ethiopia are early marriages arranged by parents, without free consent of the would-be-spouses, mostly without the consent of the would-be-young brides. In this context, very young brides have little negotiating power to protect themselves from early-arranged marriage practices (Guday 2005: 32-33).

The findings from the present study confirm the wide spread practice of early and forced marriage. The data also contains some evidence to suggest that it is widely practised among Dorze, Morate and Gojame people in Gulele area in Addis Ababa itself. Hence, it cannot be labelled as a rural phenomenon only.

Table 4.15 below presents data obtained from the three groups on the existence of early and forced marriages in their respective localities.

Table 4.15: Percentage of Responses on the Existence of Early and Forced Marriage

Respondents		Early Marriage	Forced Marriage
		%	%
Students	Yes	33	33
	No	67	67
Teachers	Yes	68	68
	No	32	32
Parents	Yes	35	36
	No	65	64

Total No. of respondents: Students = 1260; Teachers = 341; Parent s=322

Table 4.15 shows that 33% of students, 68% of teachers and 35% of parents affirmed the existence of early marriage in their locality. The data also suggests that 33% of the students, 68% of the teachers, and 36% of the parents affirmed the existence of forced and early marriage is their locality. In both cases, a relatively higher percentage of teachers affirmed the existence of early and forced marriage compared with parents and children (students). This finding was supported by key informants and focus group discussants. Key informant interviews with women’s affairs officers at the district level and female students’ advising committee representatives (female teachers) and school principals as well as focus group

discussion with female teachers at the school level disclosed the existence of early and forced marriage in the rural settings of the study areas in general and in the rural settings of Amhara region in particular. However, there was a tendency for parents to deny the existence of early and forced marriage on the part of parents during the focus group discussions. Parents being aware of its illegality were reluctant to admit the existence and prevalence of the practice in their locality.

The study uncovered that the major perpetrators early and forced marriage against school girls' consent are parents, relatives and other members of the community, especially council of elders or community/clan leaders. Parents arrange marriage for their daughters without asking for the consent of girls. They even accept a marriage proposal from a man who is much older than the girl. They frighten girls to lie about their age and openly declare to the community leaders, *kebele* officials or any other concerned bodies that it is with their consent that the marriage has been arranged, if asked. For example, during the focus group discussion held with male students in Umar Kulle (Fedis) *woreda*, East Harar (Oromia), it was reflected that the violators of the female students' rights are parents. In further explaining the situation, the participants said that early marriage of school girls is very common in lower grades (grades 1-4). For instance, a 4th grade student who used to stand first in her class was married last year at about the age of 14 years without her consent. From grade six, there were three well known similar cases. Early marriage is also very common for grade seven and eight female students. Most school girls who married early drop out of school and become fulltime housewives. In one FGD participants said that no female student continues with her study beyond grade 8 in this locality. The participants of the focus group discussion disclosed that only one girl has studied up to grade 10 for the last five or six years from the school where they belong. The following case study reveals this fact (Box 5).

Box 5: Experience of Early and Forced Marriage of a School Girl

In South Wollo, Amhara Region, a girl in the 6th grade narrated that she got married before six years when she was in the fifth grade. Her marriage was arranged by her parents without her knowledge. She was forced to marry at the age of 12 and dropped from grade 5 though she wanted to continue her schooling. She got pregnant after just a year but her pregnancy was not healthy. As a result, she had a miscarriage while she stayed with her parents' house. After recovering from her pregnancy complications, her husband forced her to go back to his house and raped her forcefully though her intention was to continue her education. She got pregnant for the second time. Her husband used to beat and threaten her. Finally, she went back to her parents' house without informing her husband. She convinced her parents by saying that her desire is to continue her education. Fortunately, her parents allowed her to continue her education. When she re-started her education in grade 6, she was still pregnant. She gave birth just in the middle of the academic year. The school allowed her to stay at home for 45 days. She returned back to school but she is not successful in her schooling due to lack of concentration and shortage of time to do school related academic activities. She said that her life has turned out to be a hell because of early and forced marriage.

The study further revealed that parents and the community at large force school girls to marry at their early age without securing their consent and despite their desire to continuing schooling. In almost all rural areas of the Amhara region, parents arrange early marriages (as early as the ages of six and seven) for their daughters and force school attending girls to discontinue their education. For instance, the Agew community strongly believes that marriage is the only way to protect girls from losing their virginity before marriage (which brings shame for the family) and out-of-wedlock children. In West Gojjam and Awi Zone the key informants explained that parents started to conduct early marriage in a very hidden and systematic ways and in the disguise of social gatherings such as *mahbär*. School principals,

girls' clubs representatives, police officers and Women's Affair Representatives also reported that they are handling many cases of early and forced marriage of school girls every year. In Were-Ilu *woreda*, South Wello zone, an area in which girls sometimes consent to abduction is seen as a way of selecting one's future wife, marriage by abduction cases are settled through family arbitrators or/and council of elders (*shimaglioch*), the local social-structure gate-keepers. In most areas of Oromia, parents and girls are obliged by cultural practices not to say no to a formal request for marriage irrespective of the age of the daughter. In Dibatie *woreda*, Metekel zone of Benishangul-Gumuz, school girls are victims of exchange marriage and compensation (*kasa*) for crimes and/or wrong doings committed by the boys' families. Girls are used as an exchange for the marriage of their brothers since a boy can marry a girl by giving his sister as an exchange for his wife's brother; otherwise the boy is required to give a lot of property (money or cattle) to her parents as a bride-price. In some cases, Girls can also be given in marriage when the father is unable to pay his debt. The girl can also be given as a compensation/blood-money for a person killed during conflicts between two or more clans.

In general, the findings in this study appear to be consistent with the literature on early and forced marriage, revealed the existence of early and forced marriage.

4.7 Excessive Workload at Home

In Ethiopia children as young as 7 are required to perform various tasks related to domestic and farm activities. This is especially true of rural school children who have to work on farms before and after school and also during weekends. The situation of school girls in particular is worrying because of the double role they assume as helpers in the domestic unit and as a source of labour for the family farm. While working as such may not be harmful for school girls, excessive work both at home and on the farm is detrimental to their physical, emotional and intellectual development. It is from this stand point of view that excessive work is considered an abuse.

Both parents and students were asked about the excessive work that school girls assume in various settings. The responses revealed that excessive work occurs mainly at home. Some times, it may also happen on the way to and from school, for instance, as they may be asked to carry things to be sold or to be grounded (See Table 4.16). About 45% of students and 52% of parents indicated that school girls are subject to excessive work mainly in the home setting. While parents are main perpetrators of excessive work at home, older brothers/sisters and other family members may also participate in coaxing school girls to undertake various kinds of domestic and farm work.

Table 4.16: Students And Parents' Perception of The Existence of Excessive Work

Respondents		In School	On the way to and from school	At home
		%	%	%
Students	Yes	12	14	45
	No	88	85	54
Parents	Yes	10	18	52
	No	89	81	47

Total No. of respondents: Parents = 342; Students = 1268

The magnitude of the excessive work at home (including domestic and farm work) varies across regions. It is found to be most prevalent in Tigray region (64.0%) followed by SNNPR (53.8%), Benishangul-Gumuz (51.7%), Amhara (51.0%), Oromia (45.2%) and Gambella (36.7).

As indicated above, school girls in urban and rural areas perform different activities. Interviews with parents and key informants revealed that in most rural areas, school girls are engaged in household chores (like cleaning house, baking injera, collecting firewood, herding and feeding cattle, fetching water, taking care of their younger siblings, taking care of the mother at the time of birth (becomes a full-time job for school girls for the first 1-2 months), serving as messengers for families and relatives, going to grinding mill, going to market to sell or buy, and hauling goods to and from the market. It is also common for them to work on farms mainly during peak agricultural seasons. In regions like Amhara and Tigray, girls as young as 6 or 7 years are regularly engaged in herding animals and attending crop fields.

One of the female students FGD participants said the following:

We girls are required to do a number of things when we go home from school. We collect firewood and we fetch water from far away places. Girls also take care of sheep and goats. We help our mothers in household chores such as preparing food. Let me give you another example. When there is a brother and a sister attending the same school at the same time, the girl is required to get up early and prepare breakfast for herself and for her brother. By the time she finishes preparing breakfast, her brother finishes his preparation to go to school and waits just to eat his breakfast. As a result, he eats first and leaves for school first... By the time she arrives at school, it is already late for her while her brother is already in the classroom. She faces punishments for coming late to school.

Although urban school girls also experience some of these activities, activities (like herding and feeding cattle, collecting firewood) are less common among most school girls in urban areas. Instead, school girls in urban areas are involved in income generating activities to support their families economically. In Adama, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, and Harar, school girls are forced to work in cafeterias, bars and coffee/tea shops to support themselves and their families.

Some poor parents, particularly those in rural areas, force school girls to work as maid and domestic servants in towns to bring income for the family. Some key informants and FGD participants stated that poor parents send their school girls to urban areas to work and send their wages back to their families. These girls, apart from quitting school, are exposed to various forms of violence including physical assault, sexual harassment and rape.

4.8 Closing School Gates on Late Comers

The study found out that late comers are turned away by school guards as a punishment for failure to comply with school rules. The research team also observed that the majority of late comers in particular are female students mainly due to excessive workload at home.

The following are examples found from the field work:

- In Awi, East and West Gojjam, North and South Gonder Zones of the Amhara region, late comers are not allowed to enter the school compound. As a result, late coming

female students are forced to stay outside the school campus, where they are exposed to sexual harassment, verbal abuse and beating.

- Closing of school gates on late coming students were also observed in the zones in SNNPR. In one school in Hadiya zone, the team observed that late coming students who were allowed to enter the school compound, where they then had to wait for the next period to begin. In Yabelo, late comers were also allowed to enter the school compound but were forced to perform physical jobs inside the compound instead of immediately entering class.

In some schools in urban areas, late comers are kept away for the whole day, while in other schools they are left outside the compound for two to three periods until break hours.

4.9 Perpetrators

The perpetrators of the different types of violence have been identified under each section describing the different types of violence. This brief section provide some major findings based on the quantitative data to support the qualitative information in the different sections.

Table 4.17 shows that male and female students are perceived as the worst perpetrators of the violence against school girls in the school. Surprisingly, the school girls themselves are among the perpetrators. According to the qualitative data, girls act as go-between for older boys to get involved with another girl. Girls do this for various reasons including for money, to get help with home work or to get a boy friend. The third and fourth ranked perpetrators are class monitors and guards. Teachers as perpetrators are not mentioned by the students but by the teachers and parents.

Table 4.17: Frequently Described Perpetrators in Schools by Parents, Teachers and Students

Types of perpetrators	Parents		Teachers		Students	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Teachers	75	23.1	90	26.3	-	-
School principal	20	6.2	49	14.3	270	29.2
Unit leaders	35	10.8	62	18.1	137	10.8
Class monitors	87	26.9	156	45.6	163	12.9
Guards	35	10.8	67	19.6	356	28.1
Student record keepers	22	6.8	45	13.2	173	13.6
Male students	195	60.2	262	76.6	90	7.1
Female students	100	33.3	172	50.3	689	54.3
Guidance officers	18	5.6	30	8.8	442	34.9
Others	-	-	-	-	49	3.9

Table 4.18 presents data on the most commonly reported perpetrators of the violence against girls on the way to and from school. Male students and non-school boys are ranked the highest by the three groups while friends are ranked as third. Much lower but as the third are “friends”. This seems to repeat the picture described above regarding school girls as perpetrators.

The findings concerning perpetrators in the school and on the way to and from school shows a picture of young boys and girls who have problems in how to relate with each other and of relationships which tend to turn out in violence and abuse.

Table 4.18: Types of Perpetrators of Violence on the Way to & from School

Types of perpetrators	Parents		Teachers		Students	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Male students	238	73.5	298	87.1	860	67.8
Female students	137	42.3	-	-	-	-
Non-school boys	221	68.2	292	85.4	923	72.8
Teachers	23	7.1	41	12.0	93	7.3
School guards	12	3.7	41	12.0	41	3.2
Family members	33	10.2	93	27.2	78	6.4
Relatives	46	14.2	121	35.4	110	8.7
Friends	94	29.0	242	70.8	335	26.4
Neighbours	73	22.5	180	52.6	315	25.9
Strangers/sugar daddies	94	29.0	198	57.9	338	26.7

Table 4.19 shows data on the main perpetrators of violence and abuse in the homes of the girls. Mothers and fathers are identified as main perpetrators followed by stepfathers and stepmothers. This is obviously not surprising. Old men in the community are accorded higher status by parents and teachers while elder brothers are traditionally respected by students. Civil servants, soldiers and police officers were also found to be perpetrators.

Table 4.19: Types of Perpetrators at Home

Types of perpetrators	Parents		Teachers		Students	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Fathers	223	68.8	271	79.2	780	61.5
Mothers	241	74.4	262	76.6	772	60.9
Stepfathers	198	61.1	258	76.3	544	42.9
Stepmothers	204	63.0	261	76.6	543	42.8
Elder brothers	137	42.3	219	64.0	414	32.6
Elder sisters	106	32.7	159	46.5	245	19.3
Other family members	77	23.8	188	55.0	227	17.9
Relatives	81	25.0	182	53.2	259	20.4
House maids	53	16.4	111	32.5	122	9.6
Guards	40	12.3	98	28.7	87	6.9
Neighbours	94	29.0	211	61.7	383	30.2
Old men in community	208	60.8	208	60.8	340	26.8

The general, picture emerging from the quantitative data concerning perpetrators is that both male and female are perpetrators and that the main perpetrators are those relatively close to the girls including family, friends and follow school boys and girls.

As indicated in this chapter, the study found that various types of violence and abuse are committed against school girls in different settings – in school, on the way to and from school and at home – throughout Ethiopia. The major types of violence identified and discussed in this chapter include: physical violence and abuse (beating, corporal punishment, snatching of property), psychological violence (verbal insult, humiliating/degrading, threats of harm and name calling), sexual violence and abuse (seduction, sexual harassment and rape), abduction, early and forced marriage, FGM, excessive workload and closing of school gates on late comers.

Certain types of violence were found to be more prevalent in some settings across regions covered by the study. For example, physical violence (e.g. beating and snatching property) was found to be most prevalent on the way to and from school while corporal punishment was a common practice in schools. Overall, school girls appeared to be safer in schools (except corporal punishment and closing of school gates) compared to on the way to and from school and also at home where the incidence of violence is higher.

Some of the different types of violence are interrelated thereby affecting school girls in multiple ways. For instance, beating affects the physical and psychological well-being of school girls which may also lead to late arrival at school and this further leads to closing of school gates. Similarly, sexual violence particularly rape exposes school girls to various types of psychological abuses which affect their confidence, self-esteem and future life. Also, girls who are abducted often end up being raped or married by force. This implies that school girls' exposure to one type of violence may lead to another (more severe) type of violence.

The study further found that different groups of people perpetrate violence and abuse against school girls in different settings. The most common perpetrators on the way to and from school include: non-school boys (e. g., jobless youth), school boys, married older men (sugar daddies) looking for young girls, unmarried men looking for suitable partners or to satisfy their sexual desires, civil servants, soldiers, and police officers. Major perpetrators at home are: parents, step-parents, older siblings and other close relatives. In schools violence and abuse against school girls is largely committed by teachers, unit leaders, principals, school guards, school boys, and school girls themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF VIOLENCE AND ABUSE AGAINST SCHOOL GIRLS

In the preceding chapter, different types of violence and abuse against school girls were identified. These included harmful traditional practices⁴ as well as other types of abuse and violence, which are not traditional in any sense. This chapter deals with the analysis of the different types of violence and abuse, which are not rooted in old traditions in order to understand the causes behind the abuse and violence.

To get a better understanding of the causes behind the different types of violence and abuse an analysis of the specific context in which violence and abuse takes place (at home, on the way to and from school as well as within the school environment) was carried out.

5.1 *The Conceptual Framework for Analyzing the Causes*

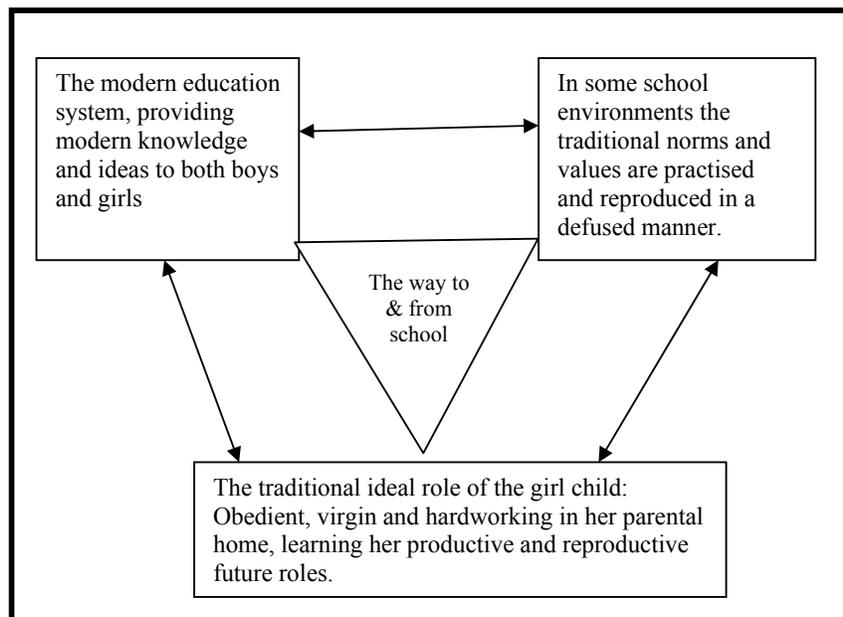
The model in Figure 5.1 is developed based on the findings from this study. It is developed to frame the analysis of the causes behind the different types of violence and abuse, described in chapter four. As it will always be with such models this does not apply to all schools or to all girls. There are three cornerstones in the model. Each of these represents a set of norms and values. The first corner stone is the traditional image or role of an ideal girl in Ethiopia and all the norms and values, which are inseparably bound up with this ideal girl role. The second cornerstone is the modern education system of Ethiopia and the norms and values which lies within this system, represented for instance in the curriculum and in rules and regulations of the system. The third cornerstone represents certain school environments, in which a twisted reproduction of some traditional norms and values, are being practiced, in particular reflecting a strong male dominance.

The cornerstones are made up of norms and values. However, they can also be seen as representing the two main settings of the study: The home (the traditional norms and values) and the school (the modern education system & the school environments with the identified malpractices). Building on that and on the findings presented in Chapter Three, the way to and from school must be part of the model, here represented by the triangle. The way to and from school is thus representing the meeting between the traditional and the modern worlds of the girls. The arrows show the clashes between the three cornerstones, which in fact the different types of abuse and violence to which girls are subjected to. The way to and from school represents a meeting, which sometimes also results in a clash between modern and traditional norms and values.

In the next sections the three corner stones will be further discussed in relation to the findings of the study.

⁴ Traditional cultural practices reflect values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others are harmful to a specific group, such as women and girls.

Figure 5.1: The Model of the “Worlds of the Girls”



5.2 The Traditional World of Girls

A girl child, wherever in Ethiopia she is born, is born into a world of strong and ancient traditions of which many relate directly to her as a girl. The people of Ethiopia include many different ethnic groups with their own language, traditions and cultures.⁵ Yet, many share a culture and tradition of patriarchal norms and values. In most of the cultures (there are exceptions), the virginity of the girl until marriage is considered extremely important. Another essential aspect in most of the ethnic cultures is the value attached to the girl in terms of marriage and labour. All of these aspects have a major impact on her childhood and her youth. Children, both boys and girls, are brought up to fit into and to reproduce the culture of their parents.

The traditional and cultural types of violence and abuse identified in the study primarily take place in the home setting. By analysing the causes behind these traditional practices, we shall also get a better understanding of the expectations towards the girls by parents and the wider community.

In the publication, ‘Old beyond Imaginings – Ethiopia, Harmful Traditional Practices’ NCTPE National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia (2003), “culture” is defined as a ‘whole’ made up by different parts that constitutes the whole’.

⁵ A simple ethnic classification of Ethiopia's population is not feasible. People categorized on the basis of one criterion, such as language, may be divided on the basis of another.

If done on the basis of language. However, the numbers in each category are uncertain, and estimates are often in conflict. At least seventy languages are spoken as mother tongues, a few by many millions, others by only a few hundred persons.

Source: Thomas P. Ofcansky and LaVerle Berry, editors. *Ethiopia: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991

Various elements contribute to making a culture a unified, consistent whole. Thus every cultural system is an interconnected series of ideas and patterns of behaviour in which changes in one aspect generally lead to changes in other segments of the system (Pelto 1965). Consequently every part has a meaningful contribution to the whole, and change in one part can lead to disturbance in the whole. Therefore, from the insider point of view there is no “harmful” culture, which affects “negatively” a given society, or else the society tolerates specific “harm” from that culture/practice because that specific culture has other meaningful contributions to maintaining the social structure and enhancing social integration which outweighs the harm (*P. 30*).

Building on this definition of culture, understanding the “insider” reasons for maintaining the traditional practices will also help to provide an idea of the desired role of girls and women as maintained in most of the Ethiopian cultures. Understanding the practices does not, however, mean accepting them. The subsequent of harmful traditional practices are practical examples.

5.2.1 Female Genital Mutilation

FGM in its different types are widespread all over Ethiopia with only few ethnic groups as exceptions. According to a national survey carried out by NCTPE in 2003, there are several different types of reasons or beliefs behind the continuation of FGM. The widely held beliefs include:

- Psychosexual: Minimising the sexual desire of the woman, maintaining virginity before marriage and to increase the male sexual desire.
- Socio-cultural: Maintaining cultural heritage and avoiding stigmatisation (no man wants to marry a woman who is not circumcised).
- Hygiene and aesthetic: The external female genitalia are considered dirty, prevention of illness and providing aesthetic appeal.
- Myths: Fertility and promotion of child survival.
- Religious: Among some Muslims it is believed that FGM is demanded in Islam.

(Based on text from p.95 in Old beyond Imaginings - Ethiopia, Harmful Traditional Practices; NCTPE national Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia).

It is often pointed out that the perpetrators of FGM are women. However women are carrying out this practice within a context of male dominance. The fact that in many cultures a man will not accept a wife who is not circumcised leaves the women with little choice if they want their daughter to be married.

Common underlying factors for the various beliefs behind FGM as mentioned above is the desire or need to control the sexuality of the woman, protecting her virginity until marriage and enhancing her reproductive role within the marriage including her fidelity to the husband. Below these factors lies recognition of (fear of) female sexuality and the attraction between male and female based on a sexual desire.

5.2.2 Early and Forced Marriage

Early and forced marriage has also been identified as one commonly practiced type of violence against school girls. Early marriage is considered a marriage before the age of 18, which is the legal age in Ethiopia. Again it is important to look into the reasons and beliefs behind this wide spread practice of early and forced marriage. The practices vary between the many different ethnic groups in Ethiopia but despite the differences some common factors for the practices can be identified.

Economic factors, whether the marriage includes a bride price or not (the tradition of bride price/bride wealth is almost only practised by the different ethnic groups in SNNPR), are some of the reasons behind early marriages. The improvement for the boys' family includes additional labour (the girl) and possible access to additional land, when a new household is established. As pointed out in *Old beyond Imaginings...*, rural households are always in a state of flux with some growing, other dispersing and some maintaining stability due to the flux in agricultural productivity, farming skills and access to resources:

EM [Early Marriage] therefore is one of the major mechanisms to cope with economic crisis, which shakes the stability of house holds. It enables the family to gain resources from outside the household. EM is contracted in order to affiliate to families of status, well endowed with important resources such as formerly *rist* land and, labour, and cattle. (*Old beyond Imaginings - Ethiopia, Harmful Traditional Practices; NCTPE national Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia, p.150*).⁶

Socio-cultural factors, which has to do with ensuring the future of the girl as well as maintaining the respect of the girls family play a role in preserving this practice. There is also a strong element of protection in-built in this factor. An unmarried girl is considered helpless and totally unprotected. Thus the parents of a girl child feel a big responsibility to ensure the marriage of their daughter. Life expectancy in Ethiopia is low⁷, thus parents may not dare to wait too long to marry off their girls.

Fear of pre-marriage sexual activity is also a major factor. In most of the cultures where early marriage is practiced, the virginity of the girl is given high value. The fear of the girl (voluntarily or forced) losing her virginity and maybe even becoming pregnant before marriage, is a key motivating factor for the parents to marry their girls off in an early age. In some communities, the marriage should take place before the girl gets her first menstruation:

“...In fact, in some parts of Amhara, menstruation and hymen blood are not clearly distinguished. A girl who shows blood is considered to have had intercourse and, therefore to have been dis-virgined. Menarche, the start of the menstrual period is supposed to be induced by intercourse. Thus, the cycle of early marriage (before the menses) to avoid the shame of blood before marriage and the subsequent appearance of menses after consummation reinforce this false belief in the society.” *P.131*

Old beyond Imaginings - Ethiopia, Harmful Traditional Practices; NCTPE national Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia).

⁶ Until 1975, the major form of ownership of land (in particular in the north) was a type of communal system known as *rist*. According to this system, all descendants (both male and female) of an individual founder were entitled to a share, and individuals had the right to use a plot of family land. *Rist* was hereditary, inalienable, and inviolable. No user of any piece of land could sell his or her share outside the family or mortgage or bequeath his or her share as a gift, as the land belonged not to the individual but to the descent group. Most peasants in the northern highlands held at least some *rist* land. Source: Thomas P. Ofcansky and LaVerle Berry, editors. *Ethiopia: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991.

⁷ Total population: 49.43 years. men 48.26 years, women: 50.64 years (2008 estimate) Source: CIA World Facts Book.

To sum up, there are similarities with the factors for the FGM, namely the protection of the girl's virginity. Other underlying factors are about economic and social status of the girl's family. These are, however, closely linked to the protection of the girl's virginity.

Marriage by abduction is different from early marriage in the sense that in most of the abduction cases, the girl's family has not given their consent to the marriage (though there are also examples of "arranged" abductions) neither has the girl. As described in chapter 3, the abduction act is violent and in most cases the girl is raped immediately after the actual abduction. The factors behind abduction are rather complex and differs also from culture to culture. In areas where bride price is paid, the economic aspect plays an important role. If the boy's family can't afford the price abduction is an option. Other factors can be that the boy has been rejected by the girl's family. There is also an underlying aspect of strong male dominance in the abduction act. Boys proving that they are men, who can forcefully get exactly the girl they want – except of course a married one. Early marriage is therefore also protecting girls against abduction. It should be noted that one of the findings in chapter three is that in some regions there seems to be an increase in the rate of abduction due to socio-cultural factors.

Both in the marriage by abduction as well as in the early marriage lay a clear element of male dominance and female obedience. The girl is reduced to an object that can either be traded off to ensure the status of her parents or forcefully taken away to serve as wife for a man. The girls are constantly reminded about that:

Because of the high value given to virginity, she is guarded closely after a certain age, continuously warned and made insecure in her relationships with any male. EM is the most effective way of ensuring control over her productive and reproductive labour through virginity, and by inculcating the norms of obedience and subservience to the older "father-figure" husband at an early age. (*Old Beyond Imaginings - Ethiopia, Harmful Traditional Practices; NCTPE National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia, p.153*).

5.2.3 Excessive Workload at Home

Excessive workload for the girls, mainly in their homes, has also been identified as an abuse of the school girls. The factors contributing to this abuse are relatively simple. The households need the labour force from all members. Boys also work, though according to most findings, less than the girls. Another underlying factor is the reproduction of traditional gender roles. Just as the virginity is important to ensure a good marriage for the girl so are her proven skills as a wife, cook and caretaker in the family. As girls marry early, they have little time to adopt the skills of their mothers. Thus their "training" needs to start at an earlier age.

5.2.4 The Ideal Girl

In trying to understand the traditional practices and their underlying factors as seen from the insider view, a picture of how the "ideal girl" is perceived by "the insider" has been created. The traditional practices play a key role in shaping the girl into a respected woman. The practices protect the girl and provide a frame enabling her to remain within the expected traditional role. She is expected to be shy and obedient, not to speak up in front of adult in particular men. Her focus shall be entirely on her future reproductive and productive roles in the household of her husband. She shall respect and obey her husband and of course remain faithful to him.

5.3 The Modern World of Girls

In this section, the modern world of the girls is described and analysed. This includes first and foremost the second corner stone in the model, the education system but also the third cornerstone, the examples of school environments, in which certain malpractices have been identified in the study.

5.3.1 The Modern Education System of Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a long tradition of education whether provided by religious institutions or by a formal government system. The Ethiopian government has accepted the Dakar Framework “Education for All” (2000) as well as the Millennium Goals (Education for all & elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2015) as the framework for the national education system and goals educational achievements.

The second Education Sector Development Program (2001/2 – 2004/5) had a clear focus on increasing the GER in particular for girls. Construction of schools, involvement of communities and improvement of the qualifications and ethical values of teaching staff were strategies. A particular successful strategy was to increase the number of female teachers. The number of female teachers in primary school increased from 28% in 1995 to 31% in 2003.

(Source: Taking Stock of Girls’ Education in Ethiopia: Preparing for ESDP III; UNICEF, UNESCO and Save the Children Alliance, 2005)

Despite all the efforts, in particular in recent years, the education system still remains inadequate to fulfil the educational needs of boys and girls all over the country. Inadequate numbers of schools, teachers, textbooks, etc continue to hamper the system despite major efforts to improve on all of that. Although or maybe because of the GER has increased in recent years, it is generally recognised that the quality of the education has dropped and is critically low.

The low quality has been identified by the government and recently six new educational packages, with a clear focus on quality were introduced and started implementation since 2006. The packages include:

- School improvement program
- Teachers development program
- Civics and ethical education program
- Education management and leadership improvement program
- Curriculum development program
- ICT promotion and expansion program.

Every zone, *woreda* and school in the regions is expected to undertake these programs depending upon its objective realities. For instance, the school improvement program which has been started to be implemented consists of elements like improving teaching learning process, safe school environment, strong relation between community and schools, and education administration and leadership.

Although there are many gaps in the actual implementation of the intended improvements, it must be recognised that the norms and values, on which the system is built, reflects a modern approach to education in general and to girls’ education in particular.

5.3.2 School Environments with Malpractices

The present study identified widespread incidence of harmful practices within the school environments. Many of these malpractices have been found committed in particular against girls, although boys also suffer from some of these bad practices, such as corporal punishment. The findings regarding sexually related abuse and violence within the school environment are particularly worrying. These include uses of sexual language, forced to have sex and forced to have sex in turn of for example high marks. The findings also describe how girls experience verbal insults and degrading comments by teachers and fellow school boys. In case of the latter, there seems to be an acceptance from adults of boys abusing the girls, even in the classroom.

These practices can be understood as twisted or distorted reproductions of the traditional norms and values in the society surrounding the school, the patriarchal norms, as described in the section above. They are here described as twisted or distorted because much as they are reproductions of the patriarchal norms and values they are not based on other values such as the protection of the girls' virginity and they represent an amoral approach towards the girls, which is different from a patriarchal approach.

5.4 The Clashes between the Traditional and Modern Worlds of the Girl

5.4.1 The Clash between the Education System and the School Environment

As the model describes there is a clash between the norms and values which the modern education system tries to promote and the norms and values represented in some of the school environments. Rules and regulations for the education system ban corporal punishment. Yet, the findings clearly indicate that in many schools corporal punishment is still practiced on boys and girls. In stead of supporting and encouraging the girls to become educated, some school environments seem to work against the interests of the girls (as further discussed below) and in fact also against the entire education system. Thus, there is a clash between those aspects of the system, which reproduces the traditional norms and the modern education system, in which boys and girls are considered equal.

5.4.2 The Clash between the Traditional Role of the Girl and the Modern World

The model further describes a clash between the traditional norms and values attached to the girl and then modern world, represented in the education system and the school environment. The first barrier or clash in girls' access to education is simply not being enrolled. The Gross Enrolment Rate is still lower for girls (78.5%) than for boys (92.9%) (MOE, 2007).

It is important to note that there (in principle) in most of the Ethiopian cultures exist no cultural traditions which directly are against sending girls to school. The findings from the field work also clearly indicate that parents are generally not reluctant towards sending their girls to school. 85.5% replied that they prefer to send both their boys and girls to school. The proportion ranges from 60% in Afar to 100% in Addis Ababa and Benshangul-Gumuz. *If* they are reluctant to send girls to school three major reasons are prevalent in some regions. In Somali and Dire Dawa all parents said that if they prefer to send the boy and not the girl it is because the girl is expected to be married early. For Afar 50% of the parents gave that reason. The same reason holds true in Oromia 33%, in SNNPR 29% and 8% in Amhara. Another, but related reason was lack of hope in girls' education. The responses from parents across the regions were similar to those concerning early marriage. All parents in Gambella, Afar and Somali regions said that if girls are not sent to school it is because they are needed in the household. In Amhara 8% gave that reason where as in SNNPR it was 29% and in Oromia 33% who gave that reason.

When girls are enrolled in the school, several other clashes occur. Girls who enter the modern education system are expected to participate on equal terms with the boys. But the given terms are not equal.

Gaining education involves a lot more than appearing in the school building every day. It also includes time for preparation and doing the homework, participating in the class, building up a certain level of self confidence and being exposed to new ideas and learning. Although parents today have accepted the fact that their girls shall have access to education, they have not completely accepted what it means for their girls to attend school, such as providing the girls time to do their homework and arrive in school on time. The findings mentioned above indicate that if parents do not send their girls to school it is because they are needed in the household. Even if the girls are sent to school the findings also show that the excessive workloads for the girls at home and the practices of closing the school gates on late comers, creates a clash between the traditional role of the girl and the modern school. The girls have no or little time to do their homework and they therefore arrive in school unprepared, which again minimize their participation. The girls are late because of their heavy duties at home, but the school system does not recognize that and they are met by closed gates.

The demands made by the education system in terms of active participation in the class are also in conflict with the traditional expectations towards the girls to be silent and maintain a low profile.

Even more clashes are found in those school environments where norms and values are twisted into amoral. Girls are being sexually harassed, insulted and degraded. Some of the concrete finding shows how girls who are in fact trying to get out of their traditional role by being active in the class are subjected to degrading remarks, because of their participation, often also sexually related. They are forced into their traditional role of obedience and silence by psychological violence applied against them.

The findings also indicate that clashes between the modern and traditional world of the girls also take place in the homes. Excessive workloads have already been mentioned. About 74% of the parents stated that breaking the family discipline by the girls is a major cause of the violence and abuse against the girls in the home. Much as the findings do not clearly indicate what “breaking the family discipline” means, it may be related to the attempts by the girls to live up to the expectations from the education system, such as speaking up and insisting on time to do homework. Almost all participants of girls’ FGDs expressed the double standard that their parents apply to boys and girls. When the girls ask for time to do home work their parents just reply: “What did you do the whole day in school?” They boys get the time.

The education is also providing girls with new knowledge and ideas which their parents do not have. This may in itself create a clash between the girl and her parents.

5.4.3 The Way to and from School

In the model the way to and from school is described as the meeting between the modern and traditional world of the girls. In this case, the modern world in particular in the urban areas should be extended to include for instance chat and video houses, where boys and girls meet.

There are clear indications that parents in particular are worried about their girls having to travel the way to and from school and that this fear may be particular related to the modern world the girls enter, when they go to and from school.

The quantitative data from the study shows that 80% of parents living in urban areas think there is violence against the girls on the way to and from school as compared to 58% in rural

areas. Whether there is more violence or not in the urban areas is hard to say, but the fact is that the parents' perception in the urban areas is of a high level of violence. This may be because the girls in urban areas are much more exposed to modern lives and thus causing more concerns from their parents.

Much of the abuse and violence that girls are exposed to takes place on the way to and from the school. It is in particular targeting the adolescent girls and the main perpetrators are older boys (in-school as well as out-of school) as well as adult men from the community. A lot of the violence is physical and sexual related whether it is snatching of the girls' property, insulting them or directly sexually harassing them. The underlying causes are again found in a clash between the traditional girl role and the modern world. When the girls continue their education at the age where they traditionally should have been married they become vulnerable as the traditional "protection" in the form of marriage, is not in place. Neither girls, nor the boys or their parents are prepared for this situation.

Abduction, according to the secondary sources, is wide spread and is practised in most of Ethiopia and it is increasing in some areas. Facts are that an increasing number of girls are going to school and thus an increasing number of girls become vulnerable to abduction. The girls are not protected in the traditional way of early marriage and there are no other protection mechanisms put in place. This is major clash between the modern and traditional world of the girls.

In a society where there are strong male dominance and traditions such as abduction for marriage, it is not surprising that the boys reproduce a violent and abusive approach towards girls on the way to and from school as well as within the school. The boys, (unknowingly) see these girls as a major challenge against the traditional gender set-up within the society. The twisted reproduction of the traditional norms within some of the school settings will obviously encourage a similar culture outside the school, namely on the way to and from the school.

Children tend to reproduce cultural schemas that prevail in their society, while at the same time; they challenge and change some of them in their day-to-day life experiences. The way children respond to particular events is related to their specific life experiences as well as socio-economic class, gender, ethnicity and religion. (P. 39 *The World of Girls and Boys in Rural and urban Ethiopia*. Edited by Eva Poluha.)

5.4.4 Lack of Knowledge by the Parents

The findings from the study also show that in many cases the girls can not discuss with their parents the problem of harassment they face from the boys (and teachers). Although parents agree to send their girls to school, they have not fully accepted that in doing so, their girls are exposed and become vulnerable to abuse. They have no experiences of their own to draw on and thus also no any way of preparing their girls, even if they wanted to. The big difference between rural and urban settings in parents' fear of violence and abuse against their school girls may confirm that the more "modern" the setting the greater fear from the parents – and possible greater lack of understanding of the "world" of their girls.

This assumption is also confirmed in a significant difference in the findings between educational level and overall knowledge of rules and regulations relating to girls education and prevention of violence and abuse against girls. More educated parents (predominantly male parents) are more aware of the rules and regulations and thus also more in favor of sending their girls to school. In other words: Parents, who have some knowledge and

understanding of “modern” protection system for their girls are more willing to send their girls to school than those parents, who lack this kind of knowledge.

No culture is static and the findings from this study also suggest that some of the girls are fighting back and beginning to challenge the traditional role expected of them. They speak up in the class and they do not tolerate the abuse they are subjected to.

In some cases, though, the girls develop some rather risky coping mechanisms in dealing with the problems they face. The quantitative data also show that some teachers and schoolboys take advantage of the girls, who in various ways try to manage in the education system. For instance: 39.2% of student respondents stated that girls’ desire to get assistance with their school work may subject them to abuse. About 42.7% stated that girls’ desire to get good marks also may subject them to violence and finally 45.9% girls’ desire to get help during exams may have the same consequence. These data may indicate that the girls voluntarily enter into risky relationships for the stated purposes. This type of behavior from girls can be seen as their coping mechanisms to counteract the challenges they have in fitting into the schooling system. Whether they do it knowing the consequences or not, the fact that the perpetrators take advances of the girls again indicate a clash between the twisted norms and values and the girls. Other findings also include girls using their sexuality and getting involved with “sugar daddies” for money or small presents, which they may need in the school but which their parents either can not or will not provide for them. Finally the findings of girl students being among the main perpetrators of violence and abuse of others in the school partly support the analysis here. The girls acts as go-between for the boys and hope to get a favor out of that. Yet another coping mechanism applied by the girls.

As this analysis of the causes behind the identified violence and abuse against school girls has shown, the very acceptance of girls’ education within the Ethiopian society has brought about new challenges, which are mainly felt by the girls. It is however in the conflicts of interests and views that changes is brought about in a society. The fact that girls of today experience exactly such conflicts of interests may bring about the necessary changes in their lives. The sustainability of such changes will however depend on how well modern institutions such as the modern education system will adopt the changes and possibly modify them as well as strengthening local social institutions to accept and adopt the changes.

Providing and advocating for access to education for girls, in particular girls beyond the age where they traditionally would have been married, may be the cause of some of the violence and abuse the girls’ experience. On the other hand the very same education for boys and girls is also the solution:

Moreover, the education institutions worked to reproduce the dominant cultural schemas of society through its teachings and through the relationships children maintained with parents, teachers and other community members. However, with the new ideas and concepts brought up in the new curricula and through the relationships children maintained with each other, the dominant cultural schemas were contested.” P.65, *The World of Girls and Boys in Rural and urban Ethiopia. Edited by Eva Poluha.*

The finding described above also suggests that increased knowledge and understanding among parents of rule and regulations will enhance their willingness to send (and retain) their girls in to/in school. Indeed, the generation of boys and girls growing up to become parents themselves should have that increased knowledge and understanding.

CHAPTER SIX: EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE AND ABUSE ON GIRLS' EDUCATION

In the preceding two chapters, the different types of violence and abuse against school girls and the root causes for these types of violence were identified and analysed. In this chapter, the effect of violence and abuse on girls' access to as well as persistence in school will be explained and analysed.

In almost all the areas covered by this study, participants of the FGDs and key informants believed that violence and abuse seriously affects the education and future life of school girls. It hinders girls' access to school and negatively affects their schooling in terms of attendance, concentration, class activity, academic achievement and ultimately leads to grade repetition and school dropout.

This section describes the effects of different types of violence and abuse on the following aspects of girls' education: access to education, educational participation, academic achievement, dropout from school and future life.

6.1 *Effects of Violence and Abuse on Girls' Access to Education*

The major indicator of gender differential access to education is enrolment rate in general and primary education (Grades 1-8) gross enrolment rate ((GER⁸) in particular. According to MOE (2007), the primary gross enrolment rate at national level has reached 85.8%, when disaggregated by gender; it is 78.5% for girls and 92.9% for boys in the year 2005/06. This indicates that girls' gross enrolment in primary education, is lower than that of boys. The combined gross enrolment ratio for Ethiopia is generally low compared to that of developing countries. According to CSA (2007), the combined gross enrolment ratio for the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education is 36% for Ethiopia, while the average for developing countries is 63%.

The qualitative data gathered through FGDs and key informant interviews indicate that violence and abuse against school girls discourage parents from regularly sending their daughters to school because they are concerned about the safety of adolescent girls. This was mentioned by 40.3% of the respondent parents who indicated that violence against school girls has a high discouraging effect on parents' motivation to send their daughters to school (Table 6.1). Most parents of school girls whose daughters are threatened by boys do not allow their daughters to go to school because of fear of sexual violence.

Table 6.1: Parents' Evaluation of the Effects of Violence in Discouraging Them from Sending their Daughters to School

Responses	Frequency	%
High	127	40.3
Moderate	83	26.3
Low	76	24.1
No effects	29	9.2
Total	315	100.0

⁸ GER is the percentage of total enrolment in primary schools, irrespective of age, out of the corresponding primary school age population, ages 7-4. It is a crude measure of coverage. Usually, since it includes under-aged and over-aged pupils, it can be higher than 100%. Normally, the age of students in grades 1-8 have to be in the range of 7-14 and the starting age at Grade 1 is seven (MOE 2007:3)

6.2 Effects of Violence and Abuse on Girls' Educational Participation

From all accounts, girls lag behind boys in their educational participation (MOE, 1999). For example, the net education participation rate at the primary level is 74% (70% for girls). Regional disparities exist. Addis Ababa, Gambella, Harari, Benishangul-Gumuz and Tigray have over 85% participation rate, while Afar and Somali regions have 16%, and 27% respectively. The participation rate is lower for girls compared to that of boys in all regions with the exception of Addis Ababa and Tigray where the participation rate was in favour of girls (MOE, 2007). Girls are less likely to attend school regularly than boys and if and when they attend class, they are less likely to concentrate and ask/answer questions. Any physical, sexual or psychological assault perpetrated against school girls is likely to exasperate their already low profile of educational participation thereby making them less and less visible in the school. Violence directly negatively affects girls' school attendance, their concentration, classroom activity and completion of homework, all of which are closely linked to their educational participation. Each of these is discussed below.

6.2.1 School Attendance

One of the immediate effects of violence on school girls is that it reduces their ability to attend classes. A girl who has been verbally abused or sexually harassed by her teacher is more likely to skip the teacher's class in order to avoid further abuse or harassment. Also a girl who has been sexually assaulted on the way to and from school is discouraged from going to school. Presence of excessive workload at home often leads to late arrival in school and consequently school girls may be forced to miss one or two subjects or whole school day because of the closed school gates.

In this regard, student respondents were asked about their views of the impact of violence on girls' school absenteeism. The majority of the respondents rated it as having moderate to high impact (columns 1 & 2 of Table 6.2). However, comparison between the responses of girls and boys revealed that about 60% of the female respondents (compared to 42% of the male respondents) believed that violence against school girls is the main cause of school absenteeism (Table 6.2). The difference between the responses of the two groups was highly significant.

Table 6.2: Student Respondents' Evaluation of the Effects of Violence on Girls' School Absenteeism

Sex	High	Moderate	Low	No effect
Female	60%	27%	9%	4%
Male	42%	34%	18%	6%

Total No. of respondents: Female: 754; Male 497

Cross-tabulation of school absenteeism by student respondents' perception of occurrence of certain types of violence yielded significant findings in that those school girls who were exposed to beating, rape, excessive workload and abduction more frequently evaluated violence as having high effects on school absenteeism (Table 6.3) compared to those who experienced the above abuses less frequently.

Table 6.3: Effects of Selected Types of Violence on School Absenteeism (Student Responses)

Violence	Perception of frequency of encounter	Effects of violence on school absenteeism			
		High	Moderate	Low	No effect
Beating	Always (N=129)	49%	38%	10%	3%
	Sometimes (N=937)	55%	29%	12%	4%
	Not at all (N=188)	44%	31%	16%	9%
Rape	Always (N=84)	62%	27%	10%	1%
	Sometimes (N=700)	59%	28%	10%	3%
	Not at all (N=465)	42%	34%	17%	7%
Excessive work	Always (N=443)	60%	24%	12%	4%
	Sometimes (N=568)	54%	30%	12%	4%
	Not at all (N=238)	39%	39%	15%	7%
Abduction	Always (N=50)	62%	26%	12%	-
	Sometimes (N=558)	58%	26%	12%	4%
	Not at all (N=640)	48%	34%	13%	5%

The same question was posed to the parents who also indicated that violence encourages school absenteeism thereby reducing girls' educational participation.

6.2.2 Low level of Concentration

Violence against school girls reduces their ability to concentrate on their lessons. The presence of sexual or physical violence in the family or on the way to and from school has a destructive effect on school girls' concentration in the classroom. For example, a girl who has experienced rape or attempted rape will be unable to concentrate on the teaching. School girls who face domestic violence (e.g., an abusive step-parent) are likely to attend lessons with a drained energy and emotion and consequently lose interest in the subjects being taught.

A female student who participated in one of the focus group discussions said that she is mostly preoccupied with fear of what would happen to her (because of the bad experience of sexual abuses in the family) rather than paying attention to her education. An eighth grade student disclosed that she often thinks about a man who threatens her that one day he will take away her virginity by force as he has done with her girlfriend.

Female teachers who participated in focus group discussions noted that abused girls often become absent-minded in class and do not follow lessons attentively, most of the time at loss when questions are asked or give answers not related to the question being asked – a sign of lack of concentration. Teachers further stated that some try to hide their heads (not to be identified) and become immersed in deep thoughts of what has happened at home, on the way to school. The presence of abusers (school boys or teachers) in the classroom creates a distressing experience on the part of school girls who watch their abusers living in freedom and peace, while the abused are suffering psychologically and emotionally.

6.2.3 Reduced Class Activity

While active participation in class is one important indicator of girls' educational participation, lack of it is a sign of limited or no involvement in the learning process. Following Hart's (1992) ladder of participation, Holden & Clough (1998) identified the different levels by which students can participate in education activities ranging from manipulation and tokenism to self-initiated decisions in which students actively and positively influence their learning outcomes. The evidence from qualitative interviews suggests that those school girls who are stricken by violence and abuse tend to develop an

attitude of indifference and negativity towards classroom activities and their participation often remains at the level of manipulation and tokenism rather than active engagement.

Overall, school girls are less likely to ask/answer questions in class compared to school boys who often are given priority in asking/answering questions. They often lag behind in completing class activities and having their work marked by teachers. The situation of school girls who have experienced sexual, physical or verbal violence and abuse is worse as such girls usually have limited or no motivation (lack of confidence, low moral, low self-esteem) to be involved in class activities.

Degrading comments and verbal insult by teachers and boys certainly do not encourage the participation of the girls. As described in chapter three some teachers insult and even sexually harass girls who give wrong answers. Also clever girls, who try to be active in the class, may face insults and harassment from their fellow male students.

Active participation in class also requires regular class attendance and for the majority of abused school girls, it is very unlikely that they have been regularly attending class and hence they might miss some important lessons. This puts them in a disadvantaged position even when they try to do class activities.

The effects of certain types of violence on girls' class participation were assessed by cross-tabulating the two and the results showed that school girls who experienced beating, excessive workload, abduction and rape more frequently assessed violence as highly contributing to girls' low class participation (Table 6.4). The statistical results indicate that frequent exposure to violence is likely to reduce girls' ability to participate in class activities.

Table 6.4: Effects of Selected Types of Violence in Reducing Class Participation (Student Responses)

Violence	Perception of students	Effects of violence in reducing class participation			
		High	Moderate	Low	No effect
Beating	Always (N=129)	40%	45%	12%	3%
	Sometimes (N=957)	38%	42%	15%	5%
	Not at all (N=188)	27%	46%	15%	12%
Rape	Always (N=84)	39%	49%	11%	1%
	Sometimes (N=702)	44%	37%	13%	6%
	Not at all (N=466)	25%	49%	19%	7%
Excessive work	Always (N=446)	41%	40%	14%	5%
	Sometimes (N=568)	39%	41%	14%	6%
	Not at all (N=238)	23%	50%	17%	10%
Abduction	Always (N=50)	40%	48%	10%	2%
	Sometimes (N=559)	41%	40%	12%	7%
	Not at all (N=642)	32%	45%	18%	5%

There was a general agreement among student respondents that violence negatively affects girls' class participation (as reflected in poor class activity) and this in turn has a strong bearing on school girls' educational participation. As indicated in Table 6.5, female student respondents appeared to be more concerned about the apparently strong link between violence and low class participation and girls' overall declining educational participation compared to male student respondents'.

Table 6.5: Student Respondents' Evaluation of Effects of Violence in Reducing Class Participation

Sex	High	Moderate	Low	No effect
Female	43%	39%	12%	6%
Male	27%	48%	19%	6%

Total No. of respondents: Girls: 756; Boys: 498

6.2.4 Being Unable to Complete Homework

Any form of violence against school girls has a negative impact on their ability to complete school homework. This reduces their chances of getting good grades and lowers their educational participation. This is especially true of excessive workloads at home, which tends to consume their time and energy and hence little or no time for study and for doing assignments.

Similarly, constant pestering of school girls has a destructive effect on girls' ability to complete homework. A girl who has been verbally abused or sexually harassed is not likely to be able to concentrate on her study and complete homework on time.

Student respondents were asked about the impact of inability to complete homework on their educational participation. A good proportion of the respondents who attempted the question indicated that their inability to complete homework has high impact on school girls' educational participation (Table 6.6). Difference in the responses between female and male respondents were observed, with a relatively high proportion of females showing their agreement of the strong link between not able to complete homework and reduced educational participation of girls.

Table 6.6: Student Respondents' Evaluation of the Effects of Violence on Girls' Inability to Complete Homework

Sex	High	Moderate	Low	No effect
Female	44%	42%	11%	3%
Male	32%	46%	17%	5%

Total No. of respondents: Female: 759; Male: 498

6.3 Effects of Violence and Abuse on Girls' Academic Achievement

Hiese, Ellsberg and Goettmoeler (1999) reported that school girls who had been sexually abused in childhood are more likely to dropout of school, to have unwanted pregnancies, and sexually transmitted infections, to engage in high risk sexual practices, and to suffer from depression, anxiety and suicidal thoughts. With respect to the effects of violence and abuse on school girls, Human Rights Watch (2001) reported that violence and abuse on school girls has a profoundly destabilizing effect on the education of girls. Girls who are victims of violence are more likely perform poorly in school, have problems of concentration on their academic work, lose interest in school altogether, and dropout from school (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Table 6.7 is a summary of students responses to 11 items measuring how often school girls experience violence on three point scale (always, sometimes and not at all) and how students evaluate the effect of violence on school girls academic achievement on a four point scale (high, moderate, low and no effect). The scores of the respondents on how the school girls experience violence were obtained and converted to a three point scale (always, sometimes

and not at all). Then, it was cross-tabulated with the students' evaluation of the effects of violence on school girls' academic achievement.

Table 6.7: Student Respondents' Evaluation of the Effects of Violence on Girls' Academic Achievement

How often school girls experienced violence	Responses	Effects of violence on Academic Achievement (%)				Total
		High	Moderate	Low	No effect	
	Always	2.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	3.2
	Sometimes	45.0	20.2	7.4	3.3	75.9
	Not at all	9.7	5.7	3.1	2.4	20.9
Total		56.9	26.5	10.8	5.8	100.0

The result showed that different types of violence and abuse experienced by school girls significantly affect their academic achievement. Girls who experienced violence and abuse tend to perform low in schools. This causes for instance, repetition, class participation and dropout.

In order to identify which particular types of violence affect the academic achievements of the girls, the effects of violence and abuse on school girls' academic achievements were cross tabulated with how often students think school girls experienced different types of violence and abuse.

This indicates that violence has negative impact on girls' academic achievement, which usually leads to grade repetition.

According to MOE (2007:25), Grade 5 completion rate for the last five years (2001/02-2005/06) for boys was 60.2%, whereas it was 43.1% for girls. This implies that more boys than girls were survived for Grade 6. Similarly, Grade 8 completion rate for the last five years (2001/02- 2005/06) for boys was 36.2%, whereas it was 21.7% for girls. This too implies that boys have a better chance of going to grade 9 (joining the secondary education) than girls (MOE 2007:25). Data from MOE (2007) show that the overall repetition rate for girls at the primary level is higher than that of boys. This is supported by the national mean repetition rate at the primary level, which is 7.7% for girls as compared to 5.7% for boys.

Table 6.8 presents the cross tabulation of students' responses on how often girls experience violence and students evaluation of the effect of violence on grade repetition.

Table 6.8: Student Respondents' Evaluation of Effects of Violence on Girls' Grade Repetition

How often school girls experienced violence	Responses	Effects of violence on Grade Repetition (%)				Total
		High	Moderate	Low	No effect	
	Always	2.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	3.2
	Sometimes	43.1	19.7	9.2	3.9	75.9
	Not at all	9.0	5.7	3.6	2.6	20.9
Total		54.1	26.1	13.2	6.6	100.0

The result in Table 6.8 indicates that school girls who experienced violence have high grade repetition. Cross tabulation of effects of violence on girls' grade repetition is highly significant indicating that girls who experienced violence and abuse tend to repeat classes.

Results of focus group discussions and key informant interviews also confirm that girls' academic achievement is low while their grade repetition rate is high due to effects of violence on school girls.

6.4 Effects of Violence on Girls' Dropout from School

The student respondents were asked to rate how often school girls experience different types of violent acts as always, sometime and not at all. The overall score was obtained and results of cross tabulations with their evaluation of the effect of violence on girls' dropout from school are shown in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Evaluation of the Effects Violence on Girls Dropouts from School

How often school girls experienced violence	Responses	Effects of violence on drop out from school (%)				Total
		High	Moderate	Low	No effect	
	Always	2.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	3.2
	Sometimes	45.0	20.2	7.4	3.3	75.9
	Not at all	9.7	5.7	3.1	2.4	20.9
Total		56.9	26.5	10.8	5.8	100.0

The results show that girls who have experienced some type of violence and abuse are very likely to dropout from school.

6.5 Effects of Violence on Girls' Future Life

Responses from the parents indicate that more than 50% were of the opinion that violence highly affects girls' future life (see Table 6.10 below).

Table 6.10: Parents' Evaluation of the Effects of Violence on School Girls' Future Life

Responses	Frequency	Percent
High	162	50.5
Moderate	97	30.2
Low	39	12.1
No effects	23	7.2
Total	321	100.0

The qualitative data collected from fieldwork indicates that violence affects girls' future life in various ways. For example, a girl who had been raped is likely to develop mistrust towards men and this, in turn, is likely to affect her future relationship with men. In one of the research settings, FGD participants pointed out that when a girl gives birth to the first child, the relationship tends to end in divorce. Teenage girls who are divorced tend to leave their area and migrate to nearby towns and some of them end up being commercial sex workers.

Female teachers and key informants also thought that forced marriages often lead to divorce. Divorced girls often face disapproval by family members, relatives and the community at large. They are considered misfits, incapable of managing their homes or properly performing household chores.

In most of the schools covered by the study, key informants and FGD participants reported that most school girls who are mistreated by step-fathers or mothers tend to quit school and run away from home. They also noted that most rural school girls who are overburdened with excessive workload at home tend to run away from home to the nearby towns or urban centres. Most of those who run away end up being bar attendants or commercial sex workers.

Sexual violence has damaging effects on the health of school girls. Especially forced sex exposes girls to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. The literature supports that those who encountered rape are susceptible to HIV as it often involves unprotected sex (Box.6)

Box 6: Rape as the cause of HIV infection

Rape has forced an 18 year-old girl to live in the premises of Medihanealem Church. As her parents were living in the countryside the girl was staying with her relatives in town to attend school. She was raped by a jobless person who at first asked her for marriage but then resorted to violence when the girl repeatedly told him that her aim was to continue her education. The girl described the situation in her own words: On the 14th of September 2006 I was stopped by a man while going to school. He snatched and threw away my exercise books and a jerikan I was carrying to take water to school for classroom cleaning. He forced me to a nearby bush off the road and raped me [destroying her virginity]. I cried for help but no one was there to rescue me. I told my parents what happened and they reported the matter to the police but to no avail. They also confronted the perpetrator who then kept threatening me.

Six months ago I took blood test and found to be HIV positive. I then decided to flee my birthplace and seek refuge in the church. I had to tell Abba what happened to me so that he could allow me to stay in the church compound. I had been using holly water for treatment against HIV. I was tested recently again and the result came out negative. Now I have a mixed feeling [about her life]. I took grade 8 exam but the result was not good. I still would like to continue my education.

This shows that girls who are raped face a number of misfortunes – ill-health, running away to avoid shame and humiliation. dislocation and above all reduced access to education.

Generally, the evidence from both qualitative and quantitative data as well as from related secondary sources reveal that the different types of violence and abuse against school girls negatively affected school girls' education in various interrelated aspects.

The prevalence of violence and abuse in school, on the way to and from school and at home tended to affect girls' access to education partly because of parents' fear and concern for the safety and security of girls. Parent respondents indicated that violence highly discourages them from sending their daughters to school. This in turn contributes to girls' lower enrolment ratio compared to boys.

Girls who experienced violence and abuse tended to be absent from school, have less concentration in class, reduced class participation, unable to complete homework. The combined effects of all these leads to lower academic achievement of girls compared to boys. This in turn leads to higher grade repetition rate of girls compared to boys and ultimately girls may dropout from school. In sum, violence and abuse against school girls affect their future life in various ways, including their physical, psychological, educational, social, economic and general well-being. This contributes to extreme and persistent poverty, illiteracy and poor health which ultimately affect girls' future life.

CHAPTER SEVEN: POLICIES, RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING VIOLENCE AGAINST SCHOOL GIRLS AND PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING THEM

7.1 *Policies and Legal Frameworks Concerning Violence and Abuse against Children*

Encouraging efforts have been made to improve the plight of children in Ethiopia. In this respect positive, and in some respects, commendable measures have been taken by the existing Ethiopian government. In 1991, Ethiopia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Following ratification of the Convention, the government issued proclamation No. 10/1992 for adaptation of the Convention into the Ethiopian legal system.

There are, however, problems with respect to applying the provisions of the Convention primarily because: 1) there is no official translation of the Convention which is accepted and officially approved by the Ethiopian Government (although it has been translated in 11 local languages), and 2) because the text of the Convention is not reproduced and promulgated in the Negarit Gazeta, the official Ethiopian instrument for publicizing laws.

The problem of the absence of an official translation would have been done away with if the text of the Convention was reproduced and promulgated in a Negarit Gazeta because the Federal Negarit Gazeta is issued in two languages, i.e., in English and in Amharic.

It has been observed, quite frequently that judges are not comfortable applying the texts of the Convention for the simple reason that they are not officially made part of the Ethiopian legal system since they have not been reproduced in Negarit Gazeta, or in a corresponding legal instrument/channel in the case of regional states.

The Ethiopian government has also ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and Convention 182 of the International Labour Organization on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour. But as with the UNCRC the text of neither have been reproduced and promulgated in the Negarit Gazeta.

With the exception of the International and Regional Legal Instruments on the rights and welfare of the child, Ethiopia does not have a separate child policy or Code of Law that explicitly deals with the rights of children. Legal provisions that in one way, or another, affect children in Ethiopia are found here and there scattered in all pieces of both Federal and regional legislation.

7.1.1 The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution of 1995

The FDRE Constitution in its 36th Article lays down provision on the rights of children. The full text of Article 36 reads as follows:

Rights of Children

1. Every child has the right:
 - i) To Life;
 - ii) To a name and nationality;
 - iii) To know and be cared for by his or her parents or legal guardians;

- iv) Not to be subject to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor permitted to perform work, which may be hazardous or harmful to his or her education, health or well-being.
 - v) To be free of corporal punishment or cruel and inhumane treatment in schools and other institutions responsible for the care of children.
2. In all actions concerning children undertaken by public and private welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the primary consideration shall be the best interest of the child.
 3. Juvenile offenders admitted to corrective or rehabilitative institutions and juveniles who become wards of the State or who are placed in public or private orphanages, shall be kept separately from adults.
 4. Children born out of wedlock shall have the same rights as children born of wedlock.
 5. The state shall accord special protection to orphans and shall encourage the establishment of institutions, which ensure and promote their adoption and advance their welfare, and education.

Sub-article 1(iv) clearly mentions the concern with regard to children’s education. Sub-article 1(v) is very specifically against corporal punishment though only in schools and other child institutions. Private homes are, however, not included. Sub-article (2) of Article 36 of the Constitution reflects a key principle of the UNCRC regarding the best interest of the child. The Constitution is thus very clear and precise on the protection of children’s rights.

7.1.2 The Civil Code

The Civil Code from 1960 is still in operational in Ethiopia. The Code was meant to govern relationships between citizens whether between two private citizens or state organs and private citizens. One area where the Civil Code may apply in protecting the rights of children is when children give their consent through duress to enter into a contract.

The Code regards the securing of the consent of children through duress as a violent act and provides for the possibility of having the contract invalidated because of that. Sub-article (3) of Article 1706 states: “The nature of duress shall be determined having regard to the age, sex and position of the parties concerned.”

A child of either sex whose consent was vitiated may invoke this provision, and where the victim of the duress happens to be a girl child, she can avail herself of both her age and sex to have the contract invalidated.

There is however articles in the Civil Code, which causes reasons of concern. The code, for example, empowers the guardian “to inflict light bodily punishment on the minor for the purpose of ensuring the latter's education” (Article 267(2)). Similarly, Article 2039 exempts a parent from liability when he or she inflicts “light bodily injury” on his or her child. In a similar manner, the Revised Family Code (Article 258 (2)) gives power to the guardian of a minor to take necessary disciplinary measures for the proper upbringing of the minor. As the study” Sticks, Stones and Brutal Words (2006) conclude in regard to this:

The ‘reasonable’ standard stated in article 2039(c) holds the defendant to an ‘objective’ standard as to what is reasonable under the circumstances. It also imposes liability for purposefully, knowingly, recklessly, or negligently using excessive force on children. But it is difficult for a court to decide what is reasonable when a case is

presented. Due to cultural differences, what is reasonable in one section of society may not be in another. In a supposedly familial atmosphere, it is very difficult to prove the motives and intentions behind excessive child disciplining.

7.1.3 The Federal Family Code of Ethiopia

The Federal Family Code of Ethiopia, which was promulgated in 2000, is another piece of legislation worth mentioning. This law, in Section 2 of its Chapter One dealing with “Essential Conditions of Marriage”, provides in Article 6 that “A valid marriage shall take place only when the spouses have given their free and full consent”. This provision is indeed a very important provision in that it dismisses all marriages as invalid in relation to which the spouses did not give their free and full consent. The provision of Article 6 is, in particular, very vital in protecting female spouses whose consent is, usually, either ignored or vitiated in marriages in Ethiopia. The Article, to borrow the language of the Civil Code, provides that there shall be no valid marriage where the consent of both or either of the spouses may have been obtained through mistake, fraud or duress (an act of violence). Article 6 of the Federal Family Code has come up with a new term “full” in addition to the term “free” which appears in the Civil Code. By so doing, the Family Code has made it an essential requirement that “free and full consent” should necessarily and cumulatively be met for there to be a valid marriage. Article 6 is also important in that it doesn’t recognize parents or guardians as appropriate persons to give consent on behalf of any of the spouses.

Like in Article 6, the Code, in its Article 7, regulates an important issue in marriages in Ethiopia, the issue of the age of spouses. The issue of age of marriage correlates with the issue of consent in that the younger one is the more probable vitiation of consent becomes. Becoming of age is, certainly, a vital point in giving free and full consent.

Article 7 provides:

- 1) Neither a man nor a woman who has not attained the full age of 18 years shall conclude marriage.
- 2) Notwithstanding the provisions of Sub-Article (1) of this Article, the Minister of Justice may, on application of future spouses, or the parents or guardian or one of them, for serious cause, grant dispensation of not more than two years.

Unlike the 1960 Civil Code wherein the age of majority for marriage was 18 for men and 15 for women [Article 581(1)], Article 7(1) of the Federal Family Code has made the attaining of the full age of 18 years a requirement for both male and female spouses for the conclusion of marriages. On the other hand, sub-article (2) of Article 7 seems to have followed the approach of the Civil Code in Article 581(2) in providing for an exception. Without losing sight of the change made in sub-article (1), the second sub-article of Article 7 provides that where the future spouses or the parents or guardian of one of them applies to the Minister of Justice, for a serious cause, the Minister may grant dispensation of not more than two years. The effect of the provisions of sub-article (2) of Article 7 would be that where the Minister of Justice grants dispensation, the spouses can conclude a valid marriage at the age of 16.

7.1.4 The Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2004

The Ethiopian Criminal Code is a relatively recent law in Ethiopia. One of the strong merits of the new Criminal Code is devotion of a whole chapter (Chapter III of Book V) to criminalizing harmful traditional practices that cause the deaths of human lives, injury to person and health. Though the Chapter is of general application, however, it is particularly relevant to violence against children since many of those traditional practices the Code

criminalized are carried out against children violently and against their will. In particular Articles 561-570 of the Code, falling under Book V Title I Chapter III, are relevant. The title of the Chapter reads: “Crimes Committed against Life, Person and Health through Harmful Traditional Practices”. The articles are listed here below only by their titles and without fully reproducing their contents:

- Article 561: Endangering the Lives of Pregnant Women and Children through Harmful Traditional Practices;
- Article 562: Causing Bodily Injury to Pregnant Women and Children through Harmful Traditional Practices;
- Article 563: Discretion of the Court;
- Article 564: Violence against a Marriage Partner or a Person Cohabiting in an Irregular Union;
- Article 565: Female Circumcision;
- Article 566: Infibulation of the Female Genitals;
- Article 567: Bodily Injuries Caused through Other Harmful Traditional Practices;
- Article 568: Transmission of Disease through Harmful Traditional Practices;
- Article 569: Participation in Harmful Traditional Practices; and
- Article 570: Incitement Against the Enforcement of Provisions Prohibiting Harmful Traditional Practices.

There are other provisions of the Criminal Code that in one form, or another, deal with crimes committed against children. Some of the provisions govern acts of violence. The following may be mentioned among others, as crimes that in one way or another may be perpetrated against children:

- Article 531: Endangering the Health of Another by Alcoholic Beverages or Spirituous Liquors;
- Article 532: Endangering by Mental Means or Practices;
- Article 443: Failure to Report a Crime;
- Article 444: Crime against Whistleblowers or Witnesses;
- Article 445: Harboring and Aiding/ Cf. Art. 479;
- Article 525: Producing, Making, Trafficking in or Using Poisonous or Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances;
- Article 553: Principle;
- Article 555: Grave Wilful Injury;
- Article 556: Common Wilful Injury;
- Article 576: Maltreatment of Minors;
- Article 582: Coercion;
- Article 583: Deprivation of Powers of Decision;
- Article 584: Combination of Crimes;
- Article 585: Illegal Restraint;
- Article 596: Enslavement;
- Article 597: Trafficking in Women and Children;
- Article 620: Rape;
- Article 626: Sexual Outrages on Minors between the Ages of Thirteen and Eighteen Years;
- Article 627: Sexual Outrages Committed on Infants;
- Article 628: Other Grounds Aggravating the Crime;
- Article 632: Participation of a Juridical Person in Sexual Outrages Committed on Minors;
- Article 635: Traffic in Women and Minors;

- Article 636: Aggravation to the Crime;
- Article 637: Organization of Traffic in Women and Minors;
- Article 644: Protection of Minors;
- Article 648: Early Marriage;
- Article 659: Failure to Bring up;
- Article 661: Criminal Liability of a Minor

It is to be noted, however, that some of the provisions in the above stated Articles of the Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure deserve to be seriously considered with a view to revising them to ensure an effective means of combating violence and abuse against schoolgirls.

7.1.5 Bail Right

There are complaints about the fact that perpetrators of violence against schoolgirls are released on bail no sooner than they are arrested and interrogated by the police. There is discrepancy between the expectations of ordinary people and what is provided in the law as regards bail. The law is clear as to when bail is to be granted and not to be granted.

Bail, in principle, is granted to every accused demanding it unless he is denied by law according to the provisions of Articles 63 and 67 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Accordingly, if an offender accused of violent crime against a schoolgirl appeals to be released on bail, his application would be granted unless the crime entails a death penalty or rigorous imprisonment for 15 or over years and there is no fear that the victim will die as a result of the injury inflicted on her by the crime and unless he fails to meet the other requirements under Article 63 and 67. If an offender that perpetrated a violent crime against a schoolgirl is to be out rightly denied bail, Articles 63 and 67 of the Criminal Procedure Code have to be amended.

7.1.6 The “Blue Book” of 2001 and other School Regulations

The “Blue Book” is a kind of a Guide Book issued by the Ministry of Education back in August 1994 E.C (2001 G.C.) Roughly put, the “Blue Book” is meant to serve as a Guide Book on educational administration, organization, societal participation and financial matters. Among other things, the Guide Book deals with the rights and duties of students. Under item number 2.5.2, on page 44, the book has an extensive list of duties of students. Among the long list of duties at bulleted item No. 5 it is stated that *“one of the duties of students shall be “to refrain from threatening, harassing, raping, beating and violating the human rights of female students.”* (Emphasis added) The Guide Book, in its third part, the part that deals with Societal Participation, appeals to the society to send their girl children to schools and to participate in collaboration with schools administrations in fighting against the raping of schoolgirls, snatching of their belongings, and harassments.

As a matter of sanctions, the Blue Guide Book also provides for measures to be taken against students that violate their duties mentioned in there. The Guide Book tries to sanction violations through societal participation and the involvement of parents of students.

From the study by Sticks, Stones and Brutal words (2006) an additional finding relating to corporal punishment reads:

The most recent school administration regulation was issued by the Ministry of Education in 1998. In this document corporal punishment was not included in the list of disciplinary measures and hence prohibited. However, the regulation does not specify the kind of measures that should

be taken against a teacher who violates this prohibition. Most regional education bureaux also issued manuals or circulars that prohibited any form of corporal and emotional punishment against children. These documents make it a breach of disciplinary rules for a teacher to engage in any form of physical punishment and psychological abuse...” (p. 19)

7.2 Institutional Framework to Combat Violence and Abuse against Children

7.2.1 Ministry of Women’s Affairs

As a matter of institutional commitment, the Ministry of Women’s Affairs and Commission for Children’s Rights have been designated as responsible governmental organs for child affairs including the fulfilment of the government’s international and regional commitments. However, Proclamation No. 471/2005, the legislation that established the Ministry of Women’ Affairs established it as a federal institution. As a federal institution, it is concerned with women’s affairs at federal level, and is not, as such, given the power to closely follow matters relating to women’s affairs at regional level. Proclamation No.471/2005 is silent as to how the Ministry shall have to be organized to discharge the duties given to it by the same law especially in its relations with regions. At regional level, state governments of the various regions seem to be responsible for dealing with women’s affairs.

7.2.2 National Children’s Commission

National Children’s Commission was established in Ethiopia long ago. It was established by Proclamation No. 208/ 1981. The Commission was given extensive power in relation to children’s affairs. Over 25 years after have elapsed since the Commission was established, and over those years, some of its powers have been taken away from it and were given to various executive institutions. Some of its powers were, for instance, given to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA). Some of the powers of the Commission have been given to the Ministry of Women’s Affairs. Matters relating to children’s affairs are not put under one competent executive institution and that itself is a problem that deserves to be tackled.

7.2.3 The Police

According to Article 11 of the Ethiopian Criminal Procedure Code of 1961, criminal justice is set into motion through accusation by any person who reports any offence. Such reporting is made to the police. Accusations, formal complaints, or flagrant offences trigger police investigation, and the police play pivotal role in investigating crimes and in bringing criminals to justice.

7.2.4 The Public Prosecutor

There seem to be gaps between expectations on the part of the victims, parents, as well as other stakeholders and the way the Office of the Public Prosecutor handles cases of violence against schoolgirls. Some stakeholders bitterly complain to the extent of saying that the Office of the Public Prosecutor does not exhibit proper behaviour in handling cases of violence against schoolgirls. The standard of proof in criminal cases is different from the standard of proof in civil cases. In the latter case, it is a matter of preponderance of evidence. When it comes to criminal cases, however, the Public Prosecutor or the injured, in privately prosecuted cases, should be able to prove their cases beyond any reasonable shadow of doubt. This, rather high standard of proof, triggers the over carefulness of the Office of the Public Prosecutor in weighing the evidence gathered through police investigation before it institutes a case against an accused. The problems observed as pertaining to Office of the Public Prosecutor are aggravated, among others, by lack of the law of evidence in Ethiopia. It

would, therefore, be important to make a relentless effort in pushing for a modern law of evidence that would address the problem.

7.2.5 The Courts

The conventional and orthodox role of the third branch of government, the judiciary, within the context of separation of powers, is to protect rights through interpretation of laws. Laws on papers are simply dead letters without the decisions of courts that bring lives to them. In other words, laws are found alive only in the decisions of courts. The effort of the police in investigating crimes and that of the Public Prosecutor in indicting the accused are eventually to be evaluated by courts that give orders and pass decisions. The protection of the rights of girl children against any kind of violent acts cannot be imagined without the involvement of courts. The role of courts in protection of human rights in general and that of children in particular cannot be overemphasized.

Courts pass decisions based on the law and after having evaluated evidence submitted to them. The FDRE Constitution in Article 79(3) provides: “Judges shall exercise their functions in full independence and shall be directed solely by the law”. On the other hand, the present study found out that decisions of courts on criminal cases are delayed for long. In particular, there have been complaints that there should not be mitigation of penalties by courts and that there should, instead, be aggravation. In the course of conducting the research, there were also complaints and opinions that no parole should be given to perpetrators of violent crimes against schoolgirls. There were strong opinions that penalties should be severe and should be strictly served by convicts.

As provided under Article 79(3) of the FDRE Constitution, courts are guided by the law in mitigating and/or aggravating penalties. Parole is also granted in accordance with the law. If the complaints of respondents on mitigation of penalties and the granting of parole are to be entertained, the amendment of the law in this respect should be carefully considered.

7.3 Constraints for Implementation/ Enforcement of Policies and Laws

7.3.1 Capacity

A major problem arising from inadequate enforcement of law and policies relate to the capacity of institutions entrusted with the enforcement. Both the judiciary and the institutions of law enforcement in Ethiopia have been characterized by lack of human resources and essential facilities. Police and Public Prosecutors must necessarily be given special training with the view to equip them with the technical and legal capacity to investigate and handle cases of violence against schoolgirls. Appropriate trainings, both short and long term, including refresher and specialized courses, must thus be given to the Police, Public Prosecutors, Women’s Affairs Offices, *woreda* and *kebele* Administrative Units; Community based Organizations like *Iddirs* and different associations. Building the capacity of these institutions, organizations and associations should not be restricted to trainings.

7.3.2 Failure to Report/Inform

A culture of silence and secrecy that prevails in Ethiopia has been having a negative influence on children and discourages them to report and/or disclose violent acts. The stigma attached to going public and disclosing violence and attacks perpetrated on young school girls has made situations even worse and many children would opt to remain silent victims. Even parents and relatives in many circumstances would prefer to remain silent and would not be willing to expose violence perpetrated against their own children or children who are closely related to them.

Even if victim decides to report, she might do it too late, as she might contemplate a number of consequences she might face for reporting the case to the Police or Public Prosecutor. This complicates the investigation process, for example, on a rape case, for it makes it difficult to produce medical certificate upon which the Police and Public Prosecutor would base their decisions to take measures against the perpetrator. Late reporting also gives time to a perpetrator to destroy evidences.

Another major problem reported is fear of the revenge from the perpetrator. This was reported in three regions (Amhara, Oromia and SNNPR) as hindering the victims and their parents from reporting violence to the concerned authorities. The perpetrators threaten the victims and their parents in that they would commit a more serious violence on their release from prison. The perpetrators reportedly threaten the victim's parents that they would burn down their house if they take the case before the police or the court.

The lack of or late reporting by girl victims should also be seen in the light that very little or none counselling and supporting services are available to help the girls overcome the trauma they might have experienced due to the abuse they have suffered. They are left alone with the shame and humiliation.

Lack of commitment and the problem of corruption on the part of Police and Public Prosecutor is another problem. Parents and students blamed the Police and Public Prosecutor for being slow, lack of commitment, nepotism and bribery. The key informants and participants of the FGDs expressed that the cases presented to the Police and Public Prosecutor did not get the necessary attention in due time as a result of corruption. As a participant in male students' FGD in Awassa put it "Whenever the Police and Public Prosecutor wanted to take side with perpetrators, it was easy for them to cite lack of sufficient evidence." This could put them in a safer position, as producing undisputed witnesses for such cases as rape is practically difficult. Both school head teachers who usually present students' cases such as rape and abduction to the Police and Public Prosecutors, and women's affairs officials and assist victims in the legal processes criticized both offices for inefficiency and lack of commitment. The problems of nepotism, bribery, wealth and power were mentioned as influencing the pace at which a case is dealt with and the final outcome of the case brought before these offices. The powerful (in terms of both political and economic power) could greatly influence the course of legal process.

Lack of transparency and accountability is also a constraint in the implementation of the laws. If legal processes are long, transparency is usually compromised. Steps in business processes are very often not known to service seekers and/or clients. Bureaucratic and hidden ways of handling public affairs leads to undesirable and unethical practices. Lack of institutional transparency also contributes to misuse and misappropriation of public funds and thus adding to the low capacity by the institution to carry out its duties.

Transparency ensures good governance that is free from corruption, nepotism and favouritism. And the absence of these vices positively contributes towards the implementation of laws whereas lack of transparency is indeed an impediment to implementation of laws.

7.3.3 Clashes between Modern Laws and Traditional Customary Laws

Nearly fifty years after the introduction of modern law in Ethiopian communities, in particular the rural, perform rituals, reconciliation and adjudicate their civil and criminal cases according to customary laws and practices of the respective ethnic groups.

One of the findings of the study is that there is tension between tradition and modernity in Ethiopia. The study has revealed that elders and community leaders and even parents of victims often resort to reconciliation and as a result, the commencements of legal processes are either totally dropped or indefinitely postponed. Even if the Police and the Public Prosecutor might wish to go ahead with bringing the perpetrators to justice, their acts and decisions would be sanctioned by the much feared customary values and norms. This tension between modern laws and the traditional and age old customary norms and values has been, and still is, hindering the implementation of laws and policies in general and with regard to practices and cultures regarding children and maybe girls in particular.

7.3.4 Inadequate Awareness of Government Polices, Rules and Regulations

Awareness of participants of FGDs and key informants' about policies, rules, regulations and strategies were found to be patchy. Key informants and participants of FGDs generally tended to say 'yes' to a question "Are there policies, rules and regulations against violence on schoolgirls in your woreda/kebele or school." Nevertheless, when they were asked whether the community at large was aware of these polices, rules, regulations and strategies, their responses were inconclusive. However, there were some differences among different groups of respondents: students, teachers, parents and key informants as indicated in the subsequent discussions.

Table 7.1 presents data on parents', teachers' and students' views on legislations related to the issue addressed in this study.

Table 7.1: Parents, Teachers and Students Responses to the Existence of Policies, Rules and Regulations to Stop Violence against School Girls

Parents				Teachers				Students			
Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
179	55.2	145	44.8	166	78.7	72	21.1	876	69.1	368	29.0

The data reveals that the majority (79 %) of teacher respondents, and more than half of the student respondents (69%) and parent respondents (55%) were aware of the existence of policies, rules and regulations to stop violence against school girls. Relatively highest proportion of teacher respondents and slightly higher proportion of student respondents appeared to be more aware of the existence of laws legislating against violence on schoolgirls than parent respondents.

Students are generally aware of the school-based rules and regulations against violence on schoolgirls. However, their knowledge does not seem to be as complete as it should be as they had problems in distinguishing between such technical concepts as policies, rules and regulations as outlined in the interview guides. What they could consistently reveal was about a few major types of violence such as insult, beating and rape, as carrying some forms of punitive measures. The measures ranged from advice, calling parents before school authorities, expulsion from school for a few years to complete dismissal from school. The sources of information for them are schools themselves that expose students to these disciplinary rules on the violence against schoolgirls. The schools inform their students about

the extent of punishment that the students would face in case of, for instance, insulting, beating or rape committed against schoolgirls. Key informants (mainly directors) from schools also recognized the existence of school based disciplinary rules and regulations.

Most participants of parents FGDs and key informants from education offices had appeared to have some knowledge of the presence of criminal laws and family code of the country. They knew that abduction, early marriage, rape, and beating would result in punishment if brought before the court of law. However, the detailed awareness of the applicable clauses and or laws, rules, regulations and policies and strategies was also either limited or very generalized.

In some *woredas*, serious awareness raising attempts on violence against girls, by the government authorities have been reported. But parents (and the community at large) reportedly have not internalized such an education. Participants of students' FGDs in Yabelo and Kofele *woredas* of the Oromia National Regional State, for example, complained that their "parents tend to hear with one ear and release what they have heard through the other ear".

Consistent with opinions of the different FGD participants, the three categories of respondents (parents, teachers and students) also identified the following as the main problems and constraints to implement policies, rules and regulations concerning violence and abuse against school girls:

- Lack of awareness and proper understanding of policies, rules and regulations,
- Leniency and lack of commitment to enforce policies, rules and regulations,
- Economic problems or poverty expose girls to violence and abuse,
- The court always requires witness,
- Boy's/men's desire to satisfy only their needs,
- Students' disciplinary problems,
- Cultural influence to enforce policies, rules & regulations, and
- Victimized girls do not openly disclose the cases

Generally, the above discussions with regards to policies, rules and regulation reveal that Ethiopia needs a comprehensive Policy on matters pertaining to children. The desired policy must be such that it would be so comprehensive not to leave out any aspect of children's affairs in the country. Furthermore, it is important to ensure that the legislation relating to children is not contradicting each other and that principles applied in one law is reflected in other laws where necessary.

The applications of important principles on the rights of the child enshrined in the Constitution of the FDRE have not been possible due to lack of detailed laws. The enactment of new laws on the various aspects of children's life, and/or the amendments of the existing ones to make them compatible with the Constitution deserve due attention.

While relentless efforts are being made to formulate a comprehensive policy on children in Ethiopia, it would also be desirable to translate policies that have already been issued into laws. In most cases laws have not been translated into strategies for their implementation.

With due recognition to the efforts of the Women's Affairs Offices, the Police and particularly the schools to raise awareness on violence against girls, it was found that awareness of the policies, rules and regulations against violence on schoolgirls was found to be generally low, particularly among rural communities. The types of violence known by the

people was also found to be limited to a few commonly known types of violence such as beating, abduction, rape and female genital mutilation. There are a number of socio cultural issues at stake. Informing people about violence or providing educational programs on violence against schoolgirls in a formal manner alone or through formal structures alone leaves huge gaps between the traditional structures, which wield strong influence and power in rural areas on one hand and the formal channels on the other. It was found that **traditional structures**, elders, and religious leaders have been constraining the implementation of the laws, rules and regulation on violence against schoolgirls.

Therefore, awareness raising programmes on the different types of violence and on relevant policies, laws, rules and regulation should strongly involve the **traditional structures** as they are the major actors in the issue. The effort should also be sustainable and need a continuous follow up. Important experiences from the SNNPR are worth mentioning here: A placement of whistle-blowers, who report to the NGOs and other concerned government bodies when violence of any kind is committed against girls in rural *kebeles* of Shebedino *woreda* in Sidama Zone and Damot Gale *woreda* in Welaita Zone. These whistle blowers reportedly receive a token payment, about 35 Birr a month. However, women's affairs officials in the aforementioned *woredas* suggested that the number of such individuals be increased to facilitate geographical coverage since the current ones are overstretched and unable to cover wider areas. The practice appears to be a noble idea that needs to be replicated in many of the places where violence against girls in general and schoolgirls in particular appears to be a serious problem.

Children normally are voiceless and a culture of stigmatization, which is often archaic, has driven children to become silent victims lest they would be victims of traumatizing stigmas. Girl children in Ethiopia have to be emancipated of the fettering culture of silence and "*zimm beyi*" (*keep quiet! shut up!*) so that they may have the courage to go public and expose violence perpetrated against them.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusions

Several studies from global, Africa and Ethiopia have identified widespread violence and abuse against children and girls in particular. The present study is additional to the studies on violence which, however, focuses on school girls.

In recent years the government of Ethiopia, donors and civil societies have together raised the general awareness of the importance of girls' education and have successfully managed to increase the gross enrollment rate of girls.

This achievement has been made by for instance increasing the availability of schools or alternative basic education centers, increased number of female teachers and a general awareness raising campaign and mobilization within the local communities.

However, it has not been realized that there are other factors than, for instance, availability of a school that affect girls' success in getting an education. One of the most prevailing factors is violence and abuse of school girls. The objectives of this study were, therefore, to:

- identify and analyze the extent and types of violence against girls in and around schools;
- identify and analyze the major causes of violence on girls in and around schools;
- identify and analyze the effects of violence on girls' education (including participation and performance);
- review the availability and effectiveness of related policies and strategies;
- recommend realistic and holistic ways by which stakeholders at all level can tackle abuses and violence facing girls in schools; and
- raise awareness of the widespread abuse of children's rights in schools, in particular of girls' and the recommendations for tackling the problem at various levels;

The study has found out that school girls in all areas of Ethiopia are subjected to various types of abuse and violence; in their homes, on their way to and from school as well as in the schools. The types of violence and abuse vary in prevalence across the country and there are urban and rural variations as well.

The types of violence and abuse can roughly be divided into traditional forms of violence such as abductions, early and forced marriage and FGM; and acts of violence which are not based on traditional norms and values. These types of violence include corporal punishment, beating, sexual harassment, snatching of property, insult and degrading. Much as these types of violence are not founded in traditions they do reflect a patriarchal society in which girls are considered having a lower status than men.

The findings reveal a very high level of perceived prevalence of violence and abuse. Between 30% and 40% of students, parents and teachers perceive high level of violence and abuse in the schools and on the way to and from schools. Findings of such widespread violence and abuse against school girls must cause serious concerns among all stakeholders involved.

The traditional types of violence have a severe effect on girls' access to education. Early and forced marriage either prevents girls from being enrolled or may cause them to dropout. Abduction equally presents a major threat against the girls' education; in particular, because

it is a threat the girls face on their way to and from school. FGM those types committed at the girls when they are in schooling age will certainly interrupt their school attendance.

More so, as shown in the analysis of the causes behind the violence, the traditional practices forces girls into a traditional role as obedient wives or wives to be a role, which does not fit in the modern education system and the norm and values of the system.

In the specific context of this study, focusing on school girls and therefore also specifically on violence and abuse found in the school, the study has identified that school environments are not free from violence and abuse. Corporal punishment, which is in fact banned by legislation, is still very prevalent in the schools. Particular worrying are the findings of sexually related violence in the school settings as well as the various type of degrading, insulting and harassing the girls also within the school setting.

One of the worst forms of violence is sexual assault and rape. The study has found evidence of high prevalence of this type of violence in schools, on the way to and from the school as well as in the homes. The fact that 8% of students have replied “yes” to having experienced sexual assault and rape in the school must raise great concerns for all stakeholders in and around the education system.

The study has identified many perpetrators of violence and abuse of the school girls. Although is not possible to clearly establish who exactly is the perpetrator of which type of violence, the study has at least identified who the perpetrators in the three different settings are.

The general picture provided in the quantitative data concerning perpetrators is that both male and female are perpetrators and that the main perpetrators are those relatively close to the girls including family, friends and fellow school boys and girls. Male students and the out of school boys were identified as the main perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse against girls.

The findings that deal with young perpetrators clearly indicate a huge need for boys and girls to adjust their relationships to the modern situation where girls no longer become obedient wives in a very young age and where they try to act on equal terms with the boys. To end this violence against the girls their parents, teachers and boys and the girls themselves must be able to envision a relationship between the sexes that involves sharing warmth and equality and then develop social systems that foster those concepts. The school setting is an ideal place to begin such a process.

The analysis of the causes of the different types of violence against school girls showed that violence and abuse, particularly those that occur in the school and on the way to and from school, are results of clashes between the traditional roles and expectations of an adolescent girl and the modern life style which include her going to school in stead of for being married. The analysis concluded that the success of increasing the numbers of girls being enrolled and retained in the education system has however led to other problems such as the exposure to the different types of violence and abuse identified in the study.

In addition, the effects of violence on girls’ school attendance, concentration and participation in the class, their academic achievements and dropout are rather bleak. The study clearly showed that the violence and abuse the girls are subjected to whether in the school, on the way or in their homes affect all of the above mentioned aspects in regard to their education.

The girls seem to be caught in a vicious cycle in which their struggle to get an education instead of being married in an early age expose them to violence and abuse, which then leads to low level of academic performance, class repetition and eventually dropping out of the school.

The key to this solution, therefore, lies in breaking this cycle. The analysis in chapter four also concludes that the education system is “key” in breaking this cycle. As much as the school is part of the problem, it is also part of the solution. The fact that some of the main perpetrators are older school boys and also female students underline that the school itself can and should play a major role in eliminating the violence. On the way to and from school also out of school boys are among the main perpetrators. Thus the school and the community should work together in reaching those groups.

Finally it is important to consider girls not only as victims but also as important players in bringing into the traditional Ethiopian society new norms and values. The education system and its stakeholders must therefore take good care in supporting the girls in achieving their goals. To quote a girl participant in one of the validation workshops of this study: “*We are living in something old, but trying something new!*” These are the challenges that the education system in Ethiopia has to address and deal with.

8.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations have been put forward to all concerned institutions and stakeholders:

8.2.1 Ministry of Education/Regional Education Bureaus

- Train all teachers in non-violent methods of disciplining students. This subject should also be included in the education of teachers at teachers training colleges.
- Include in the civic education curriculum topics such as children’s and women’s rights (gender equality), effects of harmful traditional practices, effects of violence against/among girls and boys and on how to create harmonious and equal relationships between boys and girls. The curriculum must also provide teachers with tools and methodologies for teaching students about these subjects.
- Strengthen gender curriculum that includes family planning and age based sex education at Teacher Training Colleges and schools and continuously educate and create awareness among school communities to stop physical and emotional abuses through provision of training to teachers and school guards, unit leaders, classroom monitors, record keepers, and other school community members.
- Responsible government bodies must apply a system for follow up, reporting and ensuring action is taken to enforce the implementation of school rules and regulations. For instance, educational institutions at various levels must constantly monitor report and take action against malpractices such as corporal punishment in schools. Advocate for revision of the existing school rules and regulations and their effective implementation.
- Continue establishing schools nearer to villages and provide hostels (low cost houses built of mud walls and thatched roofs that could be built with the contribution from parents and communities) to female students who attend schooling in areas far from parents.

8.2.2 Ministry of Women's Affairs

- Build the capacity of women's affairs offices at all levels (in particular at the *Woreda* level) to effectively catalyze the implementation of rules, regulations and policies concerning violence and abuse against school girls.
- Child rights and protection laws are found scattered in various laws. In order to facilitate the protection of the rights of the child and with the aim of implementing the UN CRC, consolidation and harmonization of the different provisions into a comprehensive children's act is necessary. The process would include collection, revision and improvement of the existing legislation as well as drafting new provisions. A comprehensive policy on all aspects of children's affairs in the country should also be developed with concrete strategies for actual implementation.
- The present name of the Ministry of Women's Affairs does not clearly reflect the mandates given to it concerning children. This calls for revisiting and renaming of the Ministry as Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs.

8.2.3 Schools and Local Education Authorities

- Establish and strengthen child rights clubs for children in lower primary schools.
- Establish and strengthen girls' clubs and boys clubs for girls and boys in higher primary and secondary schools. The clubs shall be initiated by adults but handed over to the children for them to run the clubs. The clubs shall be empowered to give peer education, report and follow up on violence and abuse in and around the school.
- Strengthen the HIV/AIDS clubs and ensure the clubs include topics such as family planning, use of condoms and effects of sexual and gender based violence.
- Establish and strengthen school children's protection committees with representatives of children (of different age groups) and representatives from the adult school community, including female teachers. The committee shall monitor violence and abuse within the school as well as on the way to and from school. The committee shall be mandated to design and implement various protection systems as well as disciplinary measures against the perpetrators. The committee shall also monitor if any students are subjected to harmful traditional practices in their home/ community and shall be mandated to intervene in such cases.
- Raise the awareness among parents and communities about the rights of children in general and rules and regulations by the Ministry of Education as well as local school rules and regulations in particular.
- Strengthen the communication between school and parents, through the PTAs. The school authorities shall be proactive and reach out to the parents in the communities.
- Make sure schools have separated toilets for girls and that the toilets are not placed in a remote part of the school compound.
- Secure fencing of school compound.

- Stop current practices of closing school gates on late comers. Alternative measures need to be introduced to address the problem of late coming. The school authorities should also include the parents in addressing the problem.
- Establish a mechanism at school level to support girls in reporting violence and abuse and to provide appropriate counseling and other necessary support victims of violence.

8.2.4 Local Authorities, NGOs and CSOs

- Increase awareness about the negative effect of harmful traditional practices within the local communities. General awareness campaigns must be supported by concrete mobilization of religious and community leaders, including health professionals, educators, *Iddirs*, etc.
- Involve NGOs and CSOs in community mobilization and creation of child protection structures (including the way to and from school) and in general awareness raising and mobilization for the promotion of human and child rights.
- Establish and strengthen Child Protection Units at all levels of regional Police Commission and generally improve the knowledge and attitudes of law enforcement authorities in regard to violence and abuse of girls. Strengthen community policing and community action capacity by involving schools and communities. Increase the number and capacity of child rights, women's affairs and police at *woreda* and local levels.
- Work closely with CBOs to change the attitude of parents to a culture, which promotes open dialogues with children on child rights, values and benefits of girls' education, the need and means of protection from violence, handling and managing conflicts and emergency situations, promoting the need of speaking out about violence and immediate reporting to the family, school and the police; and mainstream activities related to preventing and challenging violence on school girls in the school system and in local administrative structures; also provide training parents in alternative (to corporal punishment) methods for disciplining children and ideas on child rearing generally.
- Create income generating activities (such as operating coffee and tea, snack, and stationary shops; gardening vegetables; hair dressing and cutting, etc., in the school) for children coming from poor families to empower them economically and protect from becoming victims to perpetrators like sugar *daddies*.

8.2.5 Others (National Level/ Concerned Government Bodies)

- Reproduce and promulgate in the Negara Gazette, which is the official Ethiopian legal instrument for publishing laws, the text in Proclamation No. 10/1992, regarding the ratification by the Ethiopian government of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and Proclamation No. 283/2002 regarding the ratification of the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Child.
- Translate the text of these documents into local languages of the different regions of the country.

- Develop into concrete strategies for actual implementation of policies of relevance to protection of girls and boys against any type of violence, for instance Developmental Social Welfare Policy and Strategy.
- Strengthen and support the national framework for monitoring of the CRC implementation at all levels. This shall include establishing Regional, Zonal, *woreda* and Keble Children's affairs Committees. In particular at zonal and *woreda* levels, representatives from Education should be included as members together with representatives from Women Affairs, Health and Police. At Keble level the committee shall include CSOs as well as representatives from education (local schools) and other relevant GO bodies.
- Improve the attitude and capacity of the law enforcement authorities when it comes to violence against children.
- Punishment against the perpetrators should be more severe and the legal process has to be short and effective. Perpetrators should get the legal punishment they deserve. The police need to follow reported cases of violence strictly and with concern. The concerned bodies should do their best to enforce law effectively. Legal professionals should also teach the community about the legal provisions on violence against girls and women.
- Reduce the range of punishments imposed on offenders of violence and abuse against school girls, especially rape cases in which the range is between 5 – 25 years of imprisonment. Rape cases should be treated as special and severe criminal issues, not as ordinary sexual related offences.
- Acceptance of evidence given by victims on rape, unwanted pregnancy and sexual harassment and coercion, particularly by minors like girls should be less than 15 years old.
- Undertake advocacy work concerning violence and abuse against children in general and school girls in particular through public mobilization and participation by in the school system, local state structures, the media, and CSOs.

8.2.6 Areas for future research

- The focus of this study was mainly on primary school girls. As a result of this, the prevalence and extent of violence against girls in secondary schools and higher education institutions were not adequately treated. Therefore, there is a need for undertaking further study on the problems of these groups of girls.
- The focus of this study was mainly on violence against school girls. However, the problem of violence is not limited to this group. This calls for further study to address problems related to violence against non-school and out of school girls. It is believed that integrating the results of this study with other studies will enable concerned bodies to develop a comprehensive strategy and policy on violence and abuse confronting the girl child.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1A: Composition of the Study Team*

S/N	Name	Qualification	Remark
1	Dr. Guday Emirie	PhD in Social and Cultural Anthropology & MA in Social Anthropology	Core team member
2	Dr. Desalegn Chalchisa	PhD in Measurement and Evaluation and MA in Measurement and Evaluation	Core team member
3	Dr. Abeje Berhanu	PhD in Rural Sociology & Farm Management and MA in Rural Sociology and Community Development	Core team member
4	Ato Gadissa Bultosa	MA in Social Statistics	Core team member representing the Firm
5	Prof. Habtamu Wondimu	Professor in Social Psychology, PhD in Social Psychology and MA in General Psychology	Team member
6	Ato Ayalew Shibesh	MA in Education Policy and Planning	Team member
7	W/ro Berhan Wondimu	MA in Counseling Psychology & BA in Educational Psychology	Team member
8	Ato Daniel Tefera	MA in Measurement and Evaluation & BA in Psychology	Team member
9	Ato Merga Afeta	MA in Economics	"
10	Ato Edessa Urgessa	MA in Educational Organization and Management	Team member
11	Dr. Mamo Hebo	PhD in Cultural Anthropology & BA in Sociology and Social Administration	"
12	W/rt Rahel Shiferaw	MA in Social Work, BA in Sociology & Social Administration	"
13	Ato Kassahun Habtamu	MA in Measurement & Evaluation (Psychology), B.Ed. in Pedagogical Science	"
14	Ato Zekarias Kenea	Associate Prof. of Law, LLM and LLB in Law	"
15	Ato Fikru Wakjira	MBL (in candidate), Business Leadership and BA in Foreign Language	Editor

* Twelve research assistants were also deployed to assist in data collection during the filed work.

Annex 2.A Particulars of Interviewed Sample Students – in terms of Selected Variables

Selected variables	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
<i>School location</i>	504	100	751	100	1255	100
• Urban	226	44.8	357	47.5	583	46.5
• Semi Urban	123	24.4	176	23.4	299	23.8
• Rural	155	30.8	218	29.0	373	29.7
<i>Age</i>	506	100	759	100	1265	100
• 5:9	:	:	2	0.3	2	0.2
• 10:19	458	90.5	719	94.7	1177	93.0
• 20 ⁺	48	9.5	38	5.0	86	6.8
<i>Grade</i>	504	100	751	100	1255	100
• 1:4	6	1.2	13	1.7	19	1.5
• 5:8	439	87.1	647	86.2	1086	86.5
• Secondary school	48	9.5	73	9.7	121	9.6
• Tertiary	11	2.2	18	2.4	29	2.3
<i>Religion</i>	507	100	761	100	1268	100
• Orthodox	264	52.1	430	56.5	694	54.7
• Catholic	8	1.6	17	2.2	25	2.0
• Protestant	106	20.9	146	19.2	252	19.9
• Muslim	124	24.5	162	21.3	286	22.6
• Others	5	1.0	5	0.8	11	0.9
<i>Mother alive</i>	507	100	760	100	1267	100
• Yes	455	89.7	707	93.0	1162	91.7
• No	52	10.3	53	7.0	105	8.3
<i>Father alive</i>	507	100	760	100	1267	100
• Yes	416	82.1	658	86.6	1074	84.8
• No	91	17.9	102	13.4	193	15.2
<i>Currently living with:</i>	504	100	758	100	1262	100
• Both parents	243	48.2	400	52.8	643	51.0
• Father only	26	5.2	27	3.6	53	4.2
• Mother only	88	17.5	117	15.4	205	16.2
• Father & step mother	5	1.0	10	1.3	15	1.2
• Mother & step father	4	0.8	6	0.8	10	0.8
• Brother/ sister	27	5.4	58	7.7	85	6.7
• Grand parents	16	3.2	28	3.7	44	3.5
• Close relatives	37	7.3	45	5.9	82	6.5
• Others unrelated by blood	11	2.2	22	2.9	33	2.6
• Live alone	21	4.2	12	1.6	33	2.6
• Live with husband	2	0.4	11	1.5	13	1.0
• Others (students in rental house)	24	4.8	22	2.9	46	3.6
<i>Mother's education level</i>	464	100	715	100	1179	100
• Unable to read & write	318	68.5	446	62.4	764	64.8
• Can read & write	52	11.2	80	11.2	132	11.2
• Primary (1:8 grades)	73	15.7	146	20.4	219	18.6

Selected variables	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
• Secondary (9:12)	12	2.6	30	4.2	42	3.6
• Tertiary	9	1.9	13	1.8	22	1.9
• Do not know	:	:	:	:	:	:
<i>Father's education level</i>	427	100	672	100	1099	100
• Unable to read & write	186	43.6	266	39.6	452	41.1
• Can read & write	94	22.0	136	20.2	230	20.9
• Primary (1:8 grades)	78	18.3	92	13.7	170	15.5
• Secondary (9:12)	36	8.4	97	14.4	133	12.1
• Tertiary	26	6.1	58	8.6	84	7.6
• Do not know	7	1.6	23	3.4	30	2.7
<i>Mother's occupation</i>	457	100	705	100	1162	100
• House wife	265	58.0	403	57.2	668	57.5
• Farmer	102	22.3	126	17.9	228	19.6
• Civil servant	1	0.2	4	0.6	5	0.4
• Trader/ business woman	39	8.5	84	11.9	123	10.6
• Daily labourer	40	8.8	74	10.5	114	9.8
• Unemployed	6	1.3	12	1.7	18	1.5
• Others {student (2), do not know (4) out of row total}	4	0.9	2	0.2	6	0.5
<i>Father's occupation</i>	418	100	654	100	1072	100
• Farmer	254	60.8	370	56.6	624	58.2
• Carpenter	5	1.2	13	2.0	18	1.7
• Driver	1	0.2	19	2.9	20	1.9
• Civil servant	97	23.2	165	25.2	262	24.4
• Trader/ business man	41	9.8	60	9.2	101	9.4
• Daily labourer	13	3.1	10	1.5	23	2.1
• Unemployed	3	0.7	11	1.7	14	1.3
• Others {pensioner (9), do not know (1) out of row total}	4	0.9	6	0.9	10	0.9
<i>Time taken from home to school</i>	494	100	737	100	1231	100
• Less than 30 minutes	297	60.1	410	55.6	707	57.4
• 30 minutes –1 hours	171	34.6	293	39.8	464	37.7
• More than 1 hour	26	5.3	34	4.6	60	4.9

**Annex 2.B Particulars of Interviewed Sample Teachers and Parents
in terms of Selected Variables**

Selected variables	# of Teachers	%	# of Parents	%
<i>School location</i>	340	100	320	100
• Urban	140	41.2	134	41.9
• Semi Urban	83	24.4	76	23.8
• Rural	117	34.4	110	34.4
<i>Sex</i>	341	100	324	100
• Male	155	45.5	202	62.3
• Female	186	54.5	122	37.7
<i>Age</i>	327	100	315	100
• 15:19	1	0.3	3	0.9
• 20:29	137	41.9	34	10.8
• 30:39	97	29.7	103	32.7
• 40:49	77	23.5	85	27.0
• 50 ⁺	15	4.6	90	28.6
<i>Marital status</i>	342	100	323	100
• Married	227	66.4	284	87.9
• Divorced	3	0.9	12	3.7
• Separated	2	0.6	5	1.5
• Widowed	8	2.3	17	5.3
• Single	102	29.8	5	1.5
<i>Whether or not have children</i>	342	100	:	:
• Yes	171	50.0	:	:
• No	171	50.0	:	:
<i>Family size</i>	325	100	319	100
• 1:3	138	42.5	32	10.0
• 4:6	136	41.8	145	45.5
• 7 ⁺	51	15.7	142	44.5
<i># of daughters</i>	171	100	287	100
• 1:3	157	91.8	221	77.0
• 4 ⁺	14	8.2	66	23.0
<i># of sons</i>	180	100	284	100
• 1:3	173	96.1	200	70.4
• 4 ⁺	7	3.9	84	29.6
<i>Education level: Teachers</i>	341	100	:	:
• TTI certificate	126	37.0	:	:
• Diploma	187	54.8	:	:
• First degree	22	6.4	:	:
• Second degree	2	0.6	:	:
• Others	4	1.2	:	:
<i>Education level: Parents</i>	:	:	324	100
• Unable to read & write	:	:	87	26.9
• Read & write	:	:	24	7.4
• Primary (1:8)	:	:	91	28.1
• Secondary (9:12)	:	:	46	14.2

Selected variables	# of Teachers	%	# of Parents	%
• Tertiary	:	:	74	22.8
• Others	:	:	2	0.6
Religion	340	100	323	100
• Orthodox	227	66.8	201	62.2
• Catholic	13	3.8	6	1.9
• Protestant	65	19.1	56	17.3
• Muslim	34	10.0	54	16.7
• Others (<i>Waaqeffataa</i>)	1	0.3	6	1.9
<i>Yrs of service in the school (teachers)/ # of Yrs lived in the village (parents)</i>	338	100	316	100
• 1:4 years	199	58.8	16	5.1
• 5:9 years	50	14.8	25	7.8
• 10:14 years	28	8.3	29	9.2
• 15:19 years	33	9.8	28	8.9
• 20 ⁺	28	8.3	218	69.0
Occupation (Parents)	:	:	319	100
• Farmer	:	:	118	37.0
• Trader	:	:	44	13.8
• Teacher	:	:	75	23.5
• Pensioner	:	:	29	9.1
• House wife	:	:	23	7.2
• Guard	:	:	15	4.7
• Driver	:	:	8	2.5
• Casual labourer	:	:	5	1.6
• Unemployed	:	:	:	:
• Others {weaver (1), student (1)}	:	:	2	0.6

Annex 4.A: Percentage Distribution of Student Respondents' Responses to the Different Types of Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault Experienced by Region

Region	Asked for a date		Hit selected body parts		Kissed without consent		Breast touched without consent		Male organ touched without consent		Forced to have sex		Punished for refusing sex		Insulted with sexual language		Sex for marks		Sexually degrading act		Sexual gesture directed	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Tigray (N=67)	19.4	80.6	6.0	94.0	9.0	91.0	10.4	89.6	3.0	97.0	7.5	92.5	20.9	79.1	20.9	79.1	10.4	89.6	11.9	88.1	6.0	94.0
Afar (N=17)	11.8	88.2	:	100	5.9	94.1	:	100	:	100	:	100	:	100	:	100	:	100	:	100	5.9	94.1
Amhara (N=174)	11.6	88.4	6.3	93.7	9.2	90.8	16.1	83.9	1.1	98.9	7.5	92.5	10.3	89.7	29.3	70.7	6.9	93.1	2.9	97.1	6.9	93.1
Oromia (N=195)	16.9	83.1	13.8	86.2	12.8	87.2	17.4	82.6	4.6	95.4	5.6	94.4	7.2	92.8	13.3	86.7	5.1	94.9	5.6	94.4	8.7	91.3
Somali (N=29)	7.4	96.6	13.8	86.2	10.3	89.7	3.4	96.6	:	100	3.4	96.6	6.9	93.1	3.4	96.6	:	100	3.4	96.6	6.9	93.1
B:Gumuz (N=18)	22.2	77.8	11.1	88.9	16.7	83.3	27.8	72.2	:	100	22.2	77.8	16.7	83.3	27.8	72.2	5.6	94.4	:	100	16.7	83.3
SNNPR (N=156)	12.8	87.2	4.5	95.5	8.3	91.7	29.0	71.0	5.1	94.9	5.1	94.9	10.3	89.7	9.0	91.0	1.9	98.1	7.1	92.9	6.4	93.6
Gambella (N=18)	11.1	88.9	5.6	94.4	5.6	94.4	16.7	83.3	5.6	94.4	:	100	5.6	94.4	22.2	77.8	:	100	11.1	88.9	5.6	94.4
Harari (N=18)	5.6	94.4	:	100.0	:	100.0	5.6	94.4	:	100	:	100	16.7	83.3	11.1	88.9	:	100	:	100	16.7	83.3
AA (N=47)	8.5	91.5	:	100	6.4	93.6	2.2	97.9	:	100	:	100	2.2	97.8	4.3	95.7	:	100	:	100	4.3	95.7
Dire Dawa (N=18)	16.7	83.3	16.7	83.3	11.1	88.9	5.6	94.4	:	100	11.1	88.9	11.1	88.9	11.1	88.9	5.6	94.4	5.6	94.4	5.6	94.4
Total (N=757)	13.6	86.4	7.8	92.2	9.6	90.4	16.7	83.3	2.9	97.1	5.8	94.2	9.8	90.2	16.0	84.0	4.5	95.4	5.2	94.8	7.4	92.6

Annex 4.B A Cross tabulation Showing the Relationship between Rape and Abduction

		Have you ever been raped?		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you ever been abducted?	Yes	5	5	10
	No	13	730	743
Total		18	735	753
$X^2 = 98.5^{**}$				
Contingency coefficient (C) = 0.34 ^{**}				

Annex 4.C: A Cross tabulation Showing the Relationship between Attempted Rape and Abduction

		Have you ever experienced an attempt of rape?		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you ever been abducted?	Yes	4	6	10
	No	79	664	743
Total		83	670	753
$X^2 = 8.7^{**}$				
Contingency coefficient (C) = 0.11 ^{**}				