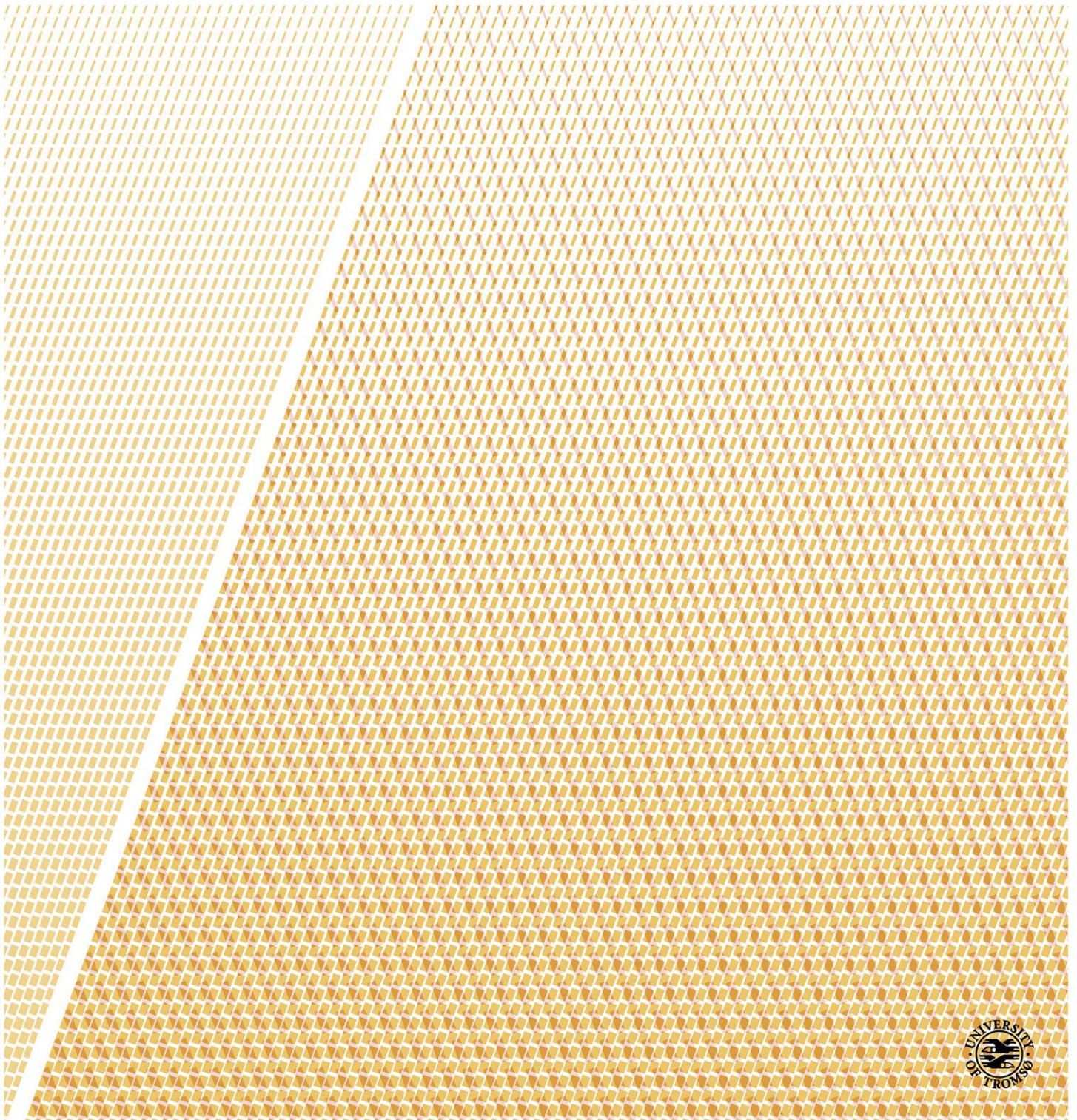


# **Representation of Gender and Gender Relations in Newspapers` Narratives: the Case of Ethiopia**

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*A dissertation for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – October 2013*





## **DEDICATION**

work is dedicated to my dearest beloved mother Assäläfäč Mammo. Though you are not educated to the level you guided me, you deserve a PhD.

My son Estifanos Tolämariam, this dissertation is yours indeed. I will never forget your sweet words reminding me to return home soon.

I feel sad because, my late stepfather, Ato Abärra Mäkonnen (Gašä), passed away without seeing this product. He was a kind and caring father. I will always cherish his memories.

## ABSTRACT

This research presents a qualitative study of *Addis Admass* (private) and *Addis Zemen* (state) newspapers from a social constructionist perspective. It asks the questions: How are gender and gender relations represented in the selected newspapers?, How do the selected items depict female and male social actors?, What needs for change regarding gender are represented? What new society do they imagine?, and What narrative strategies do the newspapers use?

In addition to performing a detailed qualitative analysis of newspaper articles, the study includes a quantitative overview of topics addressed by the two newspapers according to gender, and over the number of female and male journalists.

The study contextualizes the media development in Ethiopia in a historical perspective. The findings show that there are areas of change in gender relations advocated by the newspapers in both the private and public sphere. At the same time, the newspapers seem to duplicate the stereotypes and support the status quo regarding gender and gender relations. Literature reviews show that the same tendencies prevail since I finished my data collection in 2000. Therefore, I contend that newspapers play a dual role, on the one hand, enhancing change and change factors and on the other hand, supporting the status quo.

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## SYMBOLS USED FOR THE TRANSLITERATION OF ETHIOPIAN WORDS

Vowel	Symbol	Consonant	Transliteration
First order	Ä ä	ሻ	Č č
Second order	U u	ሸ	Š š
Third order	I i	ሻ	Ĝ, ĝ
Fourth order	A a	ሸ	Ž
Fifth order	É é	ሸ	Şş
Sixth order	E e	ጠ	Ṭ, ṭ
Seventh order	O o	ጠ	Č □ č
		ሸ	p·
		ቀ	q
		ሻ	Ňň
		ሻ	Y y

**Source:** Uhlig, Siegbert, ed. *Encyclopedia Aetiopica*. 2003. Arrassowitz Verlag: Weinsbaden.

## NOTES ON ETHIOPINA NAMING

Names are written in the way they are pronounced in Amharic.

I follow the format used by Bahru and Pausewang, eds. (2002:6) and Skjerdal, (2012: xvi). Accordingly, Ethiopian names are not inverted as are the names of the Europeans.

1. The second name is not a family name, but the first name of the father; often a third name is added, which is the first name of the grandfather.
2. Ethiopian names frequently consist of two words- such as Haile Mareyam or Täklä Hayemanot. For example, Gabreél Hayelä Mariam as Mareyam, Gäbreél H. makes absolutely no sense. His father was not called Mareyam but Haile Mareyam.
3. Women do not change their names when they marry. The second name of a woman, whether she is married or not, is always her father's name, and not her husband's name. To address her with her husband's name would be meaningless (Bahru and Pausewang, eds. 2002:6).

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAE	<i>Addis Admass</i> Editorial
AAF	<i>Addis Admass</i> Feature Stories
AAN	<i>Addis Admass</i> News Story
AAU	Addis Ababa University
Apx.	Appendix
Ato	Title of male, equivalent to Mr.
AZE	<i>Addis Zemen</i> Editorial
AZF	<i>Addis Zemen</i> Feature Stories
AZN	<i>Addis Zemen</i> News
B	Both
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Ben.	Beneficiary
C	Country
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CGS	Centre for Gender Studies
Doc.	Documents
Don.	Donors
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERTA	Ethiopian Radio and Television Authority
F	Female
FES	Friederich Ebert Stiftung
5W s.	What, who, where, when and why.
GC	Gregorian calendar
GO	Government organizations
H	How

HSI	Hayelä Sellassé the First
HPR	House of People's Representatives
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
IGS	Institute of Gender Studies
KÄAṬÄ	Kämbata, Alaba and Ṭäambarro zone
M	Male
Mas.	Mass
Mcs.	Manuscripts
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoI	Ministry of Information
MS	Multiple sources
NA	News Agency
NAP	National Action Plan
ND	No date
Neu.	Neutral
NGO	Non government organizations
NK	Not unknown
NUFU	the Norwegian Program for Development Research and Education
SNNPR	Southern National and Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
SR	Staff Reporters
TPLF	Tegray Peoples Liberation Front
Vic.	Victims
WIC	Walta Information Centre
Wit.	Witnesses
Wrt	Wäyezärit, meaning Miss
Wro.	Wäyezäro- meaning Mrs.

**LIST OF TRANSLATED WORKS IN THE ORDER OF THEIR PLACES IN THE CHAPTERS**

No	Title	Code	Page
1	Women as Compensatory Payment የመኪኒት ሴት እንደካላ ....	ZF1	-14-
2	”My Refusal to Marry Husband’s Brother Has Exposed Me to Harassment” ‘የባሌን ወንድም ለማግባት ባለመፍቀዱ ለችግር ተጋለጥሁ’	ZF2	-17-
3	<u>Traditional</u> Arbitration To Be A Hindrance To Protection of Women’s Rights ባህላዊ ዳኝነት በሴቶች መብት መከበር ላይ እንቅፋት ፈጥሯል	ZN1	-22-
4	What is Marriage? ጋብቻ ምንድነው?	AF1	-24-
5	<u>Workshop</u> To Facilitate The Amendment of The Criminal Code To Begin On Monday የወንጀልኛ መቅጫ ስግግር ለማሻሻል የሚረዳ ዐውደ ጥናት ሰኞ ይጀመራል	ZN2	-32-
6	The New Family: An Answer To Women’s Question የሴቶችን ጥያቄ የመለስ የቤተሰብ ህግ	ZF3	-33-
7	If Our Development Initiative Should Attain its Goals የልማት ትልማችን ግቡን እንዲመታ	ZE1	-38-
8	”The Community Should Help Us With Our Goal of Upholding The Dignity of Chastity “የድንግልና ክብር ግቡን እንዲመታ ህብረተሰቡ ሊረዳን ይገባል”	AN1	-41-
9	Tolerance Or Compatibility? መግባባት ወይስ መመጣጠን?	AF2	-43-
10	<u>The Hide and Seek</u> Game of Dowry ጥሎሽ.. ድብብቆሽ ላየሁሽ! አላየሁሽ!	AF3	-46-
11	Planned Marriage of 154 Girls Annulled የ154 ልጃገረዶች ጋብቻ ተሰረዘ	ZN3	-51-
12	<u>An End To A Nine Month</u> Litigation Between Husband and Wife ዘጠኝ ወራት የፈጀ የባልና ሚስት ውሳኔ በማግኘቱ የተደሰቱ የከተማዋ ሴቶች ሰልፍ ወጡ	ZN4	-53-
13	<u>The Indefatigable</u> Woman Farmer ታራሪዋ አርሶ አደር	ZF4	-55-
14	<u>Men</u> Volunteer To Undergo Vasectomy, It was Revealed ወንዶች የዘላቂ የወሊድ መከላከያ ተጠቃሚዎች መሆናቸው ተገለጸ	ZN5	-58-
15	[Dare To] Elect, Be Elected And We Can Make Change እንምረጥ... እንመረጥ... ለውጥ እናመጣለን	AF4	-60-
16.1	<u>The Founding of Elected Women’s Forum in Hawassa</u> (first article) የተመራጭ ሴቶች ፎረም ምስረታ-በአዋሳ	ZF5a	-66-
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17	The First Women Regional President የመጀመሪያዋ ሴት ርዕሰ መስተዳድር	ZF6	-74-

**NB:**

ZF (Addis Zemen Feature stories) = 6  
 ZE (Addis Zemen Editorial) = 1  
 AF (Addis Admass Feature stories) = 4  
 AN (Addis Admass News) = 2

ZN (Addis Zemen News) = 5

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Here I will provide the background of the study, introduce the nature of my project and the research design. I will also discuss the significance of the study, a brief synopsis of the dissertation and a conclusion.

### 1.1 Background of the study

#### Media-gender research trends in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, the discussion of media is characterized by various controversies. Many scholars (Skjerdal, 2012, Meseret, 2013, Gadezpkko, 2009:76, Ndlela, 2009, Shimelis, 2000 and 2002 in Bahru, Balsvik, 2005, Røe and Aadlend, 1999) address the research and challenge of a research focus on media. The Ethiopian media-makers practice within a variety of contexts. They are hindered by professional limitations, illiteracy, ethical problems and above all an oppressive press law (Ross, 2010:1048). Ndlela, categorizes five research areas that appeal to media researchers of different countries: “1) Development communication research, 2) the debate over information flows and media representations of the developing world within United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during the 1970s and early 1980s...3) Media and democratization research, 4) HIV/AIDS media and communication research Agenda, 5) implication of new communication technologies. However, as Ndlela writes “despite the increasing number of notable African media researchers, their influence on the media research agenda remains minimal” (2009:65)”

Newspaper texts in Ethiopia offer pleasures and challenges in this research. Newspapers publish in a diversity of local languages such as Amharic, Tegeriña, and Afan Oromo. In a country where a culture of newspaper consumption has not quite developed, it is gratifying to see newspapers encourage readership with different languages. However, how do newspapers change the lives of people who do not directly consume them? This presents a challenge indeed. The literacy rate is less than 50% of the adult population. The target audience in Ethiopia then falls to the elite of each linguistic group. In Ethiopia, men outnumber women in terms of literacy. If the newspapers mostly target elites, their significance is questionable. Moreover, the quality of the newspapers is lacking in Ethiopia.

The historical trajectory of Ethiopian print media has starts and stops throughout its process (Tädbabä, 1990 E.C; Shemelis, 2000& 2002). The development of these trajectories is not conducive to straightforward critical analysis. In spite of these historical and cultural vicissitudes, studying newspaper texts helps understand the discourses of gender and gender relations.

In Ethiopia's multicultural context, (Tsehay in Gwendolyn, 1997), newspapers offer rich sources of data of socio-economical and socio-political aspects of society. Regardless of the size of the readership, newspaper items play a role in development from a sociological perspective. Thus, a textual analysis of newspapers will prove insightful on these sociological processes.

In Ethiopia, the issue of women's right is considered as a European idea with little incorporation of the African context. Attempt to change women's rights is viewed as borrowed or directly copied from European countries. Consequently, people might not attend to research that focuses on it. Thus, many people do not volunteer to inform the media regarding women's rights. Women themselves avoid publicizing information. Newspaper writers are limited by availability. Journalists often complain of these limited sources. Ethiopian women are not assertive enough to tell their stories to the media. However, is this true? What will the qualitative data analysis show? My research addresses these questions.

## **1.2 The Project**

The research project is entitled, "*Representation of Gender and Gender Relations in Newspaper Narratives: the Case of Ethiopia*". The newspapers selected for this purpose are *Addis Zemen*, a state-owned newspaper, and *Addis Admass*, a privately owned newspaper. I collected data from issues of both newspapers from the year 2000 (January 1992 to December 1993 according to the Ethiopian Calendar). See Chapter 4 for the rationale of the data selection (4.3, p. 84).

### **1.2.1 Why Study Newspapers?**

Priest (1966: xxvii) cites three main reasons for studying newspapers. First, the media influences readers' thinking (Berger, 2012; Richardson, 2007). Second, the media plays a significant role in people's everyday life. Third, newspapers exchange information (Richardson, 2007, GMMP,

2010:37). Mass media institutions have different structures and organizational traditions. Bell and Garrett (2007:3) wrote:

... Firstly, media are a rich source of readily accessible data for research and teaching. Secondly, media usage influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community. Thirdly (and related), media use can tell us a great deal about social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communications (....)

When we examine media texts, we can understand positions of society members in their respective communities (Richardson, 2007). Thus newspapers reveal the foundations (Best and Kan, 2006:91) of representations of gender and gender relations. They also reveal changes in these representations. Newspapers have both social and cognitive functions (Richardson, 2007; van Disk, June 2006) which enable sociologists to explore social discourses.

### **1.2.2 Research questions**

I aim to answer the following research questions:

- How are gender and gender relations represented in the selected newspapers?
- How do the news items, features, and editorials depict female and male social actors?
- What needs for change regarding gender are represented? What new society do the newspaper items imagine?
- What narrative strategies do these newspapers use?

I found it useful to determine the distribution of male and female sources in the newspapers in general, as well as how women and men were represented as social actors (both those who act and those who are acted upon).

### **1.2.3 Research Objectives**

The study aims to critically examine the representation of gender and gender relations in editorials, news and feature stories in the two Ethiopian newspapers. Editorials reflect ideology (Kahn and Kenny, 2002). Editorials in particular present the stances and voice of the newspaper. However, editorials are not the only genre that reflects ideology. All forms of newspapers' narratives reflect ideology (see Chapter 3, Rahman, 2002; Reinmann, et al, 2011; Van Dijk, June

2006). The news genre covers timely events and phenomena. Feature stories explain and interpret events (Park, 1940, Steensen, 2009).

Therefore, I examine materials from different genres (news, editorials, profiles, and features). Different genres function differently in newspapers even though they all reflect the ideology of a particular newspaper (Conboy, 2007: 36-37 & 209).

## 1.3 Research Design and Methods

### 1.3.1 Research Design

I designed my study based on the perspective of social constructionists. "Social constructionist research is ... often concerned with the unmasking of the taken for granted and assumption. In other words it, has the ambition of 'getting behind' people's everyday understandings" (Jorgensen and Philips, 2008:210). In search of these implied messages and meanings, a researcher can use his or her personal experiences and knowledge, which is called the situated-ness of knowledge (Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2007:14).

Situated-ness of knowledge refers the interference of the researcher in an analysis. A researcher might be so involved in the subjects that s/he could not to be a detached observer. This method mainly applies in feminist research as Holst, in Engelstad & Gerrard, (2005: 43) state:

Feminist epistemology is a *social* epistemology. It conceives of the knower's as situated in particular relations to what is known and to other knower. What is known, and the way it is known, thereby reflects the situation or the perspective of the knower: Knowledge is situated because knowers are. ....Consequently, situated knowledge is also gendered knowledge...

Similarly Laclough and Moufee, cited in Jorgenson and Phillips (2008), emphasize the situated-ness of knowledge within the context of their discourse theory. It rejects "the rigid separation of facts and values" and accepts that "the discourse theorist and analyst is always located in a particular historical and political context with no neutral Archimedean point from which to describe, argue and evaluate" (Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007:271).

Situated-ness in my research frames my point of view. I used to work at *Addis Zemen* newspaper and now I study it<sup>1</sup>. I use my own experience to understand gender representation in Ethiopian newspapers. My experiences actually inspired me to conduct this research. These have laid the foundation for the study. I am an Ethiopian woman, an educated urbanite, and reader of print media. My academic qualification allows me to evaluate local research trends. I am also knowledgeable about the European debates over the production of knowledge. There, I can critique the local context. As an academician, I also critique Westerners and other African media researchers who do not consider the Ethiopian context in its own right.

### **1.3.2 Statement of the problem**

Inadequate Research on Gender and Media Analytical discussions have not focused much on media in Ethiopia or on gender and media in particular there. This characterizes the media tradition of the whole of Africa as Aida Opoku-Mensah (2001), Bruin and Ross (2004:106) have argued. A clear understanding of gender relations in the African newsrooms remains unknown. Thus, extensive research must be done to discover the Ethiopian context of gender and media. Some scholars have attempted to analyze media texts. These works offer valuable insights and the history of the Ethiopian media. For instance, Tafässä (1966 EC) justifies why women were not assigned to read news on the radio and television. He explains that women do not have commanding voices. In spite of their contributions, I have found that most research has the following commonalities:

- a) Most quantitative content analyses do not address the real experiences of women of Ethiopia in the media. They do not attempt to answer the “why” and “how” questions (Agaredech, 2003; Rahel, 1991).
- b) Most of the research approaches use western theories indiscriminately. These theories may not probe the discourses of local contexts (Arnfred et al, 2004; Collins, 1990). Recent research in

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<sup>1</sup> *Addis Zemen* employed the researcher, after she graduated from the Addis Ababa University in 1987. She worked for the newspaper as a reporter, as editor of Culture and Women pages until she was transferred in April 1996 to the then Ethiopian Mass Media Training Institute, the first School of journalism in Ethiopia, opened by the Ministry of Culture and Information. Currently, this institute is under the Faculty of Humanities, Language Studies and Journalism and Communications, Addis Ababa University.

African contexts has criticized this tendency to depend on western theories (Orgerrett and Rønning, 2009).

As Collins (1990), Mama (2001) and Oyemuwi (in Anfred et al, 2004) discuss, the western theories of gender and media cannot directly apply to third world countries. Western and non-African theoretical approaches can be useful to examine gender and media in Africa or Ethiopia, but only insofar as they adapt to local realities and consumption.

### **Divergent Understandings of Gender**

In Ethiopia, the concept “gender” diverges from standardized definitions in the west. The wide ranges of the concept expresses the difficulty of addressing issues related to gender and women. The following exemplifies such a misconception.

Ešātu (2006), states that some society members do not acknowledge women's role to the public discourse. Tsehay (in Gwendolyn, 1997) states that the misconception is, that feminism has nothing to do with Ethiopian women. They argue that ideas imported from overseas should not be an Ethiopian concern. Nardos (2005), in her MA thesis, comments on the attitude of one editor she interviewed. The editor bluntly says that feminism is anti-male discipline. Nardos critiques this biased attitude. Otherwise, most of research conducted in Ethiopia does not differentiate women and gender. Or rather, they consider some issues to be women-only. For instance, Fistula is presented as if it is only a women’s health issue (Seble, 2006). Cited in Otoo-Oyorrey and Pobi, (2003:50), Assani et al., 2000) described fistula as follows:

An obstetric fistula is a hole that develops between a woman’s vagina and her bladder or rectum, or both, usually as a result of trauma during pregnancy (UNFPA, 2002). They occur exclusively in poor girls who are illiterate, malnourished, anaemic, and still have some physical development to go through. In Africa, a number of studies have shown that 50-80 percent of women below the age of 20 developed a fistula, with the youngest patients being 12 or 13 years old (Ibid). In Niger, in 1995 it was estimated that 80 percent of fistula cases were seen in girls between 13 and 17.

Most research does not examine women’s reactions. Most research takes depiction of women by the media as true. They do not show whether women's voices or if women want to establish their own media. Both approaches make women homogeneous. This duplicates the conflationary approach to women and gender.



I broadly discuss the meaning of gender in chapter three. Looking at media from a gender perspective widens the lens to encompass both men and women.

Both gender and media studies are influenced by European theories. Moreover, African media education is said to be influenced by European and American theory (Skjerdal and Ngugi, 2007; Ešātu 1996, Salawu, 2009:86). These misunderstandings and misconceptions about feminism, women, and gender in Ethiopia could be because of two possible reasons. First, Ethiopia has no theoretical frameworks to analyze gender. Second, of the dearth of analyses does nothing to confront the mindset of Ethiopians.

Most Ethiopian research is quantitative. Quantitative work has limitations in that it generalizes, ignores gender struggles working for change. Very few have recognized this situation (Selamawit, 2013) and most research duplicates previous research traditions. In previous research, quantitative methods mostly show that women are objectified or that they are overrepresented in soft news.

Quantitative research excludes case studies and renders some segments of society invisible. Quantitative findings present women as homogeneous. Because I use a qualitative method and social constructionist approach, I can explore how the media motivates and expresses social change in gender relations. I use multiple approaches. Even though I want to study gender and gender relations, I do not merely on women's pages of the selected newspapers. My study is not restricted to women and the media, which would entail limiting my data collection to those articles that discuss only women. I titled my project, "Representation of Gender and Gender Relations" because I am compelled by the representations of both men and women.

Most studies start from a conclusion. They begin with stereotypes, misrepresentation, etc. Almost all research says that media depictions limit women to the domestic role. They ignore the roles of women in the public sphere. In doing so, the media duplicates conventions.

#### **Focus of Previous Studies**

In locally conducted research on media and gender, most studies use content analysis. Consequently, they raise more or less similar results. They describe the content of texts, but they do not answer the "why" and the "how" questions regarding the portrayal of women and men.

Their descriptive nature aligns them with the quantitative content analysis method. Feminist researchers have critiqued seeing women's issues only from numerical representation. The representation of more women as subjects and as objects does not necessarily indicate the existence of fair representation of women and men. "... The traditional sciences not only ignore women's themes and experiences, but it also denies that validity of women's way of knowing ..."

(van Zoonen, 1994:14). I overcome this limitation with a social constructionist approach.

### **1.3.3 Instruments of Data Collection and Analysis**

My methodology uses a mixed-methods approach, with qualitative analysis supported by quantitative descriptions. The study entertains both explanatory and exploratory approaches.

The research is explanatory because the data collected from the selected newspapers are categorized into different themes. I count the number of women and men as story writers and sources of information indicated, and as subjects and as objects (See Chapter Five, Figures, 5.2 (page 113) and figure 5.3 (page 119); tables 5.2 (page 108), 5.3 (page 109), 5.7 (page 115) and 5.8 (116). How is gender and gender relations represented in the selected newspapers? I tackle this through the application of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The following research questions: "How do the selected news items, features and editorials depict the female and male social actors?", "What do the discourses and narratives promoting change in gender relations want to change and what new society are they imagining?" and "What narrative strategies do these newspapers use?", must be answered with a qualitative analysis of the media texts (Richardson, 2007:116). Qualitative research explores how the newspapers represent gender and gender relations.

I select and categorize the general topics into two main areas: women's participation in the public sphere and women's participation in the private spheres. Quoting Gunther Kress, Richardson say:

.....As he says, the media constantly assert the existence of public and private as distinct domains and assign events and activities to each. So, for example, domestic violence is private whereas football hooliganism is public (and the gendering of these activities is very evident: domestic violence is overwhelmingly a crime against women, but it is perceived as a private matter, not a public one and therefore not one of public concern... (Richardson, 2007:22).

With regard to the public sphere, relevant topics include women's participation in elections as voters, and women's participation in education to assess female school dropouts and women in higher education. In the private sphere, I focus on abduction and early marriage. The media often addresses these topics since they are of great concern to the population. These topics are also areas where gender is discussed as an agenda, pressuring change (Risman, 2004). In this area, indigenous knowledge and traditions must confront modernity, different political views, and various ethnic groups. These confrontations among different classes and religious groups have been frequently observed (FES, 2012). I am sensitive towards such differences and I try to explore how newspapers represent them.

Richardson (2007:155) states that the qualitative research investigates how and why phenomena appear in the newspapers. Qualitative discourse analysis identifies discourses in the media. For this purpose, I have selected a number of texts for inter-textual analysis which serves as an additional research tool. Carvalho (2000 & 2008) discusses how different articles can be analyzed in the context of the subject they treat. I can take two approaches for inter-textual analysis. I can look at different items that appear on the same newspaper. Or I can examine multiple articles that appear either on a similar or different print outlet (Bell and Garrett, 2007; Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008). A comparative synchronic analysis examines various representations from multiple articles printed on the same day either in same or different newspapers (Carvalho, 2000:27).

The units of analysis include three genres of newspaper texts: news, editorials, and feature (feature includes profiles) stories. I study the three genres together for a broader picture of the coverage regarding gender and gender relations.

In short, in this study, an interdisciplinary approach develops a framework to analyze the representation of gender and gender relations in the two selected Ethiopian newspapers. I use in particular Connell's (2009) Theory of Gender; Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Narrative analysis, and Framing theory.

## **1.4 Contribution**

My research contributes to the knowledge production in both local and international contexts. I study the newspapers that reflect the representation of gender and gender relations in the multicultural country of Ethiopia. In an era of globalization, the media, both local and international, creates a global solidarity. As Orgerrett and Rønning argue (2009), newspapers maintain traditions and social values at a local level. Local recipients of research products need a better understanding of the media's representations of gender and gender relations. At the international level, my research would clarify Ethiopian media representations of gender and gender relations.

## **1.5 Synopsis of Chapters**

The dissertation is comprised of ten chapters. Chapter one introduces the background of the study, the objective, and the causes that inspired me, the methods and the design of the research.

Chapter Two, entitled "Contextual Description," briefly deals with the geopolitical situations of Ethiopia. It presents an overview of the historical background of the print media and its development in Ethiopia. This chapter contextualizes my research.

Chapter Three, "Theoretical Frameworks", deals with a literature review. I present theoretical frameworks. Since the project requires interdisciplinary approach, this chapter focuses on the intersections of multi-disciplinary frameworks.

Chapter Four, "Methodology", discusses the methodology. It explains the data collection procedures, instruments, and methodological challenges peculiar to this research. I also proposed ways to overcome challenges.

Chapter Five, "Representation of Gender and Gender Relations: Quantitative Approach", describes the quantitative data. The data presented in tables and bar charts reveals the quantitative representation of gender in the newspapers. This chapter gives a background to the qualitative analysis.

Chapter Six, "Traditional Practices and The Road towards Legal Transformation", Chapter Seven "Representation of Gender Relations and Change Agents", and Chapter Eight "Gender

and Gender Relations in the Political Space” present qualitative analyses of the 18 sample stories from *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*.

Chapter Nine, “Media Discourse in Representation of Changes in Gender and Gender Relations”, discusses the findings of chapter six, seven and eight. Chapter Ten concludes based on this analyses and discussion. Endnotes (quotations from the sample stories in the original language), bibliography and appendices follow. These appendices contain the English translation of the sample texts taken from the newspapers. The Appendices also include distinctive features of the Amharic language, the Codebook and the Calendar of the year 2000.

## **1.6 CONCLUSION**

My research is the first study conducted on gender and media from a sociological perspective in Ethiopia. It is primarily qualitative research backed up by simple quantitative descriptions.

Consequently, my research focalizes research from the media, gender, and sociology. It can contribute with data and analyses for those who conduct further research in the area.

## CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUAL DESCRIPTION

In this chapter, I will give brief background of the context of the research. This contextualization will portray the socio-political and cultural aspects of Ethiopia. Accordingly, this chapter has five sub-sections.

The first sub-section briefly discusses the geopolitical situation of Ethiopia. I will treat the governance and administration as well as women's place in the public section. The second section overviews the history of the newspaper industry and its trajectories in the country.

The third sub-section deals with some controversial issues surrounding the nature of Ethiopian newspapers. In the fourth sub-section, I present surveys of the research of the media and gender. The chapter concludes by drawing from the preceding discussions.

### **2.1 Geopolitics of Ethiopia**

#### **2.1.1 Demography**

Ethiopia is a country located in the East of Africa covering 1,104,300 square kilometers, (1 million sq km being land and the rest 104,300 sq km covered by water) (Haregeweyin and Emebet, 2002:1). The country has three major climates: tropical rainy climate, dry climate, and warm temperate rainy climate (MoI Feb 2004:7). The altitude ranges from 116 meters below sea level in the Dalol depressions, to 4620 meters above sea level in the Sämén Mountains. Agriculture is the bedrock of Ethiopia's economy (MoI, Feb. 2004:71, Mastawoqia Ministry, 1994 EC).

According to the latest national census conducted in May and November 2007, the total population of Ethiopia is 73,918,505. Out of this, 50.5% are male while 49.5% are female (Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, 2007). The number of male and female during the 1984 and 1994 census was 50.3% male and 49.7% female. In the 2007 census, the female population decreased by 0.2%. Based on the 2007 Census, Ministry of Health reported that the population of Ethiopia would be 79.8 Million in 2010. The population expected to grow 2.6% (MoH, October 2010:1; Census 2007; Burgess, 2013). Life expectancy is 53.4 years for male and 55.4 for females. The mortality rate under age of five is 101/1000 (MoH, October 2010:3). This

figure differed in the late 1990s, 130/1000 (Mekonnen, Hewison and Drewelt, 1998:1). Maternal Mortality Ratio for 2005 is 673/100,000 (Meaza, 2009:44). The people follow various in the country, however, the three major religions are as follows: Orthodox Christianity at 40.5%; Islam at 35.4%; and Protestantism at 19.6% (Ethiopian Census, 2007; MoI, Feb 2004).

There are more than 80 languages spoken in Ethiopia, which constitute 12 Semitic, 22 Cushitic, 18 Omotic and 18 Nile-sub Saharan languages (MoI, Feb 2004:15, Røe and Aadland, 1999). Tsehay (in Gwendolyn, 1997:184) wrote, "... Ethiopians speak about 120 languages cluster under eighty major groups and hold Christian, Muslim, Judaic and Polytheistic religious beliefs". This is common throughout other African countries. For instance, Nigeria has more than 250 local languages (Mamma, 2003). Ethiopia is a multicultural country. Ethiopia has over 80 different ethnic groups (Røe and Aadland, 1999:6). The three major Ethnic groups in terms of population are Oromo at 34.51%, Amhara at 26.9% and Somali at 6.2% (Census, 2007). During the 1994 census, the picture differed from these statistics. The Oromo people then constituted 32.1%, the Amhara 30.1% and the Tegré 6.2% (Ibid).

**Table 2.1: Population Size of Regions by Sex: 2007**

Region	Sex					
	Both Sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Country - Total	73,918,505	100.0	37,296,657	50.5	36,621,848	49.5
Tegray	4,314,456	100.0	2,124,853	49.2	2,189,603	50.8
Affar	1,411,092	100.0	786,338	55.7	624,754	44.3
Amhara	17,214,056	100.0	8,636,875	50.2	8,577,181	49.8
Oromiya	27,158,471	100.0	13,676,159	50.4	13,482,312	49.6
Somali	4,439,147	100.0	2,468,784	55.6	1,970,363	44.4
Bénšangul- Gumuz	670,847	100.0	340,378	50.7	330,469	49.3
SNNP	15,042,531	100.0	7,482,051	49.7	7,560,480	50.3
Gambélla	306,916	100.0	159,679	52.0	147,237	48.0
Hararri	183,344	100.0	92,258	50.3	91,086	49.7
Addis Ababa	2,738,248	100.0	1,304,518	47.6	1,433,730	52.4
Deré Dawa	342,827	100.0	171,930	50.2	170,897	49.8
Special Enumeration	96,570	100.0	52,834	54.7	43,736	45.3

*Source, National Population and Housing Census, 2007*

The three most widely spoken languages in Ethiopia are Amharic, Oromiffa and Tegríña (Tolemariam, 2009). Amharic has its own alphabet. It is also the official language of the Federal Government of Ethiopia and is the official language of the Amhara Regional State (Solomon, 2009; MoI, Feb. 2004). The two newspapers, *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*, which are the primary data sources of this research, are published in the Amharic language. These two

newspapers have wider readership compared to those published in other local languages (Ethiopian Broadcast Authority, 2013).

At the national level, more women live in urban areas is greater (by 70,989) than the in rural areas. Men outnumber women in rural areas (by 754,317) (Census, 2007). There is a wider gap between the population size of the two sexes in Afar (56% male/44% Female), Somali (56% male/44 % Female), and Gambélla (52% male and 48% Female) States. In all the three regions, males outnumber females.

Ethiopia has its own calendar that differs from the Gregorian calendar. Ethiopian calendar lags behind eight years from January to August and seven years from September to December from the Gregorian calendar (<http://www.nilefall.com/calendar.html>). (See Appendix Eight). Ethiopian New Year is celebrated on September 11. The Ethiopian National calendar is implemented throughout the country, even though some ethnic groups have a different local calendar. For instance, the Sidama people have their own New Year celebration called “Fičé”.

According to the Ministry of Health report of 2010, the literacy rate for the population above the age of 15 is 36% (out of this 62% are male and 39% are female) (MoH, October 2010:2). The census defines “Literacy” as being able to read and write a simple sentence in any language (Census, 2007:229). The 2007 Census recorded the literacy rate to be 39.8% (46.2% for male and 33.3% for female). In fact, this difference was due to the population under the age of 15, which comprises the highest figure, 44% (Census, 2007). This means that 61.2% of the total population is illiterate. The illiteracy rate 10 years ago was 74% (54% for male and 75% for female) (Haregeweyin and Emebet, 2002:17). This implies that women’s access to education has improved. Female and male students engage differently when it comes to higher education levels. At present, the number of public universities has reached 32 and three more are undergoing the accreditation process by the ministry of Education ([www.moe.gov.et/English/Information/pages/public.aspx](http://www.moe.gov.et/English/Information/pages/public.aspx)). The following table shows the distribution of population of students from all over the country from first degree to the third degree.



**Table 2.2 Enrolment of students in higher educational institutions (2011/2012)**

Students enrolment nation wide										
Student Enrolment	Regular		Evening		Summer		distance		Total	
	male	female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	male	Female
Undergraduate	184,026	66,203	38,269	16,301	65,871	19,448	19,542	9,305	307,708	111,257
Post-graduate	12,754	3,185	2,073	743	3,342	707	0	0	18,169	4635
PhD	1,511	303	-	-	19	16	0	0	1,530	319
	198,291	69,691			69,232	20,171			327,407	116,211

*Source: EMIS planning and Resource Mobilization (EPRM) Directorate, Ethiopian Federal Ministry of Education, Education Statistics Annual Abstract 2004 EC (2011-2012 GC).*

From the total number of 443,618 of higher institutions- Go and NG universities- (table 2.2 above), females account for 26.2% of students while males account for 73.8%. At the undergraduate level, males account for 73.4% of students while females account for 26.6%, at the Masters degree level, males account for 79.7% while females account for 20.3%, and at the tertiary or PhD level, males account for 82.7% while females account for 17.3%. Evening programs and distance or continuing education programs do not run PhD programs.

The table shows two big differences compared to the information provided in table 2.3. In the first place, privately owned universities have emerged in the country as shown in table 2.2. However, the private universities do not have PhD.

**Table 2.3 Population of female students enrolled in Hayelä Sellasé I University**

Hayelä Sellasé I University	Total student enrolment	No of female students	Percentage of female students
1955-1956	345	10	2.9
1959-1960	827	49	5.9
1963-1964	1,514	93	6.1
1967-68	3,368	227	6.7
1970-1971	4,543	356	7.9

*Source, Balsvik, 2005: 55.*

This area of high-level educational training has been left for the government owned universities, even though private universities and colleges exist in the country (in addition to the 32 public universities).

As indicated in table 2.3 above, within 30 years, the number of female students has grown from 10 (3%) to 356 (7.8%). There is indeed an increase in the number of female students (Balsvik, 2005). In 1999, the number of female students in Ethiopia enrolled in the tertiary level was 15.6% (Mamma, 2003).

When the above two tables are compared, there were no Postgraduate and PhD students at HSI University. Now that the tertiary level education has expanded to the higher level, more than 60 PhD programs have begun.

### **2.1.2 Political Administration: Federalism**

Since the downfall of the Marxist Dergue regime in 1991, the country follows a federal system instead of centralized political administration. The argument was that "... Federalism allows the creation of regional political units, controlled by the national minority, with substantial (and constitutionally protected) powers of self government..." (Kymilcka in Turton, ed. 2006:34). The federal system decentralizes governance (Wachendarfer-Schmidt, ed.; 2005:5). According to the new constitution, ratified on 8 December 1994, and put into effect since 1995, the state and religion have been separated (Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1<sup>st</sup> year, No. 1, August 1995). The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has a parliamentary form of government (Gennet, 2014:4). Under the Federal State, there are nine Regional National States and two provisional administrations (Addis Ababa, the capital city, and Deré Dawa), (Ministry of Federal Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, May 5-7, 2003:188).

This federal administration system is composed of two houses, the federal government, and state governments. The federal system works through three hierarchies known as the Federal, Regional (State), and Wārāda levels. The political instruments are the legislative branch and judicial branch. The legislative branch consists of the House of Federations and the House of People's Representatives. The first has 547 members while the second has 112 members (<http://www.electionethiopia.org/en/ethiopian-election.html>). The second political instrument comprises of the federal courts and regional courts (MoH, October 2010:1-2). Federalism has been in play since the Hayelä Sellasse regime (Balsvik, 2005). There is a difference between the Šāngo (National Council known to be uni-cameral assembly with 835 members) established in

1986, during the Dergue regime and the current Federal system. The House of People's Representatives has the highest authority in the country. The State Council is the highest organ of each regional State (MoI, Feb. 2004:31).

The House of People's Representatives is composed of members elected by the people for a term of five years in a direct election. Out of these chairs, 20 belong to the minority groups. The members of the House of Representatives in general are representatives of Ethiopia and not of a specific group. All the nine regional states are represented. The two-chamber parliaments are responsible for policy making at the Federal level. However, HoPR has power of legislation making in all matters. The same House is the highest authority in Federal government (Aseffa in Turton, ed.; 2006: 220).

Aseffa mentioned that Ethiopian Federalism has an ambiguous definition but mostly known to be Multicultural Federalism (Aseffa, 2007:214). The confusion lies on whether to classify Ethiopian Federalism as Ethnic federalism or as multicultural federalism. However, it is not multicultural, as Kymlicka (in Turon, ed. 2006:36) says, "... What is common to all forms of multinational federalism is the idea of territorial autonomy and, at least in the case of sizeable national minorities, official languages status, and a high degree of institutional completeness".

Some writers describe Ethiopia's federalism as ethnic federalism (Aalen, 2008:1; Ministry of Federal Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, May 5-7, 2003:188). On the other hand, according to some documents the nine States are based on four situations of the country. These are the settlement patterns, language, identity and the consensus of the people concerned (MoI, Feb 2004: 29). Affar could be a regional state based on ethnicity. In the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) more than 56 ethnic groups live together. This is a typical example of a State based on settlement patterns while Oromiya exemplifies one based on language pattern. There are different Oromiya Zones in other States. For instance, Kämisé is one of Oromiya zones located in Amhara State. However, because of the debate over an Ethnic Federalism or Multicultural Federalism label, I contend that further in-depth cultural and political studies are necessary.

Ethiopian federalism has its own unique features and distinct aspects from the West's Multinational Federalism. Kymlicka (in Turton, ed. 2006: 54) says, "Many aspects of the

Ethiopian Constitution can be seen as comparable trends with the most progressive developments within Western democracies". He further states, "General concern and ethnic federalism heightens (*SIC*) the salience of ethnic identity and strengthens perceptions of boundaries between groups that can equally be raised about multination federalisms in the West" (Ibid, P. 57).

The nine States have regional constitutions that form parts of the National Constitution of the country. The Constitution is "supreme law of land" (Article 9 of the Constitution). "... Regional councils are overwhelmingly dominated by the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and its associated parties" (*sic*) (Ministry of Federal Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, 2003:191).

The nine States and the provincial city administrations are divided into 817 districts (administrative Wärädas) and Wärädas are further divided into 16253 Qäbälés, which are the smallest administrative units in governance. Additionally there are two zones and seven Wärädas, designated as special Administrative Regions (MoH, October 2010:2).

### **2.1.3 Women and their Political Rights**

Since 1991, various political measures have implemented women's rights to ensure their equality to men. One significant measure was the ratification of the women's policy in 1993. This policy aims at integrating women's rights in all aspects of the social life. However, this policy has some limitations (MOWA, 2006).

The ratification of the Constitution in 1995 was one of the most salient achievements for women's equality. This Constitution incorporates other valuable rights such as equality for all citizens (Article 25), Women's rights (Article 35) and Freedom of the press (Article 29). Another great achievement is the revised family law issued in the Federal Negarit Gazetta Extra Ordinary Issue No. 1/2000.

The new family law came from the existing civil code with reference to the Constitution and the women's policy. According to Mähari (1995 EC), the Civil Code of 1960 was not revised until EPRDF came into power. After 1993, first the political system changed from a centralized administration to federalism. Second the public pressured the government about the rights of

women and children (Mähari, 1995 EC:3). Therefore, revising the family law as an independent part from the Civil Code was necessary.

The revision of the family law follows the pattern of political administrative structure. That is, the Federal state family law exists as a governing rule and each State designs its own family law within the two frameworks. First, it must observe universal human rights and the rights of citizens incorporated in the Federal Family Law. Second, regional family laws must consider the traditional context of the region. This means that the Federal family law becomes a source of reference for the family laws of the States.

Tegray took the lead by ratifying the new family law first. In 1999, the State ratified its revised family law while the Federal Family Law was ratified in 2000. The revised new family law of Tegray was ratified in 2007. The 2007 revision changed the marriageable age for men and women: 18 for women and 22 for men in the first version to be 18 for both sexes. Tegray State also takes the lead in the representation of women in the public sphere. As indicated in table 2.4 (page 25) in the year 2010 election, in Tegray, women parliamentarians account for 48% while men account for 52%. The percentage of women parliamentarians is much lower in the other States. In other words, Tegray does not reflect national trends. This may indicate differences in the traditions of the country and that socio cultural aspects determine women's empowerment. The current Tegray political leadership emerged from struggles in that region. Women and men have struggled equally and the current status of women may be a result. The difference between Tegray female and male parliamentarians is relatively less compared with other States and Provisions.

Amhara state ratified its new regional family law in 2003, Oromiya, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples State and Bénšangul Gumuz in 2004, Gambella and Harrari in 2008. Except Somali and Affar, all seven states have issued their respective family laws based on the Federal family law.

According to the Constitution, the current Federal family law is directly implementable in Addis Ababa and Deré Dawa Provincial States. In the ratification of the family law at the Federal level, States have participated by sending delegates. Because of their participation and common understanding, the Federal State parallels the basic rights at the Regional State level. The family

law is supposed to accommodate the realities of each regional State. Thus regional states should be able to prepare their family law from the family law of the Federal State (Mähari, 1995 EC: 6). What follows, are some differences between the revised family law and the Civil Code of 1960.

There are three mechanisms of marriage: religious, secular, and traditional. These differ from one State to another State. All three marriage mechanisms are legal and the family law incorporates them. However, the new family law excludes betrothal, which is accepted in the traditional marriage system. According to the family law, betrothal is a pre-marriage process, which does not impose obligation on the two parties.

One of the changes made on the revised family law is that marriage must take place with the consent of two parties. The parents can no longer interfere.

Polygamy and bigamy are considered illegal. The new family law states that marriages must be registered. This was not common before. However, if two people lived together long as a husband and wife and if they could call witnesses to this fact, their relationship would be considered as a married couple. This covered those marriages un-registered. However, "Only the court is competent to decide whether an irregular union has been established between two persons" (Negarit Gazette, 1960, Art 730:122). The third difference between the Civil Code of 1960 and the new family law is that in the new family law, both the wife and the husband have equal responsibilities to run the house. In the Civil Code of 1960, the husband was the head of the house, and he was entitled to all sorts of leading roles (Ibid, Article 635-637: 107). He was also entitled to determine the place where the couple should live. In the new family law, both have this right and they must discuss and decide based on mutual agreement the place where they want to live.

In the Civil Code of 1960, the husband should correct the behavior of his wife if she acts against the custom. It says, "He may watch over her relations and guide her in her conduct, provided this in the interest of the household, without being arbitrary and without vexations or other abuses" (Ibid, Art. 644/2:109). If the husband could not afford to employ a domestic servant, the wife should do all the domestic chores. The new family law changes this. In earlier times, it was also

the responsibility of the husband to administer the common property of the wife and the husband. In the new family law, both are equally responsible to administer their common property.

In the Civil Code, the conflict between the wife and the husband was labeled as a simple conflict that did not result in divorce. Divorce was impossible. Under the new family law, however, divorce is possible on two grounds. First, it can happen through mutual consent. Second, the couple can be separated if one of them requests so. The request for divorce would be in effect regardless of the agreement of the other party. Parents, traditions, and religions are not above the law. They could not, for example, force one of the parties to live unwillingly with a husband or wife (The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000).

What changes do all the legal documents bring to women's lives in particular and to the public in general? To begin with, the family law, Hallward-Driemeier and Gjjigo (2011:3) summarized the core points that change the relations between women and men. "Among the key changes by this new law, 1) women were given the authority to administer common marital property; ii) a spouse could no longer deny permission for the other to work outside the home; iii) more authority has been given to courts in setting disputes arising in cases of divorces and inheritance (and correspondingly less to tradition arbitrators), which allows more agency for women, and iv) the marriage age was increased to 18 years".

After the introduction of these legal documents, activities have improved the lives of the women and the society in general in Ethiopia. Economic empowerment and access to education are have been tackled with by organizations concerned with empowering women. In addition to this and other policies, the Federal Civil Servants Proclamation (NO. 515/2007) was instated.

Women have formed their own associations and entrepreneurships. In the area of economic empowerment for instance, the national Ethiopian Women Entrepreneurship Association has created branches all over the country. It has enabled 38,000 women to get access to credit loans (Desta, 2008). Not enough has been done, however, because women remain on the bottom rung of the ladder.

Although women dominate the urban informal sector, their significance diminishes as we go up in the ladder from micro to small and medium enterprises. The survey by CSA (1997) indicated that 65% of urban micro enterprises are run by women (i.e. 380,000) while their share in small

manufacturing (medium and large enterprises is 26% and 10%-15% respectively) (Desta, 2008:7). The Millennium Development Goal presented a goal to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005 and at all levels of education no later than 2015 (MDG, 2007). Ethiopia has reformed society to enable all girls to attend school. As a result of this, girls' access to education has reached 24%. Even though the progress in the girls' participation in education is not satisfactory, the overall attempt shows a positive progress. Women's activity in the economy has improved. The first women's Bank in Ethiopia known as *Ennat Bank*, (Mother Bank) has female stakeholders that account for 65% of the shareholders. Despite this majority, their actual capital is small compared to that of men (speech of Wro Bertukan Gäberäegeziabehér, deputy Manager of *Ennat Bank*, March 7, 2014, on the occasion of March 8 celebration in Addis Ababa University). There is still an immense need to develop women's active participation in the public sphere.

Although the number of women in legislative sector has increased slightly, but is still below the expected 30%. "In the executive branch of the government (Ministers, Vice Ministers, etc), women constitute 13%. Among the judges at the Federal and Regional Courts, again 13%; among judges presiding over Supreme, Higher and First Instance Courts in 1995 (EC) women were 25.5%. In the Civil service, women occupied only 24.3% of the higher positions (Ministers, commissioners, deputies, Directors, Division Heads, Ambassadors, etc), (MOWA, 2006:11-12)

In study conducted of 11 ethnic groups in Ethiopia (the pilot study was conducted in 1995) it is stated that:

Girls are victims of different harmful traditional practices. "Early marriage, female circumcision, uvula mutilation and dowry payment are the most common harmful traditional practices among the ethnic groups questioned 82.4% of the respondents reported that girls in their community were circumcised (Habtamu, et al, nd:23).

Traditions include high rates of school dropouts; economic dependencies still affect the pace of social progress. Berihun and Aspen (in Ege, et al, 2009:1001) stated that in the Ethiopian context there are five different definitions of early marriage. The first is called promissory marriage, which is "an oral agreement between two families to give their children in marriage to one another before or right after the birth of the children" (Ibid). The second is child marriage arranged for girls under 10 years of age where the bride placed under the custody of in-laws. The



third is early adolescent marriage of girls between the ages of 10 and 14. The fourth is adolescent marriage when the bride is around the age of 15. The fifth marriage happens for late adolescents, girls after the age of 15 years (Ibid). In all these practices, girls are vulnerable to early pregnancy and consequently to physical and psychological difficulties.

Berihun and Aspen wrote that the concept of early pregnancy differs from the early pregnancy of the developed countries. In developed countries early pregnancy is considered an unintended pregnancy. It is normally handled by medical treatment and abortion. In Ethiopia, early marriage is a social norm and the birth of children is expected. This accepted social norm victimizes girls (Berihun and Aspen, in Ege, et al, 2009:1008). For instance, 20% of women still deliver their children without the assistance of skilled child birth attendants. That means, after 15 years of the source data, these areas are problematic for the country.

There are different models for early marriage arrangement in the Ethiopian context. Marriage has an economic aspect. It has also had political significance since its inception (Berihun and Aspen, in Ege, et al, 2009). Royal family members and other officials arranged marriage of their respective members in to strengthen affiliation and political engagement. Even during the 1990s, people practiced this kind of political marriage. The private media gossiped about its results. “This shows that the ruling elite were active practitioners of early marriage. One may also note that the current political establishment is against early marriage, but marriage bonds between families of political elites at higher echelons are also today themes of political gossips in the private news media...” (Ibid. 1003).

#### **2.1.4 Women and their participation in elections**

In Ethiopia, traditionally women are considered incapable of leadership in public life. In relation to women's “inability”, Martha Camilla Wright wrote, “Women are traditionally not actors in the public spheres and neither men nor women expect women to sit on decision making organs” (in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, eds., 2002:48). A woman's position in Ethiopia is that of a caring, kind, wise and loving mother, not a hard or dominates one (Ibid: 49, Eshetu, 1997 EC: 26-27).

In spite of the above belief, Burgess (2013) in her article “Hidden History of women's activism in Ethiopia” she wrote that Ethiopian women played great roles in the socio-economic and

political aspects of Ethiopia. In the history of Ethiopia, it was in 1931 that the first Constitution of Ethiopia was promulgated. It was amended in 1935 (<http://www.electionethiopia.org/en/ethiopian-election.html>, Meaza, 2009:41). It was only in the 1940s that women gained the right to vote and in 1955 women received the right to be elected for the parliament (*Reflections*, December 2006:130). The first female parliamentarian, Wäyezäro Seneddu Gäbru, was elected in 1957 (Ibid, P: 123). In 1965, female parliamentarians numbered two. In 1969, they numbered five but decreased in number to four in 1974 (Mentewab, cited in *Reflections*, December 2006:125).

During Hayeläsellasé's regime, women who were active participants in the public sphere were the wives of military officers, the nobility, and the princes (Burgess, 2013; Meaza, 2009). During the Derge regime (1974-1991), the roles of women differed from their predecessors. Burgess says, "Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association represented a more systematic engagement and organization of women at the grass root level than ever before. This was a large state organization, with on a paper almost 5 million members..." (2013:99-100). In addition to this, their activities changed. For instance, the country joined global organizations that concerned women's equality. "... It could be said, indeed that the Dergue regime laid down the basis for the level of attention that the issue of women's participation is getting at present" (*Reflections*, December 2006:124). For instance, Ethiopia has acceded Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1987 (Meaza, 2009:42).

The third phase of women's engagement (from 1991- to the present) in the public sphere is currently called the "intangible shift" (Burgess, 2013; Meaza, 2009; *Reflections*, December 2006:123). The role of Ethiopian women in politics was not attended to even though they were visible throughout history (Burgess, 2013; Meaza, 2009).

One of the most important provisions in the third phase is the National Policy on Women, issued in September 1993. Meaza says, "The policy outlines the major economic, social and political concerns of Ethiopian women and indicates broad strategies of intervention..." (2009:42). Article 35 of the constitution states in clear terms women's full right to participate in national development policies, especially in designing and executing projects pertaining to their interest. Implicitly, gender mainstreaming lies at the heart of the provision (Meaza, 2009: 125).

Since Ethiopia entered a new political phase, from 1991 to date, four national elections have taken place. The first national election was held in 1995. The other three elections were held at five year intervals.

Women's participation as members of House of People's Representatives during the first election, which was held in May 1995, was only at 2.75% (Wright in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, eds., 2002:48). Mentioning the 1992 (E.C) election commission report, National Action Plan (NAP, 2006:11-12) mentions that there were 42 (7.7%) female parliamentarians after the 2000 election. In the house of federation they made up 6.0%, at the Regional State Councils they made up 12.9%, at Wārāda councils 7.1%, and Qābälé Councils 13.9%.

In the same year, 161 candidates who competed for seats in the HPR, 23 in all (14.3%), were women. Of the 263 candidates running for regional council, 35 in all (13.3%), were women. 15 of the women who ran for HPR were independent candidates. Among the 36 women who ran for the regional councils, only one was an independent candidate while the others came from established parties (Wright in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, eds., 2002:48 and 52). Female party members tend to compete for lower level institutions (Mäaza, 2009: 48; *Reflections*, December 2006:123; Wright, 2002:52). Female participation in these Wārādas and Qābälés in 2005 was 8246 (22.8%) and 162,837 (20.6%) respectively (*Reflections*, October 2006:133).

**Table 2.4, Number of Women in the parliament (house of representative) in the last four elections**

Regional state	1995		2000		2005 (%)		2010 (%)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Tegray	2 (5.3)	36 (94.7)	4(10.5%)	34 (89.5%)	21.4	78.6	48	52
Afar	-	8 (100)	1(12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	7.1	92.9	9	91
Amhara	1(0.7)	137(99.3)	14(10.1%)	124(89.9%)	16.5	83.5	32	68
Oromia	3 (1.7)	174 (98.3)	13(7.3%)	165(92.7%)	13.6	86.4	29	71
Somali	-	23 (100)	-	23(100%)	-	-	4	96
Bénšangul Gumuz	-	9 (100)	-	9(100%)	17.1	82.9	11	89
SNNPR	-	123 (100)	6(4.9%)	117(95.1%)	12	88	32	68
Gambélla	-	3 (100)	-	3(100%)	0	100	35	65
Harari	-	2 (100)	-	2(100%)	9.1	90.9	36	64
Deré Dawa	-	2 (100)	-	2(100%)	13.3	86.7	26	74
AA	4(17.4)	19 (82.6)	4(17.4%)	19(82.6%)	17.7	82.4	21	79
Total	10(2%)	526(98%)	42(8%)	505(92%)	116(21%)	410(79%)	152(28%)	395(78%)

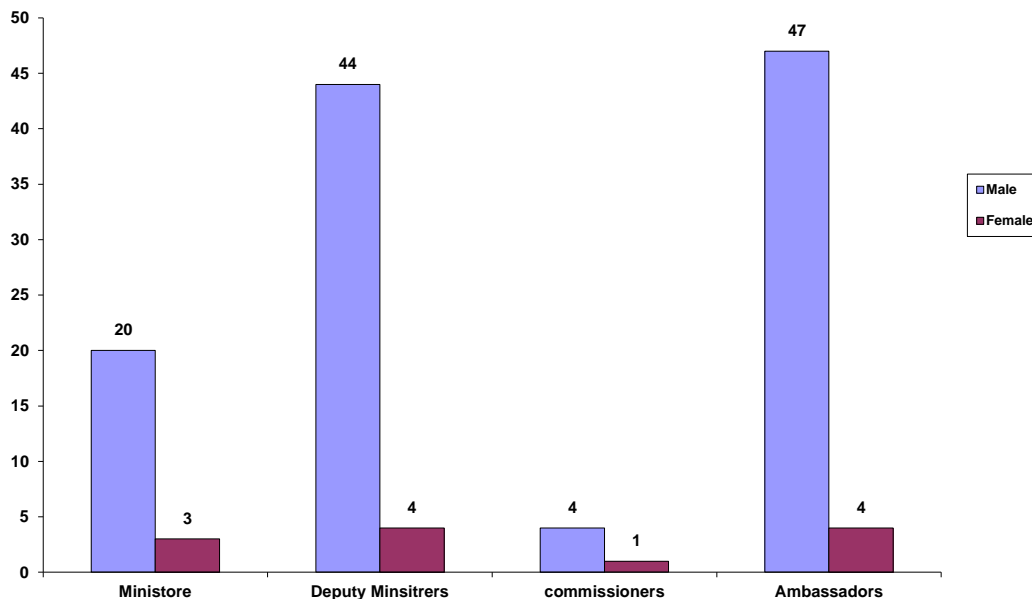
*Sources*, Ešättu Debabu (2006), p. 141; Ministry of Federal Affairs & German Technical Cooperation, May 5-7, 2003:192, Mäaza, 2009:55; *Reflections*, Number 14, December 2006:133.

Women's engagement at the executive level is very low (Mäaza 2009:46). During the third election in 2005, the population of female parliamentarians reached 21.2% and in 2010, their representation in the parliament reached 27.8% (152 women). They still remain under the benchmark set to increase female participation in the parliament (30% and 40-50% at regional state level) (Mäaza, 2009). The following table shows the number of male and female representatives in different regional councils.

As reported by National Electoral Board of Ethiopia for the fourth Election for the house of people's representative, 1916 (87.6%) were male and 272 (12.4%) female. During the same time for State councils, 4021 (84.7%) males, and 725 (15.3%) females were elected.

In the year 2010, women's involvement shows progress. Accordingly, 16.9% of the judges were females. At the Federal level, the number of female lawyers was 27.58%.

**Figure 2.1, women & men at decision-making position in state offices**



*Source: personal communication with W/ro Täsfayeneš eLemma, Women and Youth Mainstreaming directorate Directress (February, 2012).*

The above figure shows the number of females and males in the higher positions (ministers, deputy ministers, commissioners, and ambassadors) in the year 2010.

## 2.2 A Brief History of Ethiopian Newspapers

### 2.2.1 The Role of media

Newspapers have drawbacks in the Ethiopian context but are still very significant. Even though African Media Initiative says data is not available (2006), Meseret (2013:238) and Negussie (2006:29) indicated the population of readerships in certain areas. According to them, the population of newspaper readers comes from urban areas and they represent 17 percent of the total population of the country. This figure is still less than 2 per every 1000, which is the minimum standard set by UNESCO' (Negussie, 2006). Skjerdal (2009:25) found that "... The government newspapers are the largest in terms of circulation, but their distribution in the country as a whole is small. For example, only 1 per cent of the 77 million people read newspapers on a regular basis..." Skjerdal clearly considers regular newspaper readers. Røe and Aadland (1999) wrote the readership to newspaper ration is one in one thousand. BBC World Media Trust (2006) reported that the majority of Ethiopian populations do not listen to radio. The low degree of listening directly relates to the degree of access to mass media. In relation to this late W/ro Alemseged Hiruy (*Reflections: 2007*) wrote that most women do not have access to media.

In Ethiopia, in spite of the very low literacy rate, newspapers serve significant roles. Newspapers contribute to exposing the wrongdoings and the positive contributions of the government (Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009:46). According to Feqade, newspapers and magazines address the socio-economic activities of a society (1988:11).

Gebre-medhin (1993 E.C: 4) in his survey of the history of *Addis Zemen*, described the contributions of the newspaper. First, it contributed to the development of journalism in Ethiopia. Second it built awareness in the public sphere about the importance of information. It increased readership in Ethiopia (Alämayähu, 2003 EC: 7). These points, even though they are attributed to *Addis Zemen* in particular, highlight the role of newspapers in serving the public, in increasing

readership and in reflecting social life. They further show how newspapers develop in terms of quantity and diversity.

Balsvik, in her “Quest for expression”, conducted research on the Hayeläsellasé I university students’ movement. She underlined media as essential, especially during times of change (2005). Most people look for a forum to appreciate other’s views and experiences. Readers learn from the media.

### 2.2.2 The beginning

Though some of the literature is disputed, researchers largely agree that information dissemination amongst the elite with newspapers began at the end of the nineteenth century (Meseret, 2013; Røe and Aadland, 1999; Skjerdal, 2012). Some scholars argue that the first Ethiopian newspaper was a handwritten sheet prepared by Belatta Gäbrä Egziabhér Gilla Mariam (Balsvik and Pankhurst, in Uhlig, in cooperation with Bausi, 2010: 205; Berhanu, 2002:67). Feqade (1988:41) also wrote “... it was the hand written Amharic weekly produced by Belatta Gäbrä Egziabehér, which could be referred to as the first Amharic newspaper....” This newspaper paper does not have a title (Meseret, 2013:11-12).

The other newspaper presented as the first is “*la Semaine d’Ethiopie* (1880s) later become *le Semeur d’ethiopia*” (Røe and Aadland, 1999:8; Skjerdal, 2012:9). It was published in French and Amharic.

The third named first newspaper, which is not mentioned by many other scholars except Meseret (2013) and Tädbabä, is known as “Yäbeer Demş” (voice of pen).

Before the introduction of the modern printing press into the government system, Emperor Menelik had a penman named Desta Meteké. Each month Journalist Desta as he was then addressed by the public wrote by hand articles of exaltation in Amharic about Emperor Menelik and Empress Taitu, and made carbon copies to be distributed among the nobility. A few copies of these exaltation sheets were circulated in and around the palace as of 1896 under the title “*YeBeir Dimts*” (The voice of pen). These sheets were referred to as newspapers just because they were written on a newspaper size sheet. (Meseret, 2013:11).

Meseret continues, “Such sheets were at best newsletters rather than newspapers. Yet the producers of such sheets were thought of as journalisms and bestowed high esteem by the nobility and the society at large (Ibid, 14)”. Similarly, citing Taffässä, Tädbabä (1990 E. C: 10)

wrote that it was in 1896 that the first newspaper in Ethiopia was introduced. “One of the first newspapers which is claimed to be the first is *Yäbeer Demeş* (the Voice of the pen), which was distributed among government officials. Dästa (whose second name is not mentioned) was preparing the paper” (Ibid).

The fourth newspaper was called *Aemero*. Røe and Aadland (1999:8), write that this paper is the first Amharic newspaper. It was established during the emperor Menelik II. “The first Amharic newspaper was issued in 1895, a four page weekly newspaper named *Aemero*”.

As stated above, Meseret (2013) and Tädbabä (1990 EC) say that the first newspaper in Ethiopia is *Yäbe'er Demeş*, “The *Voice of Pen*” while others believe Gebreegziabher's untitled sheet is the first. Researchers have only recently discovered “Voice of Pen”. This debate has ended, with the general acceptance that *Yäbeer Demş* (Voice of Pen) is the first newspaper in Ethiopia. Further investigation would find more precise data.

A fifth argument points out existence of another endeavour in the production of printed newspaper. According to Gebremedhin (2001:11), the first newspaper was called *Goh* (Dawn). In another co-edited book entitled (*Yägazétännät Ha hu*) “The ABC of Journalism”) (Haduš and Seménäh, eds.; 1996 EC: 1) the authors reflect a similar idea. They write “... Even though, there is no evidence, it is not well known when and who wrote it, it is stated that the first Ethiopian newspaper is called '*Goh*'”. But no written document is provided as evidence regarding *Goh*. These five views disagree about the first published Ethiopian newspaper; *Yäbeer Demş*, *Le Semein de'Ethiopie*, *Aaemro*, the *untitled Sheet* and *Goh*. Skjerdal (2012) recognizes only three of these arguments. He does not include *Goh* and *Yäbeer Demş*. Later, published newspapers were founded. Researchers mostly disagree about this, too. Although generally, scholars agree that published newspapers exist, confusion and controversy persists about dates and newspaper names.

According to the first view, “*Le Semeur d'Ethipie*” is a newspaper, which is mentioned as a potential first newspaper. It was printed in the 1880s or 1890s in Ethiopia (Balsvik and Pankhurst, in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, ed. 2010:205, Røe and Aadland, 1999:8; Skjerdal, 2012). This newspaper “was religious in French but occasionally it carries news in Amharic” (Randi and Pankhurst in Uhlig, 2010). Similarly, Shimelles (2000:6-7), referring to the works of

Denneqe (1989) and Pankhurst (1962), wrote that in 1893, Aba Bernard, a Franciscan Missionary, published (French/Amharic newspaper) a weekly bilingual using a duplication machine (Roneograph). It was published to create public awareness about Leprosy.

The second view, believed for decades, was that *Aaemro* was the first newspaper, both as a handwritten and a printed form. Birhanu (2009), Feqade (1988 and 1997 in Fukui, Kurmoto and Shigeta), Gebremedhen (1993 EC) and Shimelles (2000 & in Bahru and Pauswang, 2002), agree that *Aemero (Intellect)* was the first printed Amharic newspaper.

Gebremedihin (1993 EC: 11) contends that there are two reasons why the newspapers before *Aemero* should not be considered local media. First, he argues that the Ethiopians did not prepare them. *Aemero* was prepared in *Amharic* and edited by local editor. Second, they were not prepared for the consumption of local readers because very few Ethiopians were literate. Gebremedhin's argument is based on the knowledge that excludes the existence of *Yäbeer Demş* whose editor was an Ethiopian. However, I would argue that readership cannot be a criterion of whether a given newspaper is meant for local consumption. If the size of readership gauges the power of the local media, media in present day Ethiopia would be very weak (see below, see also, 2.2.1 above).

In spite of the controversy, the general tendency is to consider *Aemero* as the first formal newspaper (Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010:205; Negussie, 2006:7, Meseret, 2013). Nevertheless, as indicated earlier, there is still disagreement between the writers regarding the time it was started. Some say *Aemero* started in 1902 (Fekade, 1988, Shimelles 2000, Gebremedihin 1993 EC). Tädbabä (1990 EC: 10) does not agree with this conclusion. He interviewed the son of La Cavadie, who was the editor of *Aemero*. According to the information he obtained, *Aemero* was established on January 17, 1901. After circulation, *Aemero* was interrupted again in 1903 until it returned in its modern form in 1914 (Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig, 2010, Røe and Aadland, 1999). It existed until 1926. Historical coincidence makes *Aemero* one of the oldest newspapers in a local language in Africa.

Meseret (2013) says these newspapers were addressed to the royalty. Consequently, the newspapers were under close supervision and control of the state.



### 2.2.3 Pre and post 1991, travel of Newspapers

#### Pre 1991

The Ethiopian newspaper developments before the 1993 press law can be divided into four phases (Birhanu, 2009).

Phase 1: The first stage is taken to be the pre-Ethio-Italian war (1935-1940). According to Tădbabă cited in Shimellis (2000), the number of newspapers and magazines before the Ethio-Italian War was 15. "Between 1912 and 1915 weekly newspapers like *Mălakătă Sălame*, *Yător Wăré* wore (war news) and many others emerged" (Rœ and Aadland, 1999:8). This number, compared to the literacy rate at the time, was large. This shows the historical importance of newspapers. Without a duplication machine, a very negligible size of readership and professional skill, the print media continued to serve society. This can be associated with the history of the art of writing in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's alphabet is known as Ethiopic.

Phase 2: During the war (1936-1941), there were three kinds of newspapers (Meseret, 2013; Birhanu, 2009). The first newspapers were those published by the then Italian government in Ethiopia. The second kind consisted of those published underground by Ethiopian patriots. These newspapers had anti-Italian positions. The important well-known newspapers were *Aemiro*, *Berhannena Selam*, *L'Ethiopia Commerciale*, *Yetor Wore*, (war news), *Goha Tsebah* (Dawn), *Yeatbia Kokeb*, and *Kesate Berhan lelibbe berhan*.

The third kind of newspapers was those published by the diasporic Ethiopians and Pro-Ethiopian Europeans publications. *New Times* and *Ethiopian News* were classified in this group. Sylvia Pankhurst, the first female editor of an Ethiopian newspaper, edited both these. Pankhurst is a British woman who struggled for the rights of Ethiopian women. Her contribution was a landmark in the history of Ethiopian media for women. Many women contributed by participating in the polemics (Meseret, 2013, Bahru, 2005:33 and 137).

Phase 3: During the reign of Emperor Hayelă Selaassé I, particularly from 1940-1974, the number of the newspapers and magazines increased in quantity and quality. There were 27 newspapers and magazines (Meseret, 2013, Shimellis, 2000: Appendix One and Two). Throughout this period of the Emperor, all newspapers were under the control of the government (Tădbabă, 1990 EC; Shimellis, 2000 and Shimellis in Bahru and Pausewaing, eds., 2002,

Meseret, 2013). The first printing press, called Berhannenna Sälam was established at this time (Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010:205; Gétačhāw, May 1984, Fekade, in Fuku, 1997; Meseret, 2013; Skjerdal, 2012). Moreover, modern education expanded. As a result, various newspapers published in Amharic and in various foreign languages (English, Arabic, Italian and French).

Phase 4: At the initial stage of the revolution in 1974 and in the first years of the military regime, the number of newspapers flourished but died quickly (Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010:206). Accordingly, from the Year 1974 to the Year 1991, there were more than ten newspapers and a women's magazine entitled *Addis Heywät* (New Life). The then Ethiopian Workers' Party had its own newspaper known as *Sārto Addär* "Worker", newspaper and "Mäskäräm" magazine (Røe and Aadland, 1999). "All Ethiopian Youth Association" also had its own journal called *Yä-Yäkatit Chibo*, the meaning of which is "Torch of *Yäkatit*<sup>2</sup>". Political organizations owned these Amharic publications.

#### **Post 1991: The Road to Diversity**

The new history of Ethiopian press starts from 1991 (Birhanu, 2009; Meseret, 2013, Shimellis, 2002, Berger, 2007 and Skjerdal 2012; Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009; Røe and Aadland, 1999). EPRDF replaced the Marxist Dergue regime. A number of press products flourished. At the demise of the Dergue Regime, the new press law was introduced (Ethiopian Press Law, Negarit Gazetta, Proclamation No. 34/1992) and the Constitution was ratified in 1995. Doing away with prepublication censorship helped mushroom newspapers (Proclamation No 1/1995: article 29/3(a)). "Following the proclamation of the Ethiopian press law on October 21/1992 many private and party newspapers began to appear" (Røe and Aadland, 1999:8).

In 2003, the government introduced a draft of a press law to counter criticisms (Ross, 2010:1048). In 2008, the mass media and freedom of information Proclamation No. 590/2008 passed (Ibid, 1049).

Berger (2007:27) says "Article 29 of the 1994 constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia guarantees right of thought, opinion and freedom of expression (...)". Article 29 of this

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<sup>2</sup> "Yäkatit" is February and the 1974 revolution was erupted in this month.

contribution ensures the freedom of expression (Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig, 2010:206; Shimellis, 2000 and in Bahru and Pausewang, 2002; Røe and Aadland, 1999; Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009; Tädbabä, 1990 EC, Ross, 2010).

### **Publications in quantity**

In 1984 E.C, there were 3 newspapers, in 1985 E.C, there were 29, in 1986 E.C there were 64 newspapers and magazines, and in 1990 E.C, there were 62 newspapers and 3 magazines (Tädbabä, 1990 E.C; see figure 2.3). The number of newspapers and magazines increases from time to time. At present, the number of magazines is higher than the number of newspapers (see table, 2.5, P. 36).

Skjerdal wrote that Ethiopia leads in the print media industry with more than 40 newspapers in East Africa (2009:177). The 1991 change in power brought massive change to Ethiopian print media as well (Røe and Aadland, 1999; Meseret, 2013, Skjerdal and Halleluja, 2009, and Skjerdal, 2012).

Following the press law, subsequently, an incredibly large number of licenses were issued to private newspapers publishers. Quoting Aadland and Røe (2008) Skjerdal states that there were more than 265 newspapers and 120 magazines licensed by the then Ministry of Information (2012:18). “About 200 newspapers and 87 magazines came into existence in the market for five years, (1992-1997)” (Shimellis, 2002:186-187). In fact, this figure is different from what Skjerdal and Hallelujah (2009) presented. By referring to Shimellis and Ministry of Information, they stated that 385 publications (265 newspapers and 120 magazines) were registered between October 1992 and July 2005 (2009:49).

According to Negussié (2006:33), since the proclamation of the press law in 1992, “More than 630 newspapers and 130 magazines had taken press licenses, from which 401 newspapers and 130 magazines were published, and circulated in the period after the press proclamation....” Nevertheless, not all of them were on the market at the same time.

Between October 1992 and July 1997, about 385 publications were registered (265 newspapers and 120 magazines). Out of this figure, more than half of the total number of papers closed down in the same five-year period (Røe and Aadland, 1999:9). In the year 1998/1999 (from July 1,

1990 E.C to June 30, 1991 EC), there were 125 newspapers and 23 magazines (Report on the press number from July 1990 E.C to June 1991 E.C, page: 1, unpublished). Out of the total figure, four were state-owned newspapers: *Addis Zemen*, the *Ethiopian Herald*, *Bärrissa* and *Al Aläm*. The number of newspapers appeared inconsistently from the years 2000-2002, ranging from 34 newspapers to 80 magazines and from 63 newspapers to 16 magazines (Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority, 2014; Maerägu, 1995 E.C: 274; MoI, 1993 E.C). Røe and Aadland (1999) have attached the list of periodicals in the country in their report, "*An Assessment Study on Media Educational Involvement in Ethiopia*": 129 newspapers and 42 magazines (See Appendix Seven). The figure grew during the pre-election periods (1999 & 2004) and dropped after the election (2001 & 2006) (see Figure 2.2, P. 36).

In 1996 EC (2003/2004), the number of newspapers on the market, was 95. The number of newspapers that focused on socio-economic issues was 53, (14 religion, 10 sport, 5 love and sex, three culture and art, 8 business and advertisement and 1 children's newspaper which was published every fortnight) (Seménäh, 1996 EC: 108-109).

Print media published between 2001 and 2004 numbered at 226. The number of the newspapers printed at a time ranges on the average from 35 to 40. However, since 2005, this number has grown to 256 newspapers and magazines (EBA, 2014). The number of publications varies and lacks consistency.

From all this inconsistent information two questions may be raised, 1) why are the numbers of printed magazines and newspapers inconsistent? 2) why do researchers contradict each other in these statistics?.

In some countries such as Ethiopia, renew newspapers licenses annually following paying of a renewal fee. Newspapers are required to pay a license fee and they are also often called in front of the court, which entails more fees.

Licensing is contingent on profit solvency, which requires all current and prospective newspapers to maintaining a bank balance of Br 10,000 (USD 1,250) as collateral against any offences their journalists might commit. Publications that fail to prove solvency at the start of every year or whenever requested to do so by the ministry of information and culture, lose their license... (World Bank Institute, 2002::9). Private media owners get licenses but not all of them

work. Either they return their licenses or they do not print consistently. The press law financial issues, poor market study or poor professional preparedness results in inconsistent newspapers (Røe and Aadland, 1999, Skjerdal, 2012). Consequently, the number varies because some publications are interrupted and unable to market their newspapers (*Report on press in April 2001:19*, unpublished). This causes inconsistent data.

Scholars get confused because there is no digitized data source. Each writer presents his/her findings based on the limited restricted data they come across. There is no centralized institution that handles figure differences. In 2004, the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority was established and mandated to organize all data. They monitor the media outlets and issue licenses. Each source also presents the data within the limited context. Definitions of “newspapers” and “magazines” may be different in different studies. Do they refer to the private and government owned ones, or all the publications regardless of ownership? Different institutions, like construction institutions, political parties and religious organizations, published their own magazines and newspapers (Røe and Aadland, 1999). Scholars also use written data sources, which are fragmentary and unproven. Scholarship sometimes might ignore the flux of publications due to various reasons, such as imprisonment or financial crises. This inconsistency continued until 2004 when Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) was established. This institute monitors and documents all activities in relation to media in the country (Skjerdal, 2012).

According to the information obtained through EBA, until January 2014, the number of print media is 16 newspapers and 19 magazines. Starting from 2009-2014, the Authority gave license to 94 newspapers and 169 magazines, totaling 263. Love and sex periodicals do not exist now while children’s newspapers and magazines have increased to 8 (5 newspapers and 3 magazines) (EBA, February 28, 2014).

### **Fluctuation**

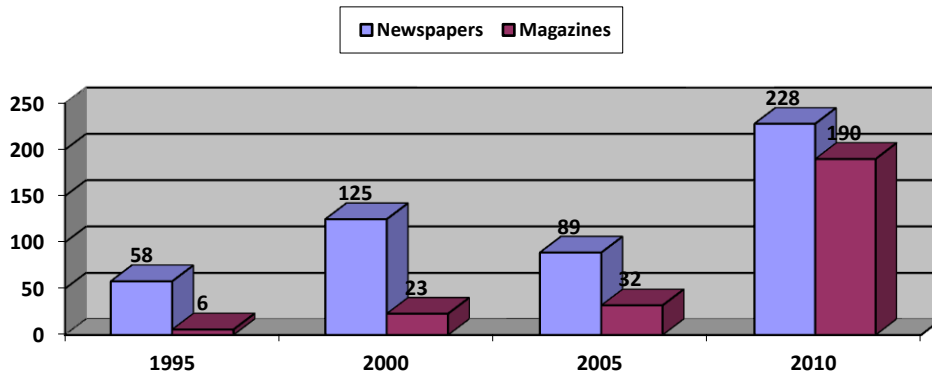
Skjerdal studied the ups and downs of media after 1991. He came up with seven categories.

... I will divide the period 1991-2012 into different phases, each of which is characterized by a major trend. The period begins with liberalization (1991-92) and proliferation of new media outlets (1992-96); turning into a phase of government clampdowns (1996-2000); followed by consolidation and renewed diversity (2000-05); then abruptly changing direction to post-election setbacks

(2005-07), succeeded by an interlude of revitalization (2007-10); before once again being affected by a wave of coercion (2010-12) (Skjerdal 2012:17)

The contents of these publications are categorized into 30 classifications (EBA, 2013). “Politics”, “economy” and “social” take the lion’s share. They account for 71 periodicals followed by culture and art. In the year 1999, during the eve of the second national election, magazines and newspapers numbered at 148.

**Figure 2.2, Newspapers and magazines during election times**



After a year, in 2001 (April, 1993 E.C), the figures dropped to 86. Figure 2.2 above shows the number of newspapers and magazines during the election years. As the following table shows, at present, the number of periodicals in the country is 58.

**Table 2:5 Numbers of periodicals in 2014**

Number of periodicals					
Federal		States		Privates	
<i>Newspapers</i>	4	<i>Newspapers</i>	9	<i>Newspapers</i>	16
Magazines	1	Magazines	9	Magazines	19
Total	5	Total	18	Total	35

*Source: Ethiopia Broadcast Authority, January 2014*

The figures grew again in 2004 (1996 E.C), again on the verge of 2005 election. During this time, there were a total of 121 newspapers and magazines.

**Table 2.6 Publications registered to be distributed more than one State**

Status	Newspaper	Magazines	Total
On market	25	31	56
Those who did not start work	22	57	79
Those who are on their way to begin publications	10	15	25
Those who disappeared from the market	33	33	66
Total	90	136	226

*Source: Mass Media Journal of Ethiopian Broadcast Authority, June 2012.*

The table shows that 226 newspapers and magazines are registered in 2012. However, the number of issues is less than those who did actually start up. In other words, the number of publications that came on an inconsistent manner and terminated is higher than the consistent newspapers.

## 2.3 Challenges in the media professionals

### 2.3.1 Categories of the press

Ethiopian print media has two categories, generally known as privately owned and state-owned. This trend has been common to broadcast media since FM radio stations served their public. The first group, which is the private category, was known by various names, such as, “independent”, “free press”, “private”, and “opposition media”. These terms were usually used interchangeably without considering their differences (Hallelujah, 2008; Shimellis, 2000; Balsvik and Pankhurst in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010, Skjerdal and Halleluja, 2009). Quoting Kasoma, Skjerdal and Hallelujah described private newspapers as “the press must be clearly alienated from any type of governmental, political or economic control or from material or infrastructure control” (2009:47). According to this description, any type of state-run or party-affiliated press should not be considered an “independent” private media.

The polarization of newspapers into state and private manifests certain presuppositions. Tädabä wrote *Addis Zemen* (state owned newspaper) was a forum to belittle and negatively portray private newspapers (1990 EC: 52). Polarization also relates to the economic source of the newspapers. The presumption is that the private newspapers are supported by different local and international NGOs. Their contents cannot be free from the influence of their supporters.

However, leads us to question the how independent government-owned media is. In relation to this, Skjerdal and Hallelujah wrote, “This invites us, of course, to a critical scrutiny of the term “independent”, because independence from the government or political parties may not necessarily imply that a newspaper is independent from all types of political interests and/or affiliation....” (2009:47).

Within this frame of reference, the private media can be classified into three different categories. 1) Private media can oppose the government. 2) Private media can be pro- government either through political affiliation or slant. 3) Private media can be critical of both the government and opposition parties. Two newspapers are known for this neutrality. “In the year 2007 two newspapers particularly, *Addis Nägär* and *Addis Admass*, were challenging both the government and the opposition (Skejrdal, 2012:27). *Addis Neger* is out of the market while *Addis Admass* still exists. Different situations aggravate the differences between the private and the state newspapers. “One of the causes for this polarization is the absence of a dialogue tradition among adversaries” (Røe and Aadland, 1999:6). At the same time, the Press proclamation of no 34/1992 was “means of restricting those rights of private media and consequently, the citizens of Ethiopia” (Ross, 2010:1048). It was criticized for causing most newspapers to drop out of market because they suffered various legal interventions.

### **2.3.2 Attributed challenges of the press**

The number of periodicals that appeared on the market varies from time to time (See Appendix Seven). Multiple things cause this. Most privately-owned newspapers were short lived because of various factors. They may have started without adequate research on the type, language, frequency, and the market needs assessment in order to be the most viable press in the market. They may have had inadequate finance, a lack of skilled manpower and incompetent leadership (these last two points can happen for government-owned newspapers, too). They may have lacked an adequate feasibility study before getting into the business. These and other factors contributed to the discontinuity of the newspapers in the market (Negeri, in Fekede, Eba and HL, 2013, Negussie, 2006: 32; Røe and Aadland, 1999; Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009).



### **Market orientation and hidden agendas**

The then Ministry of Information attributed two things to the decline of the private press. First, newspapers tend to aspire to profit-making in an illegal manner ((MoI, Feb. 2004, Negeri in Fekadu, Eba and HL, 2013). Most presses were accused of working outside of the press law and the constitution. The government bans these newspapers.

Second, according to the same ministry, hidden political agendas pushed these private presses. The private press lacked balanced coverage and created confounding stories, which contributed to their failure (MoI, Feb. 2004:46).

Only four private newspapers and some religious newspapers have been published consistently since licensed. *Addis Admass* is one of the private newspapers that has survived to date (Ethiopian Broadcast Authority, 2013).

### **Legal restrictions**

Balsvik and Pankhurst wrote that the number of the newspapers drop due to government policy (in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010:206, Ross, 2010). Tädbabä (1990 EC) has mentioned that most of the professional limitations in private media occurred because of the limitation of the Press Law. It has created various restrictions and impositions that inhibit newspapers from their proper roles. Balsvik and Pankhurst also hold similar view (in Uhlig in cooperation with Bausi, 2010). The parameters that rate the professional quality of the press are external factors that affect its function. Private media needs more convenient press laws and a high literacy rate. Governments interfere with the publication of periodicals by requiring registrations and deposits (World Bank, Institute, 2002).

### **Self Censorship**

Self censorship is another crippling problem in Ethiopian media professionalism. This is particularly a problem for State-owned media. Skjerdal (2012) in his dissertation discusses how journalists still think they will be accused or questioned by their editors if they write something sensitive. Even if the topic they intended to cover is not sensitive, even if it does not provoke the government, they avoid these issues. Ethiopian journalists work within different contexts. Negeri (in Fekadu, Eba and HL, 2013:131) writes:

... The major consequences they mentioned include: editors reject stories critical of the government; journalists with strong position to balance their stories would be accused of having conspired with the opposition; media managers issue formal and informal warning in connection to national security, public safety, peace, order, and threaten journalists with possibility of losing job and facing detention. They also stated that fear of facing the consequences force journalists to strictly practice self-censorship and overlook investigative reporting.

In spite of this, private media is supposed to help the public get critical information.

## **2.4 Research tradition in gender and media**

The Norwegian scholar, Skjerdal, has become well-known for his extensive researches in Ethiopian media (2013, 2012, 2010 and 2009). The Ethiopian scholar, media-maker (English Radio Service) and American, the late Meseret Chekol, (2013) published seminal texts on this topic. The work of Negeri (in Fekadu, Mijena and HL, 2013) a staff member at the School of Journalism and Communication, AAU specifically works in the area of development journalism. Mesfin Awoke has conducted research specifically on *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* newspapers applying Critical Discourse Analysis as theory and method (2006). Shimellis, (2000), Røe and Aadland, (1999) worked a bit earlier than the aforementioned researchers in the 1990s. In addition to these publications in books and in different journals, graduates from the School of Journalism and Communication of AAU have written dissertations on various related topics.

Skjerdal (2012:17) says that journalism education has grown with the establishment of the Graduate School of Journalism and Communications in 2004. "Addis Ababa University is the first and the only journalism school having MA program in the region." It also "has a separate research unit and is geared towards developing collaborative efforts for the wider region" (Skjerdal, 2009:180). This research unit no longer exists. This school has the highest standard in the Eastern Region of Africa. Currently journalism education is widespread in Ethiopian universities. The opening of school of journalism and communication in Addis Ababa University created fertile ground to conduct research in media-related fields. Some scholarship indicates that the research tradition of media studies in Africa in general (Tomasseli, 2009) and in gender and media (Gadzekpo, 2009) is a recent phenomenon. With the opening of the graduate school, graduates can frame their research with gender and media disciplines. Issues of media and women were raised during the fourth international conference of women held at Beijing in 1995.

It was forwarded as critical issue and included in the action platform (Anfred, et al., eds.; 2004:82). The baselines for the action platform were as follows: 1) poor status of women in decision-making positions in the media, 2) continued stereotypical media portrayal of women, with increased violent and pornographic images of women, 3) lack of gender sensitivity in media policies and programs, 5) poor access to media and ICTs for, 6) poor participation of women in media and ICTs 7) increased consumerism and its attendant drive to objectify women (Gadzekpo, 2009:72). In fact, these reflections are general and include different countries in the world. Even though they are general images of the world, most of the points are also true to the Ethiopian context. Therefore, these concern areas of the UN formulate the research agendas for multiple people.

#### **2.4.1 Contributions and limitations of the researches**

##### **2.4.1.1 Contribution**

The researches have contributed to the identification of some major problems in Ethiopian media and media professionalism. They indicate theoretical approaches such as the social constructionist approach to media research. Consequently, researchers can introduce new paradigms that differ from a traditionalist look at media practices. For instance, researchers have determined that audiences vary. Selamawit (2010) (even though her framework is a postmodernist approach) explains that media viewers interpret messages through their lived experiences. That is, media messages may not receive and interpret messages as the writers intend. In other words, the author's intentions do not correspond to the reader's interpretation. Even though the media issues information, audiences may refuse it.

...Although the interpretation and reaction of a few female viewers is influenced by hegemonic culture, most of the female viewers have negative reaction on the most characters' representation. This shows that ETV is creating "cultural clash" with the reality. The finding also indicates that ETV keeps representing women in a negative way despite image of women is improved because of the efforts of different relevant bodies, such as government, non-government, academic as well as international organization (Selamawit, 2013:91).

Like Selamawit, other researchers have pointed out a mismatch between encoders and decoders (Gubaé, 2009:60). Audiences interpret things their own ways. Consequently, they may understand the message the way the writer intended or they may interpret the message in a

different way or they may not fully understand it. Biset's research (2007) conducted on the audience in Amhara State radio Station, says "Thus from the data, one can learn that there is communication gap between the encoder and decoders in that most decoders interpret preferred meanings based on their own cultural understanding" (2007:3). For instance, the audience held different views on early marriage. Some agreed early marriage is under age 15 while some understand early marriage as under 18. These views recall the research of Berihun and Aspen (in Ege, et al, 2009). The research concludes that elders resist change and new ideas.

Understanding messages are incompatible with the audience behavioral change. Consequently, even if the media showed negative aspects of early marriage, people would still practice it. This shows how deep-rooted early marriage is as a tradition in the country. Biset mentions that Ethiopia is one of the countries where early marriage is practiced very widely (2007:13). A number of graduates of universities, mostly from School of Journalism and from Centre of Gender Studies, both under Addis Ababa University, have conducted research on representations of women and gender by the media. Some of their findings indicate that the representation of gender issues is not as culture friendly as previously thought. In other words, the messages contradict the culture (Gubaé, 2009, Rahel, 2010). This attempt shows researchers trying to examine the media critically.

#### **2.4.1.2 Limitations**

##### *Lack of localized framework*

Quoting Domatob (1988:151) Ndlela says, "Sub Saharan Africa's media training, policies, technology, news values, language, and advertising heavily favor the new-colonial status quo" (2009:62). An indigenously sharpened lens is important. There are no strong frameworks that fit the situations of media culture in the local Ethiopian context. The majority of research judges the local situation by employing the Western theories. They do not determine the media's distinctive features. In other words, European theories can misunderstand local empirical data. Not all research assesses the media's unique approaches.

The only attempt to develop a theory model in the local context is Skjerdal (2012:229-247) in his chapter "Towards a model of competing loyalties". In his conclusion he states:

When it comes to expressions of loyalty, the study concludes that the researched journalists, by and large, sustain a twofold loyalty to the professions and to the nation, whereas potentially third loyalty to the government is observed as broken. Ultimately, the research contests an accepted approach within journalism studies which maintains that practitioners uphold professionalism by performing a shift between professional and national loyalties on certain occasions. On the basis of the empirical findings, the research proposes an alternative model which acknowledges that journalists multiple commitments simultaneously, and that they cannot readily put a profound commitment aside, even if momentarily. Thus, as an alternative to the shifting loyalties model, the research arrives at a proposed model of *competing loyalties* (Ibid, 247).

In the abovementioned dissertation, the main finding shows a conflict between loyalty to profession and to personal identity. Journalists practice their profession under different impositions. Consequently, because they fear the consequences, journalists do not practice investigative journalism (Negeri, in Fekadu, Eba and HL, 2013)

*Not critical to the previous works*

Most of the research focuses on contemporary works only. In other words, researchers do not often explore what has been previously addressed. No comparison between past and present is conducted. For instance, a research conducted in 2006 (Seble, 2006) on *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* newspaper never mentions the research conducted in 2005 (Nardos, 2005). Furthermore, I have come across research on the history of newspapers, conducted in 1996, did not acknowledge research conducted in 1990. A study conducted in 2001 did not acknowledge the previous research conducted a bit earlier on the same issue. In general, most research is fragmented and lack longitudinal data. Earlier journeys of the Ethiopian media are totally ignored.

Because of this, it is not possible to obtain consistent information on some issues. If we ask which newspaper was the first women's media in Ethiopia, no consistent and complete information could be discovered. For instance, "Qalkidan" is presented as the first women's media in Ethiopia (Gubae, 2009:2). On the other hand, Women's life (Yäsétoč Heyewät) during the Derge regime is one of the earlier women's magazines. "Genet," a magazine of the transition period (Røe and Aadland, 1999) was prepared by and for women. Fragmented data does not allow us to develop media trends and frameworks in the local context. In this regard, my project will contribute by introducing these trends. At the very least, I have filed the historical facts.

*Missing events and history*

**Women's demonstration against the private media**

Most research misses important events in relation to women and media or gender and media from history. For instance, the women's demonstration of 1994 (as reported by *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 53, No 623 and 628, August 1993) was not touched by any researchers. Women went out for the demonstration because some magazines such as *Aphrodite* carried pornographic content that embarrassed mothers. The demonstrations claimed that pornography weakened existing social norms that youth were expected to respect. This seems to have a ground in the Constitution. Berger explains:

According to the constitution, Article 29, clause 6, 'The rights can be limited only through the laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression on information cannot be limited on account of the conflict or effect of the point of view expressed. Legal limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law (2007:27-28)

The freedom of the press created fertile conditions for the tremendous growth of private publications. Consequently, with this positive progress, society experienced unexpected messages and images that went against the norm (Gennet, 2014:144).

*On commencement of the private press*

Some believe that private media grew after 1991 when the EPRDF overthrew the Dergue regime. Others believe the opposite.

Most researchers argue that *Eyitta-* (Observation), established in May 1992 (Shimellis, 2000, Negussie, 2006, Hallélujah, 2008, Skjerdal, 2012), was the first private newspaper in Ethiopia.

However, the history of private media goes back to the mid-twentieth century. *Berhannenna Sälam*, meaning, "Light and Peace," was the private property of Prince Ras "Täfäri Mäkonnen", and later Emperor Hayeläsellasé (Bahru, 2002; Meseret, 2013:34). Pankhurst stated that this newspaper was a semi-official newspaper (1962). Negussé (2006:31) wrote that the first private newspaper was *The Voice of Ethiopia* (Yä Ithiop'ya Demş) published by the National Patriotic Association which circulated from the mid 1950s to the early 1960s. "Yeiteyopia Demş" (Voice of Ethiopia) and *Mänän* are said to be private print media in Ethiopia.

In 1955 on the occasion of the silver Jubilee anniversary of Emperor Haile Sellasie's coronation, a newspaper titled *Yeiteyopia Demeş*, voice of Ethiopia was launched with Percy Richards as editor. It was the first issued as a twin-language weekly in Amharic and English. A few years later, it was elevated to a daily status with separate Amharic and English editions under the editorship of Berhanu Zerihun and Yaqob Wolde Mariam respectively. *Demeş* was a tabloid both in format and content. The Amharic edition was particularly popular under the deputy editorship of Paolos Gnogno.... Thus, the newspaper was given a private status... (Meseret, 2013:103).

The other Oromiffa newspaper, known as *Bärrissa*, (*Morning Newspaper*), was a private newspaper established in 1974 (Tädbabä, 1990EC:21). Even though Tädbabä included *Barrissa* in the history of private media in Ethiopia, he gets the year wrong. I interviewed Ibrahim Haji Ali, the sport editor of Fana Broadcasting Authority, who said differently.

The first edition of *Berraisa* was published on September 12, 1975 when King Hailie Sellasie was thrown away from his throne. The newspaper was sold on that day. It had six pages and was coming on Thursday as of that day. The editor in chief was Mr. Mehammed Hamid, who is at present residing in the United States of America. I was one of the staff members under the editorship of Mr Mehammed and I was working as proof reader, editor and also reporter. In February 1977, the Dergue regime has confiscated the newspaper and its size was changed from tabloid to broadsheet (Telephone interview, April 8, 2014).

However, a year after, in February, 1977, the Dergue regime confiscated *Barrissa* because the regime forbade any private media. *Barrissa* was tabloid and had 6 pages and was run by group of volunteers. This weekly newspaper is now under the state-owned institution known as the Ethiopian Press Agency with the circulation of 18,000 (EBA, 20012).

#### **2.4.2 Media and women**

Under this sub-section, I will address issues such as female media professionals, female subjects, and female media owners.

##### *Women in the media ownership*

Scholars acknowledge that multiple media productions flourish in Ethiopia unlike any time that came before. At the same time, media ownership has shifted from state to the private sector. Few women got the opportunity to run their own media and become editors. So what is the role of women as owners?

Mimmi Sebhatu (*Zami FM 90.7*) and Mäaza Berru (*102.1 FM*) starting from September 2007 have managed to co-own their own broadcasting programs (Gubae, 2009, Rahel, 2010). The first newspapers owners are Emäbét Zäwdé (*Ethio-post*), Tegest Yelma (*Capital*, established in December 1998), Genet Ayele's "*Aphrodite*" (which was banned after its second edition as mentioned before), Mäbräq and Beza magazine (Roe and Aadland, 1999, personal interview with Ato Eshete Aseffa, former editor of Mäbräq) and Tsion Germa (*Embilta*) (Rahel, 2010:29).

#### *Women as journalists*

Some research indicates that the existence of women journalists within the news media affects the representation of women. Rahel (2010) says women and men differ in their choice of news. "Women journalists widely assumed that they have a different perspective than men journalists in terms of selecting newsworthy items and story sources, reporting styles and changing the negative portrayal of women in the media" (Ibid). While this aligns with the women's demonstration which took place in 1994, *Aphrodite* was actually owned by a woman. Using critical mass theory, Rahel identifies that less women in the media disadvantages women. When more women join the media, the media in general can hear women. According to Rahel, the coming of women to the news media would change images of women in the media. Her finding shows how women make a difference. Therefore, she suggests women should write about women.

Women are absent from the mainstream media (Byerly, 2011, GMMP, 2010, Nardos, 2005, Seble, 2006, Skjerdal, 2012).

Women represent only third (33.3%) of the full time journalism workforce in the 522 companies surveyed. 73% of the top management jobs are occupied by men compared to 27% occupied by women. Among ranks of reporters, men hold nearly two thirds of the job, compared to 36% held by women. However, among senior professionals, women are nearly parity with 41% of the newsgathering, editing and writing jobs (Byerly, 2011:9).

Byerly's point seems true for the Ethiopian media profession. Based on bylines in my quantitative data, fewer women reporters have contributed newspapers items.

In the report conducted by Røe and Aadland 1999, there were about 10 female editors. For instance Tigist Dachew, *Dove*, Serkalem Fasil, *Menilik*, Maria Kadi *Abafita*, Seble Yohannes,



Tigist Bayou, Firehiwot Ayalew, Hanna Yilma, Mesert Dingu, Lulit Gebremichael, *The Monitor*, Hilina Teferra, *Tiret*, (See Appendix Seven).

As a recent survey discloses, change may not come as quickly as it has in the past. For instance, the following quotation reflects on this reality.

From 2000 to 2010, we have seen an increase of 6 percentage points in women's presence as subjects in the news. At the current rate of change, it will take more than 40 years to reach parity. What is needed is concerted dialogue and action by advocates for women's advancement, civil society groups concerned with human development, media users, media professionals, media decision makers and owners, media training institutions media development agencies, and where appropriate and relevant, public decision makers (GMMP, 2010:v)

Therefore, the main task should be to change the attitudes of the people. More women in the industry does not ensure the equality of women and men.

Some of the researchers do not answer the questions they raise. For instance, scholars have asked if working for print media is more difficult for women than working for broadcast media (Mengestu, 2007:27; Abebech, 2007). Accordingly, female journalists in broadcast media outnumber female journalists in the print media (Rahel, 2010:28). Rahel adds that within broadcast media, women have better opportunities in private FM radio programs than state-owned FM radio programs (Ibid). This relates to media availability and owners. Women editors have been assigned to edit about 10 publications. This phenomenon contradicts the views of Rahel (2010) and Mengistu (2007). This leads me to refuse the argument that women have more chances to work in broadcast media than in print media. The number of female editors has decreased with the decrease of the print media market in general. Ethiopian print media suffers from strict controls, from external interventions, and license issues. It thus is difficult for female media-makers to join the industry.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter addresses three major issues. The first issue relates to the political administration of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is multi-ethnic nation, governed by a decentralized federal system (Kymlicka in Turton, 2006; and Asseffa, 2007).

The second issue relates to the fertile legal grounds laid down to not only improve the political rights of the citizens in general but also to promote the equality of Ethiopian women. Under the Constitution, the new family law and women's policy have been realized. These have enhanced desired changes and activities in gender and gender relations. The third issue outlines the historical development of newspapers in Ethiopia. Questions have been raised in this regard.

The history of print media in Ethiopia is surrounded by controversy. I have discussed issues of consistency, professional quality, and the polarization of media houses, state and private owned, and their common features. I overviewed the number of newspapers and magazines that have come into the market and the few that have survived longer. For instance, the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority reported that between the years 2008 and 2013/14, a total number of 263 licenses have been issued (Mägänaña Bezuhan, 2012:62). The majority of newspapers with licenses were never issued for different reasons.

Only a few newspapers survived. *Addis Admass* (one of the data source of this research) is one such survivor. The state-owned media did not have these problems because they perform under the ideology of the respective powers that hire them. The state media work under close supervision of the government, therefore, the newspapers operate within the political climate. However, this does not mean they are free from all difficulties. The media's intention and the readers' reception do not correspond necessarily; journalists suffer from self censorship (Skjerdal, 2012; Negeri in Fekadu, Eba and HL, 2013).

Media availability does not guarantee behavioral change. For instance, language and cultural situations hinder people from changing (Biset, 2007). Nowadays more than 18 community radio stations (EBA, 2012) in different States work in over 61 languages (EBA, 2013). Community broadcast media enables the languages in media number at around 60 (<http://www.eba.gov.et/webAmharic/data/Periodicals/yewalu.html>). In the country, 6 universities and Civil Service University College have their own community radios. The listening habits,

reading habits, and reading abilities, the time and the format mostly affect change in Ethiopia (Biset, 2007:3). Writing ability and quality affect print media. Multiple variables hinder people from following the media.

The research in media and gender has still not quite developed. African media research does not include gender and gender aspects as Ndlela (2009) points out. The School of Journalism and Communication has expanded Ethiopian professional and academic journalism. A number of studies have been conducted under the supervision of multiple scholars worldwide and nationally. These theses lack a local theoretical framework. Thus I have focused my research on how and why the media presents gender and gender relations.

## CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will introduce the theoretical approaches employed in the research. The chapter contains two sections. The first section discusses key conceptual terms related to the theoretical framework: Gender and Gender relations, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), theories of framing and narrative. The second part is the conclusion.

### 3.1 Introduction

I employ the theory of gender and gender relations, Discourse Analysis, with particular attention given to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), theory of framing, and theory of narratives. I chose this theoretical framework to explore how gender and gender relations are represented in *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* newspapers and to examine the narrative strategies they use. I combine four theoretical and methodological approaches because each has its own advantages and disadvantages and as such, they complement one another. When one theory fails to accommodate certain aspects, another applies.

The feminist researcher Kathy Davis (2008: 77), quoting Anne Phoenix (2006), wrote “no concept is perfect and no one can ever accomplish the understanding and explanation of all that needs to be understood and explained within the field of women’s studies...”. I use Davis's approach to express the same spirit. I apply different theoretical approaches to examine the subjects from different dimensions.

The four approaches mentioned above have some common characteristics. Carvalho (2000: 18) says, “...All [i.e., CDA, framing and narrative] are non-neutral lenses and consist of specific ways of seeing the world. It is important to understand what elements are missing and what advantages are presented in each research method.” A non-neutral approach implies that media texts are open to many interpretations. The producers of texts have intentions for multi-layered meanings (van Dijk in Bell and Garrett, 2007:21-22). My research design accommodates social constructionist approach. According to the social constructionists, the outside world and social relations are determined by where, when and how people give meanings to their interactions. For

social constructionists, as Hall (1994: 25) describes, "...[It] is not the material world which conveys meaning; it is the language system or whatever means we are using to represent our concepts..." Thus, newspaper articles do not convey meanings by themselves unless the public (readers) interact with them (texts). Hence, I analyze the newspaper narratives in this thesis in relation to the specific historical context in which they are published. Through this, I can access to how changes in gender and gender relations are presented, discussed, and negotiated in Ethiopia at the time.

## **3.2 Theory Concerning the Study's Research Topic**

### **3.2.1 Gender and Gender Relations**

Risman (2004:430) classifies four traditions of gender studies. First, theory focuses on how individual sex differences originate. Second, it focuses on how the social structures create gendered behaviour. Third, it deals with traditional emphases of social interactions and a person's accountability to expectations. Fourth, gender studies take on the social constructionist approach to gender. Connell has produced distinguished scholarship in this fourth tradition. I take the basic theoretical approach of Connell with gender and gender relations (1985 and 2009). First, I will consider the historical background that laid down the foundation for the current theory of gender. Theories of gender and gender relations originate in traditional feminism. Accordingly, feminism lends epistemological elements to the development of gender theory.

Gender theorists, including Connell, refer to the limitations of feminist theories. They often use "women" and "gender" as synonymous or interchangeable (Oyewumi, 2000: 1095). Researchers of gender and media in the Ethiopian Context also conflate these terms (Rahel, 2010, Selamawit, 2011, Gubae, 2009). Traditionally, women are associated with private sphere whereas men are linked to the public sphere (Connell, 2009). The private sphere refers here to the roles of the domestic activities, such as motherhood, wifehood, and total subordination to men. The public sphere is a domain where all resources and power are accessed. Feminist theory also focuses on differences between the genders (women vs. men) which tends to homogenize women (Ludvig, 2006: 246). Recently, feminist theories have focused on gender and gender relations. They no longer focus on the dichotomous nature of gender (men and women). Starting from the 1980s, the feminist theorists broadened their perspectives to include differences among women

themselves. "... Research turned from the dichotomy of gender to the reconsideration of differences and inequalities between women..." (Ibid). The feminists also no longer homogenize men. Thus they could recognize and analyze differences among women and men according to social position, ethnic group, religion, sexual orientation, etc. They raised questions about the construction and negotiation of gender and gender relations. No longer can a researcher assume gendered patterns and structures in advance for any culture or society.

Gender and gender relations must be studied empirically. Feminist theory, however, also can be inapplicable to gender analyses in third world countries. "Any serious scholarship on the place of 'gender' in African realities must necessarily question prevailing concepts and theoretical approaches. This is because the architecture and furnishings of gender research have by and large been distilled from European and American experiences..." (Arnfred, et al, 2004:2).

According to Mohanty (in Lewis and Mills, 2003:54-59), western feminist discourse has three basic problems. First, it assumes that all women have identical interests. This generalizes on gender and gender relations, but women in general and African women in particular are not homogenous (Kolawole, ed., 1998:9). Second, the feminist discourse places unsubstantiated universality on women's experiences. Mohanty's third point addresses the binaries within these discourses. The juxtaposition of men and women, as well as the polarization of the third world woman and western feminist should be problematized as it presents a dichotomy of a woman as "ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition bound, domestic, and family oriented, with the white, Western feminist who is depicted as 'educated, modern, having control over [her] own [body, sexuality], etc," (Ibid).

As I stated earlier, I will use the perspective of gender from the renowned sociologist Raewyn Connell (2009:30): "... We are talking about relationships, boundaries, practices, identities, and images that are actively created in social processes. They come into existence in particular historical circumstances, shape the lives of people in profound and often contradictory ways, and are subject to historical struggle and change (...)" Gender goes beyond the simple and fixed categories of male and female. Connell's definition conveys the diversified nature of gender relations. Gender relations are human relations, relations between men and women, between

women and women and between men and men. Whether or not individuals are categorized by similar sex can also have different positions in their respective societies.

Connell reviewed how different scholars approached gender and gender relations as concepts and pinpointed two theories of gender. First she identifies the sex role theory of gender. The other theory focuses on the power relations between people. The theory of sex role theory differs from power relations theory in that the first cannot adequately explain change. It presupposes that sex roles are static and unchanged (Ibid; Risman, 2004). The sex role approach hypothesizes that gender and gender relations are characterized by domination and subordination (Connell, 1985: 262). Sex role theory aligns with stereotypical thinking. A stereotype divides the world into like and unlike, self and other (Cranny- Francis, et al., 2003: 141). This stereotypical thinking stigmatizes women who do not behave according to certain standards of being a woman. It exposes her to social pressures so that she fits into what a “good” woman should behave. Stereotypical thinking does not tolerate individual differences among women in the society. They often offer only, a very narrow gender role to people.

In sex role theory, social structures form a personality through role learning or internalization. Thus, women become feminine by learning the “female role”. Consequently, the distinction between women and men becomes static and unchangeable. Social institutions teach these roles. Risman says, “The word "institution" is too commonly used to refer to particular aspects of society, for example, the family as an institution or corporations as institutions” (2004:431). Children learn roles from their parents and their surroundings. Children act in ways they are taught, but interestingly, in other situations, they act out beyond the boundaries set by society norms. Berger (2012) emphasizes the impact of parents and environment on personalities and a child’s socialization. For Berger (Ibid: 123), role learning shapes one’s personality most powerfully. Society members learn their surroundings especially their close environment, such as families, schools, legal institutions, etc. Those who respect the learned behaviors are rewarded while those who go against a norm are sanctioned (Connell, 2009: 95).

Theory of gender based on power relations between men and women contrasts this with a starting point for a second approach to gender relations (Connell, 1985: 264, Risman, 2004).

According to this approach, gender relations are socially constructed and have different meanings in various societies. Regarding this point, Connell (2009:11) writes:

*... Gender is the structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes. To put it informally, gender concerns the way human society deals with human bodies and their continuity, and the many consequences of that 'dealing' in our personal lives and our collective fate..., (Italics in the original).*

Connell further states, "The social is radically un-natural, and its structure can never be deduced from natural structures..." (1985: 269). Gender relations change over time. From this perspective, gender becomes a social practice that people enact and negotiate within specific social contexts. Connell presents the unnaturalness of gender through children who imitate their surroundings while simultaneously going beyond those social categories.

*... They [children] sometimes shore up, and sometimes move across, gender boundaries. They even play with and against the gender dichotomy itself. Gender is important in their world, but it is important as human issue that they deal with, not as a fixed framework that reduces them to puppets (Connell, 2009: 16).*

Gender and gender relations are socially constructed practices within a given historical period. They can change. Gender and gender relations depend on how people live, governed by certain contextual and historical situations. Gender relations are socially constructed and thus liable to change (Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000: 13, Risman, 2004). Approaching gender and gender relations as a social practice allows a more flexible approach that is sensitive to change. My main research questions concern changes in gender relations. In the process of socialization those who respect social norms are rewarded. Those who do not are likely to be excluded. Those who are excluded start to fight against the social norm. The struggle between those who are against and the social system that cherishes the old leads to the indispensability of changes in social relations, particularly in gender relations.

Established customs about gender relations might not be easily changed (Risman, 2004). Change needs individuals and society to be aware of the issues. Do some segments of the society develop resistance to change? How can we build awareness? People resist an established norm when several factors are at play. "Most discussions of why gender arrangements are changing have focused on external pressures: new technology, urban life, mass communications, secularism, or



just ‘modernization’ (Connell, 2009: 89). Gender itself also concerns how gender intersects at different social, political, and economic levels.

### **3.2.2 Gender relations and inter-sectionality**

Gender intersects multiple identities and the influences of many social structures and values. Regarding the importance of this concept Davis, (2008: 68) writes “... At this particular juncture in gender studies, any scholar who neglects difference runs the risk of having her work viewed as theoretically misguided, politically irrelevant, or simply fantastical”. What is inter-sectionality? A woman or a man is a human being on whom various social practices are acted. Davis (2005:68) says, “... Inter-sectionality refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies and the outcome of these interactions in terms of power....” Mehrotra (2010: 419) holds that inter-sectionality focuses on “with articulating women's simultaneous experiences of gender, race, and class as inter-dependent identities and oppressions”.

Inter-sectionality approaches gender and gender relations in Ethiopia in a relatively new way, despite the fact that it is a relevant and important theory. Mehrotra (2010: 417) says, “In contemporary interdisciplinary feminists' scholarship, questions of how to understand issue of interlocking oppressions, multiple identities, and social inequality in women's lives are of utmost importance...” What are these multiple identities in the stories? This is the question that I attempt to answer from the sample stories.

Davis again pointed out that there scholarship is confused regarding inter-sectionality; “whether inter-sectionality should be limited to understanding of individual experiences, to theorizing identity, or whether it should be taken as a property of social structures and cultural discourses” (2008:Ibid.).

In this study, I take inter-sectionality both as an understanding of individual experiences and as a result of social structures. Inter-sectionality acknowledges differences amongst women (Davis, 2008:70). It enhances my own reflexivity because I can locate myself in the production of a self-critical and accountable feminist theory (Davis, 2008; Lykke, 2005 cited in Dodd 2013; Riesman, 2002; Valentine, 2007).

Various social obligations and institution affect women in Ethiopia. Education, political affiliations, social status, age, ethnic group, and religion are some of the institutions (Habtamu, et al ND). I write later about the difference between them (see chapter 9 and 10). These institutions reflect power differentials. I use inter-sectionality as a methodological tool in order to refrain from viewing women and men as static and homogenous groups. I can avoid overlooking internal differences and local practices.

The media has contributed by representing women and men. Van Dijk (1983:35) writes:

... Media texts can be reinterpreted within the context of the social relations systems. Therefore, by applying the Discourse analysis method, it is possible, 'not to treat news as transparent 'messages' whose contents may be analyzed in superficial, quantitative way. Rather, we examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context'.

Media texts reproduce a given social norm (Berger, 2012). The media are important social institutions for they represent culture, politics, and social life. They both shape and reflect these institutions.

### **3.3 Theory Concerning the Study's Research Methodology**

#### **3.3.1 Discourse Theory**

CDA is based on the concepts of Discourse and Discourse Analysis. We can define discourse in two general ways. First, discourse is a way of talking, thinking, acting, and feeling about an idea, issue, or area of concern. It may be verbal, visual, auditory, or within any sign systems within a culture (Cranny-Francis et al., 2003: 93-94). Linguists often use this approach of discourse.

According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 9) language is not determined by reality. Language represents the reality. Signs represent language itself. These signs can be visual, verbal or auditory sounds. Signs do not always have the same meaning. Signs can assume new meanings in a different context. This leads me to the theory of representation. According to Hall (2003:24), there are three different theories of representation: "reflective", "intentional" and "constructionist or constructivist". Reflective theory purports that language reflects reality, the world outside our mind. According to this outlook, "meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world and language functions like a mirror, to *reflect* the true meaning as it already exists in the world" (Ibid). Intentional representation theory explicates that "it is the speaker, the

author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language” (Ibid, 25). Language carries intended meaning, which is different from the denotative meaning. People (the message senders) convey meanings that lie beneath the surface. Words can convey the sender’s intentions. A word in certain context can differ in meanings when used in a different context (Hall, 2003: 25).

A social constructionist theory of representation is the third theory. Here, the world outside our mind means nothing without the signs and codes conventionally chosen to represent it. Hall (Ibid) writes:

...However, it is not the material world, which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others.

Social constructionists do not deny the existence of the material world. They assert that language reflects all sorts of social practices and interactions. Discourse, according to the social constructionists, refers to and constructs knowledge about a particular topic or practice. Laclau and Mouffe cited in Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:29) say that discourse fixes meaning. That is, a given discourse could bring in different meanings based on its contexts. In their own words, they state that discourse “... fixes meaning in a particular way, but it does not dictate that meaning is to be fixed exactly in that way forever”. Social interactions determine discourses. These social interactions are performed within a given time and space. Jorgensen and Phillips citing Laclau and Mouffe (2008: 55) further write, “... Actors are understood- whether they are groups or individuals – as subject positions determined by discourses. Everyone does not have equal access to all subject positions, and, in our society, constraints can, for instance, be a function of categories such as class, ethnicity and gender...”

In Discourse analysis (DA), a qualitative research method identifies discourse from a given text. As a research method, it investigates meanings from texts. Discourse Analysis deals with implicit, not explicit, meanings. Implicit meaning differs from intentional meaning. Intentional meaning is not same as with the hidden meaning. Readers only understand implied meaning based on lived experiences. Readers, then, may assign different meanings to a text than what the

authors intended. The analysis of the “unsaid” can reveal more than what is actually in the text (Van Dijk, 2006: 114).

I use discourse analysis to investigate the underlying message and connotations of words, phrases and descriptions, etc. “... A word’s connotations involve the symbolic, historic and emotional matters connected to it” (Berger, 2012: 19). Both what is represented and what is not represented need to be addressed. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) states that texts may have different meanings depending on context (Richardson, 2007: 15). By identifying meaning, we can realize certain patterns. In turn, these patterns allow me to explore the perceptions of gender and gender relations. I use the following checklists: *topics* covered, *access* to the professional, *headlines*, *argumentation* and *editorials*, *quotations* and *sources*, *local meanings*, *style and rhetorical*, *effects on social cognitions*. Different media discourses, such as the hiring of journalists, the control over topic selection, make journalists idealistic and “providing a balanced view of ethnic affairs.” (Van Dijk, 1990:6-8).

I use CDA because it accounts for the unequal access to linguistic and social resources of women and men. Institutions control these resources (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008: 77, 63; Van Dijk, 1994). CDA investigates social injustices (Richardson, 2007: 26). Bell and Garrett (2007:6) state that:

...CDA has an explicit socio-political agenda, a concern to discover and bear witness to unequal relations of power which underlie ways of talking in a society, and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance. The media are a particular subject of CDA because of their manifestly pivotal role as discourse-bearing institutions.

CDA has methodological advantages in that “As its name indicates it is intended to generate critical social research that contributes to the rectification of injustice and inequality in society ...” (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008:77). It identifies hegemonies (see below) and interventions that manipulate conflicts between social groups. As stated by Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 69) “... The main aim of critical discourse analysis is to explore the links between language use and social practice”. Other writers reflect this idea (Abbott, 2003: 44). “CDA is particularly interested in examining the role that discourse plays in producing, reproducing, or resisting social inequalities...” (Richardson, 2007:115). CDA focuses on how social and political domination get reproduced by texts and talks. The Ethiopian Linguist Professor Baye analyzes

two letters by King Téwodros. He addresses how texts reflect the socio-economic and cultural aspects of a given period. Language reflects the hierarchy of power according to Baye (Msc. p. 14). Media reproduces ideologies (Van Dijk in Bell and Garrett, 2007). In its reproductive role, media reflects the interests of the mighty over the powerless. Media also reflects how people in power relations act. It reflects how they maintain their power position and seek domination in their lived contexts.

Carvalho discusses some of the strategies that reflect the inequalities of social actors. She examines how the media reproduces dominant power relations. She calls these discursive practices “positioning” (Carvalho, 2000), though others use “proposition”, “presupposition” and “semantic moves” or “semantic grammar” (Rahman, 2002 and Van Dijk, 1988). These strategies give prominence to certain subjects and issues. They give unity and coherence to texts. Thus researchers must formulate questions that are salient to a certain position in the text. How do newspapers position items about women and men? How do they present women and men? We can answer these questions through discourse analysis. Discourse analysis identifies the discourses from newspaper texts.

### **Identification of Discourse**

Discourse is an intersection of different social practices. Therefore, closely examining discursive practices identifies discourse (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008). Word choice and explanations reflect discursive practices (Fairclough in Bell and Garrett 2007). So I try to uncover the mediation between texts and social practices by examining discursive practices. I examine how they manifest through the language use from both the producer and the consumer side. The common denominator here is the language that produces the text (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008: 69). When the writer positions parts of the story in the middle of the text, it is clearly not the writer's priority. His/her prioritizes what s/he has placed at the beginning of the narrative.

The structure and organization of texts serve two functions: social and cognitive. The social function of the text reflects the interactions of the society and media professionals in day-to-day practices. News itself has its own convention. Van Dijk (1983:89) writes:

Both rules and strategies have a cognitive nature, and language users may use both fixed rules as they are shared in a community, more variable rules, and

context-bound goal directed strategies in the production and understanding of discourse. The fact that relevance principles may affect the final structure of a news item is quite clear.

“Media discourse” reveals things about a society and because it shapes the character of society (Van Dijk, 1990, Berger, 2012:65).

### **Discourse Involves Power Relations**

Discourse involves power relations so it is important to define power. Power is access to resources. Therefore, I attend to the power relations that exist concerning access to resources and an information seeker. Power is not always visibly oppressive. It brings pleasure. The powerless often do not recognize that someone superior to them impose upon them. A power relation does not always repress. Foucault (cited in Gill, 2007:61) says:

If power was nothing but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really think that we should manage to obey it? What gives power its hold, what makes it accepted, is quite simply the fact that it does not weigh like a force which says no, but that it runs through, it produces things, it induces pleasure, it forms knowledge, it produces discourse: it must be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (...).

Power relations imply inequality, but may not be openly manifested. Both the powerful and the powerless are trained to accept the positions they have. In societies where women subordinate to men, women may “respect” or “accept” this position. Women may act in such a way that they are appreciated (Hooks, 1986:127 quoted in Risman, 2004). Because society conditions individuals to respect social traditions and norms, people normally accept their position in society.

To enforce its norms, a society rewards those who respect and obey. It punishes for those who resist the existing power relations (Connell, 2009). Society also tacitly ensures, through control mechanisms, that norms are respected. Value systems govern control mechanisms so that the society members adhere to the power inequities. This leads me to discuss ideology.

Ideologies have been defined as foundational beliefs. These beliefs underlie the shared social representations of specific groups (van Dijk, 2006: 120). Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:15) quoting Althusser (1971), define ideology “... as a system of representation that masks our true

relations to one another in society by constructing imaginary relations between people and between them and the social formation". Thus, ideology is a distorted recognition of actual social relations. Ideology manifests socially constructed human relations, which reveal inequalities among people. Ideologies shape thinking as well as social relations for they are systems of ideas. Ideologies have socio-cognitive functions. Van Dijk (ssmith.no.ip.org/eBooks/\_Staging/PDF/Ideology and discourse- A Multidisciplinary Introduction-.pdf: 15-16) writes:

In sum, ideologies form the basic social representations of the beliefs shared by a group, and precisely function as the framework that defines the overall coherence of these beliefs. Thus ideologies allow new social opinions to be easily inferred, acquired and distributed in a group when the group and its members are confronted with new events and situations (...).

Ideologies are relatively stable. Ideologies play significant roles in the reproduction and legitimization of class domination. Van Dijk (cited in Bell and Garrett, 2007:24), says, "The main social function of ideologies is the coordination of the social practices of group members for the effective utilization of the goals of a social group, the protection of its interests." Carvalho (2000: 25) also argues, "... ideology is related to the reproduction of power".

According to Richardson (2007: 41), ideologies are "meanings that contribute to the production and reproduction of power relations". Thus, the media implement ideologies of a political system or group. Richardson (2007:116) argues:

... Ideologies are composed of matrices of beliefs, attitudes and practices that constitute ways of looking at the world and ways of acting in the world, which accept and naturalize the contradictions at the heart of capitalist society. In other words, ideologies help 'group members' act as if they share general aims, values, positions and resources (...).

Ideology maintains a group's domination over another group. Dominance legitimizes the social structure. Social institutions facilitate this (Risman, 2004). People can also contest dominance, which would enable social change. People practice and accept power, domination, and resistance against domination. Hegemony maintains dominant powers without visible domination.

Gill, (2007:55) describes Gramsci's definition of hegemony. Hegemony refers to ideological and cultural power. "(...) It denotes the processes through which a group or party is able to claim social, political and cultural leadership throughout a society or social formation. Hegemony does

not mean domination” (ibid). The other nature of hegemony is that it needs to win the society member’s approval or consent. “It is an active, ongoing process, which is always temporary and contested”.

The dominated do not recognize domination. Structures seem to be normal and natural. Domination is taught through subtle mechanism from generation to generation. Society members are taught to act in a way their communities want them to act. “Agencies of socialization” responsible for the learned behaviours tend to be parents, school teachers, script writers and directors in television and film, etc (Connell, 2009; Berger, 2012).

Newspapers are good instruments in this respect. Ideologies are neither right nor wrong, but rather, promote the interests of certain groups. But those unsatisfied group members can challenge these ideologies if their interests are never served. Connell (2009:147) states that building awareness through communication and education through newspapers inspires resistance and change.

Discourse circulates through newspapers. It reproduces social power and domination and it provides legitimacy for power relations. Newspapers channel those ideologies to produce certain effects, which we experience as power.

Media discourses are, therefore, a means to deconstruct power. An analyst may deconstruct discourse to determine what knowledge is being propagated. This leads to uncovering the values embedded in it. We can interpret the underlying meaning within the text and simultaneously analyze the operations of power in a society (Kress, 1985:7). First, I can depict the power relations better through an examination of the narrative’s subjects. Second, I can look at power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee. This perspective shows the power relations between the storyteller and the characters. Power manifests itself through the position in two ways Sometimes the interviewer becomes powerful and at other times, the interviewee holds more power (Tumber, 1999:280).

Ideologies are not explicit. Ideologies lie beneath the surface meanings. We can infer ideologies from what seems apparent. This relates to the fact that the powerful and the powerless act unconsciously. Society is structured and individuals perform their duties and discharge responsibilities according to their social position. Because inequalities manifest in subtle ways,



that is, neither participants comply with expectations or resist existing power relations, the study needs critical observation. Van Dijk, (2006: 124) connects this:

... That is, discourse is not always ideologically transparent; discourse analysis does not always allow us to infer what people's ideological beliefs are. This always depends on the definition of the communicative situation by the participants, that is, on context. In other words, our concept of ideology is *non-deterministic*: members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the groups they identify with. Also ideological discourse is always personally and contextually variable.

People's actual action differs from their innermost thoughts. Discourse analysis, thus, pinpoints underlying messages. We also can use this approach to see gaps that enable struggle, which may lead to changes in the discourse. Jorgensen and Phillips wrote, "Changes in discourses are a means by which the social world is changed" (2008: 9). Media discourses interrelate with hegemony.

### **Media Hegemony**

Media discourse and media power must be understood as embedded in hegemony. Cultural theorists have defined this concept: "... In common usage, *hegemony* means domination or rule by one state or nation over another" (Berger, 2012:62).

Hegemony plays a part in the creation of people's consciousness (Berger, 2012:62-63; Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008: 16). It is a process of negotiation from which a consensus around meaning emerges. Hegemony further denotes the processes through which a group claims social, political and cultural leadership throughout a social formation.

Hegemony does not mean domination; rather, hegemony emphasizes the necessity of approval or consent. In fact, it is an active and ongoing process that is always contested (Gill, 2007: 55). Hegemony never stabilizes but remains incomplete. Consensus is always a matter of degree, as Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 76) say; it is a "contradicting and unstable equilibrium".

According to Fairclough, cited in Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:75), the concept of hegemony provides us with an analytic for discursive practice as part of a larger social around power relations. Here, discursive practice becomes an aspect of a hegemonic struggle. Discursive

practices reproduce and transform discourse of which it is part. Consequently, it transforms existing power relations.

How are certain social positions legitimized? How are the relations between women and men legitimized? I can understand and analyze the process of formal and informal socialization. In informal socialization people may not be aware of what they are taught. Informal socialization takes place implicitly as Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:76) and Connell, (2009) state. I am concerned of the relationship between media text and ideology. How does ideology relate to media texts? The underlying ideologies control a large part of the text's structure (van Dijk, June 2006:137). The media reflects the ideas, beliefs and feelings of the writers or authors. Ideological perspectives are embedded in every word. On the other hand, the media itself may oppose existing trends. There is power relation between the media text organizer and the social actors addressed by the media. The role of the media is not always the same. The media may either reinforce or negate existing social norms. Teo, in his study conducted on two Australian newspapers, (2000: 44) wrote:

... Potentially, of course, because of this role as interface between the discourse and society, the media also has the power to resist and challenge, instead of merely reinforcing and reproducing, the social dominance of the elites (...). Fundamentally, for a change to occur, the people must first be aware of what is going on, so as to recognize and expose the discursive strategies of power reproduction that has been the subject of the study.

The media may serve the existing dominant ideology or bring about its demise. The different roles of the media become manifest through the ideas of those whose stance support tradition or those who oppose it. In sum, I will attempt to show the media's significant role in promoting these ideological interactions. The media may advocate challenging ideologies of one group. I analyze this by identifying the frames and selection of perspectives. When I identify frames, I refer to ideology. However, CDA is not without some limits, so frames must be supplement with framing theory.

### **Limitation of CDA**

Every approach has its pros and cons (see Chapter 1). CDA has critics that point out its limitations. First, CDA does not enable the simultaneous analysis of several texts. CDA's method is based on limited but rich materials. Carvalho (2000:6) argues, "... for analysis across a

number of texts, it has a very limited use. It is of difficult application to a large number of texts and does not allow for easy comparison". Second, CDA examines media texts with different structures. At the micro level, we consider words, while at the macro level, we examine the structures of narratives.

I include multiple genres as units of analysis in this study. "On the other hand, social practices also have a cognitive dimension, namely, the beliefs people have, about knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values" (Van Dijk, 1983:35-36). Even though his argument is based on the news genre, van Dijk shows how the media text structures have relevance to the readers. He contends that there is a cognitive relevance between structural organization of the texts and the reader's expectations. CDA only addresses the structural difference of news articles, not of other genres such as features and editorials. The structures of newspaper genres differ and because CDA does not address these media, I must conduct an inter-textual analysis. Certain points might be reflected through other means such as cohesive approaches to gender and gender relations. Thus, framing and narrative theories are crucial. Third, CDA does not examine the social factors within the media texts. But the space given to social actors and how they explain the outside world are vitally important. This is an important element of media text analysis, especially in my endeavour to identify the perceptions of gender and gender relations.

### **3.3.2 Framing Theory**

The father of frame theory is often stated to be Irving Goffman (1975). Other sociologists have based their frame theories on his conceptual approach. I categorize two definitions of frames. A frame can be a structure or a frame can be a perspective.

Carvalho (2000: 16) says that a frame as a perspective is better than a structure. She considers frame "... as an underlying idea that directs the construction of texts" (Ibid, 7). To frame involves the selection of one event and the omission of another. "The craft of writing a news story necessarily involves a choice of facts to highlight and subordinate or omit entirely" (Copper, 2006: 109). Scheufele has similar approach to Carvalho. Citing Gamson and Modigliani (1987), he says that as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events..." (Scheufele, 1999: 106). The frame contextualizes and defines the issue through different devices. Scheufele again citing Entman (1993) says "To frame is to

select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (1999:107).

Scheufele, (1999:106, quoting Gamson and Modigliani) defines frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to unfolding strip events... the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue...”

Van Gorp (2007:66) relates frame to cognitive theory. He has distinguished frames with special attention to news production and interpretation (Ibid). He states that frames bridge between cognition and culture. Citing Newman, Just and Crigler, Van Gorp (2007:62) says frames are “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information”.

Media frames deal with how the media portrays a given message, event, or person to send a message to the readers (Schuefele, 1999). Media frames increase the salience of issues (Terkildsen and Schnell, 1997: 880). Media frames help journalists perceive a certain topic in three ways: by identifying a certain subject quickly; by classifying the selected theme into a certain category; and by packaging it to reflect the perceived reality. Journalists or editors select a topic to write about, categorize the topic, and present the topic within a certain frame. Media writing works then as a discursive practice. McCombs (2004:87) states: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. Which issues are amplified and which issues are under-represented happens through framing. Therefore, the other way to define a frame is to consider it as an angle from which events are viewed. Media writing selects a certain angle.

Cooper (2006: 105) says that all media stories have story lines that reflect the perspectives of the writer. Authors frame through organization, composition, evidence, and how they reveal the main message. Frames order facts. This leads us to another critical point, which looks at the accuracy of media texts.

When selecting quotes for their articles, journalists are being subjective. Journalists select, shorten a longer conversation, and cut irrelevant ideas (Skjerdal, 2012). Subjectivity is unavoidable. Despite this, media writers are granted authority to legitimize the subject's ideas as right or wrong (Pape and Featherstone, 2005: 183). Sometimes journalists encounter a subject who themselves has a powerful frame. Their subject may have more 'framing power,' defined as an actor's capacity to convey her/his views through the media. These opinions are represented by journalists either in the form of quotations or regular text. This power is an important form of social influence. However, journalists permeate or deny this framing power because they control the discursive construction of social, political or environmental issues (Carvalho, 2000: 23).

### **Framing is Subjective**

Frames, according to Rozell and Mayer (2008:36), represent the central aspect of media power. Framing power slants the media's approach towards certain themes.

Media frames also serve as a routine work for journalists because they quickly identify and classify information. They package it for a perceived reality to their audiences. Scheufele cited in Skjerdal (2012:146), says that the media organizes itself in frames and that journalists generate and shape media frames. This concept of media framing includes the author's intentions but, can also be unconscious (Scheufele 1999:106). A frame invites readers to read a news story in a particular way. Frames contain the intention or of the writer or the media which the writer represents.

Media writers have their own presuppositions. When they pick a certain topic to write about, knowingly or unknowingly, they follow use lenses to construct the topic. "... A typical story will contain explicit evaluative statements that reveal the teller's attitudes to the events recounted..." (Franzosi, 1998:532). Thus framing and media power relate to ideology. In other words, a media frame is determined by the ideological bases of the media.

In newspaper narratives, the journalist has an intentional approach to the story's sources. They prepare questions and select certain sources, which impacts the article's theme. How the interviewers ask questions depends on the answers. The purpose of writing determines the kinds of questions they ask. Additionally, differences exist among interviewers. Since people are not

identical in what they say and how they say it, their approach affects the information they convey. This slants the angle of the newspaper writer's perspective.

Framing is a process because writing a newspaper narrative passes through certain stages. An article must go through choosing facts, organizing a topic, choosing which subjects to credit, and researching additional facts and information that contextualize the topic. Every newspaper industry follows these routines (Cooper, 2006: 116). When journalists gather information, they select certain "facts" and they may over represent or under represent. As Van Gorp (2007:68-9) says "The choice to represent a statement or not, the prominence that is given to the statement, and the exact formulations are, in other words, much more the result of journalistic practices than the many parenthesis in newspapers would suggest". The frame of the journalist may mismatch with that of the social actors in the story. In these kinds of situations, the journalist applies his or her power over the notion of the character or the actor. Thus, media hegemony may not be always true (see subtopic 3.3). Underlying meanings could be either the power of the interviewee which exposes the writer's irrationality.

Frames form the common ground for individuals and the social group to meet. Media frames express an individual's meaning construction, which relates to the social group on the one hand and the members of the society on the other. The main bases for constructing meaning are the common cultural values assumed to be shared by the journalists and the people who consume the news. Within this context, we can approach the cognitive aspect of the media frame. Media frames possibly conflict in a given text. The views and frames of the characters (social actors) can be accorded or denied prominence by the framing power of the journalist. The journalist may opt to frame in a balanced way. In this way we can have several frames in one text (Carvalho, 2000: 14 & 23).

We can also understand frames with a different approach. According to Chong and Druckman, frames refer "to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (2007:104). For the scope of this paper, frames are how gender and gender relations are portrayed by texts. By identifying various frames from texts, we imagine how they are created in the social interaction process.

### **Frame identification**

We can identify frames from one specific story or from different stories. Quantitative or qualitative data can accomplish this. If we examine various texts we will identify certain frames that form strong values and attitudes. Basically, we must capture the main idea of each text. Van Gorp (2007: 64) has suggested ways to capturing the main ideas: "Each frame that a journalist has applied in a text can be represented as a "frame package" a cluster of logically organized devices that function as an identity kit for a frame. Therefore, a principal part of frame analysis is the reconstruction of these frame packages".

Though it might not be easy to identify frames from texts, frame analysis texts comparatively. By examining different stories, it is possible to figure out the dominant ideas of gender and gender relations within newspaper narratives. A frame can be quantifiable or non-quantifiable (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:72). We can use quantitative data to discover framing by counting the frequency of words and phrases. Sometimes there are frames, though, that we cannot identify with a word or a phrase. This makes the frame non-quantifiable. In these cases, we need a qualitative approach. In qualitative research, we can identify the frames through the choice of words that the subjects make (the social actors portrayed in the narrative), the unique expression of the writer, the placement of the narratives and additional pictures. For my project, themes establish the parameters to identify the non-quantifiable frames.

### **Functions of Framing**

Entman (1993) formulated that frames promote the following: a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation (Van Gorp, 2007: 60; Benford and Snow, 2000: 615). We can see framing through the presence or absence of certain key words, through stock phrases or stereotypical images. Identifying frames requires decided the adequate level of abstraction that dominates the idea of the frame (Carvalho, 2000:15). Gamson (2002: 158) has introduced a strategy for this that involves the interpretative commentary of the news content. This requires contextualizing metaphors, symbolic devices and "catchphrases" that grab the attention of the reader and reveal the underlying storyline. In colloquial language, (Cooper, 2006: 105) the frame is the short answer to the question "what is the story here?"

Scheufele (1999:105) citing Tuchman (1978, ix), Neuwamn, Just and Crigler (1992) says, "... Mass media actively sets the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events. ... They [mass media] give the story a 'spin' ... taking into account their organizational and modality constraints, professional judgments, and certain judgments about the audience". They describe here where the message creators and receivers communicate. The senders create information and recipients interpret it; there may be an intersecting point where the two understand each other.

### **Influences on framing**

In this subsection, I briefly discuss the factors that influence framing. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the influences emanate from "social norms and values", "organizational pressures", "pressure of interest groups", "journalistic routines" and "ideological or political orientations". Of all these, identifying the journalist's ideo-political orientation is the most difficult task. Carvalho (2000), say that this requires deep analyses.

Journalistic routines such as headlines and leads, generalizations, quotation patterns and over lexicalizations (marked-ness, for instance "female lawyer") influence framing (Van Dijk, 1993:261). In media writing, we must attend to the fact that important issues show up on the front page, whereas, women and matters assumed to be pertinent to women show up on the inside pages or at the back pages of the newspapers. My qualitative analysis affirms this.

### **Limitations of frame analysis**

With frames, a researcher pays insufficient attention to details. The concrete forms of meaning – at the level of words and sentences- get overlooked. Frames only focus on the central idea of the text. In such situations, human error might exclude significant words that reflect the appropriate picture. Frames also focus on catchphrases, again at the expense of words. It might miss words that give salience to a given topic (Carvalho 2000: 15). To overcome the above-mentioned problems in relation to framing and frame analysis, I have used of the complementary methodology of narrative analysis.



### 3.3.3 Narrative Theory

The word "Narrative" can be defined as a sequence of events, experiences, or actions with a plot that ties together different parts into meaningful whole. Narrative texts contain sociological information (Franzosi, 1998: 519). Through a close examination of newspaper narratives, we can uncover social relations, particularly gender and gender relations.

Narratives deal with causes and effects in the organization of a story. Narratives are products of discursive representation of a particular reality. If we read a single text, different readers will appreciate its message differently. They will consider it as a reflection of similar events they have encountered or they expect to encounter. A certain narrative brings in experiences from the outside. It jogs the reader's memory so that s/he remembers similar events.

Franzosi (1998: 520) says: "It is the story- the chronological succession of events that provides the basic building blocks of narrative. Without story, there is no narrative". This conceptualizes narratives into two elements: the story and the discourse.

In media texts, narrative order has ideological and methodological significance. Understandings of the narratives differ from person to person. Two points regarding the nature of narratives are commonly agreed up on. According to Chase (in Josselson and Lieblich, eds., 1995:1) "all forms of narrative share the fundamental interest in making sense of experience, the interest in constructing and communicating meanings".

.... As many have argued, narration is a complex social process, a form of social action that embodies the relation between narrator and culture. Taking narrative seriously means directing our attention to that process of embodiment, to what narrators accomplish as they tell their stories, and how that accomplishment is culturally shaped. A major contribution of narrative analysis is the study of general social phenomena through a focus on the embodiment in specific life stories (Ibid, P. 2).

Narratives include some events, exclude others and emphasize actions. The storyteller not only illustrates his or her version of the action, but also interprets it with an evaluative commentary. The sequence within the narrative reveals what is significant to people (both audience and authors) about various practices, ideas, places and symbols. Feature stories, for instance, depend on the writer's style adaptations and how s/he deals with the subject. Through the narrative, the writer amplifies his or her points from the angles s/he has chosen. The writer can undermine,

emphasize the negative sides, etc. This approach is termed by van Dijk as Disclaimers, while Rahman (2002) calls it an “ideological square”.

### **Narrative Spatial Texts**

We can also conduct narrative analysis with one or more stories. When reading different stories we can examine the sequence of the narratives. For instance, in chapters six, seven and eight, narratives are told in a spatial or a temporal continuity. This narrative technique has by and large been used in all the stories I present. The characters have similar social roles, or the different perspectives represent different themes (Alphen, 1990:484-485). “Narrative analysis highlights the time sequence of a certain course of action. It also emphasizes relations, between presuppositions or causes and consequences’ (Carvalho, 2000: 17). Abbott (1990: 717) identifies three categories in narrative structure: (1) the classification of sequential patterns; (2) the antecedents of these patterns; and (3) the consequences of these patterns. These categories can be dealt with in purely descriptive terms (i.e. what the patterns, the antecedents, and the consequences are). These three points relate to the plot construction of the narrative. Plot concerns the causes and effects of an event. Unless it is done in significant depth, narrative analysis tends to focus exclusively on the dominant narrative of a text (Carvalho, 2000: 17).

### **3.4 ONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main components and of selected theoretical frameworks. Can the theory of gender presented be directly applicable to my study? It could be argued that this theory might not be applicable in all contexts of the subjects studied (Kolawole, 2004). That is, using a theoretical framework developed in the West to analyze gender issues in Ethiopia may be challenging. In this regard, Oyewmi says, “... many Western theorists of gender seem to be impervious to the existence of other culture; they make their case for gender from the narrow confines of the West” (1998:1050).

I identify discourse from social interactions represented in newspapers narratives. In one way or another, the newspapers use their own views and at the same time the views, actions, and practices of the subjects of the stories. CDA is useful for two main reasons. First, it probes the texts and identifies latent messages. Second, CDA identifies the gender relations and their

ideological patterns in the texts. “Analysis of many thousands of several genres (news reports, interview transcripts, textbooks, reports, etc.) and in several countries shows that, at all levels of description, minority groups tend to be characterized in terms of problems, conflicts or threats...” (van Dijk, 1994:33). In other words CDA can identify inequalities as represented in the newspaper narratives. Frames and cognitive aspects of media narratives have common elements: both are based on the shared experiences of the writer and the consumers of the media message. The frame here is relatively stable. Changing this frame is not easy (van Dijk, 2006: 116). The underlying common denominator for these theoretical perspectives is the concept of ideology. Ideology and hegemony interrelate and both deal with maintaining social values. However, ideology and hegemony are changeable. As are gender relations. Socialization maintains hegemony and gender relations. Mass media plays a significant role in this socialization and at the same time in reproducing the existing social relations. All these theories serve as analytical tools to identify representation of gender and gender relations.

## CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

This study explores meanings of gender and gender relations. The feminist media researcher, Van Zoonen, (1994: 66) wrote : “...When focusing on media output solely, the main task for feminist media research is to unravel both the dominant and alternative meanings of gender encoded in media texts, and their articulation with other discourses such as for instance, ethnicity, class and sexuality...”.

This chapter has seven sub-sections. The second sub-section discusses the rationale for choosing the topic, the profiles of the newspapers, the data collection methods, and the scope of the study. It includes the period of time covered, the genres and the pages and columns. The third sub-section describes the methods for the quantitative and qualitative data. The fourth sub-section discusses the reliability and validity of the data. The fifth part introduces the research design and analytical tools. The sixth section focuses on the methodological challenges and the work around these challenges. In the last section I make conclusions.

### 4.2 Rationale for Choosing the Topic, data sources and Time

The main goal of “*Representation of Gender and Gender Relations in Newspapers Narratives: the Case of Ethiopia*” is to answer the following questions:

- 1) How are gender and gender relations represented in the selected newspapers?
- 2) How are women in particular represented in the selected news, features and editorials?
- 3) What do the narratives promoting change in gender relations want to bring about? What new society do they imagine?
- 4) What narrative strategies do the articles employ?

I conducted this research based on my own experience as a journalist and as teacher at the School of Journalism and Communications (formerly the Ethiopian Mass Media Training Institute now merged with The Graduate School of Journalism and Communications of AAU).

My experience in the field made me aware of the uneven gender balance in the media. Women were underrepresented both as information sources and as journalists.

#### 4.2.1. Sources of Data and Rationale for Selecting Data Sources

Two newspapers, *Addis Admass* (privately owned) and *Addis Zemen* (government owned) newspapers, from the year 2000, constitute the data for the study. The name *Addis Zemen*, which literally means “new era,” heralds the victory of the Ethiopian patriots over the Italians during the war from 1936 to 1941. Since then, the newspaper has circulated more than seven decades. It celebrated its 73<sup>rd</sup> year on June 7, 2014.

*Addis Admass* was established on 6 January 2000. Private Ethiopian newspapers flourished at this time (Røe and Aadland, 1999, Meseret, 2013; Shimellis, 2000; Skjerdal, 2012, 2011, 2013, Tädbabä, 1990 EC). Many private newspapers emerged on the market during that time (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.2, P. 36). But I selected *Addis Admass* for specific reasons.

Before selection, I conducted a pilot study on newspapers available on the market. Based on the pilot study, I selected *Addis Admass* from the rest of private newspapers.

*Addis Admass* survived longer than other private newspapers, most of which went out of business. It is still on the market (Ethiopian Broadcast Authority [EBA] (2013). When I designed the study in 2007, *Addis Admass* attracted readers (Negussie, 2006) as one of the most readable newspapers in the country. According to Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA, 2013), the top three readable newspapers are *Reporter*, *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen*. Like *Addis Admass*, *Reporter* is another private newspaper that has survived for a long time. But when I was selecting newspapers, *Reporter* did not have women's page. My criteria for the research required the inclusion of a women's column. I also selected *Addis Admass* for its style. Its main purpose is infotainment. Reinemann, et al. (2011) say that infotainment is a synonymous for tabloid sensationalism. Even though this does not represent *Addis Admass*, Reinemann et al comparison between hard and soft news directly aligns with this medium (see chapters, 6, 7 and 8). Beyond this, *Addis Admass* focuses on ordinary people which qualifies it as a medium of tabloid and soft news. This is not true of other newspapers, such as *Addis Zemen*.

I also selected *Addis Zemen* because it is the only paper that has survived for decades. I am very familiar with it because I was a staff member there from September 1987 to April 1996. I was reporter and editor of two columns, known as “Women’s Village” (Käsétoč Amba) and “Cultural Forum” (Yä-bahel Mäderäk).

I chose newspapers that were so different because the history of private newspapers is not consistent in the history of Ethiopian print media. For a long time privately-owned newspapers were not on the market (Skjerdal, 2011, Røe and Aadland, 1999). After *Barrissa*, a newspaper published in the Oromo language, was confiscated by the Dergue regime in 1977 (Personal interview with Ibrahim Haji Ali, founding member of the newspaper, April 6, 2014), the first private newspaper was not established until 1991. Some people would contend that private newspapers were introduced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (See Chapter 2, sub topic 2.2). Data on private newspapers was not readily available until 1991.

The main objective of this research is not to compare the two newspapers, *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen*. Though comparison is unavoidable to some extent, my intention is to examine how both newspapers have depicted gender and gender relations in the editions from the year 2000. Two newspapers offer a broader picture of gender and the gender relations presented to the Ethiopian audience. I believe that the two newspapers complement each other.

Although the two newspapers are similar, they also have distinctive features which influence their presentation. First, *Addis Admass* is private while *Addis Zemen* is state-owned.

D’Souza (1994: 372) wrote that the introduction of private media in the African context has made three contributions. First, it guarantees the existence of democracy, especially where state-owned media has survived for so long. It thus becomes important to gauge how much private newspapers flourish after 1991. It also behooves us to see how they have represented gender and gender relations. For this, I use the lens of a single newspaper called *Addis Admass*. I examined how private media contributed to current socio-economic issues. *Addis Admass* is also neutral and critical of the government and government oppositions (Skjerdal, 2012). I have selected *Addis Admass* in order to examine how private media depicted changes in gender and gender relations.

Second, privately owned media shows the existence of the ideological differences, as Rønning in Orgerrett and Rønning (eds., 2009) have explained. For instance, *Addis Zemen* portrayed the new family law as a guarantee for improved Ethiopian women's lives (Apx.6, ZF3). It substantiated this claim by showing how women suffered negative consequences of the previous Civil law (1960(1)). On the other hand, *Addis Admass* opposed these claims and presented stories to counter it. For example it described men who had lived married without a signed agreement and were suddenly deprived of their property rights when they divorced (Apx.6, AF1). The newspaper provided different perspectives on the same topic.

Third, private media like *Addis Admass* brings unheard voices to the public sphere (Shimellis, 2000 and in Bahru and Pausuang, 2002). These unheard voices find outlets through *Addis Admass*. The two newspapers differ in style. One is a tabloid while the other is a broadsheet. The following table profiles of the two newspapers broadly.

**Table 4:1: Profile of two newspapers**

Status	<i>Addis Zemen</i>	<i>Addis Admass</i>
Ownership	State Owned	Private
Established	June 7, 1941	January 6, 2000
Format	Broadsheet <sup>3</sup>	Tabloid
Pages	8-pages	20-26 pages
Frequency	Daily	Weekly
Objective	Informative	Infotainment
Sources	Authorities	Ordinary people
Focus	Local issues and events	Foreign issues and celebrities
News type	Hard news	Soft news
Narratives	Short news	Detailed and featurized (interpretation and opinions are included)
Story attributions	News agencies	Reporters and writers

In spite of their differences, both have common characteristics. For instance, both are printed in Amharic, one of the official languages of the state (Tolemariam, 2009). Their audiences are the public although *Addis Admass* focuses more on urban life (The World Association of Newspapers and News publishers, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> It began the size of 60 X 48 cm, but starting in September 2007, it started to be color printed and the size was reduced to 55 X 48 cm (some call this size Berliner). (personal interview, with Ato Sebsebe Kebede, General manger of Ethiopian Press Authority, April, 06, 2014).

#### 4.2.2 Rationale for the selection of period and genres

##### Time frame

I focus on the year 2000 (January 6, 1992 – December 30, 1993 E.C). The year 2000 marks an historical moment because the revised Family Law Proclamation No. 213/2000 came out in June 2000. Both newspapers published about the proclamation. It was meant to guarantee women's rights in Ethiopia. This law had great significance for the reality of women's lives (Original, 2000: 172-173; Meaza, 2009). Women were victims of severe and frequent domestic violence. Original (2000: 176) described violence against women in Ethiopia as follows:

Violence against women takes place mainly in three spheres: in the family, in the community and by the state.... Violence in the community include rape, incest, sexual abuse, abduction, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution. Violence in the family includes battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and others.

In the year 2000, articles focused on harmful traditional practices. These editions provided me with a unique opportunity to address the research questions of my thesis. Newspaper stories portray the victims of harmful traditional practices such as forced marriage, early marriage, abductions, polygamous marriage, and others. However, even though policies such as the National Women's Policy, 1993 and the New family code, 2000, mean to ensure women's rights, there are other areas of concern which necessitated the amendment of old legal documents, such as, the Penal Code of 1957 (NAP, 2006) .But this is beyond the scope of my research objective.

The number of newspapers and magazines in the year 2000 reached 148 (125 newspapers and 23 magazines (*Report on the press from June 1998 to July 1999*:1, Figure 2.2, chapter 2, P. 36, Røe and Aadland, 1999).

The year 2000 also saw the second national election year since the downfall of the Marxist Regime. As addressed in various sources, Ethiopian women's participation in politics is insignificant (Meaza, 2009, Risman, 2004). Insignificant involvement means that women have no official roles in Ethiopian history. Their activity remains unacknowledged. My interest lies then in how both newspapers portray the political engagement of women during this historic year. An election year sheds light on changes in gender relations and how we envision new societies.



### Genres Selected

Media are joint commodities. They serve both advertisers and readers. Consequently, newspapers carry diversified text formats at the same time. Hodgson (1996:89) says that there are four text formats of any newspaper. These are text, headlines, pictures, and advertisements. I focus on the following text formats: the headlines and texts that are news, editorial and feature stories.

I consider all the three genres of articles, news stories, feature and profile stories, and editorials, together. All the three genres treat the same issues simultaneously. The news genre might address a subject that the feature stories also cover. Editorials address the messages addressed by the news and features. Newspapers treat one subject in different genres to give prominence to it (Rahman, 2002). A topic or theme that recurred in all the three genres may imply prominence in the society as well. As Van Dijk in Bell and Garrett, (2007) says, prominence follows the news discourse, that is, it reflects the ideology of the newspapers.

Each genre has different objectives and presentations. For instance, news has its distinctive structural features (Bell in Bell and Garrett, 2007; Steensen, 2009). Different topics recur more often within certain genres (see Chapter 5).

Each genre, news, features including profiles, and editorials have different purposes. For instance, editorials identify the opinion of the press (Conboy, 2007:8). News stories inform about topical issues and facts (Ibid, 9). News contains facts, though the objectivity by conveying “facts” is debatable. “Comment is not news but information is” (Ibid; Tumber, 1999: 22). Topical news comes on the front page.

Features interpret and analyze topics. A feature story presents details to the readers (Garrison, 1994). News come in the inside pages as well as their permanent front-page place. *Addis Zemen* carried news inside while *Addis Admass* did not place any news on the inside pages. Media writers use different labels for the news on the front page and inside pages. News on the front page has more weight than news which on the inside pages. In terms of gender, this implies that placement expresses how much weight is given to women's issues.

### **News: beyond the dichotomy and debates**

News is a genre which conveys timely information. Both readers and journalists prioritize news. Readers buy it to keep abreast of the current information (Bell and Garrett, 2007; Tumber 1999).

Tumber, (1999:12) writes:

News, as a form of knowledge, is not primarily concerned either with the past or with the future but rather with the present – which has been described by psychologists as ‘the specious present’. News may be said to exist only in such a present. What is meant here by the ‘specious present’ is suggested by the fact that news, as the publishers of the commercial press know, is a very perishable commodity. News remains news only until it has reached the persons for whom it has ‘news interest’. Once published and its significance recognized, what was news becomes history.

Since the main objective of news is to give information, any news story, particularly hard news, should answer the five “W”s and “H” questions: “Who” does “what” “When,” “where,” “why,” and “how” (Rich, 2003).

Traditionally, news comes under two categories: hard and soft. The distinction between hard news and soft news raises debate all the time (Reinmann et al; 2011). Rich defines “hard news” as follows:

“Hard news” includes stories of timely nature about events or conflicts that have just happened or are about to happen, such as crimes, fires, meetings, protest rallies, speeches and testimony in court cases. The hard approach is basically an account of what happened, why it happened, and how readers will be affected. These stories have immediacy (2003, 24).

Hard news is normally written in an inverted pyramid shape (Cardownie, 1987:27). In an inverted pyramid structure the most important events come first and then details and the background of the story follow (Bell in Bell and Garrett, 2007:68). The soft news structure does not necessarily follow the inverted pyramid. Soft news is not necessarily supposed to answer the 5 W & H questions. Soft news seek to entertain or amuse readers.

Another debate emerges about story placement. According to other scholars, soft news has no place on the front page (Bell and Garrett, 2007:188). Placement conveys meanings by itself. Consequently, soft news do not deserve the front page. However, I have found soft news on the front page (see Apx.6, AN1).

The writing format of the “hard news” and “soft news” presents another dilemma. Some scholars argue that soft news means a feature article. For instance, Rich (2003:24) says:

Soft news can also be stories that focus on people, places, or issues that affect readers' lives. These types of stories are called “feature stories”. A story about the growing number of babies suffering from AIDS could be considered a soft news story. It is not less important than hard news, but it is not news that happened overnight. However, a feature story can be based on a news event. Instead of being just a factual account of the event, it features or focuses on a particular angle, such as human interest reactions.

In most cases it is difficult to categorize some news under either of the two categories. No easy demarcation between hard news and soft news exists.

Reinmann et al, (2011) have critiqued research conducted in the last 30 years. They find that researchers have no consensus of the clear-cut difference between soft and hard news. Some, (citing Schramm), have distinguished the categories based on readers' perspectives. Schramm defines soft news as a delayed feedback cause while hard news are stories that provoke the immediate feedback of readers. Tuchman, for example, distinguishes between the two based on the journalists' perspective.

Reinmann et al, (2011:5) suggests that five dimensions define hard and soft news. These are as follows: *topic/event* (like politics, economy), *news production* (timely and less timely), *news focus* (sensational and human interest), *news style* (inverted pyramid and feature style) and *news reception* (delayed reward and immediate reward).

They criticize the conventional definitions of soft and hard news and suggest their own definition. I will follow suit. Soft news and hard news needs to be considered among the multidimensionality of themes and newspaper formats.

The more a news item is politically relevant, the more it reports in a thematic way, focuses on the societal consequences of events, is impersonal and unemotional in its style, the more it can be regarded as hard news. The more a news items is not politically relevant, the more it reports in an episodic way, focuses on individual consequences of events, is personal and emotional in style, the more it can be regarded as soft news. (Ibid:14).

I followed thematic categories to code the data. Regardless of softness and hardness of the news items, I coded the items under the nine topics identified from the newspaper contents. I only

examine the format in the qualitative analysis (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). I found that classifying the news with a thematic approach better identified the gendered aspect of the item. *Addis Zemen* presents very serious news on the front page while printing less important news on the inside pages. Since *Addis Admass* does not have inside news pages, the medium takes a human interest approach to the news items. They present serious issues in an entertaining format and, at the same time, present light issues in a serious format.

### **Feature stories**

The feature genre, compared to the news, is less perishable. Features are more subjective and writers play with style (Eide, 2009; Garrison, 1994:5; Steensen, 2009). Consequently, features entertain their readers (Hay, 1990:3, Rich, 2003:24). In feature stories, detailed information comes after the main issues, which have been addressed in the form of news. The feature stories of newspapers have a variety of types, such as profiles, seasonal features, service features, etc. (Garrison, 194, Hay, 1990).

Here too, controversies exist. People have different perspectives regarding features. Some argue that features exclusively discuss past events, which is actually not always the case. All aspects of life, such as personal experiences or observations, can be the source of feature stories. Features give journalists relatively more time to gather additional background data and to create an entertaining narrative structure.

I have collected different kinds of features. Interviews, essays, profiles and other types of writings are included. Feature writing tends to use fictional devices because writers can use their creativity (Eide, 2009; Steensen, 2009). Feature stories as a genre give more freedom to the writers and editors to incorporate their views. As a result, journalists choose an angle from which they want to present the subject. Moreover, writers have the freedom to use the best of their writing skills with little restriction (Eide, cited in Steensen, 2009).

Unlike the news genre's structure, the feature's organization is not fixed. News is normally written in an inverted pyramid format. In a feature story, the governing principle is to begin with a catchy lead, followed by a well-developed argument and poignant concluding remarks. Every part of the feature's structure is equally significant. The feature must give a complete picture within a short piece of writing.

Features are “signed” materials. The feature section in the newspaper has feature writers and above them a person who is senior to them. The senior person approves the “quality” of the written feature. S/he may be assigned or may have a prestigious position in the newspaper's organizational structure. The feature writers are likely to be inspected. This inspection is helpful for a number of reasons.

To start with, the rules and the style of the media can earn it respect. If the policy and style are used consistently, they endow the paper with an identity (Garrison, 1994). Besides that, the inspection catches structural errors and content mistakes.

The policy includes rules that the newspaper wants its employees to follow. For example, they may want to differentiate themselves from the ideologies of the private owners or refrain from meddling with these ideologies. Areas of concern are usually racial and gender disparities. In any case, journalists are supposed to respect their newspaper's policy (Tumber, 1999:79). Thus, inspections minimize the writer's oversight or breaching of the practices or the rules of the newspaper.

### **Editorials**

I have selected the editorial as the third genre under study. Unlike news and feature articles, editorials are not signed. Editorials are written by the top management of a newspaper (van Dijk in Bell and Garrett, 2007). An editorial speaks the voice of the newspaper and it has a permanent place in every issue. It is the direct message of the media (van Dijk, 1983: 30). Conboy (2007:82) describes an editorial as follows:

In most obvious and that most traditional place for newspapers to express, their collective or editorial opinion is their leading articles. This is where the newspaper takes a stance on what it claims are the most important issues of the day. It is more of a process of confirming the identity of the newspaper and in so doing the identity of the idealized community of readership....

*Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* use editorials to explain their stances on current topics. *Addis Admass* carries critical editorials on current issues. Skjerdal (2012) in his dissertation appreciates the critical potential of the newspaper. *Addis Admass* has a unique style in presenting its editorial. It always opens its editorial with figures of speeches, poems, quotations, and tales, which is not common in local newspapers. It has maintained this since its inception. This

approach makes the editorial entertaining but, at the same time, conveys its message in a critical, analogical and subtle manner.

*Addis Admass* also differs from *Addis Zemen* in that most of the time; *Addis Admass* publishes two different editorials on different current issues at a time. *Addis Zemen* publishes only one editorial per edition.

Editorials can be presented as text, cartoons, or a combination of both. *Addis Admass* sometimes uses both.

### **4.3 Data Collection Procedures, Coding and Sampling**

#### **4.3.1 Procedures**

The data collection procedure passed through three stages. First, I selected which editions to examine. Second, I prepared the codebook to classify the data under different topics. Third I categorized the items under their respective coded topics and selected samples for qualitative analysis.

To clarify, *Addis Zemen* was on the market six days a week, every day except Mondays, until September 2000. As of 11 September 2000, it produced editions for seven days a week. When changes were made, the newspaper added features and pages and restructured columns. New pages were opened while some pages and columns were merged. Some pages were reshuffled from one day to the next or from one page to another page within the same edition. This change impacted the data selection.

Accordingly, the editorials and the news (both from the front and inside pages) are taken from the Saturday edition whereas the feature stories are taken from Thursday (January 2000 to October 2000) editions. The Thursday editions carried different columns including the women's page. At the moment, this page no longer exists in this newspaper. After October of 2000 during the months of November and December, I only focused on the Saturday edition because the women's page was moved from Thursday to Saturday. I wanted to see if issues related to women were marginalized to a specific page.

My research focuses mainly on *Addis Zemen's* Saturday edition. This is done purposely. Since *Addis Admass* also comes out on Saturdays, I chose the Saturday edition of *Addis Zemen* to see

whether the two newspapers are sensitive to the same event/issue or if they reflected different discourses on gender relations. I would examine their perspectives in approaching those discourses differently and otherwise would investigate the similarities and differences in their attitudes. A close study reveals the newspapers aspire to change with regard to gender and gender relations and to legitimize the old discourses. I do not assume that this is an exhaustive comparison between the newspapers.

I carried out all the data collection and selection tasks independently. Independent work ensured quality and consistency because I had direct contact with the data (Richards, 2005:67). This was not without its challenges. The most difficult challenge was searching print copies for designated historical moments. None of the newspapers had been digitized. I read thoroughly each edition and coded them myself. I read each text and took notes and photographs. The work was tedious and required uninterrupted concentration.

Little information exists on this topic in Ethiopia and no statistics cover media topics. I used both quantitative and qualitative data. I examined all 103 editorials (51 from *Addis Admass*<sup>4</sup> and 52 from *Addis Zemen*). I focus on editorials because I assume that they seat the basic ideological grounds of each newspaper.

I also examined all the front-page news for the first six months of *Addis Zemen* and of *Addis Admass*. The quantity of news on *Addis Zemen* is higher than that of *Addis Admass* (See Chapter 5, Figure 5.1). I finished collecting major items first and then continue with the comparatively smaller tasks. I then read the rest of the front-page news of *Addis Zemen* and of *Addis Admass*.

Next, I turned to the inside pages of *Addis Zemen*, since *Addis Admass* did not have inside page news. This data collection took longer than expected because even though the items were short, they were diverse and positioned on inconsistent pages. The inside page news consists of a massive amount of articles. For my final stage of data collection, I examined the feature articles. I accomplished the job only by within short time intervals. These intervals allowed me to review and modify the codebook according to the data.

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<sup>4</sup> The first Saturday's edition of *Addis Admass* for September month was not found in the compiled document which is available at the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, where my reading and examination of the whole data is based.

However, taking frequent breaks had some negative consequences. For instance, human error made it possible for me to miss or forget procedures I had already come across. I would encounter new situations unidentified in the original data collection, which created inconsistencies. I set criteria for the parameters to avoid inconsistencies. One, I focused on the meta-data pre-selected as variables for coding. I coded according to the five “Ws & H” of the story, the writer of the story, the date and the page the story was printed on (which are labeled as “surface descriptions” in chapter 6, 7 and 8 qualitative analysis), and the main theme conveyed through each story. I used this codebook throughout the analyses.

#### **4.3.2 Classification and Coding**

The nature of the research questions and the lack of information led me to employ both quantitative and qualitative methods. As Marshall, (1996:522) says, “The choice between quantitative and qualitative research methods [is] determined by the research question, not by preference of the researcher”. Quantitative research method is very important for the first and the second research questions: “How are gender and gender relations represented in the selected newspapers?”; “How do the selected news items, features, and editorials depict the female and the male social actors?” The quantitative method has two advantages: to quantify the newspapers' items for an overall picture and to pinpoint exactly who are the sources and social actors.

The qualitative method in this study has the following advantages: it enables me to more closely examine the character portrayal and why some topics are treated in certain ways. In addition, contextualizes the issues. Qualitative method further examines how and why the newspapers address changes. A mixed methods approach allowed me to answer research questions in a more or less comprehensive manner.

I read all 3160 items of the three genres, news, editorials, and features, (see figure 5.1 in chapter 5) printed in 2000. I also annotated the items. I then classified the items into nine general topics based on the messages they convey. This produced an overall picture of the newspapers. I employed four strategies for the classification. First, I observed the trends in the newspapers. For instance, the newspapers write a short description under the heading of a column. It is



possible to grasp the focal area and thematic coverage of a page by reading the caption placed below a masthead.

Second, I analyzed how journalists framed the themes and contents. For instance, at the surface, abduction seems like a harmful traditional practice. However, if an author presents abduction as a crime, if the narrative portrays victims and perpetrators, and if the court decides on it, then abduction falls under a human rights violation. It is a crime, not a harmful traditional practice, depending on the frame.

Third, I referred to the literature. Secondary sources supplemented my interpretation. That is, I refer to technical dictionaries for definitions of the general themes. What is economy? What is art, etc?

Fourth, I identified thematic categories by using the salient events as guidelines. For instance, the National HIV Council was formed in the year 2000. Therefore, HIV/AIDS is one of the sub-themes under health. The amendment of the old Criminal Code (1957) and Civil Code (1960), and the ratification of the new Family Law (June 2000) were other good starting points under law as a category. The other important events of 2000 were the Ethio-Eritria war, the famine in some parts of Ethiopia, and other social and political activities. These thematic areas formed parameters under “War and Conflict”, etc. The general thematic categories analyzed are as follows: “Law”, “Health”, “Politics”, “Economy”, “Election”, “Agriculture”, “Education”, “Culture”, and “War and Conflict” and “Other”.

I further divided themes into sub-themes. I identified specific focal areas of interest, and relevance to the research questions of the thesis. For instance, “Law” was sub-divided into ten sub-sections (Appendix 3: Table 5.1).

These classifications came with challenges. It was difficult to decide how to classify an item of newspaper narrative that covered more than one theme. For example, some covered both “politics” and “election”. Similar challenges occurred with harmful “traditional practices” under “Culture” and “law”. The cases on “abduction” have both cultural and legal aspects. The Law considers abduction a crime. I categorized stories about abduction under law, the subsection of “Crime and HR violation”. If “abduction” is presented as a story, or if a victim narrates her or his experiences, I then categorize it under “traditional practices”, which is a sub-theme of “Culture”.

A feature or news story about a woman may contain either a political, election, or war theme, or it may touch all these topics simultaneously. On occasions like this, what matters most is the main intention of the article. Thus, I classified it according to its salient message. In this way, I avoided coding one item more than once.

I coded and classified the kinds of sources and social actors (see Chapter 5).

Next, a local assistant in Addis Ababa University coded the data in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). She has her Masters Degree in Computer Science coded the data for a simple data description. I present her analysis as well as the specific facts, points of views, details and expressions of the story.

### **4.3.3 Sampling**

I include the Newspaper story details such as dates, pages, story attributions, sources, and the themes in short notes. I read the texts with an open-ended approach and more deeply analyzed for the articles from which I drew qualitative analysis. Thus I identified data for the qualitative analysis as Carvalho (2000: 166) says:

Open-ended reading of the media texts in the initial stage to identify subjects or identify significant debates, controversies, and silences.... Starting with an open-ended reading of texts without very specific questions or hypothesis constraining the analysis can produce interesting results since it allows for the identification of the most significant characters of the data without the filter effect of a tight research program.

I have applied this method to every text. As suggested by Carvalho (2000), I examined the notes I had already taken. My notes include colorings, questions and interpretative notes, notes that connect the points to other background information. For instance, when I came across similar or contradictory messages in the two newspapers I connected them. This reading helped me to identify the debate(s) in a text. I later used an inductive approach, which attends to the framing theory, (see theory section in Chapter 3).

The method has helped me record my observations and identify points of interest. While I marked, I considered them as works for analysis. Draucker et al. (2007) describe this method as theoretical sampling. Glaser (1978, 36 and 46) also indicated that theoretical sampling occurs when: “...the analyst jointly collects codes, analyses his data, and decides what data to collect

next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges... Initial sampling decisions are collected and coding begins, the researcher is led in all directions, which seem relevant and work.”

Thus I came to qualitative sampling. I selected a few items for the qualitative analysis. Focusing more closely on a few selected items allowed me to answer the questions.

There are three sampling strategies for qualitative research (Marshall, 1996:523). These are 1) convenient sampling or purposive sampling, 2) judgment sampling and 3) theoretical sampling. For my qualitative method, I used a combination of judgment sampling and looking for “crisis points of coding” (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008: 124-125). Quoting Fairclough, (1992a), Jorgensen and Phillips (Ibid) describe “Crisis points of coding” as follows:

... Signs indicating that something has gone wrong in the interaction. These signs can reflect conflicts between different discourses. A sign could be that one of the participants tries to save a situation by, e.g. repeating a statement, or it could be ‘dissiliency’ where the participant hesitates or repeats utterances, silence or sudden change in style.

Judgmental sampling gave me the chance to use my background knowledge to select the study sample (Altheide, 1987). By following this technique, I selected eighteen items (one has two series) from both newspapers for the qualitative analysis. I kept in mind the three questions: “what” is going on?; “why” is it going on?; and “how” does it occur? In other words, what is said on gender and gender relations in the narratives? Why are gender and gender relations presented in a certain way? How do they articles present gender and gender relations? I applied both inductive and deductive approaches to data analysis.

I considered the following elements for the selection of the 18 items for the qualitative analysis:

1. Newspaper stories with traditional acts and beliefs that have gendered elements, either legitimized and/or deconstructed,
2. Newspaper stories in which local traditions and European cultures are contrasted,
3. Newspaper stories in which women and men as groups are portrayed,
4. Newspaper stories that profile women as role models,
5. Newspaper stories that profile women as victims, and

6. Newspaper stories that deal with the interaction of men and women in private and public spheres

I analyzed each sample individually. I then conducted an inter-textual analysis across all texts. The inter-textual analysis gets at the abstract ideas reflected through the narratives of both newspapers. In other words, I cross-examined the items. This inferred their implicit meanings as Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 73) state:

Inter-textual analysis occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event. Through new articulations of discourses, the boundaries change both within the order of discourse and between different orders of discourses. Creative discursive practices in which discourse types are combined in new and complex ways - in discursive and thereby socio- cultural change....

I can approach an inter-textual data analysis in two ways. First, I could look at multiple items from the same newspaper (Carvalho, 2000: 27 & 2008). This approach is similar to vertical segregation. Second, I could consider multiple items from a certain time in different newspapers. This second approach is similar to horizontal segregation. Both approaches assume that texts are always based on previous texts (Ibid, 18; Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008:74; Ahl, 2002).

## **4.4 Reliability and validity of the Data**

### **4.4.1 Reliability of Data**

I conducted all the data collection and coding. No assistant data collector participated. This ensured the quality of the research and maintained consistency in data collection procedures. The total number of items selected is 3160 (Chapter 5, Figure 5.1; Appendix 3: Table 5.1).

During the initial stage of data collection, I pre-tested one month of editions of both newspapers. I used the pre-test to design the codebook. After the designing of the codebook, I read materials from both newspapers. I also tested the codebook in order to refine it.

I refined the codebook by checking and rechecking it several times. Every time I met members of the NUFU project, I presented them with the codebook for further refinement. I forwarded questions to ensure consistency. I revised the codebook three times before it became the final codebook. I also discussed it with the project groups and supervisors.

I tested and revised the codebook according to the data and the research questions. After this, the data was recorded according to new codebook categories. I also used this codebook for the final systematic coding of the material (See Appendix Three: Table 5.1).

I checked the codebook again checked when the data entered SPSS. The data coder into the SPSS coded the data according to my instructions (see Appendix 11, the codebook).

#### **4.4.2 Validity of the Data**

Throughout the data analysis, I validated the data by checking and coding against the research questions and the codebook.

I further validated the data with three strategies. First, I obtained guidance and assistance from my advisors in the preparation of the codebook, tables, and classification of items. Second, I hired an assistant data encoder to code the quantitative data into SPSS based on the codebook. I prepared notes to identify issues within the data. I oriented to the data encoder with these notes.

Third, I was careful with the selection and analysis of the qualitative data. Two male university professors and experts in language and literature did translations of original texts (from Amharic into English). One has translated the first 16 newspaper stories and the other has translated the last three (one item is discarded during the analysis) (Apx.6, ZF5a & ZF5b). Two more proofreaders checked the selected and translated quotations in the main text. Relevance to the research questions and their multi-layered meaning formed criteria for selection. The three professionals (the female data encoder and the two male translators) are selected with the consent of the researcher and the Institute of Gender Studies (currently Centre of Gender Studies) of Addis Ababa University.

### **4.5 Research Design and Analytical tolls**

#### **4.5.1 Research Design**

I designed my research with the social constructionists' approach, based on theories from two perspectives. First, I use the theory of gender and gender relations. Second, I used theories of research methodology. I employ the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), framing theory and

Narrative theory as my theoretical frameworks (see Chapter 3). Critical Discourse Analysis, framing theory and narrative theory, provided me with the proper analytical tools.

#### 4.5.2 Analytical Tools

I adapt the analytical tools from the theories. I was forced to use a multi-methodological approach. First, I have done so because the tools developed within each theory cannot achieve my objectives. Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:155) have lauded the use of a multi-perspective methodology of discourse analysis:

.... And another ground for multi-perspective research is that it suits critical research as different perspectives demonstrate that the social world can be understood and constructed in various ways, thus pointing out that things would be different and opening up for the possibility for social change.....

These three analytical tools (CDA, frame and narrative) complement each other. They have some common elements that can make fit them under one theoretical framework, i.e., the social constructionist approach. They are not, however, one and the same.

Carvalho (2000, 2008) and Bushra Rahman (2002) employing this mixed methods approach. Carvalho (2000:18) in her paper entitled "Discourse Analysis and Media Texts: A Critical Reading of Analytical Tools" reviewed the three tools for text analysis known as "structure analysis", "frame analysis" and "narrative analysis". Each has distinctive features and commonalities. "... All are non-neutral lenses and consist of specific ways of seeing the world. It is important to be aware of what is lost, what is gained with each research technique" (2000:18).

Bushra Rahman's (2002) research entitled "Image of Muslim Women in International Magazines: A Case of Time and Newsweek 1979-2002", uses different theoretical frameworks and analytical approaches. She used CDA as conducted by Van Dijk's and Fairclough's methodology, and frame analysis. Even though Rahman's research applies similar analytical tools, her thematic approaches are very different from Carvalho.

These three different but interrelated theories (see Chapter 3) formed my analytical parameters

### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Many scholars have contributed tools of critical discourse analysis, but I employ those taken from Van Dijk (in *Discourse and Society*: 1993 and in Bell and Garrett, 2007, Carvalho, 2000 & 2008). These approaches systematically describe the various structures and strategies of texts or talks as they relate to the social and political context.

Discourse analysis identifies frames. Frame and discourse go together. A frame is composed of an implicit cultural phenomenon that displays the package as a whole (Van Gorp, 2007: 65 and 71).

### **Surface descriptors**

“Surface descriptors” describe the placement of the item, the page and the size of the item and the like. Doulton and Brown, (2009:193) say “Surface descriptors, specify the newspaper, author, date, page, section, word count, title of the article”. Carvalho (2000:21, 2008:167) explains “surface descriptors” as follows:

In propose first looking at a few “surface” elements of the text- the data of publication, the newspaper in which it was published, the author, the page (page number) in which the article appeared, and the size of the article. These indicators say something by themselves. For instance, the different impacts of publishing an article on page 1 or page 20 are obvious, and this clearly expresses a newspaper’s valorization of the issue or event at stake.

Carvalho adds that these elements “... say something about the evaluation and categorization of the issue by a given news outlet, with implications for the audience’s perception (2008:167).

Van Dijk has another term which conveys similar meaning, “surface structure,” and says these structures express meanings (in Bell and Garrett, 2007:45). The newspapers I explore are not easily available for the reader to check since they are only on paper and in Amharic, which makes these details crucial to analysis.

I examine discursive strategies in the sample narratives. “Discursive strategies are forms of discursive manipulation of reality by social actors, including journalists, in order to achieve a certain effect or goal”... (Carvalho, 2008:169). Carvalho has proposed as discursive strategies of media writing as follows:

1. The main intervention the speaker/author makes is in their selection of an angle of the (complex) reality s/he is talking about.
2. Positioning (politicization and legitimization)
3. How the discursive strategies of each (relevant) social actor are reproduced, challenged or excluded (2008:170).
4. The layout and structure of the text, in the construction of objects and actors in discourse and in the language grammar and rhetoric. In turn, ideological positions have to be inferred from all the other elements, as well as from discursive strategies (Carvalho, 2008: 171).

### **Theme**

Theme, (Carvalho calls this “object” saying it is close to topics or themes, 2008:167), constitutes an important element of a narrative. Van Dijk says, “Intuitively, a topic or theme is what the discourse is about globally speaking” (1988:30). The text conveys the theme as a message. There may be main theme and sub theme(s) in a given story. The central message of the text is identified by applying Critical Discourse Analysis method. Themes contain the frame of the media (Van Gorp, 2007: 66).

### **Organization of the story: macro-micro structure**

Macro-structural framework consists of the story construction or the organization of the news.

By the ‘thematic structure’ of a discourse, we understand the overall organization of global ‘topics’ a news item is about. ... We use the theoretical term superstructure to describe such schemata. Schemata have a fixed, conventional (and therefore, culturally variable nature for each type of texts. We assume that also news discourse has such a conventional schema, a ‘news schema’, in which the overall topics or global content may be inserted.... (Van Dijk, <http://www.daneprairie.com>: 69).

A story organization contains the macro-structural pattern on the one hand and the micro-structural analysis of words on the other. Micro structural analysis considers the semantic (meaning), syntactic and stylistics of the language.

Van Dijk’s restricts his macro-micro approach to the news story organization. His approach aligns with how others identify the text structures of non-news items, too, though. News has the



following three main structural patterns: summary (the headline and lead), background (main event and previous events, context and consequences) and finally, a comment section. While the comment section is optional, it may include conclusions, expectations, speculations, and other information. What does the news convey through its headline, its lead, its main body and its ending? I used this analytic for the sample stories.

### **Characterization of the social actors**

Social actors are people or institutions quoted or referred to in newspapers stories (Carvalho, 2000: 22 & 2008:168). "Actors are then both subjects – they do things – and objects – they are talked about" (ibid). In his portrayal of social actors, the journalist either builds up images of the characters or defines their relations and identities. I attend to essential details such as the roles they have in the shaping of the overall meaning of the text. This discursive analysis tool focuses on the "Concept of concerning identity: group formation, identity and representations" (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008: 50).

### **Language Use**

Language conveys ideology and presuppositions (Carvalho, 2008:168). I apply all three tools, (framing, CDA, and narrative analysis) regarding the text's language use. Besides the style of writing about characters, I focus on the conceptual words and phrases, adjectives, pronouns, etc.. These reflect the frame and discursive actions.

I examine language from two different angles. According to Carvalho (2000), I look at the journalist's perspective and the social actor's perspective. I attend to expressions, semantic moves, presuppositions and propositions (Rahman, 2002). Teo (2000: 40-41), on the other hand, has suggested that quotation patterns and over lexicalization should be explored discourses. Carvalho (2000 & 2008), Teo (2000) and Van Dijk (1983) have guided my process for inferring connotations within the text.

In addition to the above tools, I used narrative, framing and discursive practices to analyze the texts. I have focused on how the selected newspapers have represented gender and gender relations.

## 4.6 Methodological Challenges

I encountered challenges from the get-go. These challenges came from two dimensions. First, a review of literature identified some challenges. Second, challenges arose specific to this particular project. I devised strategies to overcome these challenges (see below).

### 4.6.1 Location of the Researcher, Insider-Outsider Dilemma

I have three different perspectives for this research: a journalist, a woman, and a researcher. I worked for *Addis Zemen* newspaper from September 1987 to April 1996. I edited the Culture Page for these years. I also edited of the women's page from September 1995 to April 1996. In addition to this, I have contributed articles to private magazines, for instance *Şādäy*. These two positions may introduce dilemmas for my position as researcher. To resolve these dilemmas, I used a research strategy to minimize the harm done to the validity of this research.

When I designed my project, I relied on knowledge from books and research findings. The media has an established norm of portraying women and men and I was familiar with those expectations as well.

I have firsthand knowledge on how journalists are assigned an article (at least in the government owned media), how columnists fill their columns when there is scarce material, and how new pages and columns are introduced to the readers without planning (Agaredech in Negussie, 2008). I am also familiar with how newspapers prioritize news agency items. During my time as a journalist, most news on the front page came from news agencies.

During that time, popular columns used to have several participant writers. Articles printed in foreign magazines, used to be published with added local color for the benefit of readers. I observed that names of columnists were repeated in multiple articles especially in “soft news” and “Feature” stories. Most of these names were female names. This led me to ask, “Do women contribute this much?” So, I evaluated the genres using journalistic skills. I situate myself as a researcher, as a journalist and a woman, on top of that mother.

I understand the professional and administrative limitations in Ethiopia even after I left the media in 1996. Often journalists lack access to information, work under pressure to meet deadlines, struggle to be timely and contextual (Negeri, in Fekadu, et al, 2013; Skjerdal, 2012). Female

journalists used to take the responsibility of writing women's issues; consequently, the issues were marginalized and crammed into women's page (Abebech, 2007). Newspapers have developed a tradition that shows that gender relations are attached to women only. To break this tradition, the study focuses on how the entire newspaper represents gender and gender relations.

My practical experience (as Holst wrote cited in Englstad & Gerrard, 2005:43) has also given me insight to the working culture of Ethiopian media. However, my insider status can present other challenges. Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 178) state “This application of discourse analytical knowledge suffers from an epistemological difficulty. How can researchers reveal common-sense understandings in their own society, if they, being part of society themselves, share many of those understandings?.”

Thus, Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:21) state my problem and they suggest a comparative approach:

In discourse analytical research, the primary exercise is not to sort out which of the statements about the world in the research material are right and which are wrong (...). On the contrary, the analyst has to work with what has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality.

Since the problems are prevalent in the newspapers under scrutiny, I follow this advice:

... Comparison is a strategy, which is well suited to facilitating the process by which analysts distance themselves from their material. The process of distancing is important as one of the aims of discourse analysis is to identify naturalized, taken for granted assumptions in the empirical material and this can be difficult if one shares those assumptions oneself... (Ibid: 149).

Thus I conduct my work in a manner where my presuppositions will not influence the results. I must exert special efforts to show the data itself, without undergirding my assumptions and attitudes. The quality and objectivity of the research relates to the degree of the researcher's distance from the study subject. I have tried to follow this dictate.

#### **4.6.2 Subjects-objects/researcher gap**

Written material contrasts from interviews in that four agents; the writer, the reader, the researcher and the research output, are at stake in an analysis. The relationship between the researcher and materials may widen the gap.

The four objects intersect at the central point of the text. The writer (the journalist), as well as different participants, produce the text. This same text is my data source. The readers and the journalists consume both the text and the research output.

Archives and texts can keep a distance between a researcher and the primary sources (Prior in Seale, 2004: 358). Most of the time, the agents are the researcher and the subjects/objects who participated in interviews and fieldwork. In fact, it may be sometimes necessary to consult with agents to access informants (Ramazanoglu with Holland, 2007: 157; Ryen, 2007). After a researcher meets his or her source, s/he works directly on the verbal and observational data s/he gathered. In print media, the situation differs. "Once, transformed into a written text, a gap between the 'author' and 'reader' widens, and the possibilities of multiple reinterpretations increase" (Hodder, 2003:394).

In print media, gatekeepers exist at every level of information before the message gets delivered to the public. Many professionals contribute to the process of mass communication. Gatekeepers are assigned professionals who select issues, sources and how to present information (Louw, 2005: 72). Richardson (2007:40-41) says the following:

... For instance one can imagine a news report and an editorial written by a journalist in a particular news organization encoded with the same ideological message, but the radical differences between these two text genres demand that the information which carries this encoded ideological message must have been collected and presented in very different ways: the producer shapes the text but the text its conventions, shapes its production too....

The information passes through all these procedures. The first information collector who goes out to the streets is not the one who decides whether to publish the material. His or her seniors wait in the newsroom and the item's fate will be decided based on its relevance to the media's policy.

When interpreting newspaper texts, analysis is based on the published material, not with the original texts or information sources.

#### **4.6.3 No detail description**

Newspaper items focus on specific issues; therefore, these newspapers' stories may seem incomplete because facts are unavailable or missing. But I cannot rewrite the stories.

Accordingly, in this research, I focus only on the written text. I interpret what is present on the page. I only use the stories presented (see Chapters 6-8).

Another thing to keep in mind (4.6.2) is that the words may not be faithful to words taken from the sources, a routine practice. Journalists select and omit according to relevance and they often summarize words from the sources.

#### **4.6.4 Women May Read neither newspapers' Stories nor Research Outputs**

Print media has limited influence on the public in African countries in general and in Ethiopian in particular. The majority of the population cannot afford to be regular readers (de Burgh, 2005: 161 & 164). In Ethiopia, women constitute 49-50% of the population (Census 2007). The majority of women are not able to read and write; only 26.4% of women are literate. Beyond this statistic, we also cannot be certain whether the women who are literate are regular readers. According to Skjerdal (in Orgerett and Rønning, 2009), only 1% of literate people are regular readers of newspapers in Ethiopia. Underdeveloped infrastructure, uneven distribution systems create more problems for newspaper circulation (Ibid.).

Infrastructure-related problems also prevent the journalists from doing well. They are not well-equipped to go to the rural places to assess the real lives of women and men. Sometimes, even when the infrastructure is not a problem, journalists will not travel to interview subjects. Stories written through telephone interviews are included in this research. For example, the story about "The First Female Regional President" (Apx.6, ZF6) was written based on telephone interview three weeks after her promotion to the presidency.

Are rural women and men portrayed in the newspapers? Do they reflect the everyday lives of the people in the country? This is dubious at best because the reporter's view or editorialization may dominate the article. Plus, even if we manage to hear women's and men's voice in the printed article they may not be accurate (Kitsinger in Seal et al., 2007: 114). My intention is not to judge this accuracy, however.

#### **4.6.5 Language Use and Translation**

Being bilingual is useful for researchers (Staunæs and Sondergaard, 2008: 8-9). The local language Amharic and the international language (English) are the working languages of the

federal government of Ethiopia (Tolemariam, 2009). Most academic research in Ethiopia is conducted in English. In all the 33 universities of the country, the language of instruction is English. This benefits results since they are available to both foreign and local communities.

I communicate with my supervisor in English. My supervisor's first language is Norwegian and my native language is Amharic. Academics located in a European country can evaluate the research results of another country. Every point I make has been contextualized and explained in English for foreign readers. I include different audiences with various cultural frames of reference but also Anglophone.

I focus on newspapers that print in Amharic. Amharic terms can change their meanings based on the context in which they are used. This imposes a challenge for analysis. Amharic also uses pronouns in a specific way. In Amharic, pronouns for second person singular-formal differ from second-person-singular. The pronouns for the second-person-singular-feminine differ from second-person-singular-masculine (see Appendix two). These kinds of addresses can confuse the analysis.

Apart from pronouns, some Amharic concepts are difficult to translate. I tried to convey messages based on the original language by quoting translated versions. The point of view affects how characters are depicted. This impacts the interpretation especially when we consider the points of view in the stories. It is difficult to translate the contents of literary devices. The writer's texts may contain connotations in Amharic that do not work in English.

Conducting research in local languages presents challenges related to translations. The credibility of the research depends on the quality of the translator. Two professional translators have resolved this difficulty to some extent. Both are veteran staff members of Addis Ababa University.

The translators made two contributions. First, they worked to make the English version as close to the original language as possible. Second, they enhanced the quality of the data with interpretations. One of the translators, Dr Yonas Admassu, passed away before this research is finalized. I have kept all the notes by late Dr Admassu without making any changes. After his death, I had some questions, but I retained his original comments.

#### 4.6.6 Qualitative-Quantitative Dilemma

A researcher on gender and gender related issues in Ethiopia may encounter both expected and unexpected difficulties. S/he may be asked to justify her choice of analysis. Gender is not considered a legitimate research topic in Ethiopia. I also faced the dilemma regarding which approach to use – qualitative, quantitative, or mixed. From my experiences in Ethiopian academia, I assume that people are dissatisfied with a qualitative-only study. In-depth analysis on a single or a few data might not represent the wider picture of gender and gender relations. However, my research questions necessitated a qualitative approach. In addition, changes and discourses can be dealt with through the qualitative analysis of the data.

Since little previous research and statistics exist in Ethiopia on this topic, I decided to use both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Qualitative researchers cannot, as readily as quantitative researchers, “insulate themselves from data” (Becker, 1996, p. 56). Although “full description of qualitative description is preferable to qualitative researchers than the confined, or (what they often perceive to be the) “skimpy” description resulting from quantitative serves (p.64). Finally, in quantitative research, there is a sharper line drawn between exploration (finding out what is there) and description (describing what has been found) than in qualitative descriptive studies (Sandelowski, 2000:336).

Quantitative data gives a general picture, while qualitative data enabled me to portray the cultural discourse on gender relations. Feminist scholars criticized early research for falsely universalizing women's experiences. They point to a tendency to ignore experiences of women as diverse and sometimes contradictory. This diversity can be neglected in general statements that construct “women” as a unitary category across ethnic, class and sexual identity (Kitiznger in Seale, 2007:118; Olsen: 2007:161). Therefore, I have been keen to get across the diversified cultures and ethnicities in Ethiopia, so as to avoid simplifying gender and gender relation. Within this diversity, Ethiopian women (and men) have commonalities but they also differ depending on religion, ethnic groups and classes.

## **4.7 CONCLUSION**

I used both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches. Theoretically, I have constructed a framework to interpret the data from the perspective of gender and media studies. I use theories of gender and gender relation as framework because it directly relates to the research topic. I mainly use CDA, narrative and framing strategies as analytics. I believe these three approaches will probe the textual meanings both implicit and explicit. These tools complement each other.

I have applied different strategies to ensure the validity and reliability of the data. I collected data to maintain consistency. However, I also employed other mechanisms to ensure the quality of the research. Two academic staff members translated the sample stories. I closely supervised the data coding into SPSS.



## CHAPTER FIVE: REPRESENTATION OF GENDER: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the quantitative data collected from *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*. My research question investigates the distribution of women and men as sources, as objects and the participation of female and male authors in both newspapers. I also examine which topics are more frequent in news, features, editorials, and profiles.

This chapter has six sections. The second section contextualizes the data. The third and the fourth sections describe *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*. The fifth section presents the findings and the last one concludes the chapter.

### 5.2 Context: Parameter Description

I collected 3,160 items altogether from both newspapers. I identified nine topics based on the articles' contents (see Chapter 4). These topics (Appendix Three, Table 5.1) consist of the following: "Law", "Health", "Politics", "Economy", "Election", "Agriculture", "Education", "Culture", "War & Conflict" and "others". I classify subtopics for the nine major topics (Appendix 11: code book).

The data employ three major parameters: *representation or distribution of topics, portrayal of characters*, particularly representation of women and men (as sources, subjects and objects), and *story attribution*. Based on the above parameters, four dimensions are used to describe the data: 1) what topics recur? 2), which sources and social actors dominate? 3) Which positions dominate? and finally, 4) which newspapers story writers dominate? I employ these parameters in the description of both *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*.

#### 5.2.1 Thematic Representation

I examine the distribution of topics with two approaches. First, I examine how the newspapers' articles are distributed in terms of genres. Second, I examine the distribution of articles in terms

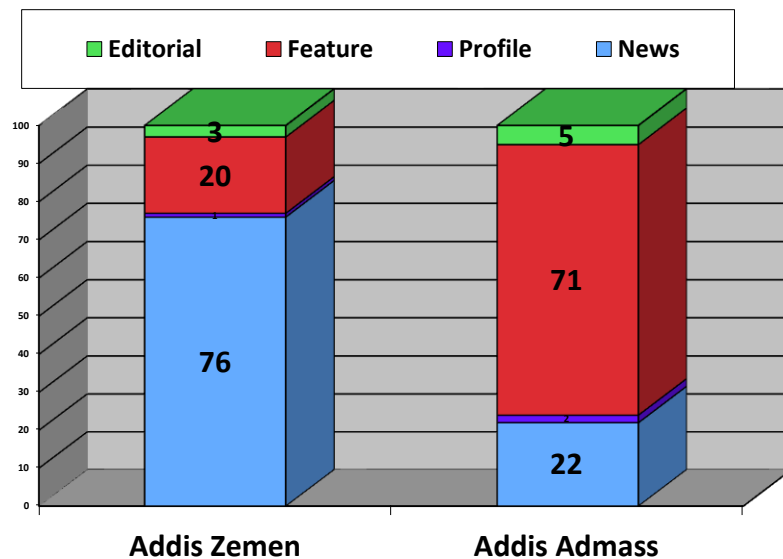
of the nine classified topics. If an issue or subject recurs in a given newspaper, we can infer that the topic is important (Rahman, 2002; Van Dijk cited in Bell and Garrett, 1998:7).

I examine the prominence of topics, social actors and storywriters from three dimensions. I look at their place within the entire data. I also attend to their genre. Third, I locate them in terms of topics. Genres, like topics, indicate the status given to social actors (Conboy, 2007). Gallego et al. say, "... Some sections merit greater professional consideration than others do. "Politics", "International", and "Economy" are in the hard sections, whereas "society" and "culture" are considered as "soft" (2004:57). When the news places an article in a certain way, it gives a different meaning. I use Reinemann, et al, ed's review of the conventional classification of soft news and hard news here. Citing Baum (2002, 2003, and 2007), they say:

He uses almost all dimensions that can be found in the literature. Most of the studies (83%) use the topic dimensions to identify or to differentiate between hard and soft news and at least half to the studies (54%) use the style dimension, followed by characteristics of news production (42%), a perception perspective (29%) and news focus (21%).... (2011:6).

When women and men have coverage in any of these topics, it shows the gendered approach of the media. The figure below (5.1) shows the overall data in *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass*.

**Figure 5.1: Distribution of genres in newspapers, in percent N= 2954 (missing 206) Addis Zemen, (N = 1785), (missing 12) and Addis Admass N= 1169, (missing 69)**



According to figure 5.1, 1356 news (76%), 361 Features (20%), 52 Editorials (3%) and 15 Profiles (1%) are published in *Addis Zemen*. 831 are Feature stories (71 %), 261 News items (22%), 51 Editorials (5%) and 21 Profiles (2%) in *Addis Admass*. *Addis Zemen* is news dominated while *Addis Admass* is feature story dominated.

### 5.2.2 Distribution of the social actors

I examine the portrayal of social actors from two main perspectives in this research. I identify the social actors who act as sources and I differentiate them from social actors portrayed as objects and agents. Newspapers stories portray individuals or groups of people either as sources of information, as actors, and as objects acted up on (according to Bell and Garrett subjects/objects) (Bell and Garret, 1998:43). However, the difference between sources and social actors is that the latter might not be identified as sources. Social actors can be either actors or acted upon or both. I did not attend to the difference between actors and acted up on. Instead, I focused on who was allowed to express views and ideas (as sources), who drew the newspapers' attention as a newsmaker, and who is not passive. Newspapers direct representation by denying and or allowing the expression of views. Newspaper discourse involves silencing and empowering social actors by portraying them either as objects or as subjects, as Teo (2000:18) states:

.... the use of quotation becomes a gate-keeping device that admits only those in positions of power and influence while shutting out the opinions and perspectives of those deemed by society to be powerless. Thus, while the powerful are further empowered through quotation patterns that enhance their status and visibility, the systematic silencing of the powerless - the poor, the young, the uneducated, etc., - only further dis-empowers them.

Even though newspapers write about people, there is a difference between letting the social actors speak themselves as sources and writing about people within the story. I distinguish between the sources and subjects/objects in this research as "source attribution" or "social actors" respectively. I also identified eight kinds of sources/social actors from the data. These are "Male", "Female", "Mass", "Neutral", "Multiple", "Country", "Women", and "Other". "Female" individuals and "Women in group" are separated because "women in-group "usually have separate identities from Female individuals". "Men" is never differentiated from an individual man. The use of women in the headline or in the narrative indicates gender construction by the media.

Berger (2012:107) says institutions pattern and organize social life. The selected newspapers portray different institutions. The term “Country” recurs frequently so I have also included it in the analyses.

I also examine the positions and status the characters have. I have identified the following positions of sources and social actors (similar for both) from the narratives: “*professionals*”, “*officials*”, “*witnesses*”, “*victims*”, “*investors*”, “*artists*”, “*beneficiaries*”, and “*donors*”. I named these positions from examining the topic(s), the position given to the person(s). For instance, “Artist” is generated from “Art” which is the subtopic of “Culture” (Appendix Three: Table 5.1).

### 5.2.3 Distribution of story contributors

I also note under what circumstances names/by-lines are missing from a newspaper. In the print media, a story with no by-line most often has been written by the newspapers' staff (Mallette, 1996:73). Sometimes the by-line is omitted by mistake and sometimes story is about an investigation of a social problem. In investigative reporting, writers have the right not to disclose the names of their subjects for their safety (Randal, 2000; Welsh and Greenwood, 2001). The names of the social actors may not be disclosed for similar reason. Except in these circumstances, storywriters usually have a by-line.

The editorial may also exclude by-lines. Senior staff members might write the editorial. “... While the political beliefs of newspaper owners and editors are clearly articulated on opinion pages, their views are not supposed to infiltrate the reporting of the news...” (Kahn and Kenny, 2002:381).

I identified the following eight types of source attributions: “*male*” (*M*), “*female*” (*F*), “*news agency*” (*NA*), “*Not Known*” (*NK*), “*Staff Reporter*” (*SR*), “*Documents*” (*Doc.*), and “*Other*”.

### 5.3. Description of Addis Zemen

#### 5.3.1 Genre determines prominent issues

I examined a simple distribution of the categories related to topic. Table 5.1 below conveys two kinds of information; 1) information about the total items under each topic and 2) the distribution of each topic within different genres.

**Table 5.1: Distribution of topics within genres in percent in Addis Zemen, N= 1784 (missing 13)**

Genres	Topics											N
	Law	Health	Politics	Economy	Election	Agriculture	Education	Culture	War & conflict	Other	T %	
News	13.3	8.3	13.7	18.7	3.0	15.2	7.9	3.9	12.9	3.1	100	1355
Editorial	3.8	11.5	13.5	13.5	1.9	19.2	1.9	1.9	26.9	5.8	100	52
Feature	15.8	28.3	17.5	3.6	7.5	1.1	4.7	15.0	4.7	1.9	100	361
Profile	0.0	6.7	40.0	13.3	0.0	13.3	6.7	20.0	0.0	0.0	100	15
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	0.0	100	1
Total	239	221	262	276	68	222	126	112	206	52	1784	1784
	13.4	12.4	14.7	15.5	3.8	12.4	7.1	6.3	11.5	2.9	100	

In *Addis Zemen*, “Economy” (15.5%) and “Politics” (14.7%) are the two topics, which are repeatedly covered. On the other hand, “Election” (4%), “Culture” (6%), and “Education” (7%) have relatively less recurrence. Both the general themes, “gender relations in private/public sphere,” are usually embedded in these three topics, however (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2, P. 86). “Culture” focuses on change in traditional. “Election” depicts instruments of change and it reflects the public sphere domain where gender relations manifest (see chapter 8, Apx.6, AF4).

Not all items of the “Election” topic that *Addis Zemen* carried are included in this data (see Chapter 4). I only show here those that appeared in the Saturday and Thursday editions of the newspaper. The items include news pages, features columns, and editorials. Thus the figure does not mean that *Addis Zemen* gave little attention to “Election” as a topic. Since the year 2000 was an election year, many columns for “Election News” and topics on election appeared on the other editions of *Addis Zemen*.

Within the news genre, the most prevalent topic is “Economy,” at 18.7%, followed by “Agriculture” (15.2%), “Politics” (13.7%), “Law” (13.3%), and “War & conflict” (12.9%).

Within the feature genre, the most prevalent topic is “Health” at 28.3% followed by “Politics” (17.5%), “Law” (15.85) and “Culture” (15%). The least prevalent items in feature genre are “Agriculture” (1.1%) and “Economy” (3.6%). The most prevalent in total and within the news is “Economy” (15.5 and 18.8% respectively) and the second prevalent within news is “Agriculture” (15.2%), which are both the least recurrent topics in the feature genre in *Addis Zemen*.

When it comes to “Profile”, “Politics” is treated more than all others topics, accounting for 40%. “Culture” comes next accounting for 20%. The most frequent topic in the Editorial (N=52) is “War & Conflict”, accounting for 26.9%. This is followed by “Agriculture” (19.2%) and “Economy” and “Politics” each accounting for 13.5%. “War & Conflict” topic is neither prevalent in the total, nor in the news nor in the feature. The findings show that Editorial is a genre in which newspaper’s recurrent and non-recurrent timely topics are treated. Therefore, three topics compete for prominence.

In the feature the most prominent topic is “Health” which does not recur in the total or in the news or in the editorial.

“Economy” is overall the most prevalent topic for *Addis Zemen*. It has the highest prevalence in total and within the news category. Next to “Economy”, “Agriculture” is the most prevalent mainly because it has much coverage in both the news and in the editorial genre. Going by these results, for a topic to be prevalent in a given media outlet, it usually gets attention in at least two genres.

### **5.3.2 Gender representation: soft news vs. hard news**

I examine here the distribution of sources and social actors (that is, passive characters) in terms of genre and topic distributions.

According to Table 5.2 below, from the total sources attributed to, the majority are male (53%) followed by “multiple sources” (23%). Multiple sources reflect different sources of information (Randall, 2000:42). A wide gap exists between the number of stories with male sources and multiple sources. Female individuals represent 5.3% while “women in-group” account for 2.2% of the sources. Again, we can see an extremely wide disparity between the number of male

sources and individual females. The following description shows the distribution of sources within the four genres.

### Sources within genres

**Table 5.2: Sources within genres in Addis Zemen in percent, (N 1784, missing 13)**

Genre	Source attribution									
	Male	Female	Mass	Neutral	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	Total	N
News	59.1	2.9	0.7	8.6	24.8	2.7	0.2	1.0	100	1355
Editorial	3.8	3.8	0.0	11.5	3.8	7.7	0.0	69.2	100	52
Feature	39.1	11.9	0.6	12.5	19.9	3.0	10.2	2.8	100	361
Profile	13.3	66.7	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	15
Other	0.0	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	1
Total	946	95	11	171	410	52	40	59		1784
	53.0	5.3	0.6	9.6	23.0	2.9	2.2	3.3	100	

Within the news, the majority are male sources 59.1% (N= 1355) followed by multiple sources, 24.8%. Female individuals and women in-group have a distribution of 2.9% and 0.2% respectively. Within feature, male sources account for 39.1% while female individuals and women in-group account for 11.9% and 10.2% respectively.

Female's individuals account for 66.7% in the profile category. Male sources account for 13.3% in profile. In editorials, male, female individuals and multiple sources have 3.8% coverage each. Male sources dominate within the total and within the prominent genre, news.

### Social actors within genres

Social actors are distributed as follows: masses account for 38%, followed by country at 17.4%, and multiple sources at 10.9%. Males account for 7.2% of social actors and female individuals account for 5.2% while women in-group account for 8.1%. As opposed to the sources, women in-group and individual females altogether have more prevalence as social actors and those acted upon than male characters.

**Table 5.3: Distribution of social actors within genre in percent, in Addis Zemen, N 1783, (missing 14)**

Genre	Social actors									N
	male	female	mass	neutral	multiple sources	country	women	other		
News	5.4	0.9	45.5	1.5	12.0	17.4	3.4	14.0	100	1354
Editorial	3.8	1.9	21.2	3.8	3.8	32.7	0.0	32.7	100	52
Feature	13.9	18.8	13.9	0.8	8.3	16.1	27.1	1.1	100	361
Profile	20.0	73.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	15
Other	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	1
Total	129	92	677	26	194	310	144	211		1783
	7.2	5.2	38.0	1.5	10.9	17.4	8.1	11.8	100	

The recurrent social actors in the news are “Masses” which account for 45.5%. They have a bigger figure as a social actor than as being quoted as sources (compare table 5.2 and 5.3 above). Male sources within the news are only 5.4%, female individuals are 0.9% and women in-group represent 3.4%.

In the feature category (N= 361), the majority of social actors are “women in-group,” accounting for 27.1% followed by female individuals accounting for 18.8% and the country at 16.1%. Masses and male categories have an equal distribution each accounting for 13.9%. As pointed out earlier, *health* is topic that dominates in features. Females are subjects to be talked about or objects. In the editorial genre, priority is given to country, at 32.7% and masses at 21.2%. Within the profile genre (N=15), female individuals have a 73.3% prevalence while male social actors only account for 20%.

Under the economy topic, 61.2% are male sources while female and women in-group only account for 4.3% and 0.4% of the distribution respectively (see Appendix 4, tables 5.2 & 5.3). Female sources have a 0.9% of representation in “Agriculture” while men have a 73.4%. “Agriculture” dominates the News and the Editorial genres. Women have a smaller representation within the most dominant topics. Women in-group are predominantly in “Health” and in “Election” accounting for 5.9% in each. However, male sources account for 51.1% within “Health” while female individuals and women in-group accounting for 8.1% and 5.9% respectively. When it comes to “War & conflict” (the dominating topic in Editorial), again male sources account for 44.2% and females and women account for 4.4% and 1.5% respectively. “...



Foreign and domestic politics, economy and finance are usually regarded as hard news...” (Reinemann, et al, 2011:11). Women are missing from the hard news category.

Appendix Four Table 5.3 gives the following picture: under “Economy”, the majority of social actors are “Masses”, accounting for 44.4% followed by multiple social actors at 12.7%. Under “Agriculture”, the majorities are “Masses” again at 51.4% and followed by "Country" at 12.2%. These topics show their association with the majority. Within “Economy”, females account for 1.8% and women in-group for 5.5%. Under “Agriculture” female individuals account for 0.9% and 1.8% under “Health” mass account for 40.7% followed by females at 15.8% and women at 9.5% while males are 13.1%. Under “War and conflict”, again masses account for 66% males for 2.4%, female individuals for 1%, and women for 4.4%. The position of characters depends on whether or not they are depicted as sources or as social actors.

### 5.3.3 Distribution of positions of social actors in *Addis Zemen*

The positions of the social actors follow an interesting pattern. The most prevalent category is “professionals” accounting for 50.1% followed by “Officials”, accounting for 28%. The least prevalent position is that of “Artists” and “Beneficiaries” accounting for 0.2% and 0.3% respectively.

**Table 5.4 Position of sources within genres in percent in *Addis Zemen* N = 1782 (missing 15)**

Genres	Status of sources									%	N
	Professional	Official	Witness	Victim	Inves	Artist	Benefici	Other			
News	50.8	31.9	11.4	1.0	1.1	0.1	0.1	3.7	100	1355	
Editorial	7.8	7.8	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	82.4	100	51	
Feature	53.3	16.9	15.0	8.1	0.8	0.0	1.1	4.7	100	360	
Profile	46.7	26.7	6.7	0.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	6.7	100	15	
Other	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	1	
Total	892	501	210	42	19	3	5	110	1782		
	50.1	28.1	11.8	2.4	1.1	0.2	0.3	6.2	100	1782	

The news often depicts professionals as sources in the news, which account for 50.8%, followed by officials accounting for 31.9%. This relates to the distribution of topics within *Addis Zemen*. Next to “Economy” which is the most frequent topic in *Addis Zemen*, “Politics” is assumed to have official social actors.

Professionals and Officials are the main positions of sources in *Addis Zemen* in News, Features and Profiles.

But how are passive social actors portrayed?

**Table 5.5: Positions of social actors in genres, in percent Addis Zemen, N= 1730 missing 67**

Genres	Status of news actors									Total	N
	Professional	Official	Witness	Victim	Investor	Artist	Beneficiary	other			
News	17.0	15.7	2.5	33.8	7.8	0.1	7.8	15.4	100	1303	
Editorial	3.9	7.8	0.0	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.0	76.5	100	51	
Feature	3.9	16.7	2.8	56.4	1.4	0.6	11.4	6.9	100	360	
Profile	40.0	26.7	0.0	6.7	6.7	20.0	0.0	0.0	100	15	
Other	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	1	
Total	245	272	42	647	110	6	143	265		1730	
	14.2	15.7	2.4	37.4	6.4	0.3	8.3	15.3	100		

The majority of social actors, (N= 1730), are “Victims”, accounting for 37.4% followed by “Officials” accounting for 15.7% and “Professionals” at 14.2%. Artists are almost absent as social actors. Under the news category the distribution of social actors in descending order is as follows: “Victims” (33.8%), “Professionals” (17%), and Officials (15.7%). This pattern follows the total distribution of social actors too.

Within the feature genre, the majority are "victims" (56.4%) followed by “officials" (16.7%). Under the profile genre, “professionals” (N=15) account for 40%. Besides this, Victims, Officials and Professionals follow consecutively.

The topics, “Law”, “Health”, and “Agriculture” have the highest rate of “Professional” sources. From the total male sources 68.7% (N= 945) are professionals (See Appendix 4, Table 5.4) while female official sources account for 27.7%. On the other hand, 38.9% of females (N= 95) are "officials," while 32.6% are "professionals."

*Addis Zemen* shows a different distribution of positions of passive characters (those acted upon). 75.8% of the females (N= 91) are Victims (Appendix 4, Table 5.5), while 7.7% are professionals. Officials and investors account for 5.5% each. Interestingly, 50.4% of males are

victims and 24.8% are officials (N= 129). Again 51.4% of women in-group are victims, while 34.5% are beneficiaries and 3.6% are officials (N= 139).

#### **5.3.4 Storywriters in *Addis Zemen*: Institutionalized sources of news**

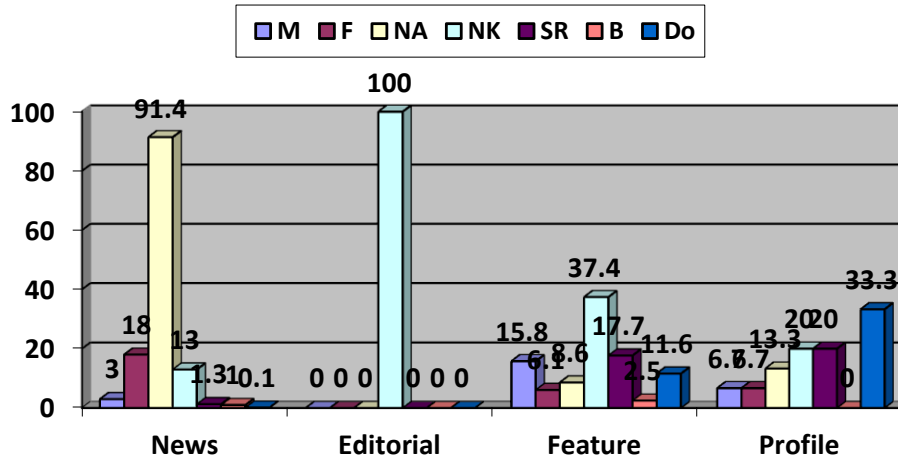
The distribution of storywriters within topics and genres shows a gendered aspect. "Who writes about what and who?" A newspaper carries stories from different sources. As we identify these sources, by-lines express things about these stories (Bell and Garrett, 2007:68). If no one is named, we can assume that the story comes from the staff or from the newspaper production. Mallettee says "...The editorial is the voice of the newspaper and rarely carries a by-line" (1996:73). Other situations where by-lines are missing have been discussed earlier (See 5.2.3). The staff reporters produce the editorials (Mallettee, 1996).

The total number of storywriters in *Addis Zemen* is 1784 (missing 13) (see Appendix 4: Table 5.6). From the total, the share of News Agency has the highest prevalence at 71.3% (N= 1272) followed by "not known" (NK) which accounts for 11.6%. In the Ethiopian context, News agencies provide a huge number of news to different media, especially to the state media (Skjerdal, 2012:47; Skjerdal in Orgeret & Ronning: 2009:320). As pointed out earlier, *Addis Zemen* is a news-dominated medium. The genre links the storywriters. Institutions, like the Ethiopian News Agency, write the news. If we attend to individual writers, female writers account for 2.7% of the total items, while male writers make up 5.5%. Skjerdal (2012:38) says the absence of female writers in the state media contributes to the underrepresentation of women's issues. Local researchers affirm this view (Rahel, 2013, Gubae, 2009). I do not agree with this cause-effect concept because even the existence of women reporters does not ensure the positive representation of women (see Chapter 8). According to my quantitative data, Skjerdal's study can be confirmed.

I examine each contributor is examined within each prominent topic, within "Agriculture", "Economy", "Health", "War and conflict", and I found that News Agency driven stories are prominent, accounting for 87.4%, 87%, 48.9% and 75.2% respectively (Appendix 4, Table 5.6). Within "Agriculture", males have 3.6% (N= 98) and females 0.9% (N= 48). Within "Economy", males are at 2.2% and females at 2.9%. Within "Health", males are at 11.3% and females at 2.3%. Within "War and conflict", males account for 4.9% and females for 1.5%. When a

newspaper widens coverage of a given topic, typically, the women writers are more likely to participate.

**Figure 5.2: Distribution of Story Attribution within Genre in percent in *Addis Zemen* (N= 1784, missing 13)**



Within the news, News Agency (N= 1272) contributes 91% of the stories. On the other hand, males (3%), females (1.8%), and staff reporters (1.3%) also contribute to the newspaper. Staff reporters may include males and females, but they do not indicate the gender in the story. Because of this, the exact number of women remains unknown. “Profiles” are based on document sources, which accounting for 33.3% of the stories. When it comes to feature items, NK, which accounts for 37.4%, is the highest. Males’ contribution accounts for 15.8% while females’ contribution is only 6.1% within the feature genre.

## 5. 4 Description of *Addis Admass*

### 5.4.1 Prominence and genre

From the total (Table 5.6 below) number of items in *Addis Admass* (N= 1147), “Culture” is the most prevalent topic accounting for 39.2% followed by “Politics” at 13.8% and “Health” at 12%. The least prevalent topics are “Election” (2.3%), “Agriculture” (2.8%) and “War & conflict” (2.7%). There exists a wide range of difference between “Culture” (39.2%) and “Politics” (13.8%).

The prevalence of topics within the total corresponds to their prevalence within genres. For instance, “Culture” is the most frequently occurring in total, accounting for 39.2%. The second most prevalent topic is “Politics”, accounting for 13.8%. Within news genres the highest prevalence is “Culture” (22%) followed by “Politics” (21.6%). The difference between the two in the news is not as wide as their difference within the total (“Culture” 39.2%, “Politics” 13.8%).

**Table 5.6: Distribution of Topics in Terms of Genres, in percent in Addis Admass (N=1147 Missing 91)**

Genres	Topics										Total	
	Law	Health	Politics	Economy	Election	Agriculture	Education	Culture	War & Conflict	Other	%	N
News	10.6	7.3	21.6	9.4	5.3	3.7	3.7	22	9.8	6.5	100	245
Editorial	3.9	2	58.8	5.9	11.8	2	0	13.7	0	2	100	51
Feature	2.4	13.8	8.8	7.7	0.8	2.7	3.9	46.1	0.8	12.9	100	827
Profile	0	14.3	9.5	4.8	0	0	4.8	33.3	0	33.3	100	21
Other	0	66.7	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	100	3
Total	48	138	158	91	26	32	42	450	31	131		
	4.2	12	13.8	7.9	2.3	2.8	3.7	39.2	2.7	11.4	100	1147

Within the Editorial genre, “Politics” accounts for 58.8%, followed by “Culture” at 13.7% and “Election” accounting for 11.8%. The data indicates that being prominent in the total does not correspond to prominence in each genre. This is similar for both *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen*. In *Addis Zemen* “Economy” is prominent in the total, but prominent in the news only. The data shows that Editorials give equal attention to the most recurrent and the least recurrent topics from the total. “Politics” and “Culture” are the most prominent from the total while “Election” is the least from the total. These three are frequently covered within the Editorial genre. *Addis Zemen*'s most prominent topic within the Editorial genre is “War and Conflict” (see Table 5.1, page 107).

Within the feature genre of *Addis Admass*, the most prevalent topic is “Culture” accounting for 46.1% followed by “Health” at 13.8% (see Table 5.6). The least prevalent topics are “Election” and “War & conflict”, accounting for 0.8% each. Within the Profile genre, once again “Culture” has the most prevalence accounting for 33.3% (N=21), followed by “Health” accounting for 14.3%. News and Editorials focus on recent issues (Bell and Garrett, 2007; Skjerdal, 2012; GMMP, 2010). Therefore, “Culture” does not have much place in the news compared to other topics. Prominence in total quantity does not correspond to prominence in the news genre.

*Addis Admass*'s major topics are "Culture", "Politics" and "Health". Within the editorial genre, "Politics" comes out on top accounting for 58.8%. The "Health" topic is never the most prevalent but among all the patterns it corresponds closely with the two topics "Culture" and "Politics". Accordingly, in the feature genre, which takes up the majority of space in *Addis Admass*, Health (13.8%) is closely associated with Culture (46.1%).

#### 5.4.2 Character: Gender representation

From the total number of sources (N= 1162, missing 76), Males account for 54% followed by Neutral 16.1% and Multiple sources 15.7% (table 5.7 below). Female individual sources account for 8.5% while Women In-group account for the least number, at 0.1%. We can see a large disparity between the participation of women and men.

When it comes to the representation of social actors, male have the highest distribution accounting for 26.7% followed by masses at 23.4% (Table 5.8, P. 117). Female individuals account for 11.7%. Women in-group are the least prevalent at 2.0% followed by neutral, which accounts for 0.4%.

The distribution of sources within each genre is indicated in the table below.

**Table 5.7: Source attribution in genres in Addis Admass N= 1162 missing 76**

Genres	Source attribution								Total	
	Male	Female	Mass	Neutral	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	%	N
News	32.6	8.8	1.5	11.9	43.3	0.4	0	1.5	100	261
Editorial	19.6	2	2	7.8	2	17.6	0	49	100	51
Feature	62.8	8.7	1	17.9	7.9	0.8	0.1	0.8	100	827
Profile	61.9	14.3	0	9.5	14.3	0	0	0	100	21
Other	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	2
Total	627	99	13	187	182	17	1	36		1162
	54	8.5	1.1	16.1	15.7	1.5	0.1	3.1	100	

Within the news (N= 261), multiple sources account for 43.3%, and male sources 32.6 %. Female individual sources account for 8.8%. 11.9% are written from neutral approach; no one is attributed as source. Within the feature genre (N= 827), males account for 62.8% of sources while female individuals account for only 8.7%. Female individuals have a similar percentage in

the news and feature genres. Within the profile genre, 61.9% are male while female and multiple sources account for 14.3% each. Females are more frequently represented in the profile genre, which, in turn, has the smallest percentage of genres in the medium.

In the editorial genre, males account for 19.6% of sources, Country for 17.6% and Females account for only 2%. Male and female have equal prevalence within the Editorial genre as sources in *Addis Zemen*. In other words, *Addis Zemen* gives them equal place as sources in Editorial while *Addis Admass* provides more space to men.

**Table 5.8: Social actors within genres in Addis Admass in percent N= 1162 missing 76**

Genres	Social actors								Total	
	Male	Female	Mass	Neutral	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	%	N
News	14.9	3.8	19.9	1.1	14.2	33.7	0.8	11.5	100	261
Editorial	11.8	11.8	25.5	0.0	3.9	41.2	0.0	5.9	100	51
Feature	30.2	14.0	24.8	0.2	13.9	7.0	2.5	7.1	100	827
Profile	71.4	19.0	0.0	0.0	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	21
Other	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	2
Total	310	136	272	5	156	167	23	93	100	1162
	26.7	11.7	23.4	0.4	13.4	14.4	2.0	8.0	100	

Male are the majority of social actors accounting for 26.7%. This figure is followed by “Masses” which account for 23.4%. Female individuals account for 11.7% while women in-group account for 2%.

Within the news (N= 261), the main recurrent social actor is Country, 33.7%. The second is that of the Masses, which accounts for 19.9% of the social actors followed by Males at 14.9%. Female social actors account for only 3.8% of social actors within the news genre. Within the editorial genre, again Country has the highest prevalence at 41.2% followed by Masses at 25.5%. Surprisingly, female and male have equal percentages in the editorial genre each accounting for 11.8%. This differs from *Addis Zemen*. In *Addis Zemen*, female and male have equal representation as sources while they have unequal representations social actors (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3).

When it comes to the feature genre, the majority of social actors in *Addis Admass* are male (30.2 %) followed by masses at 24.8%. Females come in third accounting for 14%. However, being

portrayed as social actor does not necessarily mean being acted upon (see Section 5.2). Not all these men are acted upon.

“Culture”, “Politics” and “Health” dominate topics within *Addis Admass*. How are sources and social actors represented? Within the “Culture” topic the majority sources are male 65.1% (N= 622) while female individuals account for 10.2% (N= 95). Within “Politics”, male account for 43.7% and female individuals 7%. Within the “Health” topic, male sources account for 37.2% and females 8%. In all the three topics, male sources dominate sources.

Within “Culture” male (N= 302) account for 32.9% of passive social actors while females (N= 134) account for 16.2%. Within “Politics”, males account for 19.6% while females account for 8.2%. Within the “Health” topic, males account for 17.5% while females account for 13.1%. Within “Agriculture” both males and the country account for 21.9% while females are absent from this topic.

#### 5.4.3 Distribution of positions of sources in *Addis Admass*

From the total population of sources categorized into the seven titles (Table 5.9 below), the highest amount of sources are Professionals accounting for 57.7%. The second highest fall under the position of Witness accounting for 13.7%. The least prevalent position title is Victims at 2.1%.

**Table 5.9: Position of sources in Addis Admass in percent N= 1162 missing 76**

Genres	Status of source attribution							Total	
	Professional	Official	Witness	Victim	Investor	Artist	Other	%	N
News	37.2	25.3	20.3	2.3	5.7	3.1	6.1	100	261
Editorial	17.6	15.7	0	2	0	3.9	60.8	100	51
Feature	66.9	4.6	12.8	2.1	2.7	8.3	2.7	100	827
Profile	47.6	4.8	0	0	23.8	19	4.8	100	21
Other	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2
Total	671	113	159	24	42	83	70		1162
	57.7	9.7	13.7	2.1	3.6	7.1	6	100	

Within the news, the majority sources are Professionals, which take 37.2% of the distribution followed by Officials at 25.3%, and Witnesses at 20.3%. In the editorial genre, the majority of



sources are “Professionals” 17.6% (N= 671) followed by “Officials” accounting for 15.7% (N 113). Since Editorials reflects the voice of the newspaper, characters are not often quoted or described.

In the feature genre, the majority of sources are Professionals (66.9%) followed by witnesses (12.8%). In all the genres, professional positions rank high compared to the rest of positions among sources. The newspaper is inclined to use professionals instead of political officials. *Addis Admass* has a narrow focus. For instance, the “Culture” topic dominates. Professionals are the most frequently occurring sources in all genres.

The profile genre cites Professional sources in 47.6% of all cases and Investors at 23.8%. Beneficiaries are never interviewed as sources.

Social actors in *Addis Admass* paint a different picture. “Victims” come first at 29.4% of all social actors followed by “Professionals” (16.7%). Officials are third accounting for 13.9% followed by Artists at 13%. The least amount of social actors are Witnesses accounting for 1.5%.

Genres give their own meanings to sources and social actors (Table 5.10 below). With regard to social actors, within the news, 29.1% of the social actors are victims (N= 342), 25.3% are officials (N=161), and 20.7% are professionals (N= 194) (see Appendix 5, Table 5.10).

**Table 5.10: Position of Social actors in genres in Addis Admass, (N 1162 missing 76)**

Genres	Status of news actors								Total	
	Profess	Off.	Wit.	Vi.	Inv	Art.	Ben.	Ot.	%	N
News	20.7	25.3	0.4	29.1	8.8	4.2	0.0	11.5	100	26
Editorial	5.9	41.2	7.8	11.8	2.0	2.0	0.0	29.4	100	51
Feature	15.7	8.9	1.6	31.1	6.3	16.1	6.0	14.1	100	827
Profile	33.3	0.0	0.0	9.5	19.0	28.6	9.5	0.0	100	21
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100	2
Total N	194	161	18	342	80	151	53	163		1162
	16.7	13.9	1.5	29.4	6.9	13.0	4.6	14.0	100	

In the editorial genre, Officials dominate as social actors accounting for 41.2% followed by Victims at 11.8%. Unlike *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass*'s editorials depict people as subjects. *Addis Zemen*'s editorials do not normally use characters. In the feature genre, Victims account

for 31.1% of social actors followed by Artists at 16.1% and Professionals at 15.7%. In the profile genre, Professionals account for 33.3% and Artists for 28.6% of the social actors.

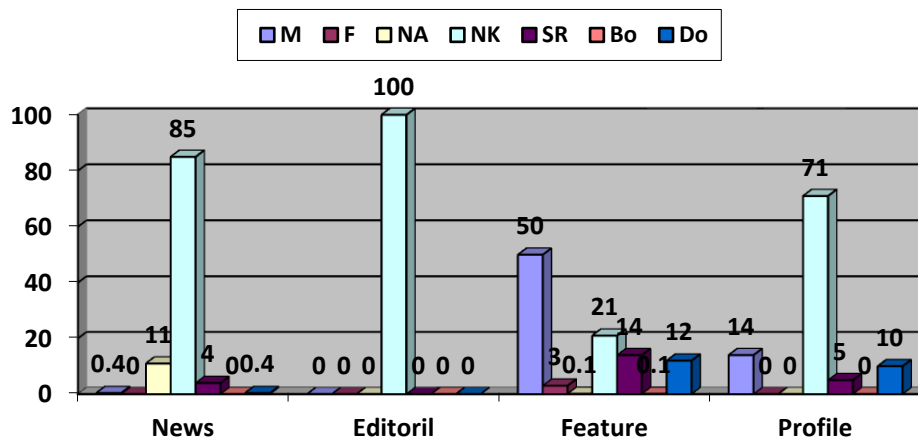
In *Addis Admass*, the majority of male and female sources are professionals (64.6% and 46.5% respectively) (Appendix Five, Table 5.9). 13.1% of Females are Artists and 14.1% of Female individuals are Witnesses. Following a similar pattern, 11% of Males are Witnesses and 9.4% of Artists.

In for *Addis Admass* (Appendix Five Table 5.10) 24.8% (N= 310) of male social actors are professionals, 31.6% are Artists and 15.2% are Victims. 50.7% of female social actors are Victims, 15.4% Professionals and 12.5% are Artists. Women in-group (N=23) are made up of 56.5% Victims and 21.7% are Beneficiaries. Beneficiaries are almost nonexistent as sources in the medium. However all women in-group social actors are portrayed as either Beneficiaries or recipients of some kind of benefit.

#### 5.4.4 Storywriters in *Addis Admass*: Domination of the medium

Within *Addis Admass*, most of the stories do not have by-lines. Items, which are labeled under NK (Not Known), account for 38.8% of the newspaper (Appendix Five, Table 5.11).

**Figure 5.3: Distribution of Story attribution within genres in percent in *Addis Admass* N- 1163 (missing 75)**



Male writers account for 36.2% of the authors. Female writers come to 2.2% while the News Agency accounts for 2.3%. Who are the dominant contributors of stories within the different genres?

In the news, 85% of the items do not have by-lines while only 11% are written by news agencies. Staff reporters have contributed only 4% of the news items. None of the editorials have by-lines. In this aspect, *Addis Admass* is similar to *Addis Zemen* because both do not use by-lines for editorials.

In the feature genre, males have contributed 50% of the items while female writers contributed only 3%. In the Profile genre, 71% have no by-lines while 10% come from documents and 14% from male writers. Female have authored only feature articles.

What does the participation of storywriters within the three dominant topics, “Culture”, “Politics” and “Health” look like? 48.2% of Male writers have contributed to “Culture.” 27.6% of “Politics” article have NK (see Appendix 5, table 5.11). In “Politics” 53.8% do not have by-lines. After that, the second most frequent writers are male writers accounting for 27.2%. 40.1% of the article in the “Health” topics have no by-lines followed by male writers at 27%. Female writers stay outside the three dominant topics. They contribute more in “Education” accounting for 9.5%. In “Health” the contribution of male and female writers is 27% and 0.7% respectively. “Politics” numbers male authors at 27.2% and females at 1.3%. Female writers have no contribution in “Law” and “Election” topics. Documents are other sources of stories and they account for 9.2% from the total (N= 105) and 19.7% in “Health”. As Skjerdal (2012) argues, when newspapers use articles outsourced from documents that means their journalists are not working away from their desks.

## **5.5 Representation of Gender relations: Maintaining the status quo**

The quantitative data shows that some topics are more favored by the hard news category while favored by soft news. We can see this in the prevalence among topics within the entire dataset and among the different genres.

In *Addis Admass* newspaper, the “Culture” topic accounts for 39% of the total items published followed by “Politics” which accounts for 13.8% (see Table 5.6, P. 115). In *Addis Zemen* the

“Economy” topic accounts for 15.5% of the total items followed by “Politics (14.7%), “Law” (13.4%), and “War and Conflict” (11.5%). “Health” and “Agriculture” each account for 12.4% (Table 5.3, P. 110). *Addis Zemen* has evenly distributed topics compared to *Addis Admass*. The disparities between the first, second, third, and fourth prevalent topics in *Addis Zemen* is not that wide (See Table 5.1). In *Addis Admass*, however, the difference between “Culture” (the most recurrent) and “Politics” (the second recurrent) is very wide (Table 5.6 above). *Addis Zemen* has a more diversified outlook. It does not restrict its focus to a specific topic or subject. *Addis Zemen* is more mixed than *Addis Admass*.

*Addis Zemen* is news dominated while *Addis Admass* is feature dominated. For *Addis Zemen* the majority of the news items have emerged from “Economy” while for *Addis Admass* the majority of the news concerns “Culture”.

According to Gallego et al, (2004) in their description of soft and hard news, *Addis Zemen* is a more serious newspaper than *Addis Admass*. *Addis Admass* gives more attention to “Culture” which is known to be soft news while *Addis Zemen* gives more attention to “Economy” which is categorized as hard news. This is linked to their main objectives. *Addis Zemen*, state-owned, deals with the hard news. It is informative and objective while *Addis Admass*, a private newspaper, focuses on ‘infotainment’ or soft news.

According to *Addis Admass*, portrayals in the news does not correspond to prominence in serious issues. Female individuals and Women (each accounts for 8.5% and 0.1% respectively), are neither sources nor actors in the hard news topics, (“Politics” 21.6%, “Law” 10.6% and “Culture” 22%) (Table 5.6), Female individuals are portrayed in non-news items, like Education at 19%, “War and Conflict” at 12.9% and” Culture” at 10.2 % (see Appendix 5, Table 5.7). Table 5.6 shows that “War and Conflict” is more prevalent in the news. Female individuals are relatively more prevalent in this topic.

When it comes to *Addis Zemen* genres, “Economy” and “Agriculture”(15.2%) are the two most dominated topics within the news (Table 5.1, P. 107). Within “Agriculture”, male sources account for 73.4% while female sources account for 0.9% (Appendix 4, table 5.2). Within “Economy”, males account 61.2% of the sources while individual females account for 4.3%. In “Agriculture” and “Economy”, male figures supersede female’s figure. “Agriculture” is the topic

that is the most prominent in the news genre and in the editorial genre. Within the “Culture” topic, male sources account for 61.2% while female sources account for 4.3%.

Within “Culture”, female individuals are more frequent (17%) than male social actors (8%). Within Health, females account for 15.8% while males accounts for 13.1 % (see Appendix 4, Table 5.3).

In *Addis Zemen*, women writers participate more in Election topic (8.8%) than male writers (7.4%) (Appendix 4, Table 5.6). Male writers overall number (36.2%) is more than female writers (2.2%) in *Addis Admass* (Appendix 5, Table 5.11). Female writers only exceed males in “Education” accounting for 9.5% in the same newspaper (Appendix Five, Table 5.11). Women writers contribute to the soft news for both newspapers while male writers contribute to the hard news in both newspapers. Some scholars argue that politics and economy are labeled as hard news whereas culture and social matters are labeled as soft news (Reinemann, et, al, 2011).

*Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* have different objectives as seen by the specific subtopics in their respective major topics (Appendix 3, Table 5.1). Each newspaper has its own focal areas. In some topics, the newspapers are very different while other topics bring out their similarity.

*Addis Admass* has “Culture” as the dominant topic. The massive number of stories that tell about “Art” as a subtopic account for 49.4% (N=1147 missing 91). The second biggest figure under the “Culture” topic is “traditional practice”. This subtopic accounts for 18.9% of the Culture items.

In “Politics”, the second bigger topic in *Addis Admass*, “War & conflict” and “Good governance” are account for 29.6% and 24.5% respectively. Good governance is categorized under “politics” they focus on political maladministration. Good Governance and traditional practices relate the topical issues of the year 2000. During the year 2000, the public mobilized towards the war that took place between Ethiopia and Eritria. The public also focused its attention on anti-corruption.

*Addis Zemen* prioritizes “Economic” issues which account for 16% of the total items within the newspaper (N= 1784 missing 13). The most frequently occurring subtopic is “infrastructure” which accounts for 50.5% followed by “Investment” at 23.3%.

“Culture” received less attention in *Addis Zemen* at only 6% of overall topics. Within this topic, the medium prioritizes “Traditional practices” which account for 37.2% and “Tourism” at 22.1%. *Addis Zemen* did attend to “Art” as a subtopic. On the other hand, *Addis Admass* did not attend to “Infrastructure”. “Traditional practice” for both reflects a secondary priority. Tourism is the least prevalent subtopic for *Addis Admass*. *Addis Admass* prioritized “Art” while *Addis Zemen* prioritized infrastructure. The two newspapers thus differ in their choice of “Art” and “Tourism”. “Traditional practices” is therefore topical because it got first level coverage by *Addis Zemen* and second level coverage by *Addis Admass*. It is therefore major topic of the time because both the private and the state-owned media covered it.

When it comes to “Economy”, which is a priority area for *Addis Zemen*, subtopics come in the following importance for *Addis Admass*. “Infrastructure” subtopic, which is the recurrent subtopic for *Addis Zemen* (50.5% N= 279) is the least covered at 4.5% (N= 89 within *Addis Admass*). The second most prevalent subtopic for *Addis Zemen*, which is “Investment” at 23.3%, is the most prevalent subtopic for *Addis Admass* at 57.3%.

The first subtopic for *Addis Zemen* “Traditional practices” is the second subtopic for *Addis Admass*. The first subtopic for *Addis Admass* “Investment” is the second subtopic for *Addis Zemen*. Investment is also a topical issue in the year 2000 as both newspapers covered it.

Each newspaper prioritizes different topics like “Culture” for *Addis Admass* and “Economy” for *Addis Zemen*. However, in each topic different subtopics manifest serious differences and similarities.

Both newspapers present many articles about the Environment under the “Agriculture” topic: 87.5% for *Addis Admass*, and 33.2% for *Addis Zemen* (Appendix 3, Table 5.1). Here the two newspapers intersect. “Agriculture” is the least covered topic in *Addis Admass* but it recurred frequently in *Addis Zemen* within the News and Editorial genres. Environment is a global issue. Both newspapers intersect on the global issues.

But there are subtopics unique to one newspaper. For instance, *Addis Admass* never treated “Harvesting” as subtopic while *Addis Zemen* prioritizes “Harvesting” next to environment under “Agriculture”.

“Health” is mainly treated in the feature genre of both newspapers (*Addis Zemen* 28.3%, Table 5.1 and *Addis Admass*, 13.8% Table 5.6 in this chapter). Health comes in third in terms of quantity in the list of topics in *Addis Admass* and is in the fourth in the list of topics in *Addis Zemen* newspaper. But, within “Health” (*Addis Admass* N= 138 and *Addis Zemen* N= 221) (Appendix Three, Table 5.1), both newspapers prioritize the subtopics HIV/AIDS (in *Addis Admass* 28.3% and in *Addis Zemen* 33.9%), family planning (*Addis Admass* 17.4% and *Addis Zemen* 15.4%) and “Hospital” (*Addis Admass* 13% and *Addis Zemen* 14.9%). When covering non-political topics, both newspapers have similarities.

“Education” is a moderately less covered topic in both newspapers, *Addis Zemen* (7.1% - table 5.1) and *Addis Admass* (3.7%- table 5.6 in this chapter). *Addis Admass* prioritizes Education policy at 50% (N=42 in Education topic). Second, it prioritizes higher education at 26.2%. The least covered subtopic is training at 2.4%. In *Addis Zemen* the picture is different. “Education policy” takes up only 7.6% of the articles which is the subtopic covered least under education (N= 131). Training (which is the least concern for *Addis Admass*) gets the attention of *Addis Zemen* and accounts for 28.2%, followed by “School construction” at 23.7% and higher education 20.6%. Today there are 33 universities in the country which is vastly more than there were in the year 2000. “Education” was treated as state agenda in state-owned medium. Therefore, Education is the topic where two newspapers have contradicting approaches. The two have similar stances on non-political issues.

“Human Rights violation” is one of the two major subtopics under the “Law” topic. As shown in Appendix 3, Table 5.1, “Human rights violation” sub-divides into other subtopics (*Addis Admass* N= 34 and *Addis Zemen* N= 198) and the two newspapers correspond here. “Corruption” in *Addis Admass* received 53% of coverage and in *Addis Zemen* 43.9% within the subtopic, and Murder in *Addis Admass* received 29.4% of coverage and in *Addis Zemen* 15.2%. This finding opposes Skjerdal (2012) findings that state media never mentions corruption.

Within the law under Human rights violation, we have seen that *Addis Zemen* covers abduction. Abduction is a traditional practice, which is a priority for *Addis Zemen* within culture. Similarly, within Education many articles focus on school construction. This relates to Economy in which

infrastructure and construction make up the majority of articles. Topics and subtopics show the newspaper's general slant.

### 5.5.1 Portrayal of characters

The portrayal of social actors is different within different genres. Genres seem to determine the place of people. News is for new, fresh, and unheard of event and/or person. The feature genre has soft news with detailed information. The editorials reflect the voice of the medium (Steensen, 2009; Berry, 2000). These three have different structures, purposes, and weight. Accordingly, *Addis Zemen* is news-dominated. Therefore, male sources are the dominant voices within the newspaper. Women are not dominant in the news. This genre the news; men give information while women do not. The newspaper reflects the target social structure. In reality, women have little access to the public sphere. Therefore, they do not belong to issues of public spheres. Based on this, I would argue that both newspapers strengthen the status quo of gender relations.

As far as *Addis Admass* is concerned, individual women (N=95) are portrayed in features, particularly in "Culture" (10.2%) and "Education" (19%) and "War & Conflict" (12.9%) (Appendix 5, table 5.7). However, the distribution of men (N=622) is higher than women even in these topics (65.1%, 54.8% and 29% respectively) (Appendix 5, Table 5.7). Males come second in terms of distribution within "war & conflict" after multiple sources which account for 41.9% of characters. Men number higher in more topics. This means, women are the least represented even in feature-dominated topics.

In both newspapers, victims are the dominant passive social actors in the news genre. Again, in both newspapers, women individually (N= 95) and in-group (N=40) as sources and as social actors have very little distribution in "Agriculture" (*Addis Zemen* 0.9% and 0%; and 0.9% and 1.9% respectively (Appendix 4: tables 5.2 & 5.3). In *Addis Admass*, women are completely missing from Agriculture as sources and as social actors (Appendix Five, tables 5.7 & 5.8).

What does this imply? First, this may be related to the historical moment of the particular year. The year 2000 there was war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Many people were displaced. The wildfire- environmental devastation, affected the countryside (see Chapter 4, 4.2). The media focused on these issues and victims were quite significant. Second, the approach strengthens the status quo. Women are not in the news and if they do appear, they are portrayed in the news as



victims (Appendix 4, Table 5.5). 75.8% of female individuals (N=129) and 51.1% of women in-group (N=139) are victims. The same is true in *Addis Admass*. 50.7% of female individuals (N=136) and 56.5% of women in-group (N=23) are Victims.

The feature genre, particularly under the topics of “Law” and “Health” portray female characters. These areas reflect the intervention of the state and other civil organizations. External powers reflect their powers here.

The positions of sources, genders of the sources, and genres of articles convey different meanings. Professionals are portrayed more in less prevalent topics. Professional’s feature in “Culture” and “Health” in both *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen*.

### **5.5.2 Story Attribution**

The data shows that the number of female writers is very small compared to male writers. Women write more about men in politics (Appendix 4 and 5, table 5.6 and table 5.11). This relays the ideology of the media. Female writers contribute to the reproduction of the status quo. This means that simply the presence or absence of female writers may not change how women are portrayed. Men write more about women than women writers do in some topics such as “Health”. The positions of female characters depicted by male and female writers are usually “Victim” women who are not strong and who do not have power. This is another form of stereotyping (Van Dijk, <http://www.danepraire.com>). No change occurs whether or not men write about women.

The presence of a single female writer may not bring much change to the newspaper since the editorial members direct much of the decisions. Even if there are women writers, they may not have much power to bring change (Agaredech, 2003, Seble, 2006). Ethiopian female journalists lack skills and opportunities such as language abilities. The mere presence of female writers does not guarantee positive coverage of female social actors.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I identify the major findings of the analysis. I also expand upon the quantitative data.

The chapter shows us that in order to examine the quantitative representation of women and men (as sources, as social actors and actors acted upon, and as story contributors), we must make more articulated classification into sub-topics (see Appendix Three, Table 5.1). This detailed examination illuminates intersecting points.

*Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* treated timely, similar issues. In their coverage, both newspapers intersect. HIV/AIDS, family planning (both under the Health topic), Environment (under the Agriculture topic), Traditional practices (under the Culture topic) are some of the salient issues where the two newspapers intersect.

Both have ideological differences visible from their topic selection. For instance, *Addis Admass* prioritizes “Cultural” topics, which focus on art and entertainment while *Addis Zemen* focuses on hard news like “Economy”, “Politics”, “Agriculture” and “War & Conflict”. Their ideologies do not vary in terms of gender representation. This counters other literature that shows how the state and the private newspapers differ (Gadzekpo, 2009:73). Most literature shows in the Ethiopian context, state and private newspapers are polarized (Røe and Aadland, 1999, Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009). But this difference evaporates when the two are examined from the perspectives of gender.

Both represent women and men as sources, social actors and writers similarly. Male sources account for 54% for *Addis Admass* (N= 1162) while for *Addis Admass* male sources account for 53% (N= 1784). Women coming second at all levels. Additionally, topical representation should be examined across gender representation to discern the stance of a given media and whether or not it treats men and women equally.

Male sources recur among all parameters, that is within the total, within the dominant topics and within the hard news. A large number of men as social actors are portrayed in the News while women have better representation in features. Women are more often represented as social actors than represented as sources. However, females as social actors and as sources are more often

represented in profiles. Profiles have less prevalence in both newspapers compared to other genres.

*Addis Zemen* is more diverse in topic coverage. Therefore, I identified four different topics. These are “Economy”, “Politics” and “Agriculture” and to some extent “War and Conflict”. On the other hand, *Addis Admass* focuses more on the “Culture” topic and consequently, the most prominent topic across all the parameters is “Culture.”

News agencies contribute much of the news in *Addis Zemen* accounting for 71.3%. *Addis Zemen* is news dominated. This relates to the ownership. The medium is government owned and it carries news from the government-owned news agency (Skjerdal, in Orgerett and Ronning, 2009). *Addis Admass* has less news agency written items accounting for only 2.3% of contributors. The most frequently cited story contributors are “Not Known” accounting for 38.8% (N = 1146 missing 92). Why is the news agency missing from the private *Addis Admass*? This has to do with competition. First, *Addis Admass* is a weekly tabloid. As weekly medium, it has to carry new information. Second, it is private. It may not be interested in information from state-owned institutions.

I conclude with the following three points. In the first place, ownership (being state owned - *Addis Zemen* and being a private newspaper – *Addis Admass*) affects the origin of stories. For instance, Ethiopian News Agency contribute 71% to *Addis Zemen* while for *Addis Admass* it contributes only 2.3% (Figure 5.3, P, 120).

Second, ownership has nothing to do with covering timely issues. For instance, both newspapers intersect in coverage of HIV/AIDS, legal amendments, and Environmental issues.

Third, the quantitative representation of women and men varies when examined from the total and when examined from specific subtopics. As pointed out above, women are less prevalent in total (in *Addis Admass* male sources cover 54% of the total while *Addis Zemen* has 53% of male sources) while they have better representation in Features and in Profiles.

Lastly, the contribution of individual women and men as writers of both newspapers is not so big. *Addis Admass* stories are mostly without by-lines. *Addis Zemen* is news dominated so

consequently all the News has come from News agencies. This renders the gender of the writers invisible.

## CHAPTER SIX: TRADITIONAL PRACTICES AND THE ROAD TOWARDS LEGAL TRANSFORMATION

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter contains four subsections. In the first two subsections, I analyze six selected newspaper stories<sup>5</sup> using the parameters introduced in chapter 3 and Chapter 4. These six narratives focus primarily on traditional gender practices and gender relations. Through the analysis, I am exploring how the newspapers address these points and what should be changed in gender and gender relations.

In the third subsection of the chapter, I complete an inter-textual analysis, comparing the texts with each other. The fourth subsection deals with the conclusion I draw from both the textual and inter-textual analyses.

### 6.2 Portrayal of Traditional Practices

The three narratives are as follows: “Mäinit Woman as Compensatory Payment”, (Yämäinit Sèt Endäkassa); “My Refusal to Marry My Husband’s Brother Has Exposed Me to Harassment” (Yäbalén wändem lämagebat balämäfeqädé läčeger tägalätehu, and “Traditional Arbitration Said to Be Hindrance to Protection of Women’s Right” (Lemadawi dañenät bäsétoč mäbete mäkäbär laye čeger fäterowal).

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<sup>5</sup> I use stories, articles and narratives interchangeably, to indicate the newspapers’ genres understudy.

### ***Mäinit Woman as Compensatory Payment ...***

#### **Surface Descriptor**

The feature story under the above headline<sup>6</sup> was reported by Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), and located at the bottom part of the page<sup>7</sup>. Three dots accompany the headline. There is no pictorial presentation in the text.

The headline of the story read “Mainit Woman as Compensatory Payment...” It was below the fold of page 14 and followed by an ellipsis. Only text followed it.

#### **Theme**

The article addressed women's lack of access to education and how families used female children as surety in case they defaulted on a debt. The writer's objective is to sensitize and/or build awareness of the issue. He recommends that the government institutions and civic partners like NGOs work hand in hand to fight against these harmful traditional practices. The challenges women face are many. The only possible way to abate these situations is through the interventions of both political and civic organizations.

#### **Story Structure**

The employment of the ellipsis, the three dots in the article's headline, implies that the story is incomplete. The readers must expect or imagine additional points to “compensatory payment” in the main body of the text. It also implies that the headline does not reflect the central point of the whole narrative.

The lead expands on the information in the headline. It introduces the scenery of the Mäinit district, which is located in Béné Maği Zone, Southern Ethiopia. This description of scenery acts as a kind of a pretext before the writer directly addresses the matter in the headline. The narration begins by introducing the geographical scene of the area (Scenario)<sup>8</sup>. The narrator describes

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<sup>6</sup>Mäinit is an ethnic group located in Southern Omo, with a population of 150,221 according to the 2007 Censuses.

<sup>7</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59; No. 227; June 1, 2000 (24.09.92), p. 14 (Women's page)

<sup>8</sup> This part is omitted by the translator. This translation of the scenario here is made by the researcher because she needed the information in this particular place.

enthraling weather, an attractive landscape, and mentions two ceremonies in which the people partake. These two ceremonial events are the birth of a female child and the death of an old man.

After a presentation of the general background, the writer enumerates the five problems Mäinit female children in particular and women in general encounter. First, parents can borrow money by handing over their female children as surety. Second, a female child brings an enormous dowry to her parents (from 20 to 30 heads of cattle) when she gets married. The practice of equating a daughter with money objectifies her so that she becomes something over which her parents and her future husband or her parents-in-law negotiate.

When two men have a conflict that escalates to violence, the perpetrator is obliged to compensate the injured man or the injured man's family if the conflict ended with murder. This obligation perpetuates the third kind of practice against the human rights of female children. Members of the council of elders determine the amount of compensation. The payment may include a female child in addition to the cattle. An article taken from Apx.6, ZF1 reads:

.... If, however, the confrontation results in the death of one of the conflicting parties, a blood-price is set, which involves the handing over a girl to the family of the victim, over and above payment in cattle. The person who committed the act is made to compensate the victim's family with 7 to 14 heads of cattle, as the case may be, as blood-price, which in the locality is known as *aša*. The perpetrator of the killing has no reprieve until he hands over to the victim's family a daughter, or a sister, ranging in age between 3 and 7 years, in addition to the cattle. The girl so handed over, then, becomes part of the victim's household.<sup>1</sup>

A female child compensates for life with the family to whom she is delivered. There is no divorce. If a wife has committed adultery or had an affair with another man, she has to confess the "her shame" to her husband.

This leads us to the fourth issue women face which emerges from this custom of confession. When a wife commits these 'sins', she cries and refuses to serve food to her husband. Such actions are common signs that indicate her affair. She must remain faithful to her husband while a man is not held to such a standard. This gender disparity of cleanliness and duty presents the fourth difficulty of a woman's life, according to the article. If she does not remain faithful, she is considered sinful. Once she confesses through the signs of crying and refusing to serve her

husband, the husband's duty is to report the case to the elders. The elders in turn must cleanse the "sin". The procedure begins through the disclosure of the other man.

The end of the article conveys the fifth kind of "abuse" of a female. A female source describes a short anecdote, where she reveals that if a man's wife dies, especially if she did not have a child, he can claim the hand of his sister in law (See "Narrative Strategy" sub head below).

After listing the aforementioned social practices as difficulties that women face, the writer suggests one possible solution to alleviate them. All these kinds of social practices that are not women-friendly need to be changed but, according to the writer, this is only possible through women's solidarity in fighting existing social practices. The solutions should come from women themselves despite all the attempts made by governmental and nongovernmental organizations.

The beginning and end of the article take on a different tone from the main body. The lead gives a pleasant impression of the area, while the closing paragraphs highlight the attitudes of the society against women's rights. One interpretation would be that the article interprets the area as far from "civilization". The lead describes how untouched the area is. The readers thus can infer how the area is detached from urbanization.

#### **Characterization: The Social Actors**

The readers are introduced to elderly male characters at the opening of the story. There are three possible reasons for this. They show an appreciation of nature and they show the mortality of humans. The narrative describes the natural death of elderly people and the colorful celebration of the burial ceremony of the Mainit. The elderly people also resolve conflicts and disputes of the community (Andualäm, 2005 EC). They are entrusted with maintaining the social customs.

Even though the writer does not name the gender of these elderly people, the local readers can understand that they are males. Elderly men are mostly arbitrators and conflict resolvers (Gebre, Feqade and Asseffa, 2011). Additionally, the author does not explain whether or not the burial ceremonies of male and female old people are similar. However, from the word used "Šemagellé"; which in Amharic, means "an old man", the readers can imagine that the burial ceremony of an old woman may be different from that of an old man. According to the



description given at the beginning, when an old man dies, the burial ceremony is colorful and big.

The article then, represents an anonymous male social actor as an ideal man, generalizing for all the men in the area. The article portrays three different perspectives in the presentation of this anonymous man. The first is a man who is a husband whose wife is pregnant. The second perspective is that of the man involved in conflict with another man and the third perspective a man whose wife is sick. These three perspectives show the areas that a Mäinit man worries about.

A man who has a pregnant wife is worried about the gender of the expected infant. This description emphasizes how members of the society are concerned about the gender of the new expected infant. The birth of a female child is more gratifying to her parents than the birth of a male child as the quotation below shows.

From two or three wives of an adult man of Mäinit if one or two wives are pregnant, his worry is about the gender of the expected infants. This is because according to the ethnic group's tradition, it is possible to borrow money by giving a girl as surety, and when she gets married, it is possible to get dowry of up to thirty heads of cattle.... (Scenario)<sup>ii</sup>.

From the aforementioned quotation, one could understand how a female child is a means of generating income for her parents. The source of the husband's worry is that he does not have the means to know the gender of the infant before it is born.

Once a woman is transferred from her parents' house to her husband's house, she is not supposed to divorce him, no matter how he treats her. If she does, her parents have to return the dowry they received when they gave her hand to her husband.

The sufferings of a Mäinit woman have no boundaries. If a woman of the community happens to have any discord with her husband in the course of her married life she is forced to bear it all and stay put. If, otherwise, she decides to leave her husband, her family will be forced to return everything they received by way of dowry-payment, which in turn means her estrangement from her family.  
...<sup>iii</sup>.

This quote shows how a woman is totally excluded from the decision-making of her life. A Mäinit woman has a duty to mend conflict of the two families. If a girl comes to the house of

another family in the name of Aša, as compensatory payment, she cannot leave. If she leaves, the conflict returns anew (Andualäm, 2005 EC).

In addition to these individual social actors, the society is depicted as idle, “uncivilized”, ordinary, and money-oriented, and does not welcome new ideas. The depiction of the community members shows that they are unique and commit all kinds of “crimes” against women. This behaviour shows, for instance, if parents are asked to send their children to school, they ask for money in return.

How is the society member's attitudes towards women reflected? It is reflected in the population of female students' attendances in schools. There is not even one educated woman employed by any government institution in the area.

To our question of whether, there were any girls, so far, from among the Mäinit community, who had completed grade twelve and secured employment, the Head said, “Of those girls born of parents who are of the Mäinit nationality, one can hardly speak of any girl who has completed grade twelve. But of those born of mixed parentage, there indeed are girls who have completed grade twelve and employed in government institutions. But such girls acquired their education not in the schools run by the Zone but elsewhere [private missionary schools?<sup>9</sup>]<sup>iv</sup>”.

The quote above reflects how intermarriage could change the life of a Mäinit woman. If a man or woman could get married to someone (probably a man) who is not a member of the community, the Mäinit partner and the children could be mixed with other societies. The different values and resources would then influence them. This suggests external intervention would change the community at large. Other society members welcome education of the girls.

In conclusion an ideal Mäinit woman/girl representative of all other women her society, is depicted as a victim of various ill-treatments. She can be found in a variety of social spaces. She can be found in her parents' house, in her relatives' house, in her in-laws and in “her own house” after marriage. In all these dwellings, society forces her to play various roles: a source of income or remittances to her parents; a mother and wife in her house; and a means of relief for her brother if conflicts occur.

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<sup>9</sup> This point in the parentecis is added by the translator. The expression doesnot exist in the original text.

### **Language Use: Traditional Local Meanings**

I observe three linguistic dimensions in the article. Use of words and idioms taken from the local language, for instance, the word “*Aša*” is one dimension. The author employs this term to address reconciliation and the process of compensation when one man kills another man.

Secondly, the article employs adages that replicate the discursive practices of members of the society. These are “*Aṭefinna Ṭäefi*” (the destroyer and the destroyed), “*Mäqsäft*” (anticipating and sudden punishment of God), and “*Däffar*” (hero, courageous or a person with a stinging tongue). The social actors in the discourse of “*Aṭefinna Ṭäfi*”, from both sides are men. Both get involved in physical fights. .

The other word “*Mäqsäft*” occurs when a woman commits adultery or seduction. “*Mäqsäft*” (catastrophe, God’s punishment) is beyond human control. The spiritual presumption is that, if she commits adultery, supernatural power/God will punish the entire family. A woman should not engage in extramarital relations.

The last example, “*Däffar*” is an adjective that describes bravery and *Balägé* which describes rudeness. The author uses the former to imply that a man should be courageous.

Thirdly, the author frequently uses certain words or phrases. For instance, “female child” is used 14 times, “women” eight times and “female child” with different adjectives six times. The adjectives added are “pregnant,” “virgin,” “educated”, and “*Mäinit*.” These reflect the place of women in the community. A pregnant woman’s life is at risk if she falls ill. A virgin girl is vulnerable to all kinds of dealings between men. An educated girl almost does not exist in this society. These expressions show how language reflects the gender and gender relations of the ethnic group.

### **Narrative Strategies: Salience through Figures**

The writer lists the social practices of gender relations in *Mäinit* society and in the end he recommends solutions from outsiders. He uses certain narrative devices to show the extent to which women are negatively affected and how men are privileged. To prove this, he references figures. In the district, there were three elementary schools, and in those schools, there were about 400 students. The number of female students in these three schools was only 11 (3 %) of

the total while male students account for 389 (97%). Women are virtually absent numerically. Andualäm in his ethnography novel (2005 EC) cites the illiteracy rate at 95%.

The writer of the feature story includes case studies as evidence. For instance, he includes a story about a girl who died without giving birth to a child. After her death, her husband asked for the hand of her sister-- a student -- as compensation.

Wäyzäro Wägayyāhu has also shared her recent experience with us. 'There was a girl from the town of Batuma who was going to school here [in the Zone?]. While she was pursuing her education, it happened that the girl's elder sister who was married and living in the rural area died childless. The husband of the deceased woman, then, comes along and creates havoc, demanding that the schoolchild should be handed over to him as a wife by way of restitution. As a result of this, the girl suffered such anxiety that she could not pursue her education properly. The Women's Affairs Office of the Zone had duly objected the handing over of the girl by way of restitution.'<sup>v</sup>

The readers are not informed of the case study's resolution. The author simply reports that the case of the girl is in the hands of the women's affairs office. He depicts the women's affairs office as an interventionist revolutionizing the norms of the society or at least an institution that confronts social norms.

Details, very important to the case, are missing. The reader is forced to ask: why and how did the wife die? How old is the husband? Does the husband have another wife, since polygamy is quite common in the area?

The article consistently states the seriousness of an issue and the author uses hyperbolic language. For instance, he discusses an issue or social practice as widespread.

As with all women of minority nationalities in the Southern Regional State, Mäinit women, too are victims of a variety of pressures. As education is crucial to free the women from these pressures, the Women's Affairs Office is making a concerted effort in collaboration with teachers, the elders of the community and parents to alleviate the existing problems<sup>vi</sup>.

The author presents a very serious conflict between the community and women's affairs office. The "backwardness" of tradition is described in relation to the absence of a single educated woman. This approach could be interpreted from two perspectives. First, the newspaper appears to be telling its readers that the social practices are taken for granted and that they are very normal. This basically implies that nothing can be done. On the other hand, one could argue that

the media is doing its best to reflect how widespread the problem is. The article could be considered as an effort to fight the harmful traditional practices that result in gender bias.

The author's ideas do not flow smoothly. Specifically, his ideas seem to contradict each other. At one point, the author stated that the aforementioned social hindrances are beginning to die out. But then subsequently, the author describes the difficulty one faces in dealing with these complex traditional practices.

According to the elders of the vicinity, although some improvement has been observed in the effort made to get rid of such problems as experienced by the women of Mäinit, because it has become a customary practice to use women as sources of wealth acquisition, the practice has proved to be inimical to women's access to formal education. When parents are urged to send their daughters to school, it has become a standard practice to ask for money. Is it possible, then, for girls to clear such hurdles and become beneficiaries of [formal] education?<sup>vii</sup>

The quote implies that the old traditions have withered away. The only tradition that lingers is the use a female child as surety and as profit. But then subsequent paragraphs contradict this conclusion:

One is hardly in a position to expressly speak of resolute measures undertaken to get rid of the [various forms of] oppression they have been suffering. Consequently, much is expected, in this respect, of Women's Affairs Offices, and governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations<sup>viii</sup>.

This description conveys women with lives that need vast improvement; thus, more efforts are needed to decrease the violence against Mäinit women.

The ways traditional practices are described raises a major question. A girl is used to stop bloodshed or feuds between two families. If her close relative kills someone in the middle of a physical altercation, the perpetrator transfers her to the victim as compensation. What would a person without a niece or a sister or a female child do? The readers, strangers to the Mäinit community, do not have the answer to this question.

In fact, the Mäinit group has its own conventions to resolve feuds (Andualäm, 2005 EC). A feud is not restricted to the killer's family. All the clans are affected by this. The relatives of the deceased will never leave anyone related to the clan of the killer alone.

What do the parents of a girl do or say when asked by their relative to hand over their child as compensation? As per the rules and norms of the traditions, the parents may not refuse the

transfer of their daughter. The entire community condones it, revealing the characteristic of social powers; nobody reacts negatively when asked to give away their daughters.

What will happen to them if they refuse to allow their daughter to be given as compensation to enemies of their nephew or brother? If they happen to have more than one daughter, which one will be given?

The views of the women, such as mothers, sisters, or even the girl victims, are not revealed in the article. This shows women as victims of intersections of various norms, marriage, childhood, and sources of labour for other families outside her parents' houses. The writer says nothing about these situations and seems to have taken them for granted as known facts.

#### **Framing: Sympathy for an Oppressed Woman**

The writer explains women's issues are critical problem for community progress. He employs three mechanisms to unveil how women's suppression in turn suppresses development. He lists events, such as a girl given away for compensation, a woman forbidden from committing adultery and from getting divorced. As indicated, several aspects of the community practices are not explained. But details of women suffering are described. The narrative presents sensational emotions so that it draws the attention of the readers towards the misery of women. The author never indicates any positive aspects of women's lives.

Phrases often indicate how the writer framed the actors as against the women in their lives. The writer remarks that using a female child "makes the situation worst". Again, at the end of the narrative, he repeats the phrase. The writer positions himself against the tradition of the Mäinit community and emphasizes the negative side of the tradition.

The salient point is that the Mäinit society is too closed. Closed societies are not open to situations that favour women. The author implies that a gender equal society is possible for industrialized, so-called 'modern' places. Tradition is set up as "anti-change". Education is portrayed as key to gender equality. For comparison, the writer shows that the neighbourhood communities are more equal than Mäinit. The writer does not look at the positive social values embedded in their traditions. As a result of this, the writer concludes that women need the

assistance of outsiders because they are totally oppressed by their respective communities. The Mäinit social values of parenting are portrayed negatively.

*“My Refusal to Marry My Husband's Brother Has Exposed Me to Harassment”*

**Surface Description**

The profile of a young widow narrated in the story entitled “My Refusal to Marry My Husband's Brother Has Exposed Me to Harassment”<sup>10</sup> (Apx.6, ZF2) has a question-and-answer format with little interference from the writer. Her picture is placed in the middle of the text. The setting of the story is Alaba village, located in Kāmbata, Alaba, and the Ṭāmbaro (KÄAṬÄ) Zone. This zone is found in the Southern Nation, Nationalities, and Peoples State, around 315 Kms South West away from the capital, Addis Abāba.

**Theme**

The narrative conveys the importance of respect for women's rights regarding a woman's right in particular to decide the direction of their lives. The interview describes how traditional practices are negatively affecting women's lives. The problematic practices that women face include: early marriage; girls dropping out of school; giving birth to many children without spacing; poverty; polygamous marriage; and marriage by inheritance. According to the article, the root causes for these practices are traditional arbitration, poverty, and illiteracy. Polygamy and marriage by inheritances are emphasized as challenges the interviewee faced.

Oh, my gosh! . . . [Just] on the [very] second day of my husband's death all his four brothers proposed to me. I told them clearly that I had no desire whatsoever to get into marriage by inheritance. I knew very well of the injustice perpetrated against many women all in the name of custom. I had no interest whatever to find myself in such a difficult life all over again. I had already arrived at a decision, still young as I was, to make all effort to engage in whatever labour in order to raise my children and to create a favourable condition for the betterment of my own life<sup>ix</sup>.

Through this social actor, the newspaper describes how important it is to obliterate inheritance marriages. In order to stop these practices, different social and legal institutions should exert their efforts. However, more than these institutions, it is up to the woman herself to have courage to overcome the challenges.

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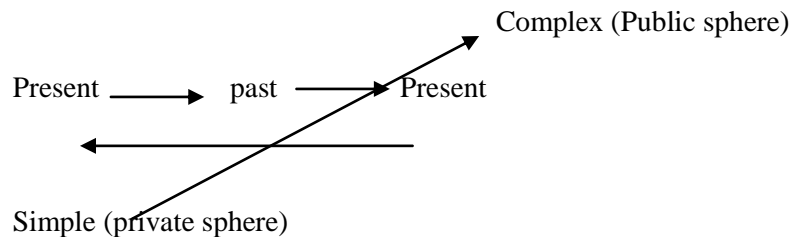
<sup>10</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59, no 190, April 13, 2000 (05.08.92), pp. 12 (women's page).



### Story Structure

The narrative structure follows two directions. First, it flows from the interviewee's present to her past. Second, from the past, it turns back to the present. In addition to this temporal twist, the narrative goes from less challenging situations to more sophisticated challenges the social actor faces.

Figure 6.1, Flow of story line



In terms of content, the headline addresses the issues of “marriage”, “brother-in-law”, “refusal”, and being “exposed to harassment”. There is interplay among these points. The woman is married to her ex-husband without her consent. After he died, again, according to the custom, she should be transferred to one of her brothers-in-law. However, she refuses to accept the proposal that came from them; consequently, she found herself in a bit of trouble.

The headline is characterized by “sensationalism”. This is reflected through two angles. Readers unfamiliar with marriage by inheritance will be surprised when they read it. This is designed to pique their curiosity. On the other hand, readers who are from the place, as depicted by the sample story and who have had similar experiences may be surprised when their tradition is presented as problematic. “What’s new about marriage by inheritance?” could be their question. And we may expect them to go through the story curiously to learn how it is presented as problematic. In both perspectives, the headline invites the readers to go through the whole narrative by provoking them.

The opening introduces situations in which the subject found herself. She is a 23-year-old single mother of three children only two of which were alive at the time of the interview. She had been pressured to stay with the family of her ex-husband by marrying one of her brothers-in-law.

... She, for her part, is unwilling to submit to their design. She has found the practice to which they are trying to subject her rather loathsome. She has resisted the gesture with fortitude, asserting she ‘would not marry any of [her brothers-in-

law] and resolved that she would live her life the way she sees fit'. [Precisely] because of her stand, she has been subjected to all sorts of suffering. Today she finds herself leading a life of hiding surrounded by fear<sup>xxx</sup> (*emphasis added*).

We read that the social actor's misery had begun since her school days. She stopped her education when she was forced to marry her ex-husband in order to respect the norms of the society. She had to accept the idea otherwise, risk being rejected by her parents and becoming an outcast.

In the main body of the article, all incidents encountered by the subject are discussed by the woman herself. She lists every event that caused her problems.

At the end of the story, the writer and interviewee are both asking for help. The interviewee needs help to escape from the problem she is in both the writer and the social actor invites another body that could help the social actor escape from the problem she is in. The media's desire here is to present "marriage by inheritance" as a social problem and an agenda of the time.

There is a point worth mentioning here with regard to the cohesion of the narrative. The headline slightly deviates from the other parts of the text. According to the narrative, when a husband dies, one of his brothers could inherit the wife. Her four brothers-in-law exacerbate the actor's conflict. She accuses four of them, but the headline does not include this part of the story. The problem is that the woman refuses the brothers-in-laws proposals. But this is not explicitly indicated in the headline. What is indicated in the headline is the widow refuses the brother-in-law's proposal. It gives an impression that she is against of marriage by inheritance. In the main body of the narrative, the wirter shows how four of brother in laws have marriage proposal. However, the way the headline is shaped minimizes the dreadfulness of her brothers-in-laws' actions. The headline tries to problematize marriage by inheritance. However, the actual problem of the actor is refusing all the men while in the tradition; she is supposed to get married to one of the brother in laws.

#### **Characterization: outcast and entrapped**

The author's portrayal of the interviewee reflects three perceptions. 1) She is living in a difficult situation; 2) she is in a dilemma whether to obey the tradition on the one hand, or to rebel against the tradition on the other; 3) she wants to be free from the burdens of the tradition. Even though

she encounters complex challenges, she has a sort of power to negotiate with other people. Generally, she is strong, aware of what is around her, and is open to change.

This social actor is aware of her surroundings and knows that there are legal rights ensured by civil codes and the new family law. She recognizes the presence of other people who are against the social practices against which she has already started to fight. However, she does not have access to these people and legal professionals. She has no support from the traditional arbitrators. Rather, she has become alienated from the community. The following quote reveals her desire to be independent.

[This intention of mine notwithstanding,] many people in the surroundings looked upon me as obstinate, as one who does not heed the counsel of the elders; they all thought my behaviour was due to a desire on my part to be like the 'moderns'.<sup>11</sup> Others, on the other hand, but especially [members of] the Wārāda administration have been encouraging me, advising me to stand my ground [and pursue my goals<sup>xi</sup>].

For her, to fight for one's right is not a question of modernity. She says that the society considers her a modern person for breaching the established but oppressive norm.

According to the narrative, a person's action is considered modern only when members of the society conform to the traditional practices. If a woman refuses to marry a man whom she does not want to marry for instance, she is considered modern. Consequently, she would be ostracized. For instance, the woman's older co-wife did not support the interviewee's objection to her husband's plan of inheriting his sister-in-law and bringing his sister-in-law to the house as his third wife. Does this mean that the old co-wife supports polygamous marriage? From the article, it would seem that the co-wife supports it. Other researches (Hirut, 2012, Rocha, 2007) indicate this is not true as discussed in chapter nine in this research. She does not have property and she is aged. In addition to this, she might not have courage to go up against the traditional practices. So there is a difference between the young and the old wife. In any case, it is possible

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<sup>11</sup> *The reference, very likely, is to the urbanized folks (specifically women), in which the Amharic word for 'modern', (Zebenay) is negatively loaded, with such attendant concepts as 'moral laxity', 'disrespect', perhaps, even, 'vanity' and 'arrogance', even a dose of 'lewdness'. Her attempt at independence, in short, is a travesty (in the strongest possible sense) in the eyes of the community.*

that there are varieties of views on polygamy among women. If a woman holds a different view, though, it can be risky as reflected in the story.

The widow's challenges increase by various events. She could not convince other people to accept her view. Consequently, she could not get access to the material resources, which she claims to be her properties, a property she inherited from her late husband.

Although I had access to my land, I was never in a position to get full protection of all my rights<sup>xii</sup>

Economically she has no right to use "her" own property. Since she claims for the right to be a single and independent mother to bring up her children, she is socially isolated from the society. Gender, ethnic tradition, rule of law and economy restrict her. Customs and cultural practices normally favour men's dominance over women.

Well, the fact is that because my husband had some education, there was not much trouble in our life. For my part, I used to let things go by quietly to make sure that my married life remained [as] peaceful [as it could]. Since my husband's first wife was my senior in age, we moved through life in mutual respect. My husband, being the mere farmer that he was, was not in a position to support both my family and that of my 'co-wife', so I started putting myself into the business of rearing my children in the most proper way possible. With my predicament as it was at the time, my husband was preparing to marry a third wife. The idea of his really disturbed me. Because the idea of my husband getting a third wife when, in fact, he was not in a position to support his two wives, with children to boot, would be detrimental to my life. [As I have already said] I had no interest to interrupt my education and get married [remarry]; save for satisfying my family's wishes<sup>xiii</sup>.

The quotation reveals the tradition's unfairness. The interviewee argues that because she is young, she can work and take care of her children. However, as stated earlier, she does not have right to property because the tradition does not permit this kind of woman's role.

She feels insecure because of the trauma she has suffered. She wants to marry a person whom she loves but she is not free from the influences of others. She says,

'I also want to start a family. But, I know that my husband's brothers are in the way...'<sup>xiv</sup>

She wants to pursue her education and establish her own family. Yet she cannot because brothers-in-law are in her way. The fact that she wants to continue her education implies that she

is aware of that marriage by inheritance and polygamous marriages are not questioned as issues at that time. It is only recently that question that is being addressed in the public sphere.

The other characters in the story are the main social actor's ex-husband, her co-wives, anonymous police, anonymous elderly people, and anonymous brothers-in-law. The portrayal of her ex husband shows how he was weak.

... [Granted that] my husband was favourably disposed to a number of things; but because he was still prisoner to the community's custom, he considered me as the offender and took the matter to a council of elders<sup>xv</sup>.

He was a good person, but he was not strong enough to go beyond the society's norm. Although educated, he remained loyal to tradition. So the deceased husband could not listen to the advice of his wife even if he knew that she was right. Even when correct, if an opinion comes from a woman, it is unacceptable. However, the interviewee does not only feel disappointment when talking about her marriage. She justifies her right to refuse the proposal because her deceased husband advised her not to marry any of his brothers because they were no good. After all, she argues, that she has to respect the will of her deceased husband. As readers, we can infer from this that people normally respect the spirit of a deceased person.

The actor lived with inconveniencies before and after her husband's death. There were disputes between herself and her husband and the co-wife. She disagreed with him and the co-wife that he should marry more wives. Paradoxically, she describes him as a nice person. We know from the interview that he had three wives. Society gave him the right to rule over his wives, his children and under all circumstances in the house. Every time she challenged him, he took their case to the elders who are the guardians of the social custom. Gradually, their cases became public. In the end, this woman turned the issues over to legal institutions to apply the power of the rule of law.

#### **Language Use: Reflecting the dichotomy of gender**

There are two points worth mentioning in relation to the language use in the narrative. One is how language is used in a subtle manner to accuse culture. The other is related to how language shows the ideological difference of gender relations.

The first approach is reflected by use of figurative and satirical expressions. The article uses metaphors, satirical expressions, and expressions that reflect stereotypes. “In the name of tradition” (Bäbahel sem) is an expression uttered by the writer and the social actor in different contexts. This expression implies that culture is not the main cause of the complaint addressed in the interview. The interviewee claims that culture provides a cover to abuse a woman’s rights. The interviewee says that culture itself is not something that marginalizes women. In other words, she means that there is a difference between the practices she has been experiencing and the culture (tradition) of her society. For her - marriage by inheritance and polygamous marriage- are not culture based.

The author also uses satire as a linguistic device. The interviewee’s report regarding the decision of the elders is a case in point:

... [As might be expected] the elders pronounced that I should have **happily** accepted my husband’s wishing to marry a third wife. They confronted me with [the usual] reproach: that a woman should not visit upon her husband such uncouth behaviour. They, therefore, ruled that I should accept the condition and stay put. Since I had no choice, considering the fate of my children, I reconciled myself to the situation<sup>xvi</sup> (emphasis added).

She is not using the word “happily” in its literal meaning. The “pleasure” for them is “disgusting” for her. “I” and “they” refers to two different entities: “They” are against me, is the message she conveys. “They” impede her freedom and progress. The satirical language reflects bitterness here. She uses it to question the elders.

As aforementioned, language reflects the dichotomous differences between women and men. Language shows how the two are given different roles. The interviewee addresses it thusly:

How could I? . . . It was impossible to even try. For instance, just about a year ago, I had gone to my farm as usual *to have my plot tilled*, only to find out that my husband’s brothers stood in my way. I was so furious that I had the labourers and the oxen, myself joining them on the plot, but they pushed and shoved me aside<sup>xvii</sup>.

I had, at the time, complained that it was I and my children who had a legitimate claim to using the land, but it all fell on deaf ears. On the contrary, the fact that *I, as a woman, behaved and acted the way I did* peeved everybody<sup>xviii</sup> (Emphases added).

The character uses expressions like “the fact that *I, as a woman, behaved and acted the way I did* (Sét hoñné”. Her words convey that the society believes a woman should not be allowed or expected to do men’s work. The character’s own word, “to have my plot tilled” shows how a woman is not supposed to till land.

#### **Narrative Strategies: Self Introduction**

In the interview, a social actor has an opportunity to narrate her life history. Her narration is guided by the sequence of questions designed by the writer. In the construction of the article, both the writer and the character have equal power over the storyline. However, the writer limits her own role to allow the actor to speak for herself.

The writer reflects the view of the character by applying three techniques. First she uses the third person point of view. For example, she uses third person when describing the people from the district administration. She describes the interviewee using the interviewee’s words. The author also describes the emotional state and physical appearance of the interviewee. Second, she presents views of others about the character. The writer mentions officials anonymously but she still reports what they told her. The attribution to these official sources shows the importance of using different sources in developing a story.

Third, the author brings the interviewee before reader in a dialogue form. She explains what she feels, what she aspires to and how she looks at people around her. She shows that nobody sympathizes with her, except for those district administrators.

#### **Framing: Institutions are male dominated**

The narration through the lens of the interviewee presents parents, elders, traditional arbitrators, and professionals who work in the political and legal institutions are not women friendly. The author frames the interviewed woman as a person whose problems are created and aggravated by these social institutions. The interviewee demonstrates that her parents were wrong when they gave her to a husband. They should have allowed her to pursue her education. Her husband should not have married his sister-in-law as his third wife because economically he was not capable of feeding his children. The elders (arbitrators) forced her to accept her husband’s third marriage and actually required her to fetch the third wife. The elders here are agents working to

maintain tradition that gives women and men different unequal positions. They favour men's interests and thus marginalize women.

The interviewee explains that the family members of her deceased husband are not fair to force her to marry her brother-in-law (though the readers are not informed which one is going to be her husband). They should have left her alone so that she could lead her life as she wishes. The police are wrong when they acted like traditional arbitrators when she presented her case to them. Why do they do this? They themselves are not free from the influence of the tradition. Social institutions never supported her. In short, everything happens due to these traditional impositions. Different social institutions implement these traditional impositions:

There is nobody in our community who makes the effort to rid women of this kind of problem. Although I am keen on knowing things about the operations of the law, I have not been able to find anybody to consult or talk. I want, I need, someone to teach me about the law, someone to give me lessons in women's rights, in order for me to be able to rid myself of the pressures standing in my way<sup>xix</sup>.

She argues that there is no difference between the customary and the legal (modern) law. Legal institutions replicate the injustice of the customs as she tries to explain. From the text, it is possible to conclude that a woman is a victim of various social practices in the spheres of economy, family relationships, education, tradition, and legal (customary and rule of law). To put it simply, society's practices are male dominated ones in which the female finds no support whatsoever.

Beyond these conditions, the story writer does not find more evidence to back up the interviewee's complaints. No research besides her own words justifies the words of the interviewee. It seems as though it is not easy for the media to criticize tradition.



### *Traditional Arbitration Said to Be a Hindrance to Protection of Women's Rights*

#### **Surface Descriptors**

The headline “Traditional Arbitration Said to Be a Hindrance to Protection of Women's Rights”<sup>12</sup> is positioned across three columns on the top side of page five. The news was reported by WIC Määtu branch. Määtu is located in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. No visual representation accompanies the text.

#### **Theme**

Traditional arbitration becomes an obstacle to the protection of women's rights in the Mattu. Abduction<sup>13</sup> and rape become associated with performances of traditional arbitration in the article. According to the tradition, abductors or rapists settle their cases by paying compensation to the parents of the female victims. Women and girls are not given any opportunity to get married based on their choices. The main point of the article focuses on the call to eradicate such practices.

#### **Story Structure**

The headline describes traditional arbitration's detrimental affects on the rights of women. The readers expect to find out how women are affected by traditional arbitration.

The lead repeats the headline and introduces the main source of the news, a woman from the Office of Women's Affairs Office of the Illubabor Zone. Identifying her as a source gives the article authority and salience, for a woman represents the institution. The woman gives the information on behalf of this institution.

According to the information communicated by W/o Ellénni Däemessé , Head of the Women's Office, the day before yesterday, although efforts have been made to curb abduction and rape, the perpetrators' tactics of using traditional courts of arbitration as a recourse to muffle the cases have made it difficult to follow the proper [legal] route<sup>xx</sup> (Apx.6, ZN1).

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<sup>12</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; No. 90; December 7, 2000 (30.03.93), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> There are two kinds of abduction, forced abduction and voluntary abduction. The second kind of abduction takes place with the consent of the girl (Getačāw, 1985).

The conclusion answers the questions posed in the preceding parts of the news story. The main body discusses why arbitration is increasingly being practiced in the area. Arbitration as a social practice ensures men's supremacy over women. Men have more obligations and at the same time more choices and options in life. They are supposed to pay dowry when they get married. When dowry is beyond their economic means, they have other ways that still ensure their power: abduction. According to traditional arbitrators, parents do not have to report cases of abduction to the police. Moreover, they do not have to stand in front of the courts. These elders interfere so they can settle disputes through traditional arbitration.

The article's structure begins by stating the problem to suggesting possible solutions. The article concludes with a remark by the male director of the office of justice in the zone.

According to the director, when the new family law will be implemented in the near future, the problem of traditional arbitration will be solved. As stated in Chapter 2, sub topic 2.1.4, the new family law at the Federal level was ratified in June 2000. However, from other news pieces, readers can infer how difficult it is to implement the revised law. By "revised," I mean that there was a previous family law in the country, which needed revision or amendment.

This particular article was published three months after the revision and ratification of the new family law. Why is it mentioned here that the implementation should be closely monitored in the future? This comment and the words of the source contradict each other.

Ato Täfärra Békuma and Ato Ğämal AbbaGulgu, two of the parents living in Mätu-Méči Qäbälé , Mätu Wäräda, said that, although they never wanted their daughters to be married through abduction or because of rape, they could not prevent the matter, since it was considered a custom in the area. The Head of Illubabor Zone Justice Department, Ato Mandäfro Mäšäša, has revealed that, when the Family Law, being drafted as part of the amendment of country's Criminal and Civil Codes goes into effect shortly, the existing problems will be removed<sup>xxi</sup>.

The idea reflected in quote is that the new family law has been ratified but that it cannot be implemented directly at the regional states until each state ratifies a respective family law based on this federal one. This is confusing for those who do not know that the ratification of this Federal level family law does not mean that it is going to be implemented at the regional level government. The fact is that regional states have the right to design their own family laws under

the umbrella of the national family law. The interviewer or the writer failed to indicate these legal processes.

**Characterization: “outsiders” and “insiders”**

There are seven sources quoted in the news. For analytic purposes, I have classified them as two major categories. The first category is composed of sources who are authorities and officials. These people have authority from the political and social institutions they represent. These sources are “outsiders” who try to expose the negative aspects of the traditional social practice. They position themselves as people who strive for the betterment of the lives of those who are ill-treated in the name of traditional social practices.

In this first category, we have two sources, the chairperson of Illubabor Zone Women’s Affairs Office and the director of Illubabor Zone Justice Office. The first source is female who is cited in the lead, while the second is a male referred to in the concluding paragraph. The female reports the problems and the male suggests the solutions.

The second category of sources encompasses witnesses, arbitrators, and victims. These actors either support the information given by the women’s office or the suggestion of the director of the justice office. Their quotes reinforce the messages collected from the officials. The article depicts all sorts of characters involved in arbitration who consider themselves guardians of social practice. The two anonymous men, who married their wives by abduction, say that men are forced to abduct because the formal marriage procedure is a challenge. Men cannot afford to pay up to Birr 2000<sup>14</sup> for dowry.

... Two individuals living in Bäččo Qäbälé, Mätu Wäräda, and who preferred to remain anonymous and who married their wives through abduction, said that, because parents [of the women] demanded up to 2000 Birr in dowry and for the preparation of the wedding, they had been forced to resort to abduction<sup>xxii</sup>.

The pressure on the men comes from the parents or from traditions. The narrative does not describe whether or not these men are fighting against tradition, though.

The other sources are two traditional arbitrators and two fathers of female children. The two fathers said that they do not want their daughters to get married by abduction. Even though all

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<sup>14</sup> According to the monetary exchange rate on February 26, 2014, 1 USD was 19.3099 Ethiopian Birr.

these social actors are from different social positions, all of them describe abduction as a problematic social act.

### Language Use

The article uses simple language. Nonetheless, there are misconceptions and confusions in it. For instance, according to the headline and the lead, the article's seems to be to assess how women become victims of abusive traditions because the tradition is portrayed as the mistreatment of women. Their parents, the abductors, and arbitrators decide women's lives. According to the general tone of the article, women remain passive throughout their lives. They are objects on whom others act. However, in the third paragraph, a confusing word choice puts these women in the subject position and shifts the meaning in another direction.

Because the perpetrators of the crime resort to traditional courts of arbitration in order to avoid appearing in courts of justice, thereby getting away by paying 50 to 100 Birr to the families of victims in damages and settling the matter by marrying the victims of rape (that is those who forced the abduction)<sup>15</sup>, it has been difficult to pursue the matter in a court of law<sup>xxiii</sup> (emphasis added).

The aforementioned quote conveys different meanings. As stated earlier, the goal of the article seems to be to describe abducted women and their suffering. However, the parenthetical, phrased the way it is in Amharic, says that the women initiate the abductors to abduct them.

The second confusion reflected in the news story is the hazy portrayal of "abduction" and "rape". The news mentions both rape and abduction but gives more emphasis and space to the issue of abduction. The two practices are conflated as having similar social purpose. They are done as precursor for marriage. But the article does not go into detail about rape as a strategy that bachelors use to marry unattainable women. The article only describes abduction used as a mechanism to escape payment of dowry. When men are not capable or ready to pay the required bride price, abduction becomes a strategy to get married.

Another linguistic point is that each paragraph of the article is composed of only one sentence. In other words, there is no combination of short and long sentences.

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<sup>15</sup> In the original language it is written as if the women are forcing the men to abduct them

### **Narrative: Listing Incidents**

After the introduction of the sources and the idea they addressed, the writer lists evidence of the raised issues. One case is that of the 125 women expelled from their houses by their husbands. These women are in the custody of the office and they are currently searching for solutions to the women's problems.

Even with the difficulties the Women's Affairs Office has been facing, however, beginning last Meskerem [September] and extending into the current month, the Office has managed to take the cases of 125 women to court: all the women were victims of abduction and rape, later forced into wedlock by the perpetrators of the crime, only to be beaten eventually and expelled from their homes. The cases are pending.<sup>xxiv</sup>

The word "expelled" is used here because there is no clue for the reason how these women were forced to leave their houses. There is no context to indicate whether they are divorcees or have simply become victims of violence and were chased away. The article does not indicate whether the 125 women wanted to be free from their forced marriage or whether the Women's Affairs Office has acted on their behalf in spite of the women's opinions. In addition to the 125 women, two females forwarded interesting views to the reporter. They were married to their husbands by abduction, but even though they are not happy with what happened to them, they continue to live under such circumstances because there were no better options.

Since the traditional reconciliation process is so common a practice in the area, the opportunity for women to go to court is rare. This situation illustrates the importance of the activities of the Women's Affairs Office. An anonymously quoted woman supports this by saying that she appreciates the activities of the Office at the end of the article.

### **Framing: seriousness of the custom as an Excuse**

As pointed out earlier, the traditional court of arbitration and lack of women's reflect the existence of power imbalance in gender and gender relations. In the traditional court of arbitration, the main agents are men, parents, and arbitrators. Traditional court of arbitration is specifically concerned with resolving the conflicts of gender relations.

The article uses two situations to frame its story: traditional arbitration and women in the area. The article posits traditional arbitration as a hindrance to ensuring women's rights; it allows

forced abduction and rape. However, this frame is not as strong as it should be. The newspaper weakens this point by presenting the problems of the perpetrators. The implication is that men are not simply perpetrators but they are forced by their tradition to abduct and rape.

The article portrays women as weak and vulnerable to violence caused by abduction. Women are quoted collectively while men are quoted individually even if they are anonymous. The article diverts the reader's attention from women's serious difficulties by being given and told more contexts.

The conclusion drawn from the aforementioned discussion would be that both men and women are in trouble. The article focuses on the legalization or legitimization of the actions of men. Tradition encourages them to abduct and rape women so that they gain matrimonial contracts. The main line of the story deviates from addressing the main problem.

### **Summary**

The three narratives (the first and the last came from ENA and WIC news agencies respectively while the second is staff-written) portray social interactions from different ethnic groups who are contained in the SNNPR State. In spite of their differences in the locations they are from, the three narratives reflect the same issue, that tradition aggravates the abuse of equal human rights. Traditional practices such as abduction, forced marriage, early marriage, polygamous marriage, men's exclusive right to property, traditional arbitration, marriage by inheritance, dowry, blood price, using female child as surety, compensation, and, to some extent, rape are addressed. All these practices are interrelated. The articles all present, insufficient economic resource as the basic cause of the list of gender-abusive social practices. For instance, when men fail to pay the amount of dowry requested by the girls' parents, their only recourse is abduction. The men realize strategies and the consequences of their actions, what they see as the second option, is to pay compensation, which would cost far less than what they would be expected to pay as dowry.

All the three stories recommend that legal institutions should interfere. Women would benefit by putting in place these legal institutions and properly implementing them. Legal institutions are depicted as progressive while traditional courts of the elders are said to be oppressive with regard to the rights of women. In addition, the articles suggest creating solidarity among women as a strategy that may bring about the desired changes gender relations. This will bring change in

gender relations if women start to fight for their rights. Women, representative of the institutions and the articles' authors and victims of the social practices themselves, suggest these two options.

I find it important to mention the limitations of the journalistic routines reflected in the narrative. Certain limitations affect the power or force of the articles. To write about tradition, particularly concerning gender and gender relations, one should probe into the daily activities of the characters properly. From the sample stories, it is clear that the authors did not have adequate knowledge about the particular cultures they address. Consequently, the stories reflect confusions, untold details, and distortions.

### 6.3 Desired Changes in the Matrimonial Arrangement and Arbitration

This section examines three different narratives entitled “What Is Marriage?” (Gabeča menedeneew?) (Apx.6, AF1) which is a feature: “Workshop to Improve Criminal Code Amendment Will Commence on Monday”, (Yāwāneḡālāññā māqeča hegen lāmašaṣal Yāmirāda awedä ṭenat sāño yeḡāmāral) (Apx.6, ZN2), which is a news article: and “The New Family Law that Answered Women’s Question” (Yāsētočen ṭeyaqaé yāmālāsä yābētāsāb heg), (Apx.6, ZF3), which is another feature story. The first item is from *Addis Admass*, while the other two are from *Addis Zemen*. The first two items were published in January 2000 and the last item was published in August 2000. In January, there were various public forums organized to discuss legal documents. At the end of July 2000, the New Family Law became a reality (Federal Negarit Gazette, proclamation No. 213/2000).

*What is Marriage?*

#### Surface descriptors

The feature with the headline, “What is Marriage?”<sup>16</sup> was published in the first edition of *Addis Admass* newspaper. The story is newsworthy because it deals with the public discussion of the introduction of the new family law prior to its ratification.

Last year, the Women's Affairs Office under the Office of the Prime Minister had organized a conference on the Draft Family Law. The aim of the conference was to deliberate on the possibilities of amending the Family Law in accordance with the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. At this conference, papers on irregular union [i.e. living together in sexual relation outside matrimony] had been presented and feedbacks solicited<sup>xxv</sup> (Apx.6, AF1).

The text has a sub-headline that says “Irregular Unions [Cohabitation]<sup>17</sup>”. The narrative has no by-line. We can assume, therefore, that a staff member of the newspaper wrote it.

An imaginative illustration accompanies the narrative. This illustration shows a man and a woman (probably symbolizing imaginative pictures of Adam and Eve), Adam standing

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<sup>16</sup> *Addis Admass*, Vol. 1; No. 1; January 8, 2000 (29.04.92), Pp. 9 & 16 (Law column)

<sup>17</sup> The translator puts the two optional expressions. The text has a subhead composed of only in one phrase.



under a tree to the right while Eve is standing to the left. This cartoon and the subhead referred to above, design to break up the page of text which is not so attractive.

### **Theme**

The article's purpose is to point out that planned changes for the improvement of disadvantaged groups (women in this context) they should also take into consideration the consequences of the advantaged group (men in this context).

The writer puts forward her/his argument by emphatically stating his/her views on the role of the rule of law in the country, which s/he thinks will create equality between women and men. Even though women and men cohabit, men should be the breadwinner, according to the story writer's opinion. The writer argues that modernity has changed gender relations. Currently women are getting opportunities to have economic power. Therefore, describing women as victims of ill treatment is inappropriate. Rather, the writer argues, the number of men who are economically dependent on women increases these days. To drive this view, he writes the following.

.... The hitherto existing law used to accord legal protection to irregular conjugal relationship between men and women. The one thing that it lacked was providing full protection to the rights of the man in this relationship<sup>xxvi</sup>.

According to the view reflected here the new family law would provide rights that favor only women. In the author's view, the rules and regulations, mainly the ratification of the new family law, should consider men's rights in terms of gender relations.

### **Story Structure**

The headline addresses a general question about the nature and objective of marriage. The writer describes how gender relations have been constructed in various historical moments of human developments.

In the author's discussion, three historical phases through before modern times are identified. The phases are the following: 1) the natural and animalistic behaviour of human; 2) economic dependency of women on men; and 3) the creation of opportunities for women to have access to the economy. During the first phase, sexual desires between a woman and a man brought them together. Here, attribution is made to nature and God who created this sort of relationship.

Through this mutual attraction of women and men, nature enables the perpetuation of generations.

Could it be possible, then, that the Creator [Yahweh, God, Allah<sup>18</sup>], equipped with prior knowledge that human beings as well as other animals would not engage in sexual union as a basic duty [or obligation], may have inseparably linked to sexual union and producing offspring to make sure that His creatures would not perish from the face of the Earth?<sup>xxvii</sup>.

The writer argues that if the Creator (God) was not wise enough to link these two conditions, the continuation of generation could not have been possible. The author's point is to portray biological differences between women and men with regard to their sexualities.

The second phase describes people becoming social "animals" and marriage was first institutionalized. Marriage provided a way for a man and a woman jointly create a family. Marriage described a gendered division of labour. This division of labour puts the man as owner of the economic resource while the woman is restricted to giving birth to children and raising them. The woman and the infants thus lived under the guardianship of the man according to the author.

The writer continues arguing that the reproductive desire is the root cause for creating a gendered division of responsibilities in social life. Power imbalance between family members is unveiled. Here it becomes legitimate for a man to have control over resources. This power imbalance has negative impacts on women's lives. Societies have created mechanisms that bridge this gap created by nature. Until the second phase, the author describes the traditionally dichotomized representation of women and men.

At the third phase, however, the aforementioned norms of gender and gender relations are challenged. In other words, gender relations become changeable as I have stated elsewhere (Connell, 2009; Risman, 2004; Steberny & van Zoonen, 2000). Because of this, a woman is empowered and gets access to positions that were not accessible at earlier times. By this logic, the conventions established in the second phase of human development are then violated. New relationships between women and men are becoming common. According to the narrator, the

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<sup>18</sup> The bracketed note is included by the translator.

transition from formal marriage institutions to informal relationships between co-habiting men and women becomes more common among modern people.

The article is lengthy, and consequently, it lacks urgency. Because the issue is politically sensitive, the writer avoids the main argument at the beginning of the narrative. The issue, which is the national agenda of the time, is sensitive because the newspaper tries to show the problematic aspect of the new family law. According to the writer's argument, the new family law does not favor men. For the author, to criticize legal documents in the process of being officialised is not as simple as him criticizing other social and uncomplicated issues.

### **Characterization**

The author depicts five kinds of social actors. These are: human beings (infants, men, women, and society); animals (baboon, ox); nature, legal, and social institutions (criminal code, family law and marriage); and the Creator (God). Even though the main characters are imagined men and women, the author tries to show that social interaction is enhanced by the interaction of these other social actors.

The imagined man reflects three responsibilities of all men (which the man stands for as a symbol) in the community. First, men's sexual role gets credit for the creation of generations. Their role during the inception of a foetus makes these men similar to animals, the writer argues. Comparisons between men and oxen, or men and chimpanzees, indicate that society members have animalistic behavior.

A woman's role, on the other hand, is to carry the foetus in her womb and to breast-feed the offspring. Moreover, she should take care of an infant at least until s/he begins to feed him or herself. The woman is assigned to play this role, which remains her responsibility throughout her life.

Nature is presented as the source of this imbalance. The restricted role of the woman has an implication on the role of the man. For example, the man is obliged to feed his family. Again man is portrayed as incapable of feeding and nurturing kids.

The second role of the man is the father's physical and economical support for the child in his/her later life. As the father is the breadwinner, he must support the woman and the child financially.

This “mandatory” responsibility justifies why a woman should remain under the domination of a man. A man’s physical presence as a father leads to the third phase of a man’s responsibility.

The third responsibility of the man is to teach children about the traditions and customs of their society. This phenomenon reflects how men have fixed society positions that situate them above women in all aspects. However, through time, the position of man has been challenged by women’s economic empowerment.

Civilization, for its part, has brought into being responsibilities that go beyond providing food and drink to the child until it attains maturity. The child has to undergo further nurture in order for it to be able to handle itself independently, without infringing upon the rights of others and without disturbing the social order, through education in the ethical and moral codes governing the same society in which it grows up, while at the same time developing the skills necessary for its future livelihood. All this has come into being along with human civilization and social development. Given this [social imperative], it would not be difficult to realize the problems that would ensue if the father, under cover of the 'liberty' that Nature has endowed him with, shunned his share of responsibility and left everything to the mother alone<sup>xxviii</sup>.

The article portrays woman as if she does not have any significant contribution in maintaining the unity of family and in the transmission of tradition to the coming generation. As indicated in the quotation, if this is the perception and the social position assigned to men and women, one could ask where the place of a single mother would be.

The article’s central point is that a woman’s life is undergoing change. The author states that women have become economically stronger. How did this happen? The article does not answer this question; rather, it gives more weight to the evolutionary and historical transitions than contemporary events. In the process, the author states that gender relations are negotiable and changeable.

#### **Language Use: Metaphor of Femininity and Masculinity**

The use of conventional symbols and metaphors of femininity and masculinity are major aspects of the article’s language. By conventional symbols I mean expressions that convey traditional practices and material cultures. “Fence” is a case in point here. Let us look at the following:

.... If people [men?] are thus alienated from / by the society they live in, they could end up being denied of the benefits of participation in such communal

associations as Däbo, funerals, etc., the removal from which will break any interaction and cooperation the violators have with the rest of the community, thereby been making life difficult / unbearable for them. That is why both the man and the woman obey the injunctions socially imposed on them and endure in their conjugal relationship. Not only that, they also respect the conjugal relationships of others. [In a scenario like this] neither the one nor the other will, except in strict secrecy (Bäšulleketa Atere Zällo kalehonä bāsetäqäre) literally meaning by jumping over the fence<sup>19</sup>), dare to violate the conjugal 'shrine' of another person [through adultery]<sup>xxix</sup>.

What does “dare to violate the conjugal shrine” through adultery (“jumping over ones fence”) mean? A “fence” protects border of one’s house. As most readers will understand, a fence protects family members and properties from various threatening situations, such as attack from wild animals, thieves, wind, etc. A fence symbolizes privacy and territory. Accordingly, once married, each spouse has to be loyal to each other by avoiding extra intimate (sexual in this sense) relations with others. “Jumping over the fence” therefore means breaking into one’s private property to commit adultery. This implies that it is the man who does this while the woman remains silent even though she consents to the act.

The second expression that emphasizes the meaning of gender and gender relations is the use of feminine and masculine pronouns as metaphors of inferiority and superiority, symbolizing irrational or rational respectively. Nature is labeled as “she” for instance. “She” (nature) has created a power imbalance between women and men, with women positioned as mere mothers and men as contributors of semen. It is because of this power imbalance between men and women that women become dependent on men.

On the other hand, The Creator (God), man and society, at large, are addressed in masculine pronoun “He” which represents the society as masculine. Both man and God are innovators or creators. The Creator has created man and woman. In similar way, society “He” has invented traditions and customs to maintain the imbalance created by “she,” nature.

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<sup>19</sup> The researcher brings the expression, which is used in the original text, for it carries cultural meaning, which is contextual to the setting.

### **Narrative Technique: Cause and Effect Relationships**

The major devices employed in the article are the cause and effect approach and the use of analogy. The message focuses on the social formation of social institutions. Social actors create networks through their institutions. Norms and customs ground social institutions which interrelate social and political institutions. The article gives two reasons why there is the interrelation of norms and customs, which are governed by these institutions. The primary purpose of this interrelation ensures the continuity of the generation by providing the best care for newborns. It is obvious that every society has rules that should be respected by its members. These rules are important because humans should evolve beyond their animalistic behaviour.

The author also employs comparison and contrast as a narrative strategy. For instance, humans share similar feelings with animals in terms of their sexualities. This comparison justifies why norms keep men from being “cruel” and “irrational”. This implies that women are not cruel or harmless. This mechanism prepares the readers to believe a very compelling reason for the importance of the social norms and legal rules.

But [as the same Nature would have it,]<sup>20</sup> this stranger to the earth did not come forth into this world from its mother / from woman alone, but with an equal share of 'seed' [sperm cell] from its father / man as well. .... If the father / the man were to take the responsibility, whether forced, or through his own free will, it is likely that the child's development would be cut short, i.e. it would die before it becomes a full human being.<sup>21</sup> .... This is [invoked] to illustrate that a human father's position is not the same as that of a baboon's father or an oxen that sires a calf [the afore said animals naturally not expected to care for their offspring the same way as the female]. The fact is that human beings save for the fact of their [technological] civilization, share all other natural traits with the animal species. This aspect of their nature is the ground for the [special] bond/attachment between child and mother<sup>xxx</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> *There is an implicit, judgmental 'anthropomorphism' involved in the tone of the sentence, which otherwise asserts a biological truth of 'the man sowing his seeds' necessary for the fertilization of the ovum. The tone is of such a nature as to pre-empt the man from making any excuses for shunning his social responsibility.*

<sup>21</sup> *Naturally so, particularly at the initial [early] stage of nurture, since the man is not equipped with the resources to suckle and wean the child. Nothing mysterious about that. This is a legitimate argument from the vantage point of being a man, but . . .].*

As described above, male animals cannot help their infants grow without the mother. In the same way, the human father is not capable of bringing up his child(ren) without the mother. This addresses how social rules “balance” the unbalanced relationships of the two sexes.

**Framing: Problematizing the New Law in relation to cohabitation**

Institutional “Marriage,” events (public forums) held during the year 2000, and the way newspapers frame women and men are the three issues I have examined. The fabric connecting these issues is their problematic insinuation in social practice.

Yet [paradoxically], matrimony became even more important [perhaps necessary] even at this stage of social development. This meant that matrimony 'broke' out from the 'patronage' of culture and fell under the guardianship of the law<sup>xxxii</sup>.

This quote justifies the importance of placing marriage under the umbrella of the rule of law. Marriage is depicted as a guarantee for the good upbringing of children. Thus, even though marriage is an important social institution, it needs legal protection.

The public forums consider legal documents as secondary. In the article, these documents are presented as perfect, except the fact that they are assumed to favour men only. The problem presents as follows.

To look at the matter conversely, what if the woman, who is always viewed as the wronged party takes the poor man who cohabits with her by surprise and decides to dismiss him, with an "I don't care, the hyenas can get you" attitude, what then? Who is the wronged party and who must; therefore table grievances with the courts, the man, or the woman? ...<sup>xxxii</sup>.

Two visions contradict themselves in the narrative. The writer says living together without marriage is common in society. At the same time, cohabitation or an irregular union of a woman and a man is considered an unacceptable relation. Marriage is legal only when it is certified.

Marriage is an institution that is needed in order for a woman and a man to live together and form the nucleus of the society. The writer tries to bring the idea of “cohabitation” to be public agenda. However, the narrative does not indicate how cohabitation is seen through the lens of the law. The writer argues that the new Family Law under discussion did not accommodate the men's voice. The writer saw the new family law as a violation of men's rights. This is his point despite the fact that the family law ensures that both sexes have equal rights.

*“Workshop to Improve Ethiopian Penal Code Amendment Will Commence Monday”*

**Surface Descriptor**

Here, in the news article entitled “Workshop to Improve Penal Code<sup>22</sup> Amendment Will Commence Monday”<sup>23</sup> we will discuss the preconditions of improving the older civil laws. The news is placed on the front page, positioned at the bottom of the right hand side and continues to page 11.

The picture of the source, who gave the press conference on behalf of “Department of Children’s, Women’s, and Family Affairs”, accompanies the text. The source is a woman who was an employee of the department. Her picture is placed on the inside page. The conference venue is the African Union Conference Hall and the workshop was to take place for four days after the publication date of the article.

**Theme**

Key to the story is that legal documents such as the Ethiopian Penal code of 1957 need to be revised to accommodate contemporary life style. The article explains that revision of the legal document is so important because old and outdated legal institutes hinder societies from being part of process of social change. The current Ethiopian Constitution endorsed in 1995 (Federal Negarit Gazetta, proclamation No. 1/1995), acknowledges equality of all citizens regardless of gender, ethnicity and religion. Therefore, other rules and legal principles should be in harmony with the overall spirit of this new constitution. The criminal law should, for instance, be amended within the context of the Constitution.

**Story Structure**

The headline tells the readers about a workshop under way. The lead repeats the headline with additional information about the need to revise the Penal Code. The Penal Code only slightly accommodates the rights of children and women and family. This is not par with global progressive social development.

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<sup>22</sup> The revised Federal Criminal Law was proclaimed in 2005.

<sup>23</sup> *Addis Zemen*, vol. 59; no. 120; January 29, 2000 (20.05.92), Pp 1 & 11



It has been revealed that a workshop to facilitate the amendment of the [Ethiopian] Penal Code is scheduled to begin on Monday at the African Union Conference Hall. The amended Criminal Code of 1957 is expected to ensure the protection of the rights of children, women, and the family<sup>xxxiii</sup> (Apx.6, ZN2).

The reporter introduces readers with the source of its information in the second paragraph. This implies that the event is more important than the subject.

During the four-day panel discussion, professionals from the legal department will present research papers. The article means to inform the readers in advance about this plan in order to follow the activities of legal improvements. The article anticipates some sort of change.

Social actors besides the source are introduced to the readers. These social actors lend authority to the article because they are experts. The news contains information about the facilitators and the hosts of the conference. This adds to my earlier point, that the news prioritizes the event but not the people or institutions.

### **Characterization**

There are three kinds of social actors in the news. The woman who provided information is named as a source, while other children and women and families are all attributed anonymity. The institution handles issues of children and women. The source is a delegate of the institution giving her legitimacy to quote information as the following:

Pointing out that [unjust law?] would be a hindrance to the building of a society with a fully developed human dignity; Wäyezäro Aşädä explained the need for an improved Federal Criminal Law guaranteeing the rights and security of children, women, and families<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

The source is described as “representative.” The readers would not know if the source has a professional title or not. As aforementioned, the main concern of the newspaper is to report the news about the issue addressed, not the fame of the person. Further evidence of this point is that, compared to the prominence given to the topic, which is placed on page one, in the form of hard news, while the picture of the source (a woman), is not displayed on the front page. Her picture is placed at the end of the story continued on page 11.

The news depicts children, women, and families as victims of oppression neglected by the law. Revisiting the Penal Code would ensure their human rights.

### **Language Use**

Here, three words convey discursive actions of the legal and social. These three important words are “amendment”, “compatibility”, and “incompatibility” of the rule of law with society’s state in mind. Through these words, the readers perceive that the old Ethiopian Penal Code of 1957 needs to be updated until it corresponds to the needs of the new society.

The amendment broaches a broader concept. The process involved in amendment includes adding in, and/or deleting articles from the existing Penal Code. This Penal Code has served the country for over four decades. The objective of an amendment incorporates legal instruments to ensure the rights of all kinds of people, particularly women and children. What does the Ethiopian Penal Code of 1957 lack? Does it contain harsh punishments and therefore, these harsh punishments need to be more lenient? The article discloses that professionals will explain and discuss this point.

Incompatibility and compatibility are the other two terms key to the news story. The old Penal Code is not compatible with the society’s contemporary lifestyle of the society. This implies that society is dynamic. Incompatibility hinders progress and alienates the people of Ethiopia from the global world. Incompatibility suggests that the law which should be amended does not incorporate the interests of the public at large. Therefore, a compatible Criminal Code is essential, according to the source. Since the addition and or deletion of articles is a continuous process, the Penal Code itself is revised under the title of “The Federal Criminal Law of Ethiopia (2005) (Proclamation No. 414/2004).

### **Narrative Strategy: Human Interest**

Comparing, contrasting, human interest, and repetition strategies are used in the story. The report reflects the comparison between old and new legal documents. The Ethiopian Penal Criminal Code of 1957 is also compared to international legal documents. Most readers would know that this is because Ethiopia has accepted different international laws and codes. The Ethiopian society is constituted by the international laws. Therefore, Ethiopian law should be in accordance with international laws and conventions. This is important because Ethiopians are interrelated directly or indirectly with the rest of the globe.

The story begins with “children”, “women”, and “family”. This structures the narrative with human interest. The point is that these members do not have the rights that should be granted to them, so something should be done to ensure their safety and equality and wellbeing.

The author also repeats ideas. Repetition gives prominence to the issue which focuses on the weaknesses of the penal Code.

**Frame: Problem-Solution Identification**

The old Penal Code of 1957 is said to be limited from two perspectives. In the first place, it reflects stereotypes of women and children. Second, because it was ratified in 1957, it reflects the outlook and the gender relations that were common at that time. Now people's attitudes and views have changed to some extent. Thus, improving the law would satisfy the needs of the society and, at the same time, reflect the current reality.

According to Wäyizäro Aşädä, there is indeed a need for an amended penal code in line with the country's constitution as well as our society's stage of development<sup>xxxv</sup>.

Rule of law is socially constructed. Therefore, it is liable to change with the needs and the development of society. Different laws, attitudes, and customs determine society's level of development. The yardstick for a law's validity would be the content of public forums, examining them with reference to the Constitution and other legal documents that are instruments to implement the rule of law.

*“The New Family Law: An Answer to Women's Question”*

**Surface Descriptor**

The feature story entitled “The New Family Law: An Answer to Women's Question”<sup>24</sup>, is written about a panel discussion on the revised Family Law, was printed on *Addis Zemen*'s women's page<sup>25</sup>. The article tells the readers about two different events. The first is the panel discussion that discusses the substance of the new family law, proclaimed on July 5, 2000. The second is an extract of a press release, which compares the draft of the new family law to the Civil Code (Negarit Gazeta, 1960) of Empire of Ethiopia (Proclamation No. 165/16) and Ethiopian Penal code of 1957 (Negarit Gazeta, 1957).

A photograph of panelists and the attendants accompany the text. The female editor of women's column wrote the article.

**Theme**

The article demonstrates that the revised family law is a major achievement for women. Since women have been victims of domestic violence, especially when they are separated and abandoned by their husbands, the law's revision improves women's lot, according to the author.

Last week, the Women's Affairs Office of Addis Ababa City-Administration and the **Addis Ababa City Democratic Association** called a meeting in support of the ratification of the [new] Family Law. Among the women present at the meeting, a sizeable proportion, who spoke from [their own] first-hand experience, pointed out the contribution of the amendment of the law would make towards the protection of women's rights. In the discussion paper, they presented W/o Yāšiwārq Yimār and Ato Abbābā Mulat, both legal professionals, spoke of the law in general, and gave detailed explanations on the substance of the Family Law<sup>xxxvi</sup> (Apx.6, ZF3).

The panel discussion was prepared for two purposes. First, the discussion enabled women to express their feelings and experiences in relation to the law. Second, it explained the content of the revised family law. The subtext of the article is that women are not normally familiar with their rights and privileges.

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<sup>24</sup> The tone of the original title is different from the tone of the title in the translation. The original title puts the headline 'the family law which answered the women's question'.

<sup>25</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59; No. 287; August 10, 2000 (04.12.92), p. 10 (women's page)

### Story Structure

The headline conveys that the new family law guarantees women's rights. The narration begins with a case that reveals the content. It also presents individuals' experiences. The following quotation from a woman participant reveals much:

The lady spoke these words with sobs of joy in her voice. When she was done with what she had to say, she expressed her uncontrollable inner joy with ululation. The House of Peoples' Representatives ratified the new Family Law on 5 July 2000, on which over 500 women gathered at the Addis Ababa Conference Hall celebrated this collective joy with applause and ululation<sup>xxxvii</sup>.

Through the emotionally charged words, the limitations of the old Civil Law are revealed. However, the interviewee seems to have misunderstood the contents of the law. The subsequent section of this paper deals with this matter. The other aspect of the story attributes the woman's life experiences as common features for the majority of women too. The objective of describing the 500 women, who attended the panel discussion, is to stress the unfairness of the Ethiopian Civil Code of 1960 towards women. They, the women are also implicated. The woman with her emotion in the beginning adds a human interest to the story.

The middle of the story further supports the value of the new family law. According to the old law, a woman who lived with her partner without any legal marriage certificate did not have equal right over her property nor could she share equally if they divorced. However, the new family law recognizes long-time relationships as husband and wife regardless of the marriage certificate. If the spouses live together for five years, the shared ownership of properties is assumed for the period they live together. Therefore, when their marriage ends in divorce, the woman should have equal property right with the man as stated in the following text.

The explanation of the stipulation of this [particular] law lies in the belief/conviction that, since such a couple happen to live together as husband and wife at any one given moment, both the man and the woman would have contributed to the establishment of a community of property. Precisely because such matrimonial union has secured the recognition of the law, forbidding either of the couple from sharing in the property they acquired during their union would constitute a denial of justice. According to the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Every Ethiopian citizen has "Right to Property" [Article 40:1] and "Right to Equality" [Article 25]<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

In the aforementioned quote, the subjects are both women and men. However, the main subjects of the story are only women. They are depicted as disadvantaged groups in the feature. The other constraint of the Penal Code of 1957 in relation to the fate of female children is that under age marriage or below 18 years, was acceptable. However, the new law only legally accepts marriages of people 18 years old or above.

The third constraint revolves around children's rights. In earlier times, the law would imply that children could be abandoned by their fathers. According to the new family law, however, children have the right of assistance from both their parents.

The fourth point handles conflict between a husband and a wife whenever they could not continue to live together. In such circumstances, their case will be handled by the court. This is very different from what was practiced before. As can be seen in subsection 6.2 above, traditional arbitrators, who have their biases towards men's supremacy, used to handle such cases. The new law proclaims that any conflict between a wife and a husband should be treated by the laws not by the customs. The traditional and customary law system, therefore, loses its significance in decision-making. The new law dis-empowers traditional arbitrators.

The other source of information is a written report from another piece. The head of the Addis Ababa Regional Administration, Department of Education, and Public Relations released this document. Further explanation emphasizes the importance of the new family law for women.

### **Characterization**

In the first paragraph, the reader meets a woman who expresses joy when she hears about the realization of the revised family law:

The responsibility of caring for my children born of the union between myself and my now-estranged husband had fallen on my shoulders. A few years still remain before my children become 18 [legally of age]. I consider the ratification of the new Family Law as a significant victory for me, particularly at a time when their father had been threatening to discontinue payment of alimony. The fact that the living allowance due to us will continue until such time as the children have become legally self-sufficient is in accord with the concrete situation of our country. [Because of this] my anxiety as to what I might feed my children, with no opportunity for employment, has been alleviated. . . .<sup>xxxix</sup>.

The woman worried about her estranged ex-husband. She told the interviewer that he would stop giving her money sporadically. Since she had no other source of income, she was unable to budget for her children if he stopped supporting them. According to her explanation, the husband would usually be free from parental duties. In fact, the readers are not informed why the children live with their mother, who is a divorcee, and at the same time responsible for taking care of the children, without the financial support of her former husband. The writer describes other women who are living in similar setups. According to the writer, the female people referred to have a similar frame of mind as the woman.

One female and one male lawyer presented papers to the audience. However, the female source is given wider space in the main body of the story. She pointed out the limitations of the old law.

There is marked difference between the woman quoted in the beginning of the narrative and the female lawyer quoted in the story. The presence of the first interviewee is to appreciate the change introduced, even though she was unable to understand the implication of some legal situations. The second woman is professional. She presents herself in two contexts. She states her regret for sending away a woman who brought her case to court empty-handed. Her statement indicates how much more powerful institutions are than human emotions and professionalism.

The purpose of bringing the professional woman into the narrative also highlights what is contained in the law. The lawyer explains the shortcomings of the previous Penal Code of 1957. Here the writer uses this source as legitimate critique of the old criminal code.

#### **Language Use: Formality and Consistency**

Pronouns reflect the status of the social actor depicted. In this particular story, the writer addresses all the characters in formal second person singular and plural pronouns. The victims, the professionals, and the officials are addressed in this form. Sometimes, the use of formal pronoun may be taken as an indication of the distance of the writer from the social actors. Culturally, people who meet in a formal forum address each other in this kind of approach.

The other linguistic aspect is the simple exposition of a conceptual legal topic. The legal terms are used everywhere to give weight to the issues. The following paragraph is a good example to show how the story is full of legal terms:

According to Article 712 of the 1960 Civil Code of Ethiopia, “An irregular union shall not create any community of property between the man and the woman.” The legal professionals have pointed out that, according to the amended law, however, couples who have not agreed to a union in accordance with the laws/procedures of civil marriage have equal rights to share common property as long as they have lived together over five years [as husband and wife]<sup>x1</sup>.

Articles and sub articles require knowledge of legal terms. What is the difference between the unmarried cohabitants and married couples? What will happen to those couples who lived together without matrimonial certificate for less than five years? What is the reason behind limiting cohabitation to a minimum of five years? The author does not answer such seemingly simple but very important questions.

Explaining a difficult concept with a simple language is an expected quality of media writing. However, in this particular narrative, there are certain confusions, which result from the lack of knowledge about the subject. For instance, the writer writes what the woman says that the new family law's guarantee for the future of her unemployed children remains unclear. How can the family law guarantee the unemployed youth?

#### **Narrative Strategy: Story within Story**

Direct quotes and a story within a story and the authority of an institution are the three major writing devices implemented. As pointed out earlier, the beginning introduces a divorcee woman who is a victim of injustice. This introduction is made through the character's direct expression, which reflects her mixed feelings, sorrow, and her joy. Her sadness changes into pleasure when she hears about the ratification of the new family law.

In the middle of the story, we read another narrative, taken from the panelist. She shares the story of another woman who was a victim of the old legal system. According to the old law, a man and a woman who lived together without matrimonial agreement or secular certificate had no equal property rights. The woman was disadvantaged. When she talked about the mother of eight children, she emphasized the power of the written law.



I was reading into a case presented by a woman who was a mother of eight children. Then I tried to talk to both of them [the woman and the man]. Although, at the time, the husband and the wife had eight children between them, they nevertheless had no marriage contract. As sad as the case may have been, since, according to the then-existing law, a man, and a woman living together outside of marriage [i.e. in irregular union] could not have a community of property, the woman had no right to ask for/demand a share in the property. In fact, the law at the time had clearly stipulated that, in the event of such a union between a man and a woman, with no legal contractual basis to it, ends up in separation/divorce following the initiation of the man, the most justices of the law could require of the man would be a three-month payment of support to the woman as compensation<sup>xli</sup>.

As discussed in chapter two, the new family law has changed these situations by eliminating the preferential treatment of husbands over their wives.

The last point in relation to strategy addresses the institution as a legitimate facilitator of the panel. An authorized body organized and facilitated the panel in order to raise awareness among the public in general and women in particular.

According to W/o Élesabét Wäldä Gäbreél, Chief of Education and Public Relations at the Addis Ababa Administration Women's Affairs Office, and organizer of the said meeting, the ratification of the Family Law will provide one solution to the alleviation of the problems women have been through. This meeting in support of the new law was organized with the aim of creating awareness among women about the rights they have won<sup>xlii</sup>.

The aforementioned quote indicates the value of the new family law, particularly for women. But, the public is not familiar with these legal documents. Consequently, it promises that similar workshops will take place all over the country to raise women's awareness about the law.

#### **Framing: Institution separated from commonsense**

Here we shall examine two points; the writer's framing of the characters and her framing of the event(s). The story attends to the female sources as victim and as panelist. The wife was victim of the tradition and her husband's imposition of her. On the other hand, the panelist is now under the control of the law. In both situations, it is clear how different impositions intersect over women's lives. The women hurt each other through the system. The female judge passes a verdict even though she does not believe it.

The article frames the new family law as an exciting moment for women in history. The new family law is portrayed as a solution to the biases and challenges faced by the majority of women.

The storywriter emphasizes the negative aspects of the old law and the positive aspects of the new family law. This idea emerges from the presupposition that humans are not rational unless they are forced by rule of law. Even individuals as professionals cannot convince society because the rule of law is considered God-like regulations that support the powerful. Therefore, the cases, the sources, and the incidents give salience to the problems of women face in the society.

### **Summary**

The three articles demonstrate the impact of the rule of law on people's lives for better or worse. All the stories entertain issues generated during the panel discussions organized by various political and social institutions. The sources for the newspapers are observations from the panelist, the words of panelists and press releases. These convey legal matters as hard stories collected from official sources and official activities and events.

In spite of their similar tones, the three narratives convey contradictory views. For instance, in the first narrative "What is Marriage?" men are obliged to support their wives for the upbringing of their children. There are two perspectives through which the nurture of children could be understood. First, fathers are expected to provide their family members with all sorts of provisions because they are expected to have economic power. For this, the society has given them control over the family's economic resource. The other perspective is that men are responsible for teaching their children the norms and social customs as well as for establishing the dos and don'ts of the society.

These two situations are contested in the two items that follow the first story. In these articles, the main issue is the hegemonic intervention of the state to reconstruct the aforementioned legal situations. For instance, living together without official matrimonial agreement and allowing the woman's equal rights to property not recognized and therefore, it is unacceptable by the society.

The last point mentioned is that the samples treat legal issues and problems reflected in marriage (private sphere) as if they were the only problems of women. In the rest of the narratives, men are not explicitly addressed or in depth, except in the first sample narratives.

## 6.4 Inter-textual Analysis

I have identified the following three points from the six items separately analyzed. These are: 1) Social controlling mechanisms of individuals to ensure the respect of the social norms and tradition, 2) journalistic styles used in portraying discourse and discursive practices, and 3) framing of conflicting discourses of change in defining marriage.

### 6.4.1 Marriage: an Intersection of Multiple Social Interactions

Marriage, as a discourse, constitutes religion, the rule of law, social values, and norms. Marriage, as a family institution, is socially constructed, and different ethnic groups practice it differently and thus within the same ethnic group (Connell, 2009). The depiction of different marriage formations reflects this. Monogamous marriage, polygamous marriage, marriage by inheritance and cohabitation for a long period are the major ones addressed.

Society has set the rules for marriage so that it can serve as a strong institution (Apx.6, AF1). According to the sample stories, marriage takes place with direct involvement of parents in their daughters' lives (Apx.6, ZN1 and ZN3). Marriage therefore is presented as an obligatory discourse that society members respect. So, the community leaders monitor any kind of practice that violates these social norms through serious supervision and follow-ups. In all the situations, marriage is conveyed as a hindrance to respecting women's rights.

Societies have their own mechanisms to maintain their rules and regulations (Connell, 2009). One of the mechanisms is to manipulate the psychology of the social members. In this aspect, perception of "spirits of the deceased" as a scary instrument can be a case in point. In the story of Mäinit women (Apx.6, AF3), the woman should conform to the norm and be obedient to the ethics defined by the society. A woman has to confess if she commits adultery. If she does not confess, catastrophic event will happen to the family. On the other hand, in the story of Apx.6, ZF2, the character tries to justify why she is not willing to marry any of her brother in-laws, by referring to what her husband used to tell her when he was alive. If she goes against her husband's words, the spirit of her husband will be sad, as she says. The table below summarizes the positions of women and portrayals of men in the sample narratives.

**Figure 6.2, Positions and roles of men and women identified from the analyzed articles**

Man	Woman
<p>Bread winner</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owner of property</li> <li>• Farmer</li> <li>• Income generator</li> </ul> <p>Fatherhood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teacher of the norm</li> <li>• Shape the children's attitudes</li> <li>• Free to leave his family</li> </ul> <p>Physical attributes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong</li> <li>• Fights if provoked</li> <li>• Ready to work tough job</li> <li>• warrior</li> </ul> <p>Controlling mechanisms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Property</li> <li>• His wife (psychologically and physically)</li> <li>• His compound</li> </ul> <p>Decision maker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On his daughter's fate</li> <li>• On managing the material resources</li> </ul> <p>Arbitrator (reconciler)</p> <p>Heir</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Of his brother(s)</li> </ul>	<p>Subordinate to parents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Must obey her parents</li> <li>• Means of income through dowry</li> <li>• Economically dependent</li> </ul> <p>Subordinate to husband</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wife</li> <li>• Economic dependent</li> <li>• Symbol of her husband's dignity</li> </ul> <p>Physically attributes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak</li> <li>• Beautiful</li> <li>• Delicate</li> </ul> <p>Obedient to husband</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open to husband</li> <li>• Obey without resistance when ordered to obey their husband</li> </ul> <p>Household responsibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fill economic deficiencies in the house</li> <li>• Feed the children</li> </ul> <p>Dispossessed of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Property right</li> <li>• Right to argue with husband</li> </ul> <p>Mother</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Give birth</li> <li>• Breast feed</li> <li>• Look after the children</li> <li>• Can bring up children alone (single mothers)</li> </ul> <p>Sister</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Replaces her deceased sister as a wife</li> <li>• Given as blood price in family feud</li> </ul> <p>Widow</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Co-wife <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Live peacefully</li> <li>• Tolerant</li> <li>• Share resources</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Single mother <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abandoned</li> <li>• Helpless</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p>Sister-in-law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inherited if her husband dies</li> <li>• Welcomes her co-wife when her husband inherits his brother's wife (wives)</li> </ul> <p>Has monetary value</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used as surety</li> </ul>

A man as head of family is another powerful controlling mechanism of the private lives of a family. We have seen how the men are authorized to report to elderly persons whenever conflict arises between the man and his wife.

Marriage defines roles of a man and women and also children. The women who are portrayed in the sample narratives are those who are divorcees, widowed, abducted, and forced to live as co-wives.

As perceived from the above list of roles, power is in the hands of the man and submission is the woman's lot. Power is imbalanced between the wife and the husband. In marriage, there are certain rights of which that women are deprived. Women in the sample stories have no right to choose their future husbands. On the other hand, men and their parents have the right to choose girls who would be future wives.

Marriage is a social practice where conflicts may occur. However, no matter what the cause of the conflict is or who is at fault, women must be tolerant. The stories tell of men's cruelty to their wives with whom they had been living for decades. They can abandon their wives after having had many children.

Men have also obligations, such as providing their respective families with the necessities, shaping the behaviour of their children, including the behaviour of their respective wives. A man is entitled to transfer the norms and traditions of his community to the new generation, to the children. In practice however, women play this role both in the presence and in the absence of their husbands. However, men's obligations are not as strong as those of women. For instance, a man will be asked to inherit his sister-in-law and let her live under his guardianship, but he can reject this.

#### **6.4.2 Negotiating practices**

There are traditional practices that are not acceptable but that are included as culturally available practices, such as abduction and cohabitation. These two practices contradict with the rule of law. However, it is important to note the flexibility of the society in how it deals with these discursive practices.

Cohabitation is an issue because of its dual nature. On the one hand, it is accepted by the society as far as the couples are known as a husband and a wife for a long time. On the other hand, cohabitation was previously treated as an illegal action when the partners are separated.

Abduction is a way of ensuring that men with a small income can get married even if they cannot pay the required dowry. It is also said to be a way where girls and boys secretly do the deed so that they can marry to each other because of love.

In cohabitation, it seems that the woman has at least volunteered to live with a man. Once a woman started cohabiting with a man by peaceful means, it shows her interest in him, although we are not sure what made her accept the situation. In abduction, however, we cannot know the woman's state of mind. We can conclude from these examples that there is no easy line to be drawn between agreement and force. However, these two activities manifest other challenges in the Ethiopian context. Abduction is the outcome of the economic problem of the man or because of an inability by the couple to choose their own partners. Cohabitation could happen when the young couple encounters challenges from their parents. In both cases, the situation has negative consequences for the life of the woman.

Because the legislation and the tradition are portrayed as competing with each other, there is a tendency of seeking intervention from outside. In the stories, we saw outsiders and legal institutions are different from the traditional institutions which intervene in society's business to bring about change. However, there are no clear-cut answers to questions such as: Where does the idea of change come from? Who are the outsiders that have impacts on the communities in order to bring change? Who is the source of change? What are the indicators of change? From the narratives, we can deduce that in the traditional society, the change agents are either individuals (mostly women), or lawmakers (politicians) or lawyers or the state initiative.

We can examine the incidents and contexts that inspire the social actors to seek change. For instance, in the sample cited here we have two social actors that can be taken as sources of change. One is the student in the story of "Mäinit woman as compensatory price" (Apx.6, ZF1) and the other is the young widow in "My refusal to marry husband's brother has exposed me to harassment" (Apx.6, ZF2). In the first incident the writer reported that a student applied to the Zone's women's office which is what her brother in law demanded. The brother-in-law wanted her as his wife as compensation for his deceased wife. In the second narrative, the character approaches the media and different legal institutions in her area. These two female characters joined a formal school and are educated.

Both the traditional practices and the new rule of law are criticized for being biased against women. Therefore, it is important to work for the social transformation in both spheres. Since the rule of law could not bring about the desired changes in gender and gender relations by itself, the media is called upon to alert the public to this fact, and to present tradition as a hindering factor.

#### **6.4.3 Men are framed as advantaged all the time**

In the Ethiopian context, where there are diversified traditional practices and a large number of different ethnic groups, the lack of background knowledge challenges story writing.

As repeatedly explained in the analysis, tradition favours men. Even though abduction is a crime, tradition concludes the case by letting the men pay certain amount of compensation to the parents of the girls. The old law also favours men. For instance, even though the lawyer was a female herself and not happy with the law, she sent a woman away empty handed (Apx.6, ZF3). The fathers of the abductees are not happy with the tradition of abduction but they easily come to terms with the abductors (Apx6, ZN1). This shows that the world is interrelated and it is not possible to be alienated from the rest of the globe. Therefore, to avoid alienation and to comply with the law that is anti-female, and to observe the traditional rules, characters give concessions against their will.



## 6.5 CONCLUSION

From the analyses of the six items and the inter-textual analyses made, the following conclusions are drawn.

The basic conflicting discourses reflected in the narratives are between the unwritten traditional and the written laws. There is an assumption that both ensure the “security” of society through their respective objectives. The difference is that tradition focuses on communal right in general and men’s rights in particular at the expense of women’s rights. On the other hand, the new law focuses on individual rights in addition to the communal rights.

According to the discussions reflected in the narratives, the ratification of the new family law was on the agenda in same year.

In all the narratives, the formalization of marriage would improve the situation of women. However, the new law faces challenges from the proponents of tradition and the hegemonic intervention of the communities. The rule of law is difficult to implement for two reasons. First, there is lack of understanding of the essence of the law by women, people in general, sources and the writers themselves. This shows that the rules of laws are not fully understood yet, and their substance is not adapted to the indigenous knowledge of the society. Secondly, bias still prevails with the implementers who are supposed to be impartial in enforcing the laws; these are the judges, and the courts.

It was noted that there was cultural transformation in the year 2000 with regard to marriage and legal issues. As a result, the private sphere has come to be an agenda of the media. Various harmful traditional practices were discussed and remedial suggestions were put forward. Social changes in gender and gender relations were addressed as issues in this agenda. Consequently, there was an interest of the media to discuss this issue in their various genres. The line of the discussion suggests that women are more vulnerable than men. Consequently, the media propagates as if all the changes are in favour of women instead of both sexes. Women are portrayed as if they are the only ones who benefit from the legal changes.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: REPRESENTATION OF GENDER RELATIONS AND CHANGE AGENTS

This chapter examines eight narratives of similar thematic focus. There are four subsections. The first subsection discusses the introduction of new movements and, as a result, the changes in gender and gender relations emerge. The second sub-section presents the persisting challenges encountered in the change process. The third subsection concerns an inter-textual analysis of the sample narratives. Finally, the fourth subsection concludes an analysis drawn from the preceding three sub sections.

### 7.1 Changes in Gender Relations in Urbanized Centres

*“If Our Development Initiative Should Attain Its Goal”*

#### **Surface Descriptor**

As discussed in chapter four, editorial writers make up the top management of newspapers (Mallette, 1966; Skjerdal, 2012). Therefore, most of the time, editorials reflect the stance of the media. Editorials may not have by-lines, a tendency which the editorial “If Our Development Initiative Should Attain Its Goal”<sup>26</sup> follows. Most of the time, an editorial appears on the permanent editorial page, on the third page of the newspaper.

#### **Theme**

The editorial addresses three development problems: HIV/AIDS, poverty and overpopulation. The editorial focuses mostly on overpopulation or the rapid pace of population growth and HIV/AIDS as hindrances to the development of African countries.

A three-day workshop on [the preparation of] Sub-Saharan African People and Demographic Map was organized at the Hilton Hotel with the collaboration of UNESCO and the **UN Secretariat for Demographic [Research?]**. The workshop

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<sup>26</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; no. 76; November 25, 2000 (16.03.93), P. 3,

was aimed at informing Africans about the importance of family planning and protecting themselves from HIV/AIDS, which poses a threat to the continent's development endeavours, if the demographic policies of the various governments should meet their goals.<sup>xliii</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

The aforementioned quote emphasizes that African countries should design their “demographic map” or plan, based on UNESCO recommendations. According to the editorial, in order to design this demographic plan, facts from each country should be available. These facts should come from various sectors, such as, planners, researchers, GOs and NGOs and their representatives.

### **Story Structure**

From the headline, the readers can expect an article about the preconditions important to achieve the desired development goals. The headline is followed by a lead which performs two functions. On the one hand, it gives the readers the context of the topic. It summarizes the events happening in the three-day conference held at Addis Ababa, Hilton Hotel. On the other hand, the lead indicates that overpopulation and HIV/AIDS intersect, creating drawbacks for development.

The editorial tells the readers that overpopulation and a lack of awareness about family planning cause problems in Ethiopia. Institutional activities to tackle these social problems are considered to be the solution. The Ministry of Education, one of the institutions mentioned, reported about a curriculum that incorporates issues of population and social lives. For the upcoming five years, a big development plan is in the works. These all implement overpopulation-control mechanisms.

As pointed out earlier, overpopulation prevents good development. Uncontrolled population growth creates various difficulties. For example, schools become scarcer.

In order to ensure quality of education that, all of us regard with deep concern; the number of students in a given classroom must be trimmed to [the appropriate] size. And, in order to create a conducive environment for the realization of this [goal], we have to create a balance between our population growths with the number of schools we can build. If, as we observe now, we continue with eighty to a hundred students in a given classroom, the idea of maintaining the quality of education [we all desire] will be but a mockery<sup>xliv</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

According to the excerpt above, unless family planning controls population growth, more students will be forced to learn in small and crowded classrooms. Overpopulation, or unchecked population growth, creates shortages of amenities. It also produces health hazards such as

hospital bed scarcity, the spreading of waterborne diseases, scarcity of housing and transportation, and it increases unemployment,

The last paragraph answers the condition specified in the headline. In order to reach development goals, the articles suggest building awareness of family planning.

### **Characterization**

The editorial depicts more than 20 human and institutional characters. The writer of the editorial refers to various sources, which serve different purposes. Multiple sources in the first place lend authority to the topic. Second, it shows how the topic intersects of various issues and events. Most of the sources are officials who represent national, continental, or international institutions.

The representative of Ethiopia's Ministry of Education, for his part, disclosed the inclusion of demography and family planning as integral subjects in the country's current curriculum. It is expected that the envisioned African demographic map will play a significant role in the success of the activities to be undertaken by African countries, including Ethiopia, in their development endeavours in health, environmental protection and other related sectors<sup>xlv</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

The author says different people have exerted different efforts for development in Ethiopia. However, s/he does not name any individual.

The writer reflects his/her view with background knowledge or inter-textual meanings. The writer inserts herself or himself into the narrative.

In Ethiopia, a country which stands third in population size with over 63 million people, the rapid increase in population growth, which outstrips the economic growth, has become a matter of concern to all of us [all]<sup>xlvi</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

This quote indicates the writer's involvement. The phrase, "a matter of concern to us" attributes the narrator as social actor involved in the story. The article utilizes two pronouns: "we" and "they". "They" in this context refers to the illiterate public, women in particular, while "us" refers to the few literates and also men (this will be clarified later). The author depicts the overpopulated public as both illiterate about family planning and as the source of problems of national progress.

As a result, also, of the astonishing rate of population growth, the number of the country's jobless is also growing with a corresponding rate in the country. This is especially true of our cities, in which jobless women have become vulnerable to prostitution while the men are engaging in criminal activities<sup>xlvii</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

The description above points to multiple births and becoming sex workers in urban areas as problems women face. The editorial does not probe into the root causes. Questions like, “Do women have access to education? Are they empowered to lift up the living standard of the nation?” are not addressed. The article also either under-represents or depicts men as unemployed criminals.

#### **Language: Editorialization**

The writer intends to illustrate problems that s/he believes are widespread in the country by addressing development issues. The writer implicates him/herself as a subject in the story. S/he uses first person, all-inclusive pronoun “we” point of view. The expression “we have no doubt” (there is no doubt) represents the management and administrative of the newspaper.

The language reflects tone that gives extra dimensions to the descriptions. As a case in point, the author creates fear through the subjects. For example, s/he uses the following words or phrases: “obstacle”, “dangerous”, “problem”, “bad consequences”, “victim of water borne diseases”, “big challenge”, “shocking”. These relay the problems created by unchecked population growth, permeated by a sense of fear.

The author uses a commanding tone in the narrative; phrases such as “it is important”, “it should be done”, “it needs to be taken into consideration”, etc., reveal the writer’s mind (mood). These characteristics typify editorial writing. The editorial reflects the opinions of the newspaper (Mallette, 1996:73).

#### **Narrative Strategy: Comparison and Contrast**

The editorial begins with past event. It describes when people have designed curricula, ratified various legal rules, and strategized 5-year development plans. By summarizing past events, the writer contextualizes readers.

In addition to describing the past, the author makes comparisons with other countries.

... An Ethiopian woman between the ages of 15 and 49 on the average gives birth to 6.52 children. While the lowest average birth globally is 1.2, the highest figure recorded so far is in Yemen, with 7.6 children to a family. When we compare our country’s situation with these figures, it would not be difficult to imagine the danger posed by the increase in population seen against the lag in its economic growth<sup>xlviii</sup> (Apx.6, ZE1).

The highest fertility rate of the world is recorded in Yemen. In the first place, Yemen is located out of Africa. In the second place, the fertility rate is higher there than in Ethiopia. From this, readers can interpret that Ethiopia falls on the list of the most overpopulated countries.

In spite of the author's attempts to persuade as described above, the article's flow lacks coherence. For example, HIV/AIDS is mentioned as an obstacle to the country's progress. But the main part of the text does not follow up on this issue.

The author writes with logical fallacy. S/he states that population growth is incompatible with available resources. Since there are fewer schools, teachers must instruct many students in one class. Overpopulation results in a shortage of medical services. In other words, the logic presents human beings as a strain on resources without contributing as resources themselves.

Overpopulation has remained a persistent problem even though Ethiopia has introduced good population policy. The story does not question the policy's limitations, but rather, accuses people in general. The newspaper (as inferred from the writer's approach) alienates illiterate citizens. It implies a distance between the state, as represented by the newspaper, and the public. The state has created a development agenda by working to change people's lifestyles. The population growth should be controlled to ensure quality education, clean water and good sanitation services. The article highlights that for development endeavours to be effective, there should be moderate or controlled population growth.

**Frame: family planning as guarantor of social welfare**

The size of a country's population indicates all kinds of social, material and economic developments. The writer sees overpopulation (or people in general) as impediments to development. The population, 63 million in the year 2000, will reach about 120 Million in 2017. Issues of population explosion are blamed on women.

The article also emphasizes the problem by listing the limitations in the infrastructures. Environmental pollution, health-related problems, unemployment, and increased crime hinder the progress of the country. According to the narrative family planning should be implemented. The author presents controlling population growth as a guarantee for development. In the end, s/he explains that the country's material resources determine the population growth, not the other

way round. In general, the state is framed as strong institutions while the people are framed as problems.

*"The Community Should Help Us Uphold the 'Dignity of Chastity'"*

**Surface Descriptor**

The headline, "The Community Should Help Us with Our Goal of Upholding the 'Dignity of Chastity'"<sup>27</sup> appeared on front page of *Addis Admass* on the upper left-hand side. The placement on the front-page and at the left shows how the topic has captured the media's attention. The news article is not attributed an author. In the place of byline, the source of the information is written. Therefore, we can presume that the article's author is a staff reporter.

**Theme**

Bless Ethiopia's Foundation, along with female members, combats HIV/AIDS. Women advocate the importance of abstaining from sex before marriage. The members educate female children and train sex workers so that these groups can be economically self-reliant.

According to Astér, "their main task consists in bringing together girls [literally virgin-women] and acting as model [citizens] and imparting education to the youth and [small] children, while at the same time training sex-workers in various vocational fields." While the training process started last week, "our struggle is especially aimed at transforming the attitude of women who consider maintaining one's virginity as a backward [practice]," says Aster<sup>xlix</sup> (Apx6, AN1).

The underlying message shows the importance of going back to the old tradition, when being a virgin (or at least chaste) was highly valued and when parents or other guardians arranged their children's marriages. The foundation reflects a view against the new family law.

**Story Structure**

Even though the article presents as a news piece, it reads like a story. It includes more anecdotes and opinions rather than facts and information.

From the name "Astér", written under the headline, the article identifies the subject as a female. This source, a member of "Bless Ethiopia Foundation", is addressed as "Wäyezärit" which means "Miss." This suggests to the reader that she is young, unmarried, and probably a virgin.

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<sup>27</sup>*Addis Admass*, Vol. 1; No. 40; October 14, 2000 (04.02.93), Pp. 1 & 17



However, “Miss” is also used to address an unmarried woman, who may not necessarily be a virgin.

The lead introduces “Bless Ethiopia Foundation” and its objectives. Later, the article treats four topics which are as follows: 1) the positive values of traditional marriage; 2) the negative view about the time-consuming process of pre-marriage preparation (betrothal); 3) the importance of skillfully management of proper marriage; and 4) the importance of handling financial problems in a marriage.

Content-wise, the news conveys a peculiar message compared to other articles analyzed previously and in forthcoming chapters. It explicitly advocates going back to old time traditions, despite the perception of the other narratives that criticize traditions as obstacles to modern lifestyles.

The last paragraph challenges readers. The source states that it would be difficult to persuade society to accept the positive values of past traditions. What does this imply? It implies that society disavows positive values that need to be upheld. Or it may imply that the society has already changed and going back to tradition would not work.

### **Characterization**

The characters are the “Bless Ethiopia Foundation”, “Ethiopian Family Guidance Association”, and the young woman who is the source of the information and members of the foundation. The reporter describes the foundation through the lens of this young woman. Nevertheless, the readers do not know how the writer picked this woman as a source of information. She has neither a title for her position in the foundation nor a delegation by authorities of the Foundation. The writer is not concerned with the status and reliability of the girl but introducing the foundation.

“Bless Ethiopia Foundation” has 220 members. These members can be either employees or students. Diversity has its own value in the narrative. Besides their difference in social status, gender-wise the students and employees are the same; they are also virgins and urban dwellers. However, the relationships they develop with their respective “husbands” affect their status. Consequently, women are put into two categories: virgins and non-virgins. The virgins distance

themselves from those who “lost their virginity”. The article calls “deflowered” unmarried women as unfortunate. In this context, virginity is portrayed as a source of power. Their future marital status is determined by their virginity. If they maintain virginity, they would certainly get husbands.

The members also try to support others, for instance, prostitutes (commercial sex-workers), children and street-children.

Asked if their organization does [or would] accept girls that have ‘lost’ their virginity but would like to be members of the organization, Astér said, “Yes, we are willing,” and she added that they have the good will and support of the Family Guidance and Counseling Association behind them<sup>1</sup> (Apx.6, AN1).

The average age of the women is 20 years old. According to the traditions and the revised family law, these women have already passed the age of marriage. Finding women of such an age who are still virgins could be considered “incredible”. This presupposition makes the news front page worthy, implying that “it is not possible for a girl to reach the age of 20 with her virginity”. Staying a virgin has its own challenges and rewards. Members of the society, particularly those who think they are modern, sneer at these virgins. But virginity grants the girl respect from other members for the following qualities:

The way Aster explained the matter, those considered model girls are those who must uphold maintaining their virginity until marriage; who must reject using [thinking of] virginity as a commodity; who must believe [are convinced of] the necessity [importance] of maintaining one’s virginity/chastity [as a condition] to return to our tradition." Moreover, [they must believe: that "love is a one-for-one affair; that marriage is not [just] a matter of compatibility but of mutual tolerance [and understanding?]; and that, **if it happens that their marriage is short-lived, they would be ready for any impending problems.**”<sup>28li</sup> (Apx.6, AN1)

The article’s various characters reveal the magnitude of the problem. For instance, different kinds of women such as the virgin women, prostitutes (commercial sex-workers), and girl children are addressed. The virgin women confront problems from society members who believe

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<sup>28</sup> *This sentence is rather confusing. It could mean what it says in the translation, given the context in which the girls are presented as ‘enduring’ and ‘full of resolve’ in all other matters. However, given some of the current parlance that Amharic has fallen into (to the translator’s consternation), the sentence may mean, for all intents and purposes, that the girls (and their would-be partners) may decide to shorten their engagement phase and hasten their marriage, thereby falling into unforeseen troubles/difficulties. Then the girls (who are our subject/object of discourse) may be expected to endure in spite of it all, which is suggested by the precedence given to ‘tolerance’.*

that premarital sexual relationships pose no problems. Interestingly these members of society are women who follow the idea that premarital sex does cause problems.

The article uses figures, for example, 220 women are included as agents of change.

Men are not represented in the article openly, but they remain in the background of the virgin women and of the prostitutes. The description of the virgin women indirectly reflects the image of ideal women of whom men dream. Men, therefore, become economically stronger and can buy the bodies of the women.

“Community” is the other actor portrayed in the narrative. The subject argues that society has diminished the value of virginity. This might be a bit difficult to accept when examined within the context of other narratives that discuss gender and gender relations in urban and rural areas. Evidence does not substantiate the devaluation of virginity within society. This contradiction between reality and the editorial shows the article’s bias.

#### **Language Use**

The headline reflects dual meanings. In the original language (Amharic), the words translated into saying “the community SHOULD HELP US” can also be translated into “SHOULD UNDERSTAND US”. Even by the article’s content, both interpretations fit.

These kinds of expressions are common in Ethiopia and the ambiguous nature of the Amharic language has been called “wax and gold”. Donald Levine (1965:8-9) describes a “Wax and Gold” as follows:

Important as such functions may be in the high culture of Ethiopia, wax and gold represents more than a principle of poetic composition and a method of spiritual gymnastics for a small class of literati. The ambiguity symbolized by the formula *säm-ennawäraq* colours the entire fabric of traditional Amhara life. It patterns the speech and outlook of every Amhara. When he talks, his words often carry double-entendre as a matter of course; when he listens, he is ever on the lookout for latent meanings and hidden motives. As one of my Ethiopian colleagues said, “Wax and gold is anything but a formula - it is a way of life”.

Coming back to the point under discussion, the translator seems to understand the headline with one meaning although in the original Amharic it can convey two meanings. The word “lirādan’ can mean one of two possibilities. The utterance “r” can have the meaning of “to understand us”, but, if we read without geminating “r”, it means “should help us”. What is the point the woman

are making? Do they need society's support or are they trying to be understood by society? In other words, are they trying to publicize their mission or are they seeking the support of the community? It may be a little bit of both.

The word, "chastity" also conveys different meanings. This word is as the translator used connotes the importance of being virgin until a girl gets married to a man. The word emphasizes the importance of marriage implying that life is impossible without marriage.

Even though the article advocates the value of being a virgin, the writer seems to satirize this notion by writing "chastity or virginity" within single quotation marks. The author seems to agree with the earlier point that virginity among urban women over 20 years old is fairly incredulous.

#### **Narrative Strategy: Starting from the Hot Issue**

The author begins by identifying the members. S/he describes that their objective is to fight against HIV/AIDS, but later, does not totally address it. The narration restricts itself to describing the practices and activities of the members of Bless Ethiopia Foundation, rather than the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS.

The source of the information is a woman who is member of Bless Ethiopia foundation. Her bias is clear. She is on the side of the women. When she addresses the readers, she has some influence on the readers. As a member who participates in the lifestyle, she seems to have authority over the information. But the article itself lacks proper articulation of the problem. What does the foundation want from society? The social actor suggests that society should support the objectives of the foundation. Parallel to this point, she calls for society to respect the old traditions.

In order to bring the desired changes, the article suggests five kinds of options and/or solutions. These include 1) teaching and training the sex workers and child girls, 2) creating solidarity amongst the virgin women, 3) late marriage instead of early marriage, 4) criticizing those women who are against the tradition, and 5) obtaining institutional support.

**Frame: Marriage as social guarantee of wellbeing of generation**

In the narrative three problems are addressed: first, the expansion of HIV/AIDS, second, the abuse of virgin women, and finally, the negative attitude towards the old tradition of society.

... Finally, she underscores the need for the "community to support us in meeting our goal of preserving/upholding the 'Dignity of Virginity.' As this aim is one that people will not find easily palatable, we very well know that it takes a lot of effort on our part. That is why we provide education on cultural [sic] marriage, pre-marital preparations, the nature of marriage [wedlock], what kind of life should people lead after marriage, how to handle the economic problems accompanying family-building, etc., in the course of our training."<sup>lii</sup> (Apx.6, AN1).

Gender relations follow traditions, but society has begun to ignore traditions. Consequently, HIV/AIDS and prostitution have become chronic social problems.

The frame of the subject and the frame of the writer congregate at certain point. The writer thinks that non-virgin women are pitiable. The subject also thinks that these women are victims of social evils, such as prostitution, unless they get married. Virginity guarantees an HIV negative diagnosis. This assumption undergirds the intensive supervision of daughters by their parents. The frame bypasses the role of men and ignores the other side of the story.

*“Tolerance or Compatibility?”*

**Surface Descriptors**

“Tolerance or Compatibility?”<sup>29</sup> is a “letter to the editor” published under the “What Shall I Do” (Men Yešallal) column. In the same edition, the newspaper published two questions sent to the column. One question concerns the incompatibility of an educated woman and a businessman as lovers. The second question is a complaint from an anonymous employee who claims to be abused and embarrassed by his inefficient boss.

The letters share a similar theme: a person’s inferiority complex when they meet someone who excels their capacities. According to the editor's note, the purpose of both questions was to provoke discussion. In fact, the both letters were fictionally, drawn from his observation of the social lives of urban people.

I focus on the letter that addresses the relationship between a female university graduate and a businessman who only completed high school because it represents a conflict between a woman and man and their “social” roles.

**Theme**

The story focuses on the incompatibility and lack of mutual understanding between an educated woman and a businessman who only completed high school. The two planned to get married, but their level of knowledge and interests varied, and their relationship failed. The story implicitly addresses the problem of gender relations. The man frustrates the woman. Her fiancé questions the right of a woman to have access to higher education on the one hand, and, on the other hand, he has to accept a woman who is not submissive to him. At the end of the story, readers might understand that modern couples face issues of tolerance to each other rather than those of the equality of their economic and academic status. The editor forwarded the question to the readers for further reflections<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> *Addis Admass*, Vol. 1; No. 31; August 5, 2000 (29.11.92), P. 6 (What to do)

<sup>30</sup> *The above-mentioned article was published on Addis Admass for inviting readers to give their opinions on the message sent by a reader. Apparently, the following week's edition, on August 12, 2000 (6/12/ 1992 EC), had a commentary written based on this.*

### Story Structure

The headline asks to choose which is better: “Tolerance” or “Compatibility”? The article has a two-step lead. In the first lead, the author shortly noted the source, the content, and the objective of the question. The source is a regular reader (readers send their letters to the paper). This opening directs the readers to focus on the writer’s focus. The second lead, which takes the readers to the first case, describes specific characters. The story is the experience of an imagined woman and a man. The idea flows from the daily experiences of the fictional characters.

The piece invites people to forward their opinions on the relationships of urban couple. It is not designed to give information. In other words, it does not specify something that happened at a specific time and place. The writer shares his views and invites readers to participate. He presents this invitation in two places in the story. He first does so at the beginning and second at the close. This repetition expresses seeking the involvement of the readers into the discussion.

### Characterizations

The narrative depicts imagined characters. This suggests that the writer mainly emphasizes a situation rather than individual cases. The two imagined characters are addressed as “He” and “She”. Two points are addressed through the characters. First, the characters are incompatible. Second one perceives the other in certain ways because they have different statutes due to economic factors. Let us consider the first point.

**She** is dealing with the intricacies of the prime minister’s daily political-business dealings whereas **He** spends his day balancing the hotel’s daily accounts. When, at the end of the day, both meet and exchange ideas, she finds his ideas rather on the lean side. And to him, her outlook tends toward the arrogant<sup>liii</sup> (Apx6, AF2; emphasis added by the translator).

She received a bachelor degree at “Harvard University”<sup>31</sup>. She has the agency to negotiate with a man because she has had domestic and international experience. With a good education, she has developed her curiosity for a variety of issues. For instance, she listens to international media and she shows an interest to discuss interesting topics with those close to her.

On the one hand, **he** was [seemed to be] satisfied with having attained the twelfth level in education, priding himself of the sufficiency of the knowledge needed for

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<sup>31</sup> In the news Harvard is described as if it is located in Great Britain.

him to join in the family of the business world; on the other hand, **he** thought, proud of her achievement as a graduate of Harvard with a Master's degree, **she** had decided that 'I belonged in the forefront of the [long] line of stupid people.' This much **he** had resolved. So, because their love could not break this barrier, it died [having 'fluttered' only so far].<sup>liv</sup>.

His views are very trivial to her and her views are unrealistic to him. He assumes that she is westernized. Therefore, she know-nothing about the local situation. He thinks she is concerned about America not about local matters. For her, the most exciting topic to talk about is (international) politics while for him the main issue business prospects and the income of their hotel. She seems as if she is not concerned about herself. Compared to "Him", she is not farsighted. She does not see the importance of hard work and attending to the issues where her livelihood is based.

She has educated friends, although the readers could not see what kinds. Is she spending her time with men or with women? However, what can be inferred from the man's perspective, people who work in offices discuss different issues than those issues business people discuss. So, for him, office people spend their time discussing irrelevant issues.

The two were unable to understand each other. On the surface, the main barrier seems to be the difference of in their level of education. When contextualized, though, the readers can infer that the two met on their own. No one interfered when the two decided to continue their life together nor when they were separated. At least this is what the letter indicates.

"Go away taking this 'commerce' of yours and deal in exchanges with your friends at your office." **He** walked out leaving her where she was seated. Finally, worn out with this daily engagement of [his] battlefield, **she** decided to call it off and get off [the carriage]. "Only he who respects my ideas, that person is [worthy of being] my husband. Since there is nothing between us to make us share this life, Ciao." With these words **she** bid him farewell.<sup>lv</sup>.

The excerpt above shows that the woman is assertive and empowered because of her education, employment and exposure to the outside world. Therefore, she is neither submissive to her fiancé nor to custom.

The letter also reflects the existence of class division between women. The two female characters, the educated fiancé (the main social actor) and the imagined waiter (the minor social



actor) are good examples for this. This class difference is identified through the words of the main female character. Her perception of the waitress is reflected as follows:

... “Do wait a moment, and listen to what I have to say. I haven’t even really started on the train of my thoughts. Besides, I am your fiancée, not one of [those] waitresses you hired [for your business]. You cannot [have no right to] upbraid me, but talk to me as becomes a prudent person.” **She** contorted her face so that her forehead was striated with furrows.<sup>1vi</sup>

She identifies herself as belonging to a higher class than the waitress who works under the supervision of the man in his hotel. She emphasizes that the waitress’s role is to be shouted at by the man who employs her. This waitress’s inferiority makes her vulnerable to degradation and harassment. This is how the educated woman thinks of another employed woman.

#### **Language: Uses of Metaphors**

Media discourse regularly edits and selects messages in delivering information to an audience (Bell and Garrett, 2007:120; Isanovič in Bamburać, Jusić and Isanović, eds., 2006, Skjerdal, 2012). However, one does not know the scope to which the editor intervenes in the content of the original information. It is also difficult to identify the dominant voice, that is, whether the writer is addressing his readers in his/her own words, or whether the voice belongs to the sender of the letter or the editor. The language of the writer and the language of the sender remain indistinct. Keeping this in perspective, I analyzed the linguistic mechanisms as follows.

The language uses analogy and metaphor. The following paragraph shows how these have been employed.

In this duel, **he** considered himself as an old calendar the usefulness of which has expired and the thought [recognition] rendered him incapable of thinking what to do next except to resolve it was the end of everything. The love, which from the start had the sickly appearance of a leprous skin,<sup>32</sup> had nothing to show for it all by way of ‘something to lean on’ for [such] a rainy day. The same haste [into marriage], which represented, to one of them, an [ulcerous] abscess, and [mere] frivolity to the other, made matters look like an attempt made by a thread-less

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<sup>32</sup>The author of the essay actually uses the word (*lämeşe*), a disease that makes the skin lose its pigmentation. In the ‘Amharic culture’, the disease is looked upon as identical with, if not the same as, leprosy. The metaphor indicates ‘decay’ or ‘mortification’, a bad start from the beginning in colloquial idiom. [Trans.]

needle<sup>33</sup> to mend a torn piece of cloth. [With] neither of them under any need [obligation] to engage in a tug-of-war, their respective capacity for tolerance could either have added longevity to their love or nipped it in the bud, depending<sup>lvii</sup>.

Above we can find at least four similes or metaphors. These are “*as an old calendar*”, “*sickly appearance of a leprous skin*”, “*rainy day*”, and “*an [ulcerous] abscess*”. An old calendar implies situations of the past, which are different from the present. The implication is the old has lost its usefulness; it has become history. Similarly, the male character addressed as “He” in the letter considers himself an old-fashioned person. He implies that he does not go along with modern trends because his ideas are outdated. Therefore, he is not happy because his fiancé acts outside his interest. He is not ready to accept a fiancée who is more educated than he is.

The second example, “*sickly appearance of a leprous skin*”, signifies that their relation is not healthy. Leprosy used to be considered the most dreadful hereditary disease. In older times, the person with this disease used to be completely isolated and forced to live in either hiding or in exile where no one knew his family. The writer questions whether the man and woman should have been involved in a relationship or not. Consequently, this approach puts the writer into conflict. At the surface, the writer seems to have reservations about the idea of an educated woman having a relationship with a less educated man. This kind of relationship is expressed through a metaphor of sewing a needle without thread, a very powerful image that shows the uselessness and/or meaninglessness of the couple’s life. The metaphor reinforces that and another metaphor refers to the relationship between student and teacher:

Their need be no compatibility [or symmetry] of knowledge [between the couple] to understand [tolerate] each other. A teacher and a student need each other, not on grounds of compatibility in knowledge, but on the basis of understanding [tolerance]. There are, in both cases, levels of superiority or inferiority, as the case may be. Nevertheless, because they understand each other, they get along [as well as they could]. As the teacher shares his knowledge with the student, so also does the student partake in that knowledge? [In this manner of communication structure in which something passes from one to the other, there is certain to be, however minimal, a relationship of dominance and subservience, as an integral part of life]<sup>lviii</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup>The aptness of the metaphor lies in the needle being without thread. The idea zeroes-in on lack of foresight, which makes of the attempted union a futile exercise. It’s all theory, so to speak. The author speaks of the attempt as the ‘travel a needle takes without thread’, which latter actually gives the needle the significance of value it has. [Trans.]

The purpose of the metaphor that shows teacher-student relationship is clear. The writer brings the classroom relationship of teacher to depict that the same situation exists between the wife and husband. Once again we come to the appropriateness of the question. Compatibility of thought is no less important than tolerance in gender relations. In other words, tolerance and mutual understanding should govern a couple's relationship. The author implies that one half of the couple, mainly the female one, should not be superior to the male. She should be submissive and passive.

### **Narrative Strategy: Riddling**

The narrative describes how the two individuals conflict. The couple is depicted as if they could not have a mutual understanding because the woman is more educated than the man. She disclosed this to him while they were cohabiting. Both cohabited hoping to be engaged. They rationalized that knowing each other through cohabitation would lead to happy marital life. However, a view of cohabitation like that differs from what is known and accepted by traditional society members.

If one is intent on thinking of love as always one's Sunday-Best, it is inevitable that any marriage consummated between a couple under such circumstances should be not one of compatibility [of knowledge, etc.] but of tolerance [and understanding]. It is possible to [live] and face the inevitable death even by going through argumentations based on differences of level of thinking and outlook, yet by making reconciliations, in mutual respect and courtesy, leading to mutual understanding<sup>lix</sup>.

When presented with the conflict, the readers reach the question at the end. Readers are queried to give their views and answers regarding the relationships of the imagined couple. This pattern is similar to a riddle. Riddles are kinds of puzzles that give the readers or listeners opportunities to think. This is what is done in another aforementioned letter to the editor. Actually, the translator omitted the writer's closing remark (this is observed on the original article as it is in the newspaper). In that particular remark, the readers are invited to forward their views.

### **Framing: "The Global is not useful for us"**

There are two frames in this text. The first one is how the writer frames compatibility between genders and the second is how the character, mainly the male, frames practice in gender relations.

The main issue addressed as a problem is a conflict between an educated woman and a businessman. In their relationship as lovers, they were unable to reach a common understanding. They had originally wanted marriage but could not reach that goal. The writer's approach shows how the problem is common among all kinds of urban people. He suggests that people should develop behaviours of tolerance and mutual understanding to be able to cohabit.

From the male characters' perspective, the woman is ignorant of her own. When she comes home, she wants to talk about international issues with her husband, issues that he has no interest in at all. Being far from the real and practical local environment of the close social fabric does not help form a family. The narrative questions the influence of globalization on the private lives of couples. The overall idea is that private life remains local in spite of the tendency to go global.

### *"The Hide and Seek Game of Dowry"*

#### **Surface Descriptors**

The article under the above title is printed on *Addis Admass* women's page<sup>34</sup>. The Women's page is located at the bottom of that specific edition. The masthead says "Women". The following message is found below the masthead.

*In order to see the whole of life, whether education, women, law, religion, culture, fashion, etc., we opened this column. It is a reflection of all our images.<sup>lx</sup>*

The quote implies that the issue, addressed through the women's page, was for the entire "society". It appears that the media does not marginalize women's issues. Rather it tries making their issues a public concern. The by-line shows that the author is a woman.

In the original language, the sentence reads "Dowry... Hide and Seek Game- I see you! And I don't see you!" The author uses ellipses, exclamation marks and quotation marks. All these punctuation marks convey messages related to emotion. For instance, the exclamation mark reflects astonishment or surprise.

#### **Theme**

The story criticizes people who feign doing certain behaviours that are ungenue. An imagined bride tries not to disclose her fiancé's and her own economic deficiencies. The author labeled her as a pretender. Wedding ceremonies and dowry payments are moments where brides and parents prepare big feasts. Grooms in urban areas are supposed to pay dowry on the eve of the wedding. At the moment, the expenses of the dowries create challenges for men. Because of this brides are starting to borrow materials to display in front of her family and other guests. They pretend that the man is wealthy and has paid more than necessary. The author's point is that brides should accept their circumstances, be proud of what they are, and satisfied with what they have.

#### **Story Structure**

In the headline, dowry (bride price) is compared to the childhood "hide and seek". A one paragraph summary explains the kinds of dowries, the givers and recipients, and what a dowry is. The article focuses on the groom's presentation of dowry to the bride.

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<sup>34</sup> *Addis Admass*, Vol. 1; No. 17; April 29, 2000 (21.08.92), P. 8.

The broader part of the narrative describes processes through which one pays dowries and how changes occur in traditional society. In earlier times, there was no video camera to record the event. The dowry used to belong either to parents of the bride, to the bride herself, or even to relatives. The groom was expected to bring gifts to show respect to his future parents-in-law(s) and to express his love for the bride. The dowry also showed the man's economic status.

When a dowry is paid in kind, the man's class status is evaluated by the quantity and quality of items he presents. Some ostentatiously display items to show that they belong to a higher social class. They would be source of pride for their parents-in-law.

As the following quote attests, the responsibility of parents to arrange marriages is changing. The parents used to have to prepare a big feast for the wedding ceremony of their children. But at the time of the article, this has changed:

In these our days, however, the focus given during the ceremony is less to what is served by way of food and drinks than to the [dramatic] ritual of videotaping of the ceremony, beginning with the eve of the consummation of the marriage, which [usually] involves mutual familiarization among the groom's best men and the bride's-maids. In such [modern] videotaping [and picture-taking] ceremony displaying the dowry given to [and unfurled by/for] the bride is given a prominent place as a rite in its own right<sup>35</sup> (Apx.6, AF3).

The emphasis has shifted. The new generation is interested in recording history for their children or grandchildren. The bride hires a videographer. She asks the videographer to capture the ritual and to show that the bridegroom is hers.

The bride does not act alone. Her bridesmaids play an important role. They secretly contribute clothes, ornaments, which they will take back after the spectacle.

The last paragraph returns to the headline. The writer claims that people should accept what they have. If they conceal their real identity they play a child's hide-and-seek game.

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<sup>35</sup> *That this ritual is becoming more and more fore-grounded in its own right (and as a matter-of-course) needs to be taken into account in terms particularly of the rhetoric of liberation vs. commoditization of social life, if that makes sense.* [Trans.]

### Characterization

The story depicts various social actors, like brides and the bridegroom, best men and best women, parents, camera operator, etc. The bride is portrayed as a showy character fond of fame and popularity. She wants the attention of the public and shows off the huge dowry she has received. The bride indulges in self-deception because deep down she knows that the “dowry” does not belong to her. The groom spends too much money. Even if he wants to give a bigger dowry to his beloved fiancé, he is economically limited.

... [‘For posterity to come’ would be the appropriate rendering.] The performer/actor mandated with the role of pulling out one-by-one Miss Bride’s dowry pieces from the valises is the type that people speak of as being possessed of an unmatched volubility. In addition, this personage, [for all one cares], may not even have an inkling of the bridegroom on whom he heaps the honorific, now of ‘our dear brother’ and ‘our kin’ another moment. If [the spectators] are of possessed of any conviction that the person acting out this role is there to make the dowry-ceremony a joyous one to bring laughter to the hearts of one and all, no one present would give much thought to his claim of ‘brotherhood’ and ‘kinship’ with the groom. [For all one knows,] this person could have been [randomly] picked up from anywhere for the evening’s purpose by any one of the groom’s best men<sup>lxii</sup>.

The best man must be a good orator. The author says that the groom and the best man could even be strangers. As long as the person is good orator, it matters not whether he has a close relationship to the bridegroom. This is a common dowry practice among the urban dwellers. If such an orator is found and he is willing to be part of the dowry presentation ceremony, he smoothes the path for the groom.

The author describes the videographer as the hardest worker. He uses his best lenses to make an exciting documentary film for the future progeny of the couple. As a professional, he needs money. The bride and groom must pay for his service.

The rest of the social actors in the article are the guests and individuals who act to be recorded by the camera. The writer focuses on the artificial nature of people trying to be showy.

### **Language Use: Idiomatic Expressions**

There are three different figures of speech in the article. These figures of speech are Gold and Wax (ambiguity), metaphor and simile. Let us begin by looking at the first kind of figure of speech.

The Amharic word 'Ṭeloš' (dowry) has two meanings. The first meaning conveys a negative idea, which means "sudden accident", misfortune or catastrophe that befalls a person. The other meaning of dowry, as seen in the text, is gifts or presents. Here then, one word conveys the dual nature of dowries. Earlier, I pointed out that the wedding ceremony challenges brides and other wedding party members financially. The source of their difficulty is the tradition of dowry payment as a premarital procedure.

"Hide and Seek game of dowry...." describes the modern way of paying dowry with metaphor. "Hide and seek" is a children's game, which lacks long-lasting purpose. Children are absorbed in their current state of affairs. They do not think about tomorrow. When they play in groups, they do not violating the rules of the game and have strong team spirits, but the attitude does not last. The dowry ceremony of the urban youngsters parallels this children's game. The metaphor implies that dowry payment these days is primarily to please others.

The author mentions "One lives [ought to live] according to one's means, not according to how one's neighbour lives" (Apx.6, AF3). This adage suggests that young women should accept the economic their fiancés status. This idea backdrops the article. She wrote that dowry differs depending on the traditions and economies of individuals. A person should live according to his means.

### **Narrative Strategy: Critical and Satirical Approach**

The article uses compare and contrast. The author compares dowry ceremonies to the Hide-and-Seek game of children. This comparison and the gender of the writer create would amuse readers who are familiar with the tradition. The man normally pays a dowry to the woman. Therefore, when a female writer critiques this tradition, it attracts the attention of the readers.



The author contrasts the present and the past. According to her, the past is better and more “honest.” The adage “One lives [ought to live] according to one’s means, not according to how one’s neighbour lives” emphasizes this point.

The author also compares different brides. A bride who has met a wealthy husband competes with a bride who has met a poor husband. Is dowry the question of the bride or the question of the bridegroom then? The writer presents dowries as if it were the question of the bride.

Many married couples have opined that the existence of videotaping has been responsible for the ‘exhibitionism’ now rampant at dowry-ceremonies, turning it into a matter of necessity. The reason [for this prevalence of videotaping as a ritual] given by many women is that it is exciting [pure and simple]. It is my opinion that there isn’t a single woman who would not wish her fiancé (tomorrow’s husband) to present her not only with mere cloth garments but dresses and shoes made of gold and make her proud in front of her family, never mind that today’s dowry would not hold together the family to be built tomorrow, and this even when the means do not measure up to the envisioned end<sup>36lxiii</sup>.

The writer says that a woman can be happy if she receives a huge dowry. This means that a women’s choice of men depends on financial power, not human dignity. The writer bases the article on her observations. Other sources are not quoted and even though she credits some sources they are anonymous.

#### **Framing: Conflict of the moderns: being between the present and the past**

The dowry symbolizes the respect the groom has for his future wife and her parents. If anything is missing from the luggage during dowry presentation for instance, the family and bridesmaids will get angry. They consider that the groom disrespectful.

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<sup>36</sup> *The Amharic sentence here is rather mangled syntax-wise, and for that reason incoherent. So, what I have tried to do is try to be faithful to the letter, at the same time struggling to keep the sense alive. The core idea, for purposes of analysis, is the following: Regardless of the groom’s means, and knowing full well that the dowry by itself will not make tomorrow’s solid family, that the bride-to-be will still opt for the most expensive dowry under the circumstances just to cater to her ‘vanity’, to simply make her proud in the face of her family (add ‘and friends’). The core idea is the bride’s vanity is what is being served; this is what is being critiqued. That the writer of the ‘essay’ is angry with this ‘madness’ of [her?] female compatriots, with no little blame owing, is evident. The visible absence of the groom in this ‘castigation’ in this particular passage is all-telling.(Trans.)*

The conventional wisdom is that the dowry so presented is an expression of the love that the groom has for the bride and a guarantee of what a wonderful life awaits her when he, after the blessings of her parents, takes from her home to his house. If [for whatever reason] even [such a small thing as] a handkerchief is found missing from among the dowry-items presented to the bride, the bride's family and her friends get peeved with a feeling of "having been scorned." And, the elders, for their part, would [express their consternation] thus: "If, before even leaving her parents' home, [the groom] has 'short-changed her' if such [an important] thing, what guarantee do we have that he would even bother to feed her when she makes her abode with him?" To which the bridegroom's friends immediately retort that they would make up for whatever has been found amiss.<sup>lxiv</sup>

What would happen if any item is missing from the luggage? The person in charge, usually the best man, supplies the missing items. He will either deposit in cash or submit names of person as guarantee. The bride attempts to escape the expectations of her community. According to the narrative, the bride tries to cover financial reality with false presentations. She wants to be perceived as a bride who received a huge dowry, which is a symbol of respect, love and wealth. The writer focuses on this behaviour of the bride. For her, the bride should not prepare a fake presentation. Rather, she should accept her fiancé and face the challenge of ignoring social custom. The writer does not attempt to show the "commodifying" aspect of dowry. The writer does not critique how dowries objectify brides as a commodity.

Dowries reflect that a woman can be exchanged as a commodity, as we have seen in previous sections. The dowry assumes that a woman will depend on the man in their married life. Hirut Täräfä wrote the following based on her research in Arsi<sup>37</sup>.

Bride price is common in many African Societies. It has equally complex repercussions for women. While it can be argued in theory that bride wealth shows the higher value given to women in societies in practice it tends to result in the commodification of marital relations. Having paid for his wife, a man may treat her like a piece of property than a human being with inalienable rights. Sai (1994:86) argues that a husband who has paid pride price can restrict her mobility, control all decisions about sexual and reproductive activities and prevent her from making her own choices or protecting health properly (2012:57).

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<sup>37</sup> A province in Oromiya State.

Therefore, dowry is framed as a challenge for the man and a dream for the bride. Dowry payment symbolizes that the man owns the woman. The woman desires to be owned by an affluent person whom many women covet.

## **Summary**

The four stories (one from *Addis Zemen* and three from *Addis Admass*) analyzed here reflect different views but have a common message on gender relations in urban life. Unlike chapter six, the stories examined here address diverse topics such as, overpopulation, HIV/AIDS, and the conflict between old and new social attitudes regarding gender and gender relations. The articles reflect social changes emergent in the societies. The dowry ceremony, women's domestic roles, and women's engagement in the public sphere are all changing. Certain agents here have initiated the changes.

In the narratives, female characters attempt to voice their feelings, views, and interests. Women in these stories are not simply passive subjects. Compared to the female characters in the previous narratives, the characters challenge their male counterparts. They are relatively better educated. They still, however, express conflicts.

## 7.2 Emerging Changes in Gender and Gender Relations

This subsection focuses on four items. They convey messages of some practical changes in gender and gender relations along different dimensions.

### *“Planned Marriage of 154 Girls Annulled”*

#### **Surface Descriptors**

The news under the headline<sup>38</sup> was reported by WIC and published on women's page. Three different narrators layer overreach other. The columnist, the reporter of the news, and the social actors all narrate.

#### **Theme**

According to the news, legal and political institutions cancelled several marriage arrangements. Forcedly early marriages violate girls' rights. According to the author, this practice of arranged and forced early marriage should be eliminated. Early marriage as a traditional practice has political, legal, and social implications. In order to eliminate it, different groups must participate. The victims themselves, (the girls in this context), teachers, and Women's Affairs Offices should work hand-in-hand. If these groups engage, girls will have access to education.

#### **Story structure: from the Achievement to the Unresolved Problem**

The writer presumes that the readers will agree with him/her. Once marriage is arranged, it continues unless unexpected and extraordinary situations occur. The headline brings attention to the annulment of 154 arranged marriages because it is extraordinary. Curiosity piques the readers.

The lead answers the who, what, when, where, why, and how. It contains the event, cancellation of the planned weddings, the reason why, because the arrangement violated human rights,, the place, in southern and eastern zones of Tegray,, the objects-social actors, 154 female children, and the subjects, chairpersons of Women's Association of each zone, teachers, etc..

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<sup>38</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59; No. 154; March 9, 2000 (30.06.92), P. 14 (Women's page).

Two events took place in two different parts of Tegray. The first is that planned weddings were annulled in the Southern Tegray. The girls ranged from 8 - 15 years old. The marriages had not taken place, yet. The new family law says “Neither a man nor a woman who has not attained the full age of eighteen years shall conclude marriage” (Negarit Gazeta, the Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000, Article 7). Therefore the arrangements could be cancelled based on the law. The girls were then free to continue their education

The second event is the cancelation of marriages in the eastern district of Tegray. The 61 girl children ranged from 13 to 15 years old. The numbers of the girls were relatively less but the action taken more serious. Cancelling marriages that have already taken place is a challenging task. In the Ethiopian context marriage involves various social and religious institutions (Apx.6, ZN3). People's trust in these institutions has been shaken. The society is given shock therapy. The last paragraph contradicts itself.

At the same time, however, the Vice-Chairperson has also disclosed that, due to unwillingness on the parts of their families, as well as that of the parties to the wedding, it had been impossible to effect a divorce in the case of the four remaining girls. Considering, however, the severity of the damage resulting from the wedding of under-age girls not physically robust enough to go through the risk [of childbirth], the Vice-Chairperson has, meanwhile called upon women's associations, teachers, Zonal administrative and justice agencies, as well as the general community to make a concerted effort to bring an end to the practice<sup>lxv</sup> (Apx.6, ZN3).

This text implies that the cancellations were not so easy. According to its beginning claims, the girls were never interested in getting married in the first place. However, in the last paragraph, quoted here, the author reports that the four marriages could not be cancelled. The writer appeals to various authorities to intervene and bring an end to their practice. Nevertheless, the text shows resistance to the law.

The four married couples were not willing to divorce because the married girls and their families did not accept the divorce process.

The success of preventing the weddings were due to the initiative taken by the girls themselves, who reported their predicament to the Women's Associations of their respective Qäbälés and their school administrations. The ages of the girls ranged between 8 and 9 while their class levels were between 1 and 6<sup>lxvi</sup> (Apx.6, ZN3).

The girls themselves decided to take their cases to the law. They were eager to pursue their education. The Women's Associations of their respective Qäbälés, the school administrations, and the community courts were able to intervene. The story ends by revealing the failure of the offices. It presents tradition as more powerful than the rule of law.

### **Characterization**

The article depicts various human and institutional social actors. The author does not explicitly discuss female characters, parents, and social institutions. Female characters portrayed in the news can be classified into two groups. In the first group, women are credited with information. The article mentions two chairwomen of women's associations by name. These two characters give prominence and credibility to the information.

The second groups of women are the victims of early marriage. The article presents girls aged from 8 to 15 whose educational grade level ranges from first to sixth. The article divides the girls into three categories: first, the 93 girls who escaped from the marriage arrangement. The second group is the 65 girls who were already married 61 of which were set free. In both these categories, all the girls had already gone back to schools. The third category comprises the 4 girls from the Southern part of Tegray and the 22 girls from Eastern Tegray zone who remained married. They are not explicated. All the girls are under the legal age of 18. However, they vary in their courage to bring their cases to the public.

Parents are the other social actors. They are also divided into two groups. The majority are those who accepted the decision of the community courts. They allowed their girls to return to school. The second category consists of those parents who resisted the court's decision. Nothing was said about them besides their reluctance to obey the law.

Public organizations and political institutions serve as social actors in the article. Institutions such as schools, Women's Offices and the courts, deal with the difficulties girls face. These institutions have the capacity to negotiate with the traditional institutes based on the rule of law, particularly the old Criminal Code.

The last social actors are those about whom the author does not explicitly describe. Parallel to the 154 girls indicated in the headline, there are 154 male characters. These male actors and their

parents are missing from the surface of the story. But, indirectly, the readers can get the impression of their invisible presence. The article depicts the means impediments the future development of the girls. Some of them have respected the decision of the community court and divorced their wives. Accordingly, these men are of two types, those who accept new ideas and those who resist new ideas. The Qäbälé Justice Office called the latter group of men to sign an agreement with the institutions so that they obey the decision. These institutions, not individual girls and law-abiding parents, confront these men.

### Language Use

The story uses very simple language. Words and expressions mask the main point. Two words could draw the attention of the readers to the true point of the article. These words are “girls” (leḡagärädoč in Amharic) and “Information addressed (tipped) to the police” that is, someone disclosed the information to the police (Ṭeqoma in Amharic).

“Girl” in Amharic means an unmarried young woman, possibly a virgin (Amsalu and Mosbak, 1998 EC) (Apx.6, AN1). A girl is an adolescent who is at marriageable age, and virgin (Amsalu and Mosback, 1998: 36). From the headline, the figure 154 consists of both unmarried and divorced young females as “girls”. The main body addresses both the married and unmarried minors (female children) differently. So, what is the difference between “girl” and “woman” in this context? From the context, the newspaper used the word “women” to refer to married females while the word “girl” refers to unmarried and virgin girls.

According to WäyezäroTäkeléGäberämikaél, Vice-Chairperson of the Women’s Association, thanks to the campaign undertaken by the Women’s Association of the Zone, the marriage of 61 of the 65 women [under age girls], ranging in age from 13-15, has been annulled, consequently enabling the girls to resume their education<sup>lxvii</sup> (Apx.6, AN1, emphasis added).

Witness how language describes the status of individuals. Irrespective of her age, a female child is given to a man as a wife. Once married, she is called a “woman”, whereas a female who is not married, remains “girl”. Describing girls in terms of their social positions (married and unmarried), instead of their ages, has a cultural implication. For a girl to change her social category from an adolescent into a woman, she gets married. She then must shoulder family responsibilities. From the narrative, we infer that the average age range of girls when they get

married is between 8 and 12 years. People's understanding of early marriage is different from place to place (Biset, 2007).

The other interesting term is "Information" or tip (Ṭeqoma in Amharic). The word Ṭeqoma implies that the tip occurs behind a curtain. Tradition does not consider forced early marriage as violence against a girl. The new family law, however, considers this practice illegal (The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000: article 7). In the narrative, at least three groups are involved in this "illegal" practice. These are 1) those who violated the law, though the specific law broken is not clearly indicated, 2) those who disclosed the wrongdoings, and 3) those who received the reports or tips about these "illegal" actions.

On the other hand, we see that the legal institutions could not enforce the court decisions. Legal institutions and implementers look ineffective, while tradition looks more influential, remaining intact. The government was not prepared to force divorce.

#### **Narrative Strategies: Magnify the positives**

The news tells readers about the achievement of women's Offices of different regions. It begins with the successes. The offices managed to disrupt the marriage processes and even already formed marriages. However, forced early marriage cannot be so easily overcome. The news concludes that few families have resisted the decision. Surprisingly, the girls themselves are included among the people who resisted. No evidence is presented for this though. For example, no girl is quoted as saying that she does not want to divorce her husband. The news simply reports that the practice affects the girls' lives. The family law thus tolerates forced early marriage to some extent. The writer does not substantiate his claim.

In fact, only a small number resisted the decisions of the institutions. However, this resistance was not the point that the reporter wanted to make. The writer focused on the positive not the negative aspect of the tradition. Tradition is considered insignificant when seeing how many respected the decision of the court. The author focuses on explaining the event but avoids all other details. Those girls and parents who refused to accept the decision of the community courts are not quoted, which raises questions.



**Framing: tradition against education: girls' issue**

The struggle against tradition and women's education both frame the article. The fighting against early marriage has progressed. The writer points to its success so far achieved by quoting different sources that take similar stances as the writer. For instance, different zonal women's offices were quoted repeatedly. The media wants to announce the cancellation of early forced marriages. The news promotes these offices' achievements.

The article presents education in reference to the need to fight against traditions of marriage. However, the news does not say anything about male students.

*“An End to Nine-Month Litigation between Husband and Wife”*

**Surface Descriptor**

“An End to Nine-Month Litigation between Husband and Wife”, is printed by *Addis Zemen*<sup>39</sup>. The headline covers two columns and takes up three lines in the original language. Each line contains a single point, explained under 'structure' below.

**Theme**

The story conveys two themes. First, married women who live with violence should present their cases to legal and public institutions. The article means the community court when it refers to 'public institution'. If women come forward, justice will be served.

Second, the article focuses on the determination and of women. A woman has to have endurance to fight against violence until she gets fair treatment. The story relays the challenge facing women to win a case over her husband. But, according to the article, if the abused wife is patient and persistent, she can succeed in getting her rights. The article describes an economically powerful man with the support of two lawyers who lost a case to his ex-wife. The ex-wife is a role model for women. They should not confine themselves in the house assuming that they will not find justice. Justice can come through arduous struggle. Economic power does not guarantee power.

**Story Structure**

The headline describes a demonstration organized by a group of happy women in Mäqälé city in Tegraye. The news has an inverted pyramid structure. Generally, the most important point or recent event comes at the beginning. The last sentence carries background information. 500 women gathered because the longtime dispute between a woman and her ex-husband was resolved. The city's office of justice decided in favour of the woman. The woman gathered to rejoice. The introduction repeats headline. It adds the place of the event and that the community court has decided the case. The reason for conflict is then explained. The man refused to share common property with his wife. In one paragraph the five “Ws” and “H” questions are answered.

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<sup>39</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; no. 97; December 16, 2000 (07.04.93), Pp. 7

The last paragraph lists the former couple's properties. The reporter shows how the man is selfish because he refuses to give his wife the property they own in common.

### **Characterization**

There are four kinds of characters. The first, there are the institutions: the Mäqälé people's community court and the Women's association of Mäqälé City. The main social actor wins the case over her husband because the institutions supported her. These institutions have legal power and the authority to decide the property rights.

The second character is the woman whose right to property is denied. The narrative goes like this.

After a short spate of separation, following the clash between husband and wife, the man started selling, exchanging and even bequeathing to his relatives the property that had been acquired between the two over a period of many years. He even went to the extent of having the registry altered through the transfer of proprietary rights to other people, according to the wife's complaint<sup>lxviii</sup> (Apx.6, ZN4).

Three situations reflect the husband's irrationality and cruelty. (For the absence of the man's voice see "Narrative structure"). The couple lived together for 23 years. By itself this impacts the readers emotionally. Living together for such a long time implies that the two knew each other very well. To quench the curiosity of the readers, the author should have written whether or not the couple had children. It suggests that they may not have had children. The readers can infer that under the law, children directly inherit the properties of their parents. Nevertheless, the article does not explicitly state this.

The news does not indicate the real cause of the conflict between the husband and wife. The reporter says that their conflict is a "minor issue". But s/he does not say what the issue is, for whom it is minor or from whose perspective. Perhaps the conflict's details would have explained the man's weird behaviour. The writer might know the real reason and did not bring it to the public. The writer indicates the ex-husband presented forged documents to the court.

The woman took her case to court because she could not force him to give her property. Her strength lies in her courage to take him to court. The woman says all women should take their cases to courts instead of remaining behind closed doors. The following quote reflects her view.

Expressing her opinion after the ruling [in her favor], WäyezäroMulu said that instead of giving up as a lost cause the suffering they incur at home on the grounds that "justice would not be served [anyway]," women should put up a struggle for the protection of their own rights. Attempts to get hold of her husband, AtoMilaw, [and find out what he had to say] had failed<sup>lxix</sup> (Apx.6, ZN4).

It is not common for women to take their cases to legal institutions. They do not know how to argue in front of the court. They do not know public sphere discourse. Such discourse requires the capability of public speech. It requires resources to hire a lawyer. Even though the woman is strong enough to take her case to the court, she lacked the ability to understand her husband's real aim. For instance, the wife says that she did not expect their relationship to be terminated for good. This can be interpreted in two ways. Possibly, she expected reconciliation. That is, she did not expect the man to leave her in the first place and she did not expect the husband to deny her right to the property in the second place. The husband did the unexpected and he hid property from her. The wife asserts herself; she does not give up. Many women in her situation would have abandoned her case.

The author does not thoroughly describe other characters. S/he only refers to them as "those other people." They are stock characters without distinct personalities. For example, the anonymous husband gave presents and gifts to his relatives. The details of these unidentified social actors would have added to the article's arc. However, the readers can deduce that the woman fought more people in addition to the ex-husband. A man is not normally alone when challenged by a woman.

#### **Language Use: Hyperbole**

The researcher emphasized the phrase of the original headline, which says, (Zäṭāñe wärateYäfäḡäYäbalenna miste kerekere wesané bāmageñātuYätädäsātuYäkätāmawa sétoče sälefe wātu) (emphasis added). The husband and wife's litigation lasted for nine months so women of the town made a public demonstration. The underlined phrase in the original title, "They made a demonstration", even though it is not translated from Amharic into English, conveys how women, with irresistible joy, went out to the square to express their happiness over the decision. Two phrases catch the eye in this article. The first says that the decision ensured the woman's equal property rights. The second says "women who are victims of domestic

violence"... These phrases convey the gender division. But, according to the news article, women are the same as men. All women are called upon for solidarity.

### **Narrative Strategy**

The article describes a husband and wife who lived together for more than 23 years but eventually separated. The husband refused to share property with his ex-wife which led her and her supporters to take the case to the law.

Mäqälé (ENA): A nine-month litigation between a man and his wife concerning claims [and counter-claims] on property [sharing] finally came to an end in a Mäqälé people's community court, triggering a public rally by the town's women, supporting the ruling [in favour of the woman], who were joy over the outcome of the case<sup>lxx</sup> (Apx.6, ZN4).

The problem addresses women's rights susceptibility to be deprived of them. This is especially true when their husbands abandon them. The article suggests different solutions to the problem. Some of the possible solutions were to take their cases to court with the support of women's offices and administrative Association offices. The article mentions time everywhere. The author describes time in various forms such as litigation that "took more than nine months", "one incidental conflict", "After a short spate of separation", "immediately when she realized this", "until now". It indicates that the litigation has taken more time than it should. The relationship of the two ruptured within very short period. However, the legal wrangling cost them much more in terms of money and time.

The article emphasizes time when the women demonstrated; the decision was made on Saturday and the public rally was held on Sunday, the day after. The women reacted immediately, which the article juxtaposed against the court dispute. The dispute took a long time.

The article highlights the man's hastiness to file for divorce and his quick distribution of the couple's property among his relatives. The woman took immediate measures when she realized what her husband was doing. Her supporters also took immediate action when they heard about the court decision.

The news usually presents a balanced view. But in this article, the article does not provide a balance between the husband and wife's perspectives. The article does not present the husband's views. To appear impartial, the writer mentions that it was impossible to interview the man. The

husband's absence affects the balance of the article. The main source is the author. S/he does not quote any other legitimate sources. The author even excludes representatives of the two institutions.

**Frame: "Justice lies in the hands of Courts"**

The article frames the news narrative with issues and characters. The dispute between the husband and wife does not end but the author presents it because of its unique nature. Even with the law on her side, it is a challenge for a woman to secure her rights. Demonstrating in the public square has many implications. According to tradition (defined here as common practice that is inherited from the past), women should occupy the domestic (private) sphere as their main domain. Acting against this tradition indicates social change.

Women are also behaving similarly to each other. Their experiences are thought to homogenize them. That is why more than 500 women demonstrated to support the woman. One woman's condition provoked them laying the groundwork for them to act.

The litigation decided in favour of the wife because of the new regional family law ratified in 1999 (improved in 2007). The decision proclaims the value of the new family law. Interestingly, the court decision occurred before the Federal level family law was ratified. The woman is aware of the ratification of the law and somehow this knowledge disseminated amongst women. The husband's resistance shows that men did not consider the law as something important. They did not think it would change their traditional relations with women.

*"The Indefatigable [Woman] Farmer"*

**Surface Description**

This article was published at the bottom of the women's column<sup>40</sup>. The by-line is a male author's name (Apz6, ZF4). The story is translated from English into Amharic. It has a title "Low External Input and Sustainable Agriculture /LEISA/". The narrative did not incorporate visual representation.

**Theme**

Agriculture is associated with men. Female social actors do not portray agricultural topics. In contrast, this sample article portrays a female character that proves the capability of women to farm.

The article shows that women can accomplish a job traditionally the exclusive territory of men. To be engaged in such kinds of work and part of the transformation, women should exert more effort. They should have wisdom and gradually enter the fields restricted to men.

**Story Structure: Tale telling**

The narrative follows a typical tale style. The headline indicates that a woman is noted for two practices. First, she is indefatigable and second, she is a farmer. The character is newsworthy because these activities are not common for women.

The lead describes the historical background. This background contextualizes the theme. The readers observe that traditional practices harm women. The writer also describes women who overcame this burden.

The information flows from general to specific. The conclusion confirms the hypothesis. The social actor demonstrates how women are entering domains from which they were forbidden before. Change is possible when it comes to social roles.

The whole narrative structure is interconnected. The writer presents the case as if there are many women in society succeeding in men's exclusive domains. However, in the last paragraph, he

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<sup>40</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; No. 32; October 12, 2000 (02.02.93), P.10 (Women)

expresses his excitement at this individual woman's actions. Does this mean that all women have succeeded?

### Characterization

The narrative depicts three categories of characters: the individual social actor, a group of people, and domestic animals. The readers know the main social actor after a few initial sentences. She is a 30 year old widow. She heads a household of five members. The author does not provide information about the other family members. Her situation points out that having dependents is common in the Ethiopian societies. No one could fill the gap created by the death of her husband, so the woman fell into a serious economic crisis.

At the time of her husband's passing away, the only property Wäyizäro Tänsu had to her name was a solitary ox. So, the only choice she had then was to let out her ox to another farmer in a joint, sharecropping venture and have her plot tilled to support her family<sup>lxxi</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

The quote implies the actor has tried to behave according to what is expected of her by custom. She employed another male farmer to till her land so that she could feed her family. She paid him either in cash or in kind. The woman has sensed the unfair nature of society's norm. The shared product of that agreement did not feed her family. Consequently, she decided to look for another option to alleviate her situation. The arrangement with the farmer failed to meet her needs so she had to explore another mechanism.

Another idea struck her. There is another animal 3 times cheaper than an ox - a donkey [of course]! [As she did not have the wherewithal to buy the donkey] she estimated that she could get one from her father, if only temporarily. But, tilling the land with a donkey was unknown to the area, other than the fact that it would be difficult to pair a donkey with an ox. All the same, Tänsu stuck to her idea and, accordingly, consulted her father. But, the answer she got back came to her as a shock. She was told that, if she insisted on putting her idea to work, she would be cast out by her family would cast her out. Her parents' family further warned her with [an impending] curse befalling her<sup>41lxxii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

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<sup>41</sup> *If any shock accrues to anybody at this point, it should be to W/o Tänsu's father, and through him to the community, who was probably dazed out of his wits by the audacity of his child (a woman at that) to even think of the idea in the first place. If anything, Tänsu would probably be disappointed with the response she got, as expected. What could (and would) have come more as fear than shock to Tänsu is the possibility of being cast out (even disowned) by her family, which is as bad as death, the cutting off of the umbilical cord that sustains her life. And yet, that she dared to move ahead amidst all the odds is actually the 'stuff she is made of'. That she goes about her*



The widow's situation forced her to rebel against tradition. Consequently, she faced more challenges. First, she did not have a good instrument of labour. She only had an ox. She started by asking her father for support. She wanted a donkey and she herself wanted to be a farmer. But, her father told her that he would reject her if she went against custom. Then, she made her own way. She started tilling the land with an ox and a donkey. Community members considered her insane. She overcame all these challenges by swimming against the tide.

Currently, however, there are some signs of change of attitude among the community. As of the previous year, some women in the community have been asking WäyizäroTänsu to show them how to till the land [the way she does]. The request coming to Tänsu has not been limited to [getting instruction]. It has been observed that some women, whose husbands had been away to the front, had been imploring her to "please till" their land for them...<sup>lxxiii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

She is willing to teach what she knows to others, particularly to women. Women's husbands went to the war front which meant they had no one to till their land.

The following paragraph describes how she acquired the knowledge to plough. Tegray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) tried to deconstruct existing practices in the community:

WäyizäroTänsu was one of the people who were given training by TPLF's agricultural task force in the "art" of tilling the land with oxen, sometime in 1974, while the TPLF was operating in the vicinity. However, not until the death of her husband could WäyizäroTänsu apply her training to the actual work of tilling the land. In addition, given the cultural taboo of the area at the time, tilling the land [even using oxen] was something unthinkable [for a woman]<sup>lxxiv</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

Some women asked the widow to till their lands because they live under the same custom that forbids them to farm. But the main actor went against this rule. These other women saw that the widow's predicament is common, but also that most do not have the courage to do the job themselves. The article describes the women as a group interested in solidarity with the widow.

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*business (ignoring her father's 'injunction' and yet with full resolve) is a gesture certainly accompanied with ambivalence—filial loyalty on the one hand, and individual resolve to be free on the other. This should be noted. This last choice, the daring to go ahead, is doubly significant, in that its effect extends to her decision to break off her relationship with the farmer, her share-cropping male-'partner'. Hence, the relevance, in fact aptness, of the rhetorical question at the end of the essay. [Trans.]*

History shows that women all over the world have used solidarity to overcome their challenges (Hooks, 1986).

The widow becomes a model of a female-headed family. She demonstrated that women could be effective at farming. She broke the barrier that restricts women to be confined to the kitchen and prohibits them from participating in public sphere. The character takes risks, is creative and prepared to face any challenge.

WäyizäroTänsu's creativity ['invention'] has inspired other [groups] as well. To further develop and strengthen the activity started by her 'apostolic' initiation of change and to extend its use to other farmers, students, development professionals and women supporting the cause of change have created alliance to carry the effort forward.<sup>lxxv</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

This woman's behaviour is compared with the other male characters in the narrative. The article presents two kinds of male characters. The social actor's father, her deceased husband, and the farmer she contracted constitute one category. The characters grouped under this category neither could solve the main character's problems nor could they allow her to do what she wants. They embody custom. In the second category of male characters, an agricultural extension program officer supports the widow. He helped the woman actualize her potential. He showed the public that she could do the impossible.

In addition to humans, the article portrays domestic animals. The animals reflect stereotypes. An ox and a donkey are instruments of labour. People negotiate over the property of an ox. It is an expensive animal. The readers know the widow only had one ox and that she asked her father to lend her a donkey. She deconstructed the value of an ox by coupling it with a donkey. She used both to farm her land.

A donkey performs a new task in the story. Traditionally, a donkey serves as a pack animal and as a means of transportation. Camilla Wright (in Pausewant, Tronvall and Aalen, 2002:50) wrote the following on how donkeys are perceived

Expressions like 'The woman and the donkey, both like the stick' are well known. Ethiopians view the donkey as a working animal that does not always obey its master and is definitely not intelligent. To say to an Ethiopian, 'you're like a donkey is a terrible insult, on a par with saying, you're an idiot.' Both the donkey and the woman are said to need discipline. The woman is even said to like it. ...

However, in this story, donkey ploughs farmland. Both the woman and the donkey's status have changed. The woman does what a man does and the donkey does what an ox does. The society, represented by her father, rejects change. A decade later, donkey has become a means of production (see Chapter 9, figure 9.1).

#### **Language Use: Irony, Lexicalization, Metaphor, and Simile**

The narrative uses three linguistic mechanisms. Pronouns describe the characters. The author uses lexicalization. Thirdly, the author uses figurative language.

In Amharic language, you may address a single person in different ways. Could the address can be formal and polite (See Appendix 2). Formal and polite addresses signify one of two possibilities: the addressee is either senior in age or s/he is a person with power in his/her respective society. The writer described the main actor in third person informal while addressing her father and ex-husband in formal polite way. The woman, presented as a hero, is not politely addressed while those who stood on the way of change are respected. This reflects the stance of the writer.

The author lexicalizes female farmer as an expression that shows how agriculture is a gendered field in the society. The writer emphasizes how the woman stepped outside of custom.

The author uses symbols and analogies.

...The drag exerted by the *yoke* (emphasis added) of backward customary practices is being thrown asunder. Does anyone, then, dare say that WäyizäroTänsu does not deserve to be called the indefatigable farmer, who proved [through sheer resolve] harmful beliefs and attitudes barren?<sup>lxxvi</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

“Traditional practices” compare with “yoke” here. A “yoke” is put on the shoulder of two oxen in tilling land. It keeps the oxen close, enabling the farmer to follow one route. A “yoke” is also a heavy burden that weighs on a person. Because yokes are wooden, they are breakable. The author portrays traditional practices as yokes, sharing some of the characteristics of this farming tool. Tradition is a social practice imposed on people as a yoke is imposed on oxen. The public is compared with oxen because their might is harnessed. Both the public and oxen obey passively. But, like the yoke, tradition is also breakable. The narrative discusses how the tradition of

ploughing with two oxen is transformed because a new approach brings in the donkey. The writer concludes that the yoke harms people and it is being broken.

The author compares the female farmer to Gospel used to preach moral values. She is a role model.

**Narrative strategy: "She is not the Only One"**

The story has been translated from English into Amharic. The original English writer remains a presence behind the translator. The readers are really hearing the translator's voice. Furthermore, the columnist adds a third level to the narration. This chain of narrators is crucial. It reminds us of the gatekeepers. These three voices (gate keepers) agree on traditions and social actors' reactions to these traditions.

The narrator contextualizes widespread trends in the society. He explains that many women have breached these longstanding traditions.

The deeply ingrained harmful traditional practices prevailing in our country have caused much distress to numerous women. Yet, many are the women who have [successfully] helped throw off this massive burden from the shoulders of women and gained the respect of [one and all]<sup>lxxvii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF4).

The story has a human interest element. The success of a woman farmer excites the readers. Newspapers often select female role models to capture public interest. Other chapters have discussed this tendency, but this particular article misses one point.

Some women get trained to farm by TPLF. The article does not explain whether or not other women have had similar opportunities. Why would society members be surprised to see this woman farm, then? Where are those who receive similar training? Why is she alone? This aspect remains untold. The society allows women to receive training because the members think that the women will not bring change.

**Framing: Extra-ordinariness and breakability of tradition**

The narrative frames human bodies and the situation. It presents women bodies, framed by both the author and the public. The author contrasts these two frames.

The author frames situations with an event and the frame of character(s). The event introduces a woman farming which is new. This relates directly to how the newspaper frames tradition. The newspaper, whenever it presents a new political issue, it is a hot issue.

The article also frames the female character in a particular way. The translator does not take a different stance from that of the society. He considered the character's action as extraordinary. The newspaper frames tradition as breakable by the newspaper. As aforementioned, tradition is compared to a yoke. Tradition, even though it is heavy, it is also breakable. The female farmer manifests this breakability.

*“Men Volunteer to Undergo Vasectomy, It Was Revealed”*

**Surface Descriptor**

“Men Volunteer to Undergo Vasectomy, It was Revealed”<sup>42</sup> is an article by published in ENA DässéBranč. There were no pictures. All the sources attributed to are men.

**Theme**

The story conveys that men benefit from family planning program in three different rural districts.

The surgery was performed after the men were given successive training courses and counselling [sessions], while oppression was performed by high-level medical professionals at the Dässé Family Clinic. The Manager revealed that the vasectomy would not pose any problem to the men in terms of normal sex life<sup>lxxviii</sup> (Apx.6, ZN6).

The quote makes two main points. First, it used to be rare for see men to use contraceptives or any form of family planning. Second, a vasectomy does not put a man’s sexual vigor at risk. Other men, then, should follow the social actors in the article.

The article focuses on building awareness, expert’s involvement, overpopulation, sexual satisfaction, and the scarcity of food for family.

**Story Structure**

The headline discloses an action, an event, and subjects. The headline contains the noun “Men”. This is a very rare approach in the newspapers we have discussed. In Chapter 5, we’ve seen that newspapers often use the noun “women” in headlines. Here, the readers read about “men”. What happened? Where did it happen? Who are the social actors? The headline answers the first question. The lead answers the rest. It introduces the success of one institution with the role of educating people about family planning. With advocacy and persuasion, Ethiopian Family Guidance and Counselling Counseling Association convinced 20 men to undergo a vasectomy. The media promoted this event.

According to the Manager, AtoLaqačäwWasé, not only women but also more than 20 male residents of the towns of Mäqälé, Combolča and Tähulädäré, who

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<sup>42</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; No. 34; October 14, 2000 (04.02.93), P. 6

have realized [the advantage of] being beneficiary to family planning services, have undergone vasectomy involving minor surgery<sup>lxxix</sup> (Apx.6, ZN6).

Men used to believe that birth control fell under women's responsibility. This norm has been broken. In health centres, highly specialized doctors perform the vasectomies. Other farmers are encouraged to follow the footsteps of these 20 men.

### **Characterizations**

The article credit three different sources: 1) patients, 2) beneficiaries (farmers) and 3) officials. These patients (farmers) parallel the health professionals who do minor operations. These characters strengthen the views of the good sides of vasectomy. These professionals and the representative of the institution lend legitimacy to the topic.

The news espouses the achievement of the Ethiopian Family Guidance and Counselling Association Office. The branch manager represents this institution. Men and women are addressed collectively. These 20 men are role models and agents of change.

How are the farmer and his anonymous wife depicted? The husband accepted the new idea because his wife was sick.

Society should accept the man's actions. The man who announced the news and the man who espoused the positive sides of vasectomy create awareness about family planning. The article explains that various sectors need to be involved in change. All the characters make the unthinkable option possible.

The men have two features in the narrative. First they are willing and second they have many children. The minor operation will not have a negative impact on their sexual relations. This implies that men worry about their sexuality even though their wives cannot continue giving birth.

### **Language use: Repetition of an Uncommon Term**

The article focuses on the word "vasectomy" (Yāwālid Māqoṭaṭāriya in Amharic). The article mentions it in each of the six paragraphs. This is a medical term with which lay people may be unfamiliar. It is a new term for the community. Even after it was introduced, only women should be concerned with it.

The excessive repetition of the term suggests that newspaper wants to inculcate the idea of modern family planning. Even family planning is uncommon in the community.

**Narrative Strategy: Case Approach**

The article is a success story. A few men who volunteer to be part of family planning education give their opinions. These men present a success story because the activists make the “impossible” possible. They tackle two problems. These problems stem from a lack of awareness of family planning and the attitude of the public around contraceptives.

The news presents a case study. A father of 11 children undergoes the vasectomy. His wife and their children in turn led the family to live in abject poverty. Therefore, the man decides to accept the family planning service.

Is the farmer interviewed a real role model to combat overpopulation? The man underwent vasectomy because his wife was sick and could not take the medication. What does this mean? The men did not intend for radical change. If the women were healthy, family planning would still be her concern.

**Framing: Family planning: “The Only Option”**

The article identifies two problems: poverty and the woman’s health problems. These two problems are very much interwoven. Poverty leads a family to live with a lack of resources. The woman was a victim of childbirth-related health problem and economic poverty. The extended family also brings poverty. Women in particular are vulnerable to maternal health problem. Maternal health problems forced the man to participate directly in family planning.

The article suggests that education and building awareness can resolve these difficulties. How does the news advocate for positive change? The article stresses the positive aspect of the new practice. For instance, even though the man has undergone vasectomy, he does not become impotent. Positive change is also described in terms of people’s attitude. For instance, people understand that family planning is not exclusively the task of women so men undergo vasectomies.

The news shows that there is a change in men's attitude in their role in family planning. The change, however, does not seem a real change. First, the man who selected to undergo



vasectomy already has 11 children. Second, the man underwent the surgical treatment because his wife was sick.

The same farmer, who revealed that his wife who incurred health problems due to child birth, and who, therefore, decided to undergo the operation himself, explained that he faced no problem whatsoever during sex<sup>lxxx</sup> (Apx.6, ZN6).

If the wife were in good health, she would have been the one who would be responsible for taking contraceptive.

A man who gets a vasectomy becomes news. The media did not ask the man who has fewer children and also got a vasectomy. The media promotes more the human-interest story rather than the story of change. The man has already 11 children, but the newspaper portrayed him as an agent of change, as if he were a role model. Why did the newspaper not select another man who has fewer children?

### **Summary**

The four narratives analyzed here show emergent changes in gender and gender relations. The narratives are set in the northern part of the country. All stories are from *Addis Zemen*. As state-owned newspaper, it has reported the struggles and changing situations in gender relations as positive social progresses.

The narratives show extreme stereotypes that divide women and men into two. For instance, women were never involved in tasks believed to be men's work. Now they are beginning to enter these fields, for instance, a woman can be a good farmer. Men were not involved in tasks left for women, such as birth control. Now, however, such division of work can be shared by either the man or the woman.

### **7.3 Inter-Textual Analysis**

From the previous two subsections of this chapter, what abstractions can we make? What meanings are reflected across the items analyzed regarding gender and gender relations? I will address these questions in the final subsection.

#### **7.3.1 Girls Trying to Get Out of “Unfavorable” Conditions**

Early marriage is one of the issues raised with regard to gender and gender relations. The newspapers reflect that these social practices affect women's rights. But women and girls are taking initiative to get out of oppressive practices. The newspapers address how educated girls are working towards reinstating traditional practices, which have started to weaken (Apx.6, AN1). They support arranged marriage and women abstain from premarital sex. Apart from this particular news, the rest of the articles reflect struggles against the traditional practices.

Education instrumentalizes individual and social wellbeing. Educated girls, therefore, can fight against early marriage and forced marriage. Early marriage hinders the girls from getting access to education and affects their spiritual and physical maturity. They can refuse to get married to persons whom they do not know.

#### **7.3.2 Tolerance, Does it Guarantee Equality between Men and Women?**

Tolerance is advocated as female's strategy to save “her” marriage. This point parallels the stories of “My refusal to marry husband's brother has exposed me to harassment” (Apx.6, ZF2) and “The community should help us with our goal of upholding with the dignity of chastity” (Apx.6, AN1). In the first narrative, the social actor tolerated the wrongdoings of her ex-husband. Similarly, the source in the second narrative advocates for the importance of tolerance in marriage. Couples should not be hasty to file divorce. However, this reflects that tolerance does not guarantee equality between women and men. In both narratives, the burden is on the female side. The character in the first narrative could not continue her education. She could not stop her husband from marrying his third wife. In the second story, similarly, women have obligations that men do not have. For instance, female youth are told to keep their virginity until they get married, to budget economically and they are presented as sources of HIV/AIDS. Men are not held responsible in the same way.

### 7.3.3 Negotiation of women and men in the public sphere

Camilla Write writes of Ethiopian women "...And if women do venture to make their opinions known in public they risk reaping laughter. An educated man in a good position said that "women who raise their voice in public are considered to be a little "Cuckoo"... (in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, eds. 2002:50).

Outside marriage, social norms dictate business issues between a woman and a man. For instance, when a woman's husband dies and there is nobody to farm the lands (Ape.x.6, ZF4) a woman can employ a person to work for her. However, in such a case, the established social norm allows the man to take more than the woman.

In another story, "An end to a nine-month litigation between husband and wife" (Apex.6, ZN4), a woman is rejected by her ex-husband after spending 23 years together. This woman fought against her husband (it seems that traditionally, men have full right over the property). With the intervention of the law, justice is served to the woman. From these two examples, we learn that women must use initiative and talent or legal support to withstand men's oppression.

### 7.3.4 Who are agents of change?

The narratives show the readers both female and male members of the society as agents of change. The initiatives the two take are motivated differently. Out of the three female characters, one female farmer is presented as a magnificent role model by being innovative farmer. She ploughs land by using an ox and a donkey. As a result, she has female followers. Similarly, the woman who defeated her husband in court also received the emotional support of 500 female demonstrators. On the other hand, 20 male farmers are depicted as agents of change regarding family planning program because they got vasectomies.

These female and male farmers had a different number of followers. Although women as agents of change are fewer than male agents, the women have more supporters than the men. They also become agents of change in different ways. Women take the initiative to be agents of change driven by necessity and by not following social norms. They face more hardships from society. On the other hand, men are motivated to become agents of change by upholding norms. For instance, the farmers receive training about family planning before they get into the action.

### **7.3.5 Engendering Technology**

Technology encourages men to be involved in the processes of change, as we have seen in two stories. For instance, “Men Volunteer to Undergo Vasectomy: it was revealed” in (Apx.6, ZN6), “The Hide, and Seek Game of Dowry” (Apx.6, AF3), men are appreciated. They make news by solving problems related to harmful traditional practices. The first story presents the case of a man who has undergone minor surgery (vasectomy) to serve as a role model for other farmers. Women's lives could be improved by making use of technological advances. Men's problems are solved or if men can solve problems, it indirectly benefits women. However, this does not ensure equality between women and men.

## **7.4 CONCLUSION**

According to the stories analyzed here, women's lives seem to be changing to some extent. We have seen examples of change both in the private and public spheres where women take on traditional men's roles such as farming. Women with the help of other agencies have challenged families and husbands for their rights to education. Some changes result from using the rule of law. Society's awareness in general and that of women's in particular increases; the rule of law grows in importance to the lives of people. Men who abuse women's rights are considered criminals. In these narratives, traditional arbitration is absent unlike the stories analyzed in the previous chapter six. Progress for women seems to be ensured only by implementing the rule of law. On the other hand, traditional institutions of arbitration could be interpreted as being male dominated, and resistant to change.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: GENDER AND GENDER RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL SPACE

*Knowledge of politics, the ability to mobilize women effectively, and the capacity to convince others of the importance of women in national development will determine the pace of change in many third-world countries ... (Mikell, 1997:61).*

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### 8.1 Introduction

The above quote describes three different factors that determine change. First, people must seek knowledge of politics. Second, women must be mobilized. Mikell implies that women do not have equal power positions in the political sphere. Third, women must be engaged in national development, which is quite difficult. This chapter explores how the newspapers depict gender and gender relations in the political sphere. I will pay particular attention to gender relations and election.

I examine three feature stories, two from *Addis Zemen* and one from *Addis Admass*. Their titles are as follows: “Dare to Elect, Be Elected and we Can Make a Difference” (Ennemärät Ennemärät – läwete Enamäṭaläne) (Apx.6, AF4); “The Founding of Elected Women’s Forum in Hawassa” (Yätämäraçe sétoçe mäderäke bäawassa) (Apx.6, ZF5a & ZF5b); and “The First Woman Regional President” (Yämäğämäriyawa sét reesä mäsetädader) (Apx.6, ZF6). AF4, ZF5a, and ZF5b were published between February and March 2000 (pre-national election). ZF6 was published in the last week of September 2000 (post-national election and pre regional election).

The chapter has three subsections. In the first subsection, I analyze three sample articles (out of the three, one has two series) separately. The sample articles focus on the participation of women in election, which took place on 14 May 2000. In the second part of the chapter, I conduct an inter-textual analysis of the texts. I draw my conclusion from the textual and inter-textual analyses.

*"Dare to Elect, Be Elected- We Can Make a Difference"*

**Surface Description**

The article focuses on a young female independent candidate<sup>43</sup>. The headline above appeared on the women's page, on page 8 and continues to page 17. The text covers nearly a full page. The narrative has no by-line, but the text clearly indicates that one of the male staff members interviewed the subject (see Language use that follows shortly).

**Theme**

The interview shows the challenges private candidates faced during the 2000 election. An independent candidate told this information to the interviewer. 161 candidates hoped for a seat in the House of Peoples Representatives (HPR), but only, 23 were women (14.3%). "...Of the 263 candidates running for regional council, 35 (13.3%) were women. From the women who run for HPR, 15 were independent" (in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, 2002:52) candidates. The article discusses this participation and role of private candidates.

The article discusses elections and strategies private candidates use in their campaigns. The social actor portrayed in the narrative campaigns to reverse working trends of courts. The interviewee argues that it is not possible to bring economic change without changing the operation of the legal systems and its institutions. She pinpoints limitations and weaknesses of the existing legal institutions, especially that of the courts.

According to the discussion in the article, electoral processes serve to tackle development issues. They implement democracy in a country. Through the life experience of the independent candidate, the newspaper addresses major problems that exist in the country.

... I have moreover witnessed, at close range, strong weaknesses of the judiciary, which could have played a significant role in the amelioration of the problems we have. The [sole] guarantee for [the protection of] our rights lie with the judiciary.... The most important point is that it is my desire to make sure that we have parted with our weaknesses on all fronts, our subjection to apathy, our skeptical acquiescence to frustration [and all such attitudes], and do the best I can to that end. What I want us all to focus on, more than anything else, is breaking the spell of despair and hopelessness<sup>lxxxix</sup> (Apx.6, AF4).

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<sup>43</sup> *Addis Admass*, Vol. 1; No. 7; February 19, 2000 (11.06.92EC), Pp. 8 & 17 (Women)

The quote portrays the subject's view of the importance of institutional reformation. She calls for others to help her achieve this reform.

### **Story Structure**

The headline addresses three different actions. The phrase "Dare to elect ... (Enemeräte)" calls for someone to participate in the election as voters. These are the women. The second call addresses candidates "... (Let us) Be Elected..." (Enemääte)," who campaigned for the election. Why are people called or invited to participate in the election campaign either as voters or as candidates? This question leads the readers to the third desired action. "We Can Make a Difference" (Läweṭe Enamätläne). The voters and candidates desire change. If candidates and voters interact, they will bring change, according to the interviewee.

After the headline, the article presents a brief background of the female lawyer, (see the characterization section below). This background portrays her legitimacy as an electoral candidate. The rest of the story is presented in a dialogue (question and answer) form. In this kind of interview, the subject speaks more than the interviewer does. Therefore, the readers seem to be able to interact more with the interviewee than with the reporter.

The main body discusses "How does change come?", "How can election be an instrument for change?", "What are the limitations observed in the areas of legal institutions or courts?" The interviewee answers such queries by expressing the importance for the participation of individuals in the election. She adds that individuals and private candidates reflect the public's voice. Only they can disclose the wrongdoing of those officials who violate human rights. The social actor says that women have the qualifications for leadership positions.

.... W/t Bertukan, who believes in the [importance] of providing educational access to women to help them develop their capacity, is of the opinion that women will benefit both themselves and the society at large if they were to participate in the legislative branch of government [i.e. run for and be elected into the parliament] and other public offices through competition based on their capacities [alone<sup>lxxxii</sup> (Apx.6, AF4, emphasis added).

She also explains the limitations of the policies at play. In the body of the text, the subject explains that she is running for election to improve written laws for all the basic human rights. The article's conclusion emphatically reinforces this point. However, the rest of the article does not elaborate women's qualifications for office.

To what extent are the headline, the lead, and the body interrelated? The headline has broader scope than the main body. The lead addresses different points. Besides this missing point, is the article's elements are structurally linked.

### **Characterization**

According to the brief biographical data provided, the interviewee is a graduate from the Law School of Addis Ababa University. She was a judge in the Federal court. She is a young and committed independent political candidate. She critiques the limitations of the legal institutions. Her academic background and work experiences offer her legitimacy as a political candidate.

In spite of the aforementioned qualities, she needs additional support to be successful in the political sphere. At the moment, there is money set aside specifically for female candidates. Because she is running as an independent candidate, she does not have financial resources. This relates to the political procedures at the time. A separate institution did not subsidize private candidates. The social actor's discussion explains that only partied candidates have access to financial resources for campaigns. Individual independent candidates were left on their own.

.... In fact, [the] parties [running as a group] are provided with financial support from the government, while an independent candidate counts on his/her own resources and the assistance of his/her supporters alone. So far, though [in all truth,] I cannot say it is as sufficient as I would have liked it to be, I have been faring well with the assistance I have been getting from some individuals in support of my ideas and plans. And, I am certain that many more people will rally to my support when they understand what my objectives are<sup>lxxxiii</sup> (Apx.6, AF4).

Therefore, financial need challenges the interviewee. One has to be wealthy to be political candidate, even though money is not be available for everybody. She tried to get financial resources from the supporters among the publicly using her youth, professionalism, and individualism. She is asked for additional support by explaining how much people already support her vision.

It was surprising that I got more support than I had been expecting. I am of the opinion that the facts of my youth, of my being a woman and the nature of my profession have all helped attract people into supporting me. The ideas that I voiced also have attracted people. When I was moving from one locality to another, I have observed that I am the subject of conversation. The youth in particular — both boys and girls — approach me for a conversation, [asking] if



they could help me in any way. All said, the spirit of cooperation people have been showing me has been good<sup>lxxxiv</sup> (Apx.6, AF4).

The woman is the only voice in the story. Additional sources do not support the points she made. Of course, there is a difference between telling stories about yourself and other people talking about you. Other sources, for example, the following quotation, indirectly explains what I mean. "Several male informants said that they had no idea about whom to vote for, but were sure about one thing, as a representative 25-year-old male student put it, "I will vote for a woman". In his opinion, women are less corrupt" (Wright in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, 2002:50). Thus, individual describes women as a topic in a different way than women would explain themselves.

### **Language: tones and Stereotypes through expressions**

I will examine the language use in the interview from four angles. First, it uses recurrent words, which give political tone. Second, it uses stereotypes. Third, it uses non-articulated expressions. By non-articulated expressions I mean that language expresses the gender of subjects without attributing gender by names. This last point reflects an aspect of Amharic language, for instance, use of pronouns (See Appendix two).

The interview is about a female political figure. Certain terms convey this political atmosphere and tone. "Parliament", "law", "citizenship", "election", "parties", "policies", "ombudsman", "human rights commission" recur repeated in the narrative. Language can convey stereotypes. The character describes herself as a "unique" subject. She says things like "my being a woman", "the fact of my youth" and "the nature of my profession" have attracted the public." These phrases imply distinctions between women and men. By doing so, the readers are told to reject this female as a strong political figure. Suppose the interviewee were a male candidate, would he say "my being a man"? I presume not. The actor implies that being a man and elderly, even in other professions, is more usual or common. Hence being a man is not strange or newsworthy for the voters. On the other hand, one can interpret it as explaining that people with legal knowledge, women, and the youth are not represented properly in parliament. In terms of non-articulated expressions the subject's stance or her position towards women are left vague. The writer indirectly attributes to the interviewee an opinion that women would be efficient leader. As the aforementioned, the article implies that efficiency and capability are required to participate in the public sphere, especially politics. Her point is taken out of context in the entire

interview. Is she saying that women should be strong enough to vote and to be candidates? Alternatively, to whom does she refer? Her specific suggestions for women's empowerment are not addressed in the main text. As another example:

The category at the top of the page is “Women”, and the headline is “Dare to Elect.... Be Elected- We Will Make a Difference”. All together this conveys a message to woman “Women, Dare to Elect, Dare to Be Elected, We Can Make a Difference”. But in the text, the subject addresses the public. The pronoun “Us” represents either women or the individual private candidates. When she says private candidates, she refers to both men and women. Because of this, whether or not she is speaking to women is ambiguous.

Language reflects gender of the subjects and sources. Under surface description, I mentioned that the gender of the interviewer is male. I can identify this from the character. She says:

If one [you male informal, second person approach, see Appendix Two] is out for immediate change, it may be the case that elections may not, ensure indeed the protection of human rights...<sup>lxxxv</sup> (Apx.6, AF4).

The interviewer and the interviewee address each other with an informal second person point of view “you”. The informal portrays a closeness and friendliness between the journalist and the actor in the story. The readers can interpret this to mean that the interviewer and their interviewee are equals; one does not dominant the other.

### **Narrative Strategies: Challenging the Speaker**

The interview is organized in a question and answer format. Most of the text reflects the views of the interviewee. This does not mean that the narrator is too restricted. On the contrary, both the introduction and the ten questions reflect the views of the interviewer.

From these ten questions, four probe into the character's personal background. The rest interrogate the subject on the political and legal situations of the country. According to the interviewee, there are many problems. Corruption, lack of enforcement of the law, limitations in the rule of law, and unfavorable working conditions and trends in courts all plague the country. The interviewer uses unidentified sources, saying “the public”, “as it is heard”, etc. to confront the subject. The interviewer employs this mechanism to explain that the newspaper collects the views from the public. The interviewer is saying, “I am not saying this but the people are”. He

argues against the subject invisibly by raising other people's sides. When the writer asks, "we cannot see changes ..." the question is a challenge for the interviewee.

#### **Framing: Election as an Instrument on the surface**

... For many events, there may be more than one frame suggested, and one needs to ask questions about the prominence of competing frames in the same news report. All senders-- whether journalists or sources - should be regarded as sponsors of frames. In some cases, this may be unconscious, and there may be no motive other than a conscientious effort to frame events in a way that the sponsor considers most meaningful (Gamson, 2002:157).

The narrative reflects two frame of an election. The character frames it and the storywriter frames it through his portrayal of the character and issues. The subject thinks that an election could bring change. The interviewer, though, portrays an election as an event that does not work properly in third world countries.

There is a tendency to see elections as being of no consequence in Third World countries. What is your stand on this [issue]?<sup>lxxxvi</sup> (Apx.6, AF4)

The question implies that elections are western traditions. Consequently, the third world, particularly Ethiopia, cannot facilitate political change through an election. The subject and the interviewer also promote different views regarding the contribution of individuals or private candidates. The writer does not have a good opinion of their contribution.

It is often told that picking up political tendencies from the people and operating along that line for the mere purpose of winning elections is not correct. But, where does the wrong lie in the attempt of parties to promote their own political outlooks and, at least, win the confidence of the people?<sup>lxxxvii</sup> (Apx.6, AF4).

The idea in the first sentence concerns the proper way of setting an agenda for election. Candidates should not pick up views from the public. The writer says that a political agenda should be tested and cross-checked before it comes to the public as a campaign. The second sentence supports this. The writer claims parties are in a better position to bring social and political changes than private candidates. The interviewee emphatically explains that even if wins in election, change is not guaranteed instead, she believes that elections help emphasize problems that exist in the country.

Independent candidates [to the parliament] have a role to play. By speaking out in parliament, by exposing corruption, by, at least, making it known that human rights violations or theft of public funds by public servants are known to the

people, they [will create the conditions] for the amelioration of the problem<sup>lxxxviii</sup>  
(Apx.6, AF4).

The candidate believes that it may take a long time to bring desired changes.

How does the interviewer frame the character? The interviewer frames the subject from three different dimensions. First, she is an individual young candidate fighting against two challenges. She confronts both the opposition party and the ruling party.

Second, candidates must be legitimate to run for office. They must have a public agenda. The writer frames the interviewee as a person with the authority to discuss legal institutions. They discuss limitations in how the law is run. The author portrays her as educated and experienced. Third, the candidate critiques legal institutions and politics itself. She questions their efficacy.

*“The Founding of Elected Women’s Forum in Hawassa”*

**Surface Description**

*Addis Zemen* published this serial article for two consecutive weeks<sup>44</sup>. The source of the narrative is a conference held in Hawassa from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 2000. Both parts of the series are on the upper left side of Women’s Column.

Four pictures (three sources and one participant of the conference) sit in the middle of the text. In the first article, the author credits two women as his/her source. The article presents a summary of accomplishments for “gender equality” during the past five years. In the second piece, the author interviews three female participants of the conference, but only two are pictured.

**Theme**

The two serial pieces have two objectives that complement each other. The first describes an event held from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 2000 which established a women candidate forum. Female candidates of the country had a conference. In addition to establishing their forum, they discussed female participation in the upcoming election.

A conference to form elected women’s forum, whose purpose was to create a condition for women to discuss strategies, which will enable them to assert their constitutional rights, was held from seven to ten February 2000 in Sidama Cultural Hall in Hawassa. The conference was organized and coordinated by the Women’s Affairs Standing Committee of the FDRE Council of People’s Representatives and the Women’s Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister’s Office<sup>lxxxix</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5a).

The article introduces the forum's establishment. It also focuses on the areas of women’s rights and legal aspects of the past five years. What are the signs of progress? What are the limitations? What are the challenges encountered when working for women’s rights and empowerment? These are the questions the articles seek to answer.

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<sup>44</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59; No, 142; February 2000 (16.06.92 EC), p. 12 (Women) and *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 59; No, 148; March 2, 2000 (23.06.92 EC), P. 14 (Women).

### **Story Structure: From Success to Failure**

In this subsection, I look at both pieces because their topics are similar. The headline announces that female candidates established a women's national forum at a meeting in Hawassa, the capital city of the SNNPR State.

The first part opens with the speech of the keynote speaker. It describes two reports, one from the Standing Committee of Women's Affairs and the other from Women's Desk of the Prime Minister's office. The keynote speaker emphasizes the responsibilities of female candidates. She addresses these in a general way.

Wäyezäro Hirut pointed out in her speech that the present environment is conducive for women to address their own questions, and underscored that the exercise of power, the rights to make decisions and ensuring equal economic benefits are what women have to struggle to achieve, not charity given to them by any one<sup>xc</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5a).

The quote indicates three problems for women. They lack access to 1) power, 2) the right to make decisions, and 3) equal economic benefits. In addition, the keynote speaker mentioned the expectations from the conference since the two reports focus on the activities done to ensure women's rights during the last five years. Women encounter challenges in both the private and public sphere. The speaker and the reports both suggest these challenges as areas to tackle. Women encounter domestic violence in marriage, immigrant domestic workers' sufferings (who were forced to leave for these places to sell their labour), abduction, and rape in their private lives. Furthermore, employers do not give women adequate maternity leave. A mother usually only gets 45 days of maternity leave. Women also lack rights of property inheritance and rights to pension, rights over land resource, and the right to marry a foreign citizen.

According to Article 33 (1) of the FDRE Constitution, no Ethiopians' citizenship can be revoked without their consent. The law that marriage to a citizen of another country does not revoke the citizenship of an Ethiopian has put an end to the problem that used to hard-press, especially women in the past. However, it is necessary that this law is adequately detailed and hence the Committee, in collaboration with Citizenship and Refugee Affairs, is pressing hard for the citizenship proclamation to be drafted<sup>xcii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5a).

The standing committee represented by the keynote speaker, works for the approval of the new family law. They discussed this in different forums to motivate public debate and to invite the opinions of experts.

The second part summarizes the forum formation conference. The second story has no transition that connects it with the previously published story. The first article introduces the positive aspects of activities, while in second deals with what hinders equality between women and men.

In the second article, different regional women's offices give reports about their activities. These reports point to the failure of the women's office to accomplish their plan.

According to the report presented by the Afar Region Women's Affairs Office representative, it has been a long time since offices have been opened at the regional, zonal and district levels to implement the national women's affairs policy. However, the office could not perform at the level expected of it because of shortage of human resource and finance. In spite of this, it was reported that concerted efforts have been made in cooperation with government and non-government organizations to raise the number of female students, to help women participate in development activities and to prevent harmful traditional practices<sup>xcii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5b).

Women lack awareness of the public sphere. The office lacks budget. Institutions do not coordinate women. The office also cannot organize women in some regions and it lacks skilled human resources in different women's offices. It also cannot implement women's policy in some regions. Alongside this the article praises women at higher-level positions and female federal candidates. Stereotypical outlooks entrenched in the society members prevent women from enjoying their rights. Even the rights included in the constitutions and laws are not implemented.

### **Characterization**

Both articles depict institutional and human characters. The Women's Standing Committee is one of the nine committees formed by the House of Representatives in November 1995. It implements women's rights in the country. To attain this goal, the committee encouraged parliaments to ratify different laws. Their goal is to integrate women's issues in the policies ratified in all sectors.

The Women's Standing Committee's chairperson relays the message. The chair speaks authoritatively. She tells people that the struggle to exercise their rights is important. She explains to female candidates that their work should include rural women who account for 85% of the female population in Ethiopia.

Wäyezäro Hirut also indicated, the tasks that elected women are expected to accomplish. She said that it is not possible to claim that the equality of women has been respected unless it addresses the question of rural women, who comprise 85% of the population. To solve the problems facing women in all respects, elected women at various levels of decision-making must be at the forefront of the struggle and discharge their responsibilities<sup>xciii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5a).

The chair differentiates the rural women from the urban ones. Women at the highest political position are depicted as if they were working for the rights of the other women at the grassroots level. These women are addressed as “they”. Women at the grassroots level do not have economic rights or the power to make decisions. In this regard, female elites are portrayed as if they face no problems in their private lives. The article also describes the Women’s Affairs Office under the Prime Minister’s Office. Like that of the Women’s Standing Committee, the Women's Affairs Office is authorized to improve women’s lives.

The second article focuses on regional offices. Some regions are backward and some are not. The Affar Regional State is depicted as a neglected area where women face lots of difficulties. The writer includes interviews with representatives from Gédéo and Bénšanugl Gumuz.

A woman, who represents the fourth regional State, Tegraye, expresses her view, without an accompanying photo. She differs from the others. She does not support the formation of a female candidate forum at a regional level. In Tegraye, according to her description, female candidates work in every aspect of organizations. However, she agrees with others on the importance of the forum on a national level.

The contrast between official women and grassroots women parallels that between advanced regions and non-advanced regions. There is wider difference of power between women in different positions. Their differences arise from their regional, academic, and traditional and ethnic identities.

#### **Language Use: Feminization**

The language use distinguishes itself from the other narratives I have analyzed because it reflects femininity. It reflects it through three different points of views. It expresses femininity through 1) a masculine point of view (“he” those women, and he the women’s office), 2) a plural point of view (they women) and 3) a singular point of view (she- individual woman and majority women



of rural). The Standing Committee and the Women's Affairs under the Prime Minister's office are addressed by a masculine pronoun because they are institutions. Women candidates ["they" and sometimes "we"] are addressed by third person plural pronouns.

... She [Hirut Birrassa] said that it is not possible to claim that the equality of women has been respected unless it addresses the question of rural women, [she-a woman] who comprise 85% of the population<sup>xciv</sup> (Apx.6, ZF5a).

On the other hand, marginalized women at the grassroots level are addressed in the third person singular form, "She". What does this mean? It gives is the impression that rural women are homogenous. Those in a powerful position are addressed as "us" while other women are referred to as "they". This expresses something like: "we" are doing our bests in order to tackle the situations "they" live in. "Us" implies that there are powerful women. "We" are agents of change, responsible for change. "She" (85% of women in Ethiopia who in rural areas) needs our help. "We", represents only a few women whereas "She" represents millions of women. "We" the few make decisions. "She" the millions waits for the results of "our" decisions.

#### **Narrative Strategies: From Similarities to Differences**

The narrative has a serial format. The first part deals with the institution, known as Women's Standing Committee. The second attends to the regional levels. This order of presentation shows that the story flows from the most powerful at the macro level to the less powerful, which is at the micro level. Macro level can intervene and influence activities at the micro level. Different reporting devices develop the narratives. They use a summary of reports, speeches, interviewing witnesses and officials from the macro to the micro level. We also see observations from the writer. The writer did not interview the chairperson of the standing committee. Instead, the writer refers to the speech of the chairperson. At the micro levels, however, the author interviews different participants. Sources are less accessible at the higher level.

The writer links the speech of the chairperson and the conclusion. The writer agrees with the stance of the chairperson. This is that it is important to exert efforts to implement women's rights based on the Constitution. Until we reach the conclusion, all sources take similar stances. However, the last paragraph reflects, a differences in their standpoints over engaging women in the political sphere.

**Framing: Women's problem created by mismanagement**

Women of Ethiopia face different challenges in their lives. Women's progress lags behind because the country lacks the proper laws. The first part of the narrative conveys this key point. The second part points out that the lack of coordination among different parties hinders change. A lot has changed the attitudes of the public and of women themselves, which highlights the importance of building awareness to bring change. In this, the article frames the majority of women as ignorant. The women, who consider themselves as being powerful, present themselves as if they represent the majority of women.

Women need two conditions to empower themselves, according to the narrative. While diverse, they still need a sense of solidarity amongst themselves to achieve the same level of their male counterparts. Women should also be able to resolve women's problems, but they need legal support.

*“The First Female Regional State President”*

**Surface Description**

A profile of a woman entitled “The First Female Regional State President”<sup>45</sup> was written based on an interview. The interview was published three weeks after the executive members of Harrari Regional Council appointed the woman on 14 September 2000. The profile is placed at the left-hand side of the column. A photo of the interviewee accompanies the text.

**Theme**

The narrative conveys one major theme and a few minor themes. The first theme introduces a woman as a “role model”. Assigning a woman to a decision-making position is rare in Ethiopian politics. Therefore, this is taken as a sign of change in gender and gender relations. A woman like this character came to the top echelon by exerting unreserved efforts both in her private and public spheres. In other words, women may encounter challenges both at the domestic and public spheres. However, women of vision and agents of change should surmount all obstacles.

**Story Structure: From Success to Challenge**

The headline “The first female regional president” introduces the subject. The lead of the story answers the five “Ws” and “H” questions.

After removing the incumbent President of Harrari National Regional State, the House of Peoples’ Representatives, at its 12<sup>th</sup> regular session has nominated its first Female State President on Mäskäräm 4, 1994, [14 September 2000]. We had a telephone interview with Wäyezäro Nuriya Abdullahi to brief us on her personal as well as professional experience<sup>xcv</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

The news often summarizes (Bell and Garrett, 2007, Randall, 2000:170). This style avoids details and locates the key takeaways at the beginning. This article begins with the woman's success by being nominated by the council.

The dialogue follows the introduction. Overall, the two discuss the challenges a woman encounters when she joins the political arena. For instance, a woman can be popular in her community. No matter how courageous she is, there will always be strong challenges at higher

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<sup>45</sup> *Addis Zemen*, Vol. 60; No, 25; October 5, 2000 (25.01.93 EC), P.10 (Women’s page).

positions of the political sphere. According to the character's statement, however, society believes that women cannot be leaders.

One [certainly] finds, hither and thither, people who, because of the persisting negative attitude towards women, argue, as if in wonder, against the assumption of such high offices by women<sup>xcvi</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

The first female regional president compares her life with what is common in her society. For instance, she explains that her married life was very good. Her husband, who remains unnamed, accepted her participation in public affairs unlike other men.

... As for my family's response, while my spouse accepted it with jubilation, my children were rather apprehensive, thinking of the difficulties I would meet within the face of such a [huge] responsibility; they took it in with some reservation<sup>xcvii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

The quote indicates that a woman may face challenges when she decides to be active outside of the home. The subject refers to the common experiences of other women. The interviewer's question indicates her background knowledge of the tradition that of discouraging female member from active leader positions. Both the question and answer indicate the existence of conflict in marriage especially when a woman enters politics and assumes decision-making positions. The subject says her good marriage helps her take a higher position.

Towards the end of the story, the character reveals that she is uncertain whether or not she will continue her new position in politics.

It is expected that, in its meeting to take place shortly, the House of People's Representatives will name the Region's President along with other executive officers. Do you think you stand a chance of being elected to [one or the other of] the offices?<sup>xcviii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6)

The interviewer does not conclude the fate of the subject. Perhaps neither of them could predict what would happen. The social actor indicates that other women can compete for higher position. She compares herself with other women. However, she does not compare this group of women with men. She hopes to see women in politics because it has been impossible for women to have power for a very long time.

The character wishes to see women as members of the executive committee. She would be happy to be re-elected for the next five-year term, but she does not prioritize her personal wish.

This situation moves from the unexpected to the expected. The election of a female president at the regional administration level is unexpected. Women are not expected by society to be capable leaders (Wright, in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, 2002). The headline and the concluding paragraph contradict each other. The adjective “first” in the headline for instance shows that the social actor is the only woman who came into such position. After reading the story, it is clear that the first can also be the last. She was not re-elected for the next term as the head of the regional state. The doubt of the writer and the character happened in reality. In follow-up stories, the newspaper relayed a message about a male leader who replaced the woman (*Addis Zemen*, 08 October 2000:10).

### **Characterization**

The article depicts two main and ten minor social actors. The major actors are the regional council of Harrari and the woman regional president. Harrari regional administrative council is the first regional council to give a leadership position to a woman.

Well, I have come across an opportunity to be elected to public positions. And, the support I got from the people when I ran for office representing my organization has been tremendously gratifying. Grace be to Allah, it is my belief that I have the acceptance of the people. Truth is told, however, that I had never ever thought that I would be named for the Office of Regional President<sup>xcix</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

These two social actors (the woman and the regional council) are one and two at the same time. They are one because the woman represents of the council because she heads the organization. Consequently, her outlook is that of the council's. On the other hand, they are two because she differentiates herself from the council. The council exists permanently. She does not expect to be nominated again. This implies that internal forces determine whether or not one will be elected.

This woman is a wife and a mother of nine children. Four of them have their jobs and live on their own. The news about becoming a regional president while being a mother of nine children provokes curiosity. The interviewer asks the character about her family.

Unlike most men (seen in the preceding chapters of this desertation), the woman's husband does not oppress his wife; he respects her public sphere responsibilities. Traditionally, an Ethiopian

woman manages her house. A woman who enters the public sphere must also fulfill her expected domestic responsibilities. This would make her a good role model, a community leader, wife, and mother. The writer does not disclose how she managed her household responsibilities. Other women may not learn her strategy to overcome such asocial burden.

She believes that experienced women can occupy the highest positions; but that they lack opportunity. She says that women should strive to change. According to her, unity and solidarity will lead to power. Individuals cannot achieve these positions on their own. Experience networking and participating in community activities are important for women. Women's social institutions, such as Edder, open rooms for active women. The article depicts the woman as a competent person who is accepted by colleagues and society. Members of Harrari women's Edder and members of Harrari Women Lawyers' Association are her model organizations in the story. The article does not directly represent these association members but their mention lauds the main actor. The woman explains that not all women have the same feelings about gender equality.

Opposition to women assuming decision-making positions is not something that comes from men alone. There are times when the same kind of opposition is voiced by women as well. It is all about attitude. That is why we women should therefore convince ourselves that we are capable of participating in activities in all spheres of life<sup>c</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

She appeals for women to change their attitudes. Because women are more vulnerable to harassments, they should also work to change other women's negative attitudes towards fellow women. Two men, the previous regional president and her husband, her children, and anonymous females (referred to collectively) have significant roles. She neither mentions the previous regional president nor does the reporter ask about him. The author excludes most details about the other characters, too. Newspapers use silencing to their advantage (see chapter 9).

#### **Language Use: Reflecting social position**

The narrative contains gendered adjectives and expressions, prepositions and stereotypes. The phrase "the first female" reveals that no other woman had been appointed to such a high level of power. Hitherto the regional presidency was reserved for men only. Change is evident with woman in power even if they only remain president temporarily. The article presents the

strangeness of a woman regional president by examining the different levels of power for women. This word, “position”, recurs about 15 times in the text. As Jorgenson and Phillips (2008:29) say “... Thus, the discourse is a temporary closure: it fixes meaning in a particular way, but it does not dictate that meaning is to be fixed exactly in that way forever”.

The word “Position”, even though it refers to different levels, portrays a hierarchy. The article identifies three levels of power. The first is a woman’s position in domestic life, which puts her at the most inferior level. At this level, the woman is responsible for domestic work.

The second level of a woman’s power is at the community level. “Edder” is where the character provided community services. Edder is a social institution formed by voluntary members; it provides social and/or financial service to its members (Harägäwäyen and Emäbét, 2002). Here her position is at a lower level public sphere. As of November 2012, the woman had served as a chairperson for more than 35 years in Ğäma.

The third level position is at regional level. She held power at the highest level. Because scope of responsibility is so broad, the writer asks the woman if she is sure of her capability to hold this rank.

While I am still a member of the House through due process of election, I am nevertheless not of the belief that I should be [the one] named to the Office of President. Since there are individuals who can perform better than me, I would rather that such people be named to the position. I am neither shying away from nor shunning the position because of my womanhood. No... (Emphasis added)<sup>ci</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).

The question reflects a stereotype the interviewer holds deep within herself. The subject repeats this stereotype again. When the character says, “My womanhood”, she addresses the stereotype about women holding high position.

#### **Narrative strategies: Actor Tells about Herself**

A newspaper can present personal life experiences of individuals from three perspectives. The first is the writer’s perspective. When the writer knows the social actor closely, he or she can describe the subject using the third person point of view. The impressions of the writer are more apparent with this approach.

Second, an author can use a third party source who can give information about a person. The proximity of the source to the subject will determine the quality and accuracy of the information they provide.

The third perspective is when the subjects explain themselves. The profile here under review provides this kind of perspective. Profiles provide a full picture of the subject. However, the readers will not know how others perceive the subject. This kind of narration indirectly gives less prominence or salience to the social actor. The readers see her only through her own eyes. Modesty may hold her back from speaking too much. A possible fourth perspective can employ all three perspectives.

### **Framing: the Top of the Ladder is too far for a Woman**

The writer frames the social actor and the social actor frames gender and gender relations. How does the narrator frame the social actor?

As aforementioned, the writer reproduces common stereotypes of society. She reflects them through the following two questions: how many votes did the character get when she was nominated and what was the reaction of her family members after she was elected. The second query presupposes that women still face challenges from their families when they assume public positions. She also implies surprise for a woman to get sufficient votes to be elected. Thus, I believe the interviewer merely replicates society's beliefs. The interviewer also asks "What have you done before this?" This appears to be posed to demean the interviewee. She answers with the following:

First, I have served in positions of responsibility in the Harrari Cultural Centre for many years. In the area of community service, I have served, for example, as Chairwoman of the Ğāma (Harrari women's Edder) for 12 years. I have also served as Chairwoman of the Harrari Women's Association. ... I have also made efforts to provide my share of contribution on matters of national issue; I have, accordingly, done my national duties by serving as a member of various committees, such as those for National Sovereignty and the Red Cross. In the political domain, I have been participating, from the very beginning, in the Harrari League. I also am a member of the Harrari Women Lawyer's Association. Especially, I have used every opportunity came to my way to ensure the implementation of the Constitutional rights of women in their struggle to liberate themselves from their oppression ...<sup>cii</sup> (Apx.6, ZF6).



The woman gives all this background to show her engagement with various community services.

The social actor contradicts herself with her perception of gender and gender relations in Ethiopia. She says, "In our country, the attitude towards women is not changed" (Apx.6, ZF6). To join the executive members of Regional State, she had to overcome all the aforementioned stereotypes. On the other hand, she says, "The change which we see in our country is encouraging" (Apx.6, ZF6). She reflects contradictory views.

How is the relationship of the journalist to the character revealed? What is the role of the author in this regard? Both the writer's and the subject's frames give us the following image of a woman and power in the society.

The character believes that people should exert more effort to empower women. Becoming a regional president is a dream come true for a woman.

Community services are not equivalent to political appointments. In the community, the woman was active in various women's associations (Mahebärs). However, when it came to the highest position, she replaced her predecessor for a short while, until she too was replaced by a man. Women must be competent and strong in order to secure power positions.

### **Summary**

The three sample narratives analyzed here (one in a two-part series) show challenges that women encounter in the political sphere. They lack of access to education. They also endure the negative attitude of society members towards women. The political system seems to recognize these challenges. Legal rights have been enshrined in various documents starting from the Constitution. However, these legal documents could not be enforced and women's rights were not be respected.

According to the articles, the strategies designed to tackle these challenges is left for women themselves. Women should have solidarity to enforce the laws. This assumes all women share similar experiences and positions. However, there are points that indicate this is not true in Ethiopia. According to the selected narratives, women are educated and non-educated, rural and urban. The regions in which they live can be advanced regions or non advanced regions. Winning in the election process is almost impossible for women. Because of this, women should encourage solidarity among them. Networking and integrated social work can overcome women's challenges. In addition, the narratives underline that women have to work hard and struggle to occupy the public political sphere.

## 8.2 Inter-textual analysis

What can readers deduce from the narratives about gender and gender relations in the political sphere? I interpret the newspapers' reflections below.

### 8.2.1 Power Is Institutionalized

Institutions are means of having access to political power. Institutions such as courts, parliament, sub-city administrative offices, women's affairs offices, facilitate for this discursive action. Subjects there implement the rules of these institutions. These are administrators, judges, parliamentarians, professionals (particularly on legal matters) and politicians. These political institutions and their staffs are governed by written rules and regulations.

The narratives show how women and men do not have equal positions in the political sphere. The institutions reinforce existing norms that keep women at home and men in public. Because political power is institutionalized, one has to pass through the organizational structures to assume leadership. For instance, a woman has to be efficient in handling her household responsibilities whereas; a man has no involvement in household chores. Household work is time consuming, which means that women do not have time to participate in public life. Most of a woman's time is eaten up by taking care of children, fulfilling the husband's needs and interests. Thus, she remains in the house, isolated from the political life (Rocha, 2007).

According to the newspapers, "many informants explained that the workload of Ethiopian women is so great that they simply do not have time for politics" (in Pausewang, Tronvoll and Aalen, 2002:50). If a woman comes out of the house and competes in a man's domain, the community is concerned. For instance, the interviewer asked the female president (Apx.6, AF6), "what is the reactions of your children and that of your husband?" This clearly implies the expected reaction of the community. These questions would have not been asked if the president elect was a man.

The narratives' discourses both deconstruct the institutional imposition on women, and examine the "limitations" of women to become leaders on. The newspapers credit these obstacles as greater causes for women lagging behind than the written laws. The narratives explain that changes to ensure women's rights could not be realized because legal documents are biased

towards men. This issue is addressed in the interview of the private political candidate (Apx.6, AF4). The other stories discuss the absence of solidarity among women as the main cause for this discrepancy. The media shows this by portraying the women's Standing Committee as a powerful institution has the power to persuade parliamentarians with regard to women's rights. Men are not shown creating solidarity among themselves to maintain their position in the public sphere. Hegemonically the society considers men as legitimate bodies entitled to hold public offices. We can infer that change comes through solidarity and organizations. This is reflected in different ways. In the first place, women must create solidarity among themselves. Otherwise, the desired goal is impossible. Additionally, in political sphere, groups or parties are more powerful than individuals. Consequently, a woman, no matter what agenda she has, cannot bring change in the political sphere alone.

### **8.2.2 Gender Mainstreaming**

The narratives portray three areas of power struggle. There is power struggle between women and men, between private candidates and political parties, and a power struggle between women and women.

Women differ from men in many ways. First, women promote different stances about empowering women. They believe women should be empowered and organized separately from men in order to come to the highest political power. Second, the women have different strategies of making women equal with men. According to some women, the issue of gender relations should be integrated. On the other hand, there are women who do not believe in women's inequality, consequently, it is not important to assist women. Third, women believe that women's organization should not follow a similar pattern all the time. One article says, "Women should not form a separate organization at the national level" (Apx.6, ZF5b). Rather, women should create associations separately at the regional and sub regional level.

Women have diversity. Women are classified as educated and non-educated, urban and rural. The educated urban women present themselves as social entities who support rural uneducated women. In other words, urban women place themselves as powerful and knowledgeable champions for the rights of rural women. Media replicates certain stereotypes by allowing female characters tell their own stories. The narratives are not research-based and they use of multiple

sources. This media discourse reinforces that the idea that women are less prominent than men. The media shows that in spite of their search for unity and solidarity, women are assigned to the parliament but they do not work horizontally to increase their number.

The newspapers do not discuss the household responsibilities of a woman. Therefore, a woman's routines are not properly addressed. This also perpetuates existing gender relations.

### **8.2.3 Struggling strategies**

The narratives focus on political and election issues. In spite of their common issues, they disclose a variety of views about gender relations between women and men and between women and women.

All the three narratives portray politically active women including individual female activists and organized female political activists. The articles organize the female political activists into two groups: marginal and integrated within the existing political structure.

The narratives witness women's diversity. Women are different in their capacities. Women are different in their views, both political and non-political. The newspaper examines better legal rules that favor citizens' rights, but also discuss unfavorable legal frameworks. The organized women support the first legal reaches while individual women address the unfavorable legal situations. Individuals are freer to criticize the political system.

Women differ in statuses. The activists describe women differently. They believe the majority of women need the assistance of their sisters. But they also say that women have to be competent. Women interact with society differently. The independent candidate (Apx.6, AF4) believes that public support helps to get political power. The Regional president, though, says (Apx.6, ZF6) that, even though the public community supports her, it is difficult to climb the political ladder.

### **8.3 CONCLUSION**

All the stories advocate bringing women to the public sphere so that they could be part of the decision-making process. Similarly, they enumerated difficulties for women. They attribute these to three main phenomena. First, the public lacks awareness about women's rights. Even though policies, rules, and regulations ensure women's equality with men, they are not implemented. The courts fail to discharge their duties and responsibilities effectively. Second, women themselves lack awareness of their own rights. Third, the implementation of the law did not come into effect. Social hegemony exists in the systems because it does not recognize women holding leadership. Society gives leadership roles to men. In all the sample stories, the implication is that the state has created all the necessary legal tools, but women can still not enter the political sphere.

In short, the public marginalizes women. Women lack awareness themselves. According to the sample stories, these cause difficulties for women's progress. Politicians have made the important legal tools available. From the stories, it seems that politicians have done all needs to be done. Now, it is up to the public in general and the women in particular, to fight for their causes. The opening of this chapter is still translatable in the Ethiopian context. The lack of political knowledge cripples women's rights. People promote different views and have different social statuses which make it hard to mobilize women and other segments of the community.

## CHAPTER NINE: REPRESENTATION OF CHANGES IN GENDER AND GENDER RELATIONS

*“Gender arrangements are thus, at the same time sources of pleasure, recognition, and identity, and sources of injustice and harm. This means that gender is inherently political – but it also means the politics can be complicated and difficult...”*

*(Connell, 2009:5)*

### 9.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters, (chapters 6, 7 and 8), reveal how *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* reflect inequality between women and men. Wallerstein in Adams and Sydie (2002:265) says, “We live in an imperfect world, one that will always be imperfect, and therefore always harbour injustice. Nevertheless, we are far from helpless before this reality. We can make the world less unjust, we can make it more beautiful, we can increase our cognition of it.” The newspapers attempt to conceptualize the nature of those inequalities and also explore whether or not these inequalities are changeable. The chapter has five sub-sections. The second sub-section discusses the social and discursive practices of gender relations in the two newspapers. In defining discursive practices, Jorgensen and Phillips (2008:18-19) say:

... Discursive practice is viewed as one dimension or *moment* of every social practice in a dialectical relationship with the other moments of a social practice. That means that some aspects of the social world function according to different logics from discourses and should be studied with tools other than those of discourse analysis (...) Discursive practice reproduces or changes other dimensions of social practice just as other social dimension and the other dimensions of social practice constitute our world (*emphasis in the original*).

The third sub-section focuses on areas of change and factors that encourage in gender relations. The fourth sub-section discusses the narrative and framing strategies employed by the newspapers. I conclude the chapter by drawing from these discussions.

## 9.2 Social and discursive practices of gender relations

There are different approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis. Jorgensen and Phillips (2008: 82-83) identify five common features among these approaches. Out of these five features, I attend to the three I found most appropriate to my research. These three are: 1) discourse is a form of social practice that both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices; 2) discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups and 3) critical discourse analysis understands itself as a critical approach (critical research) politically committed to social change. Based on these research questions, I have identified three social practices of interest. I focus mainly on the social practices of “marriage”, “education” and “election”. Marriage, as a social practice, entails that women and men interact which reveals the private sphere. Election and education are social practices where people’s relations and interactions are manifest. Election, as a social practice, both occurs in the public sphere but is also an instrument for the manipulation of the public sphere. I attend to the issues of election and education because they focus my research (see Chapter 1, subsection 1.3.3).

The concept of social practice here is used in accordance with Jorgensen and Philips:

The concept of ‘social practice’ views actions in terms of a dual perspective: on the one hand, actions are concrete, individual, and context bound, but on the other hand, they are also institutionalized and socially anchored, and because of this tend towards patterns of regularity (Jorgensen and Philips, 2008:18).

Individual actions are constituted by the wider context of social practice (Risman, 2004).

### 9.2.1 Gender Relations in private sphere

#### Marriage as institution

Marriage is an institution formalized by social arrangements. In this arrangement process, various practices are performed. Parents arrange marriages sometimes, or sometimes matchmakers of the couples themselves arrange it. The arrangement can be done with or without the consent of the couple (Ahmed in Rocha, 2007). “Abduction”, “dowry payment”, “wedding ceremonies,” and “compensations” name discursive practices related to marriage process. Marriage as an Ethiopian social institution is characterized by several traditions. Marriage is a place where a division of responsibilities between women and men exist. Decisions are in the



hands of the husband. Women are assigned the responsibilities of nurturing children. Recent researches also indicate these practices continue. Women are still responsible for domestic work. Men still make most decisions (Mengai in Rocha, 2007). In spite of legal prohibitions, these practices have not stopped.

Patricia Hill Collins (1998:62) describes how the private sphere differs from the public sphere in American society:

... Those who idealize the traditional family as a private heaven from a public work see family as held together by primarily emotional bonds of love and caring. Assuming a relatively fixed sexual division of labour, wherein women's roles are defined as primarily in the home and men's in the public worlds of work, the traditional family ideal also assumes the separation of work and family...

This follows in the Ethiopian context according to data in this research. Men and women are assigned different roles in private and public spheres. Women do not plough; men do not do domestic chores and have no role in nurturing children. My qualitative analysis in particular confirms this. For instance, the first female regional president believes (Apx. 6, ZF6) that the private sphere differs from the public sphere because private domain responsibilities remain to the purview of women. If a woman gets appointed to the public domain, such as decision-making, she must demonstrate her competence by being efficient in responsibilities at both the private and public spheres. She must stretch herself from the domestic and the public. A man is not expected to fulfil these double responsibilities.

### **Types of marriage**

Three types of marriage institutions exist in Ethiopia. My qualitative analysis shows that monogamous marriage and polygamous marriage are the two social practices most frequently addressed by the newspapers. Cohabitation is the third kind of "marriage" formed by the agreement of the couple.

Within monogamous marriage, newspapers address formal marriage and cohabitation. Formal marriage refers to a type of marriage arranged by parents or by the involvement of other relatives.

Polygamy has diverse practices. These include levirate marriage (Apx.6, ZF1 & 2); marriage by compensation (Apx.6, ZF1); marriage by exchange (ZF1); and direct-formal marriage (AF3 and ZN3) that is, when a girl is given to a man because reason besides the above three.

Polygamy brings two or more women to live together under the domain of one man. We can assume that these women share duties and responsibilities. Sample stories show co-wives that differ in ages. This creates conflict. Both may give birth to many children from one father. This puts an economic imposition on the wellbeing of the entire family. Newspapers tried to show how economically weak the family with multiple wives is. The husband has the full responsible to feed the entire family while the wives are not considered productive forces. They are dispossessed of property right and they cannot choose.

Polygamy ranks the wives. The first wife possesses all the rights granted to wives:

My male informants said that they only marry with the consent of the first wife and give equal treatment to their wives. The women informants are of different opinion. They say that women have so much to do... Thus, the consent of allowing the husband to marry another woman is tuned upon them by the workload (...) (Hirut, 2012:230).

The older wife welcomes the coming of a younger one because the second wife can assist her with domestic work (Ibid, 2012:230, Andualäm, 2005 EC). This interpretation of polygamous marriage restricts our understanding of the concept. It may also have a negative side. In other words, this may not be always true. That is, the older wife may not always be happy with the arrival of a younger one. The first might lose her control of the household. Yelfegn (in Rocha, 2007) in her research conducted on "Female criminality and women serving sentences" identifies that most female prisoners have been jailed for killing their co-wives. This causes another problem. Since domestic work is left for women, when a woman ages, another woman sells her own labour in the name of wifehood. We can infer three meanings from this research. First, daily life routine in Ethiopia is complicated and backward. Second, polygamy is mostly practiced by rural people, urban society goes unmentioned. Third, the wife and husband suffer emotional detachment.

Levirate marriage guarantees elder women and their children shelter (Getachew, 1985).

Co-wives, though, are vulnerable to intersecting oppressions. The newspaper articles reflect that a woman can be abducted in many cases. After she gets married, she does not have economic rights, the right to divorce, or the right to make decisions in the household (Apx.6, ZF1 & ZF2). She will be victim of poverty.

### **Marriage as social practice**

Marriage unites two family lines (Ahmed in Rocha, 2007; Hirut, 2012). Unification has different motives. By bringing the man and the woman together, the man has mandate over the female. This norm was enhanced by the former Civil Code, (1960, Proclamation No. 1/1952 (EC)/1 and 2 and Negarit Gazetta, Civil Code, Proclamation no. 1/1952 EC/642). Power domination receives legal legitimacy through public consent.

Because marriage is a social institution, it has various social values that the newspapers present. As an institution, it ensures a man's power over children, particularly over daughters, and over his wife (or wives). Some of the social values are as follows: Obedience; parental arrangement; assigning women to the domestic role; assuming men to have economic power and consequently, expecting them to pay dowry; allowing a man to have more wives and enabling co-wives to live together; tolerance; ceremonial rituals and practices. All these practices and values ensure a woman's submission to a man. These social and discursive practices there are formalized through the following three procedures: 1) preconditions for marriage, 2) marriage arrangements, and 3) marriage confirmation. A woman's virginity is a precondition for marriage. (Apx.6, AN1). "... If a girl is virgin when she marries for the first time, it ensures the control of her sexuality and makes it less likely that she will engage in extramarital affairs" (Hirut, 2012:47, Yelfegn, in Rocha, 2007:67).

Virginity guarantees an HIV-negative status (Apx.6; AN1). Thus, in urban areas, virginity has become a hot issue (Apx.6; ZE1). The newspapers pointed out how this invites both married and unmarried men to seduce girl children, either through marriage or in the name of financial assistance. In other words, girls below the age of 18 are victims of early marriage. In towns, girls dropout from school and become sex workers. In particular, high school and university students become victims sell their bodies.

Marriage has an economic aspect both before and after its confirmation. Dowry for instance, is a present as a resource for the woman's family especially in rural areas where arranged marriage is common. Dowry is a present to parents-in-law. Dowry has three social values. First, it indicates the man's commitment to his wife. It reflects his respect and love (Apx.6, AF3). But, it is actually not a gift because it is mandatory. Gifts are given at the choice of the giver. The gift-giver's interest and economic status determines the type of gift. But according to the articles, dowry involves a fixed amount and is completely mandatory. Second, the dowry ensures men's power over their respective wives. They are entitled to be owners and to have an economic upper hand (Rocha, ed. 2007). Gift-giving confirms power. It also ensures the man's full control over his wife. Dowry symbolizes that a man owns a woman which is depicted in the newspaper stories (Apx. 6, ZF1, ZN1, and AF3) (Hirut, 2012; Ahmed in Rocha, 2007; Yelfegn in Rocha; 2007 and Hanna in Rocha: 2007). The society demands a dowry from the man.

Dowry enables the newly married couple to receive the parents' blessings, which is the third social value of this process. This blessing also ensures the social role division of the family members. In all this representation, the newspapers address dowry from a very limited perspective. Little is said about how the woman perceives a dowry or how it advantages a woman. How much does the woman benefit? Whenever newspapers mention formal marriages, they discuss dowry and how difficult it is for men to fulfil social expectations. Because marriage depends upon the economic strengths of individuals, it prohibits men from marrying women they want to marry. This implies that unless a man can deliver the requested dowry, he will not get the consent of the woman's parents. The social practices conflict with the context of social institutions. Economic structures affect social practices. Resources are not available for all members of the society even if they are in the same gender category. Women in general are economically disempowered. Similarly, men also suffer from poverty. This might lead him to abduct a woman he wants to marry. Abduction happens when men cannot pay dowries.

First, if a man cannot afford the dowry he may abduct the woman he wants to marry. Abduction deconstructs the integrity of the woman. Once abducted, she loses her virginity that gives her value and "dignity" before marriage. Subsequently, no one will marry her, she will lose respect, and she will be of less value if she is returned to her parents.. Therefore, she remains with the abductor. The newspapers frame abduction is the only reason that woman must stay with their

abductor. Newspapers seem to advocate that if the economic situation of men were ensured, abduction would be eradicated. This is patently not true. Second, sometimes a woman agrees to abduction. If she is in love with a man who cannot afford to pay dowry for her, she will undergo “abduction.”

Getachew in his thesis written on Alaba people differentiates between abduction by force and abduction based on the consent of the girl (a.k.a elopement). He wrote:

“Herenta” (elopement) is a type of marriage arrangement, where the boy and the girl, without the knowledge of their parents agree to marry each other. Therefore, it is not characterized by force, like that of abduction; rather it is completed by obtaining the consent of the girl through secret engagement. The recently started literary campaign and the gradually diffusing modern elements of city life in to the gradually diffusing modern elements of city life in to the rural areas have popularized this type of marriage arrangements. Particularly, the literary campaign has enabled frequent contact of girls and boys without any fear of their parents (1985:25).

Once a woman eloped with a man, starting a relationship with him, the couple are less opposed by her parents. In other words, if the girl agrees to marry him without the consent of her parents, abduction is a loophole. If another man has asked parents for the hand of their daughter, they might refuse because they do not like him. In this case, he can agree secretly with one allied parent, who may like him. Then he abducts their daughter. We can make two interpretations from this. Parents cannot say no to a man who asks for the hand of their daughter. This means they have to give the woman to anyone who wants to marry her. Women have no opportunities to resist their parents' decision. Parents cannot act against the social pressure they are living under. Neither can the girls or women. Social power controls them. Economics also control them, especially, if the husband and wife are also poor. Ideologically this presents the norm that the poor should remain poor. The poor may not be married by the wealthy, because a wealthy man wants to marry a wealthy girl. But, if a poor man manages to pay a dowry, he can marry the daughter of wealthy people. Thus, the economy does not rule everything. According to Bourdieu cited in Dika and Singh, capital has three interactive sources “economic, cultural and Social”, (Dika and Singh, 2002:32). Lin wrote: “The premise behind the notion of social capital is rather simple and straightforward: investment in social relations with expected returns” (Lin, 1999:30).

Getachew (1985) wrote that parents allow their future sons-in-law to abduct their daughters. The parents would benefit from respect, a relationship with the man, and a shared social status with the man. Other social and cultural capitals may also be at play. However, the newspapers' narratives limited their information; kinship, for example, offers social capital, so marriage across cousins does not require dowry. Money is power. If a man has no money he must abduct his desired bride. This strategy overcomes men's financial shortage or economic position (Getachew, 1985). The man receives this power legitimately. In this aspect men are presented as homogenous. Age, educational background, ethnicity, religion are excluded from the discourse in the newspaper portrayal. Thus abduction opens up opportunities for the girl to live with a man of her choice. The man overcomes financial constraints. The parents get a son-in-law of their choice. The newspapers address only the one aspect of abduction and exclude other possibilities.

The data shows that marriage as social institution and practice must be practiced by all kinds of society members, regardless of age and class. Individuals must marry to socialize with the entire community.

Dowry takes different forms in rural and urban areas. In rural areas, dowry has a fixed standard and it belongs to the family of the female. As Ahmed (in Rocha, 2007) mentions, kinship relations and arrangements can minimize the amount of dowry. In his research conducted in the Afar and Oromiya regions, Ahmed identified that cross cousin marriage can avoid dowry payments. In this aspect, economy has a means of giving and taking. All the options favourite the man; he is either exempt or can pay a decreased amount according to the newspapers. On the other hand dowry paints a different picture.

The media reveals that the female child can resolve conflict. Men are supported by their future wives in this regard. As (Apx.6; AF3), shows, couples may prepare borrowed items to display in front of the bride's relatives as dowry. This shows that dowry is not always true, but rather, for show. By doing away with the economic constraints, the power of the man can be overcome. In urban areas, the bride's consent to marriage minimizes the man's challenge. Social arrangements are designed to help men get married because marriage is an obligatory practice. All these practices show how the woman is vulnerable to abuse. The woman is a victim of social power, the man's interest, and parent's rule over traditional social practices. The economic constraints of

marriage can be overwhelmed by the social practices to some extent. Because social power is more important, parents are obliged to receive less dowry when their daughter is abducted. Men use this loophole and abduct girls to give parents less compensation. Social practices have flexibility. This flexibility opens up room to change.

As indicated earlier, abduction has both negative and positive consequences for the woman. On the one hand, it victimizes women to be taken by men who are not their choice for husband. The newspapers accuse male abductors as criminals.

This flexibility never reverses the roles of men and women. The flexibility allows the man to have options to ensure his power over the woman. Because flexibility does not actually empower the powerless, the struggle strengthens. Opportunity for individuals to disobey opens up but it becomes challenge. If the man does not have enough money to pay for the dowry or if her parents are unwilling to give him their dowry, he abducts her.

### **Functions of marriage**

#### *Continuation of generations*

Marriage ensures the continuation of generations. The old generation wants to transfer social values to the new generation. Children will learn the social values mainly from their family (Apx.6, AN1 and AF1, Yelfign in Rocha, 2007). Women have a role in this regard. However, Connell (2009:74 and 82) describes the negative consequences of this. In a patriarchal society, women may be denied education and personal freedoms, while men may be cut off from emotional connections with their children. In the past, women remained under the domination of men. If a wife left, she would suffer because she had no economic power. Her parents may not accept her back (Rocha, ed. 2007). The institutional and social values of marriage are discussed as follows.

As an institution, marriage resolves conflict and gives life to the following generation. The newspapers also claim that marriage stops family feuds. If two men quarrel and one kills the other, the conflict can be resolved by an arranged marriage (Apx.6, ZF1; Andualäm, 2005 EC). Therefore, in all these arrangements, the woman becomes the centre of negotiation. The killer is supposed to give either his daughter, sister, or any daughter from his relatives, to compensate the

family of the deceased. The presumption here is that if she marries a relative of the murdered man, she can bring the deceased “back to life” by giving birth to a baby. The family who lost a man must accept this life compensation and forget their sorrow.

*Inter-relatedness of the whole practice*

The premarital practices, early marriage, dowry payment, abduction and cohabitation are interrelated. Dowry is not a consistent premarital process because of conflict between two families. This means, dowry gets undermined for three reasons. First, a female child compensates for the murder of a man. See Chapter Six for further information on this. Symbolically, she reflects the family's request for the forgiveness of the other family. Actually, this is implemented by go-betweens. A great work of negotiation between the two families takes place. Second, dowry becomes unnecessary when the woman is abducted. It should be noticed here that abduction does not completely avoid the requirement of payment according to the newspapers. However, the dowry decreases because the woman falls in the hands of the man. Third situation, dowry becomes unnecessary when the man and the woman live together without going through formal marriage. This situation enables the couple to be free from dowry payment. They also become free from family impositions at the micro level and from social imposition at the macro level. Traditions are contextual and nothing is naturally embedded. If couples agree to live together, the two have already made their choice. Individuals can resist social power in this way.

On the other hand, dowry necessitates these other practices to take place. When men are asked to pay more money, they prefer abduction as a way out. When consent and choice is respected, the institution still exists. Marriage does not change its meaning by removing the other practices. Marriage is marriage whether it takes place in as a wedding process, in the form of abduction, or in the form of cohabitation.

**Marriage determining and determined by social status**

The newspapers reveal how marriage puts women in a different position than men. Women are in a different position before marriage, in marriage and post marriage. Brides are classified into “girl bride”, “abducted bride” and “widow bride” in the narratives. A relatively large amount of money is paid for women who get married by the arrangement of parents. The payment is less



for those who are married through abduction and through inheritance. If the woman is abducted, the amount paid is smaller. If she is not virgin, no dowry is paid. If marriage takes place between relatives, no dowry is paid. Women's statuses are diverse. Age, class, and marital status determine one's place in his or her respective society.

There are different names for females who are at different age groups. Amharic uses the word 'girl' and 'woman' differently than English. If a girl is married, she is woman, and it does not matter whether her age is below marriageable age or not (Negarit Gazeta, the Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000: Article 7).

Dowry is determined by the status of people but it also determines the status of people. Even though the newspaper did not write it explicitly, wealthy men can pay more and this makes the bride's family happy. Whether or not the man paid huge dowry or even married her without any payment, a husband is given full right over his wife. The money does not make any difference when it comes to the power in the married couple's relationship.

### **9.2.2 Gender relations in the public sphere**

I address the two issues of education and election. My research objective revolves around searching change that the newspapers are focused on and these relate to the concerns of the people (Chapter 1, subsection 1.3.3).

#### *Education*

In all phases of her life, a woman faces challenge to attend school. Even if she attends school during her childhood, she drops it in her later years (NAP, 2006, Apx.6, ZF4). She gets married early. She gives birth to a number of children. She takes care of the household work. She is the breadwinner in the presence (Apx.6, ZF2) and in absence of her husband. In short, the rationale behind these social practices is that education needs time and women do not have any time. Education and family formation conflict (GMMP, 2010).

Education concerns different parts of population according to the newspapers. It is a concern for schools, women's offices and especially for women. Throughout, their approach implies that the newspapers frame it as a women-only issue. They construct it as if all men attend schools. They

do not articulate the value of education for men or they deem it unnecessary to articulate it explicitly.

The other educational aspect is short-term trainings given to people. The narratives show how short-term training benefits adult. For instance, we read about men that undergo vasectomies after follow-up training and counselling (Apx.6, ZN5). We read about a female farmer (Apx.6, ZF4) that gained skills for ploughing by the training she acquired when TPLF controlled the Tegray area in the 1970s. Commercial sex workers received training and counselling from family guidance and organized women's groups. The sex workers were able to change their lives (Apx. 6, AN1). NGOs and other civil organizations gave these trainings.

The newspapers write about educated women and their activities. In addition to this, the education of girls is portrayed as a positive contribution to society. The newspaper narratives show that when women are educated, they become conscious of their environment. They challenge and critique. These educated women have problems, though. This might discourage other women who read these articles. People find it difficult to stand for themselves and fight for their rights. Education is a process of social change and/or maintaining of the old. In addition it allows institutions to influence the lives of people through socialization (Connell, 2009), training, and formal education.

The newspapers repeatedly cover these institutional activities. They normally show them in a positive light.

Education is taken as a guarantee for employment (Genet and Rocha, in Rocha, 2007). If a woman is educated, she would be able to claim her rights and voice her problems (Apx.6, AF2). This means, education brings self-development and self-empowerment. A woman who is educated even at the lower level aspires to a higher level (Apx.6, ZN3 and ZF2). Education also affects the relationship between women and men.

Generally, the lack of access to education is bad for girls and women, particularly for married women, for widows, and for female children.

### *Election*

Election is portrayed as the primary instrument of change and development. On the other hand, the newspapers also present elections as the most challenging areas for women to access leadership positions. Even though women have played magnificent roles for the socio-political progress of Ethiopia, their contribution is hidden or they do not reach to the top of the ladder (Netsanet in Rocha, 2007). For instance the number of women parliamentarians in 2000 was only 42 (7.7% -See Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.3). The newspapers address this disparity in politics.

The newspapers seem concerned about the numerical representation of women. They report how few women enter the public sphere.

Elections and education are interrelated. An educated woman can compete for positions, but an election does not guarantee her a position or that the situation for women in general may improve. The presence of female candidates does not necessarily ensure the betterment of other lives. A woman may be a victim of the patriarchal system and thus may not work to bring the other women into power. Other parameters enable the candidate to enter the public sphere, especially to a decision-making position. Education assists a woman to compete (Apx.6, AF4). Traditionally, a woman is not expected to be a leader.

## **9.3 Struggle for change, and change enhancing factors**

What changes do the newspaper narratives promote in gender relations? What new society do they imagine?

### **9.3.1 Change areas**

A social constructionist approach sees gender as changeable depending on, amongst other things, socio-economic conditions in a society. According to Connell, "Gender relations are always being made and remade in everyday life. If we don't bring it into being, gender does not exist..." (2009:73). According to the narratives, challenges and conflicts exist in gender relations and areas in need of. The newspapers highlight the following areas for change.

Early marriage: the value of family law. The newspapers depicted parental arranged marriages as a problem for gender and gender relations. It has been included in the new family law (see Chapter two). According to the law, marriage takes place with the consent of the couple (Negarit

Gazeta, the Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000, Article 6). The law excludes parents from the decision-making position in the process the same way tradition excludes the children in the choice of their spouses. This shows how the new family law is progressive for women and will give women positions equal to men. The parents and the husband are not alone in deciding the marriage. This implies that the introduction of the law advantages women even though still there is problem of implementing it (Yelfegn in Rocha, 2007).

This social problem continues to exist even though the family law exists. Legality does not guarantee equality. Biset (2007) found out that early marriage is still a social problem in Ethiopia. In most of my data, the narratives describe court cases of the early marriage of girls. Girls are victims of various social problems. Early marriage is a social practice which is most common in the Northern Ethiopia. It is still, despite the new family law, a serious social problem (BBC on 7 June 2011 and 25 September 2012, Sheger FM, and September 24, 2013). National campaigns against early marriage started on 23 September 2013. The reason people still break the law could have to do with the fact that a specific clausal in the new family law allows traditional practices.

#### *Abduction as an issue of women's rights*

Abduction has a dual face. On the one hand, it is a crime in the eye of the law; on the other it is a tradition. It becomes a crime if it is not followed by forced marriage (NAP, 2006), undertaken without the parents' consent.

One act is given different names. When the marriage is without the consent of the girl, it is called Abduction, when it is done based on her will it is called Elopement. When the union of a woman and man is under way with the mediation of elderly, it is called marriage. When it is not undertaken this way, it is termed irregular union, or cohabitation. In any form when the couple live together their relation is called marriage. However, the way the two live together is given different names. Context and intention contributes to the names of actions.

Abduction can bypass the families and different economic positions of the couple. After abduction individuals do not keep quiet of course. In order to receive consent from the parents they have to ask for forgiveness from them. In this way, the couple could be embraced by the norm again. Other wise, strict exclusion may follow.

As mentioned earlier, most of the time the newspapers write about dowry from male's perspective and education from the female's perspective. For instance, women are abducted while men are the abductors. Are men always the abductors? An interesting story was transmitted by a radio station recently. On July 6, 2013 Sheger FM radio Amharic program, this researcher listened to an interview conducted with Author Aberra Lemma, who lived in Norway at the time of this dissertation. The interviewee was telling the interviewer about an interesting event he heard from an elderly person whom he knew very well.

The story is about a girl who abducted a man with the help of her brothers. The girl could not get married because she was physically "ugly" according to the interviewee. What was the criterion for beauty in this case? It remains un-described. Beauty is left open. But it justifies the abduction. According to the tradition, the eldest has to get married first before the rest of her siblings can get married. Accordingly, in order to overcome this "obstacle", she asked her brothers to abduct a man they know very well. They did so. Ahmed's research can be cited for another way out for women. For a woman, who has not been chosen for marriage, cross cousin marriage is usually arranged (Ahmed in Rocha, 2007). A girl must be chosen, she cannot choose. In Afar, a woman like this is married through cross cousin marriage arrangement. Societies value marriage and in Ethiopia it is quite obligatory. At the same time, societies create situations that allow the entrapped to resolve his or her difficulties.

Coming to the radio interview, all the procedures followed were similar to the newspaper narratives. The man was abducted. Compensation was paid to his parents by the parents of the woman. This shows that when tradition forces or demands social members to get married, this society may also accept some actions that deviate from expectations. The newspapers presented this social practice as problem of gender and gender relations. Research has shown that this situation has not changed (Biset, 2007; GMMP, 2010, NAP, 2006).

*Cohabitation as an issue: Recognition is a social practice*

The newspapers call for change in irregular union or cohabitation between a woman and a man. Cohabitation, in the modern sense, is a relationship between a woman and a man who decide to live together (Apx.6, AF1 and AF2). If a man and a woman love each other, and begin new life together, cohabitation is taken as a precondition for formal marriage. In this case, the two use

this period to get to know each other more. Cohabitation seems to ensure the equal freedom of choice of the couple. This kind of union is termed by Connell a relation based on romantic love (2009), even though this might not be true always in the context of Ethiopia (Apx.6, ZF3). However, this practice rejects many traditional rituals such as a dowry, parental arrangement, wedding, etc.

In most parts of the country, getting a marriage certification from municipalities was not a common practice because marriage took place traditionally in front of elderly people. Marriage according to custom dominates the three Ethiopian types of marriage formations, that is, 1) marriage concluded before a civil officer; 2) religious marriage; and 3) marriage according to custom (Negarit Gazeta, Revised Family Law, Proclamation No. 213/2000, article 2-4). In the marriage based on custom, parents and go-betweens arranged the marriage and written documents were not common. Documentation has become decisive evidence to prove the existence of marriage between a man and women. This relates to the transformation of Addis Ababa city into a better living city. Old villages are demolished and replaced by new buildings and condominiums. Residents of the old demolished villages are transferred to the newly constructed buildings. However, in this process, couples who have lived together for years or for decades are required to go together to the city office to sign and receive marriage certificate (Personal interview with Ato Ashenafi Bantiwalu, November, 27, 2014, AAU). The main difference between cohabitation and traditional marriage is related to who decides and who enters into the union. In addition to this, cohabitation may not need to pay dowry and sending go-betweens. However, if a problem occurs, the woman faces different difficulties.

Cohabitation becomes an issue for the newspapers for three reasons. First, it used to be an issue for the woman especially when she needs justice. The law did not consider unregistered relations; therefore, the woman does not gain the benefits and privileges marriage should give her. As I have mentioned earlier, divorce was difficult according to the customary law. The lack of equal property right posed a serious problem until the new family law was ratified in the year 2000. Assigning a woman to nurture the children and prohibiting her from possession of property places her under the domain of her man. Assigning a woman to manage her family when her husband dies, but not allowing her to do men's work, forces her to find another man in her life or to be inherited. She is not allowed to till land, to own land, etc. It is presented as if a woman

cannot live without spouse. Women need to take part in acquiring knowledge of the public sphere discourses. Lack of information and lack of knowhow about the legal rights is a serious problem of women (Yelfegn, in Rocha, 2007). Second, cohabitation becomes an issue for the community because it excludes the traditional enjoyment of families or go-betweens. There might be no dowry payment and wedding, for instance (Getachew, 1985). This is reflected in two forms. In the first place, it recognizes the relations of a woman and a man in cohabitation form. This opens up a practice, which prohibits societies to intervene in the private lives of couples with the same pace.

Third, cohabitation becomes an issue when conflicts between the woman and the man who lived together emerge, especially when the female refuses or at least challenges some of the ideas that the man cherishes (Apx.6, AF1, AF3 and ZF3). When a woman acts as knowledgeable and conscious of her surroundings, this becomes a source of conflict with her fiancé. The woman should stop acting as an educated person in front of her husband. This is because a sign of challenging the power relations.

### **9.3.2 Challenges to change**

#### *Controlling mechanisms and maintaining the custom*

The newspapers show that marriage maintains the social control over individuals. When individuals act against the social practices, different strategies stop these individuals from acting against the custom.

By denying access to divorce, social power forces the woman to remain under the hands of the husband whether he is good or bad (Yelfegn in Rocha, 2007). Divorce is difficult for a woman if the question comes from her side (Apx.6, ZN4). It becomes most difficult for the woman to divorce because she does not have economic power (Apx.6; ZF3). This is repeated in researches conducted after 2000. A woman cannot earn a livelihood if she leaves her husband or her house (Rocha, ed.: 2007). She cannot go to her parents' house. Like a non-virginal woman, a divorced woman is not wanted by her parents. So marriage becomes a means of living for women. Marriage's economic aspect manifests in the lives of old women, too. In some societies, a woman at her old age remains the "property" of her husband, even if her husband marries another wife (Apx.6, ZF2). This is practiced in families where polygamous marriage is the

common practice. If she objects this, she will be sent off empty-handed (Yelfign in Rocha, Ahmed in Rocha, 2007). As a mother, a woman has to stay with her children (Apx.6, ZF3). If she leaves, she has a little opportunity to visit her children. Even if the husband dies, a woman who is victim of levirate marriage is not set free for she has to marry her brother-in-law.

As pointed out earlier, marriage is an institution that controls members of social groups at family level. One of the controlling mechanisms is rejecting and criticizing new ideas and practices that come from individuals. The newspapers portray women who encounter difficulties in this regard. If a woman steps outside the social norms, the first objection comes from her own family members. Children and the husband and even her father turn their backs on the woman. We have seen how the female candidate was asked by her children to stop running for election. If the initiative comes from the female side, it is inevitable that she encounters serious confrontation (Apx.6, AF2, and ZF4). This proves that, as Van Dijk (in Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008) says, social power is oppressive.

Labelling is another strategy of seclusion. Individuals who initiate new ideas are labelled as 'modern' (Apx.6, ZF2). In most of the sample newspaper stories, the society is depicted as uncivilized and alienated from the modern way of life. They reflect how agents of change receive challenges from the society when they attempt to introduce new thinking or new ways of life. Female agents of change are challenged by their own families and by their surroundings. Particularly, modernity of women is perceived by men as being against tradition. Getachew Kassa wrote how female agents of change are looked at by their communities:

In Gobicha there are three categories of women. First are those who are determined to live single as family heads, either because they have divorced their unhelpful husbands or have been widowed and have not remarried. *Such women are considered by men as ill-behaved and vulgar because they feel independent due to their economic self sufficiency and subsequent self-assertiveness. These women could be classified along with the "modern", emancipated women* (1991:11 emphases added).

As Getachew says, a woman who is single head of a family is considered 'modern.' Similarly, the newspapers have shown two approaches to modernity from the perspective of gender and gender relations: modernity defined by the society through the narratives, and modernity defined by



legal institutions through the media. Modernity is about the decline of the past (FES, 2012:4). Modernity is also about being a Westerner.

Modernity is often defined as having to do with individualism, division between public and the private, enlightenment philosophy and critical rationality, capitalism, global economy, development and evolutionism (Friedman, 2008), i.e., values that Western *we* is supposed to embrace. It may be worth even, whether this *we* cannot see other expressions of modernity, or whether one might do as Friedman has and speak of *modernities* in the plural (...) (Eide, ND: 155)

Women are told to remain silent, otherwise they will not receive assistance from social institutions and they might not get married. Men are embarrassed when they see their wives not accomplishing the domestic work. Men are also offended when their wives object to their decisions on matters of common concern, like the economy and family matters.

The attitude of men presents another challenge. Change in men's attitude becomes news. That is why the newspapers for instance write news about men's involvement in family planning. The general working trend in the political institutions is another area hindering women from advancing (Apx.6, AF4 & ZF5). In order to make change effective, the newspapers are telling us that teaching men is a good solution (Apx.6, ZN5). The presupposition for this is that men are the key for change to be a realistic goal.

### 9.3.3 Change enhancing factors

Change, as a process, can take place quickly or slowly and may have two causes. Change can be internal or external (Connell, 2009:89 and 90).

The pace of change is determined by two situations; one is by the nature of the desired change areas and the second is by development level of societies. "Change often starts in one sector of society and takes time to seep through into others" (Ibid: 73). These internal and external factors are interrelated and interdependent. The internal situation may create fertile situations for the external to intervene and vice versa. What are the external and internal factors that cause change according to the newspapers? How are they interrelated?

#### *Internal factors*

From Chapters 6, 7 and 8, we can infer that due to various social problems and in order to regulate the human relations, different kinds of legal regulations are introduced. Therefore, both

customary law and statutory law are important factors for change. It is clear that the ratification of the family law is a positive thing for women. On the other hand, the implementation of the law is affected by other factors (Apx.6; AF2). First, the public lacks awareness (Apx.6, ZF2) and second, the law does not enforce it.

The newspaper narratives describe women at the individual and at group levels move away from trouble (Apx.6, AF3 & ZF6). Widowhood helped one woman to face the challenges she encountered. In fact her power in this situation could result from the fact that a widow has no place to go to, and she has hence nothing to lose by going public with her story. Relatively speaking, she has more agency than young girls and married women. Female social actors are addressed through their husbands and their fathers. Other studies confirm that divorced women and widows have more courage to challenge the existing order (Getachew, 1991). This situation may lead us, as readers, to interpret that marriage obstructs women.

According to the newspapers, the public perceives women as creators and cultivators of the new generation. For this purpose, girls were given to men when they are young. This situation is currently changing but problems persist. Different studies report that female enrolment at the primary school has increased. Relatively more female students are completing secondary education (Chapter two, table 2.2 & table 2.3). Female students at the university level education are also increasing. This may be good indicators of changes occurring since 2000 the focus year of this study. However, early marriage is still a crucial problem. Polygamy still exists in the country, and states who practices this social practice have not ratified the Regional new Family law. The newspapers try to advocate that men should be active participants in family planning. This indicates how gender relations and social values are changeable. Actually, the readers do not know to what extent family planning is widespread amongst the public. Is it familiar to women only or are both women and men involved? There is a difference between having more beneficiaries of family planning and making it the responsibility of men. Because men are the head of the family traditionally, they would have great impact on the implementation of the family planning. Thus, newspapers suggest that men must take part of the family planning. Men are in a power position. This means, if a woman is not ready for family planning, the man must persuade her.

The newspapers depict that commercial sex work is a result of poverty (Apx.6, ZE1). This may be true as Rocha wrote (2007). In such a situation, an unmarried woman would be more prone to engage in commercial sex work. The other way to interpret this is that parents also use their daughters to earn money (Hanna in Rocha, 2007). In rural and urban areas, daughters are potential sources of income.

The newspapers do not present such an issue from different perspectives. They only stated that solving the economic problems of girls may stop the prostitution. They presented it as if poverty was the only reason for prostitution. Moreover, the newspapers did not shed light on the causes of poverty. Failure in education, fear of early marriage and fear of social imposition may also lead young women to sex work. Girls who run away from home may be involved in sex work in order to survive. In rural areas, girls are not free to attend school because they often are forced to get married early. To get married, girls should be virgin. If a girl lost her virginity, she might run away and become sex worker.

#### *External factors*

According to the newspaper presentations, exposure to the outside world allows a woman to initiate change in existing social interactions, particularly in gender relations in private and public spheres (Apx.6, AF1). When a woman is educated, she is in a better position to break off her unhappy relationship or she can take the initiative to discuss common or personal matters with her spouse. Education has a great potential to make women assertive (Apx.6 AN1, ZN3). Education through training even, motivates a woman to bring about change.

Like education, another external factor that inspires women to bring change access to the media. Media helps them open their eyes to the outside world (Apex.6, AF2, ZF2 and ZF6). Women are assets to the media because they are topics to be written about. But also, the media can be useful to women. They know their environment through the media (Apx.6; ZF2). However, as examined in chapter two, Ethiopian women's access to the media is poor. Very many are illiterate and, at the same time, they cannot listen to the radio due to lack of time.

The newspapers show how the external world influences the local. Because of this influence, different conventions and new policies are ratified. In order to ensure women rights to some resources, the new law and the revision of the existing laws was undertaken (Netsanet in Rocha,

2007). The legal changes have been influenced by international laws. “Most discussions of why gender arrangements are changing have focused on external pressures: new technology, urban life, mass communications, secularism, or just modernization” (Connell 2009:88). This seems to be the case also in Ethiopia.

The introduction of the law and pushing for their implementation has provoked resistance with the traditional practices. The new family law still has some limitations as Yelfegn wrote (in Rocha, 2007, NAP, 2006). As pointed out earlier, out of the nine States, two States chose not to ratify the new family law. This seems to be because they want to continue in the old way. The new family law also gives a strange place to cohabitation.

The media shows the readers how external pressure motivates change in gender and gender relations. Sometimes the international level can cause change at the national level. Because Ethiopia is part of the globe, it signed and endorsed different international laws and conventions. Legislations and policies are issued based on international rules (Meaza, 2009, Rocha, 2007). A number of items are published in the newspapers about such legislative endorsements (Appendix. 3: Table 5.1). The newspapers advocate the importance of intervention of external power such as urbanization, schools, media and state bureaus and women's desks. In additions to this, the newspapers suggest that NGOs and government organizations must better women's lives.

#### *Intervention of institutions*

Any endeavour's effectiveness, whether run by individuals or groups needs others to accept it. It is difficult for individuals to change institutional systems. First, individuals may not have power to change institutions. Second, institutions control instruments of power. Hence, when institutions act as social actors to bring about change they are more effective. For instance, the law does not accept minors (children below the age of 18) as witnesses unless special situations force minors to give their witnesses (Federal Negarit Gazetta Proclamation No. 7/2000). When the newspapers write about the intervention of political and social institutions to help these minors, the conflict between the tradition and the law impacts on the process of change. In other words, social institutions like courts have more legitimacy to scrutinize social damages. The newspapers articles portray institutions as helping women to overcome their difficulties. The

political system empowers women. Women as sources for the stories explain their problems and needs. Institutions specifically for women also describe how they improve women's lives. Even though few women are courageous enough to expose their experiences to the public, institutions act on behalf of these women. Schools, charity workers, women's desks and courts struggle for the betterment of disadvantaged women. Women are hence addressed as gendered and in need of particular services by social institutions. Whenever institutions have plans regarding gender related activities, they draw the media's attention.

As pointed out earlier, the state ratification of new laws and policies enhance equality between women and men. The women's offices and the courts are facing challenges that the smooth implementation of the law impossible. They cannot do away with traditional arbitration. These institutions are new phenomenon for the communities and their presence does not affect much of the activities for progress. Women need the support of the media because the media legitimizes social issues and struggles for change (Gennet, 2014:79).

**Figure 9.1 Issues raised and solutions proposed by the newspapers**

Issues or areas in gender relations	Solution made social change	Focus and perceptions of newspapers
Early marriage	1) Introduction of the New Family Law 2) Construction of schools (Apx. 3, Table 5.1)	Institutional intervention, and news that arose from conferences, and court reports
Forced Abduction	Interventions of legal and political institutions	1) It is a problem of women only 2) It resulted from parental impositions 3) But sources are unwilling to tell their secrets
Levirate marriage	1) Importance of solidarity among women 2) Legal intervention	Social imposition on men to marry more than one wife
Clash between modernity and civilization enhance conflicts at private sphere	Legalization of relation of a woman and a man	Introduction to the new laws

Even though women and men have a certain division of labour in all kinds of societies, the strictness of the rules varies from one society to another. This shows the diverse nature of world societies. With regard to this, Connell says:

Such divisions of labour are common, perhaps even universal, through recorded history and across cultures. However, while gender divisions of labour are common, there is not exactly the same division in different cultures or at different points of history. The same task may be 'women's work' in one context, and 'men's work' in another. Agricultural labour – digging and planting – is an important example (2009:79).

Even though there is a division of labour for women and men in all societies, there is no uniform division. This proves another potential for change. Change is possible because 1) social practices are not universal 2) societies are sometimes lenient in the norms, for example, cohabitation and elopement provide escape from normative restrictions.

#### **9.4 Media discourse: Narrative and framing strategies**

Elements of narrative and framing strategies help newspapers tell stories. Previously, I have discussed newspaper topics, portrayal of social actors, particularly, their attribution to sources, timelines, and the circulation of information. Now I will discuss the newspapers' frame packages.

##### **9.4.1 Elements of Narrative**

I have identified the following findings from the narrative strategies about gender and gender relations.

*Selection of topics and sources: Journalism for people vs. Journalism with people*

Newspaper articles use an event or character to grab the attention of their readers (Tumber, 2007). In addition to the selection of topics, media-makers select of social actors for the topics which impacts the scope and angle of issues to be covered. Newspapers attribute their source in different ways. First, they present stories in first person point of view. In this approach, no direct quotations are taken from any source. Writers can present any newspaper articles, particularly feature stories through their own lenses. In these circumstances, the writers put themselves as part of the narrative or they adopt the ideas they depicts their own (Apx. 6; ZF1). Whether or not they were present at the event, they write. In news articles, the approach differs. In news writing, the reporters can use anonymous sources. In such circumstances, the writer tells the readers that an unidentified source has told him or her about the situations (Apx.6, AF1, AF3 and ZN3). Second, the authors make direct quotes. Quotations can be used for two different purposes. First,

the writer can use the quotation to support what she or he is writing. The reporter presents the view of the social actors, but s/he neither supports nor opposes. Second, the writer must be able to clearly neutralize him or herself from the issues addressed. The narrator does not paraphrase or rewrite what is being told by the social actors. In this kind of dialogical narration, the intervention of the writer into the story is minimized (Apx.6, AF4, ZF2 & ZF6).

Third, the author can present events or officials. Some narratives begin with the words of officials. Putting an official at the beginning is used to make the issue more salient. In both newspapers a big distribution of official sources are portrayed. The newspapers search for “credible” and authorized sources. They often link activities to institutions. Officials and professionals explain what they believe is useful for the people. This relates to Skjerdal’s point that Ethiopian journalism is journalism for people not journalism with people (2012:232). The majority of women, who are less educated, are not portrayed as sources and active social actors in the narratives. If officials are not in the story, the structure flows from events to social actors (Apx.6; ZN2, AN2). In other words, the newspapers focus on events and issues instead of bringing forward the social actor. This magnifies issues and events instead of social actors. Sometimes, articles depict imagined characters who are not real people (Apx.6, ZF1, AF1 and AF2). In this approach, the reporter wants to illustrate the issues raised. Imagined women and men discuss relationships between themselves. Another way authors magnify events is by introducing sources of information second, after they tell about the event and the issue. Traditional practices are presented and the sources are presented at last. The writer prioritizes events with this style.

However, when narrating about ordinary people (Apx.6, AF2 & ZN1), the views of common social actors seem to need the support of officials. They are not allowed to stand alone and speak for themselves. Newspaper narratives focus on issues rather than people for two possible reasons. First, the media are not interested in the individuals but in the conflicting events or issues. In this approach, they assume that the issue has universal nature that will be relevant to all human beings. In doing this, the newspapers act as though these cases reflect experiences of others too. For example, using general terms like 'women,' 'men,' 'girls,' etc. represent individual's experiences that the general public shares. *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* follow different patterns in their use of sources. *Addis Zemen* did not frequently use ordinary people as sources of information. On the other hand *Addis Admass* mostly used ordinary people as sources

of information. These kinds of stories are published on front page (Apx.6; AN1). The newspapers tend to portray people who have demonstrated unique abilities or experiences. Accordingly, the newspapers depicted female characters to be considered role models. These women challenge traditions, but mostly in an unsuccessful way. They do not overcome their difficulties immediately. Change is difficult and slow. These female social actors demonstrate that women are not always passive dependants, but can realize inequality and initiate change. This goes with the idea of Connell (2009) who argues that change is inherent and can be initiated from the inside. Few women initiate change within their social positions.

*Priorities versus delaying approach*

The media discourses salience to issues. They employ four strategies: 1) publishing them on front page (the front page is more public) (Talbot, 2007:22; Cobby, 2007:36); 2) using official sources; 3) reporting issues before quoting ordinary sources; and 4) by reporting events before they happen. When issues are prioritized, they are publicized before the event. Institutions with programs inform the media about their events or they may send them as public relations reports. Newspapers will publish the reports in advance. Newspapers also prioritize in order to make a topic salient. In the newspapers it is common to read news about events that took place two or three days or even a week ago (Apx.6, ZF6). There might have been an absence of urgency. This phenomenon is contrary to Skjerdal's description (2012:233). He points out that immediacy is one of the five ideal type values of conventional journalism ideology, "public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics". Skjerdal adds, "... (...), immediacy, is not as such stressed by the informants [His informants], but this is most likely because they regard journalism as news-making almost by definition" (Ibid). Withholding information for days before it is delivered to the readers minimizes the value of some issues (for instance Apx.6, ZN4). A sense of immediacy decreases delayed delivery. Generally, the Ethiopian media seems to have less sense of urgency than Skjerdal assumes. As Tumber (1999) writes, news becomes history unless the information is delivered immediately. News is fresh and should be transmitted to the readers immediately after the event took place or while it is taking place (Ibid: 12). What does reporting an event after days have gone by mean? It indicates the issues are considered less important, consequently, they are not prioritized or they are protected by privacy issues.



Time can be conceived as having three aspects with regard to news being considered for publication by the daily press, together, they constitute what here in is termed “timeliness”. For an item of information to be timely, in the sense employed here, requires the conjunction of: (1) recency (recent disclosure), (2) immediacy (publication with minimal delay); 3) currency (relevance to present concern ... (Tumber, 1999:34). News items can be published after several days but they actually come from news agencies. This information exchanges is the common routine in media discourse. Skjerdal (2012) mentions that it may be uncommon to receive news from a state-owned institution. Do the newspapers not want to prioritize news from news agencies? Or are news agencies located too far from the capital city so that the poor infrastructure cannot disseminate the information? News agencies might not have other means of transmitting the information. This express working trends of news agencies in Ethiopia (Skjerdal, 2012). The new print and digital media has spread wide since 2000. Community and regional media houses were not established by I collected data. Most people could not get coverage.

*Deviating from the critical*

I have shown how newspapers avoid certain kinds of topics after introducing them at the beginning of the narrative or in their headlines. For instance, HIV/AIDS is addressed at the opening of two articles (Apx.6, ZE1 and AN1). The following quote open the first article:

A three-day workshop on [the preparation of] Sub-Saharan African People and Demographic Map was organized at the Hilton Hotel with the collaboration of UNESCO and the **UN Secretariat for Demographic [Research?]**. The workshop was aimed at informing Africans about the importance of family planning and protecting themselves from HIV/AIDS, which poses a threat to the continent’s development endeavours, if the demographic policies of the various governments should meet their goals<sup>ciii</sup>.

However, after putting the readers in the context of this pandemic, the newspapers deviate their attention to a simple relationship between women and men. The flow continues to narrate how women are the cause of the pandemic. They do not relate the pandemic to the gender and gender relations. Rather, they focus on the women's sexuality and explain that women’s unemployment and prostitution contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Thus, readers are lead to believe that HIV/AIDS is not a general social problem linked to gender relations (or men as customers) but rather as a problem of women’s behaviour. Consequently, this also excludes men and male practices from the problem.

### *Duplication*

Another discursive practice of the media is to duplicate an item. When the newspaper thinks the original publication is not available to the general public, they reproduce the information. A publication such as magazines written in English is one source of data. Items can be translated, excerpted or summarized and rewritten from other outlets for the newspaper consumption. As mentioned above, newspapers use news agency driven stories. We have seen how more than 70% of the news items have come from news agencies for *Addis Zemen* (Chapter five, figure 5.3, P. 120). Apart from that, they duplicate narratives from other documents (Apx.6, ZF1). They also source from conferences. Conferences are organized by officials and organizations. These reduce challenges for journalists.

### **9. 4.2 Framing strategies and functions**

Carvalho (2000:7 and 2008) says, “Frames are viewed as structures present in discourse. A frame is in this sense, an underlying idea that directs the construction of texts. Equally frames can supposedly be identified and used by receivers for the decoding of such texts”. De Vreese says, “... scholars within the empirical approach to measuring frames agree that frames are *specific textual and visual elements* or 'Framing devices'.” These elements differ from the remaining news items that are *core news facts* (2005:54). What are the recurrent frame packages that identify the ideology of the newspapers? How do these frames function? According to Van Gorp, frame functions promote particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation (2007: 60).

### *Frame packages*

The main frame packages identified from the data are “accusations”, “praising” and “longing for outsiders.” If we begin with “accusations”, we see that most of the samples portray men as perpetrators and abusers of women’s rights. The newspapers want to address changes like the recognition of women’s right to property and right to divorce. The stories show how the media accuses tradition. Tradition in general is portrayed as oppressive and backward. Local or national rules of laws are depicted as problems for women. Particular cases are the old Criminal Code (1957) and the Civil Code (1960) which I addressed earlier. This advocates better lives for Ethiopian woman by replacing the old with the new. This point is also addressed by research

conducted more recently. The newspapers investigate hidden social problem. Negeri (Fekadu, Eba and Rageavendra, 2013) and Skjerdal (in Wasserman 2013) describe though that investigative journalism is still at its lowest stage in Ethiopia. The newspapers also accuse political institutions and law.

The second way of frame package is “praising”. My data praises institutions that introduce new policies, that assist women, and that give trainings.

The third type of frame package occurs when the newspapers advocate change has to come from the “outside”. They seek solutions from abroad to simplify life in general and women’s lives in particular. For instance a woman educated abroad is very assertive. The outside will grant Ethiopia modernity. In this context, the outsides refer to European-originated laws and thinking. Legislations introduced by the government is also considered 'outside.' The producers of the newspapers articles believe that this outside help will abolish women’s oppressions. The newspapers portray desirable and undesirable change. A woman should be able to work hard to improve the economic income of the family, especially talking to her partner (Apx.6; AF2). This is labelled as modernisation. Modernity is presented as very much useful and suggested to replace the tradition. Modernity introduces informal relationships between a woman and man, that is, cohabitation. When a woman and man start their life based on romantic relationship, the newspapers portray this as civilized.

Modernity is compatibility with the international law. Modernity is to be against the tradition or the past. Modernity employs family planning programs. Activities that revolve around these conditions grab the attention of the newspapers and they become newsmakers.

### **Frame Devices**

#### *Women are needy*

In all the sample stories, girls/women are portrayed as a disadvantaged group. As mentioned repeatedly earlier, married women have smaller chances of entering the public sphere. The sample stories describe married women when they are sick and need assistance or when they resolve personal conflicts.

With regard to gender-related narratives, particularly in the portrayal of women, the newspapers take two angles. They are not depicted as independent social entities. They need the assistance and protection of institutions. The newspapers portray institutions that work towards empowerment and protection of women. Second, women, especially those presented as role models, are perceived as odd, with unthinkable power or unique personalities. Female role models are described as unique, having special abilities and as facing challenges. The action separates them from the rest of ordinary people. This frames the issue as abstract and as if there is no one accountable for the practicality of the action. Because they are unique, they challenge social norms. In order to get the attention of the media a woman has to demonstrate a unique ability, she has to be seen acting outside the norm. The majority of women cannot reach the public through the media because they may not have experiences that draw the attention of the media. Recent research shows that women are not quoted as sources but rather depicted as victims and objects (Gubae, 2009; Seble, 2006; IMMF, 2011; GMMP, 2010). This condition takes us to the next point.

In Chapter 7, I discussed how women demonstrate their capacity to challenge the old. Women are clever and creative in using opportunities. They take advantage of the experts and the media to support them. Traditions themselves provide women with opportunities that are accepted by the society. Abduction help women run a way with the man they love and want to marry.

#### *Exclusion or silencing*

As indicated in the literature review, **excluding** issues, social actors, or perspectives is one of the mechanisms of framing. In relation to this, Conboy (2007:37) says, "... what is left out or marginalized can be just as important for analysis as that which appears in the main body of the news report..." Two types of absenteeism occur in the newspapers: absenteeism from the content and absenteeism from active participation. The first approach does not allow social actors to express their voice. An event or social actor can be part of the story but does not actively participate in the action. As perceived from the quantitative analysis, women are not portrayed as sources but as victims.

The other way of silencing is, totally **ignoring** an issue or social actors. Here they are totally excluded. Both kinds of absenteeism imply superficial absenteeism.

Exclusion does not only apply to women. Male social actors are also excluded from the newspapers features. Male perpetrators are not interviewed while many other people, such as opinion leaders, police, experts and the victimized women themselves, to a certain degree, express their views on behalf of women. We have seen how women are absent from arbitration or do not play as go-betweens according to the newspapers (Getachew, 1991; Andualäm, 2005 EC). However, the newspapers did not question this tradition in any of the samples. The newspapers are not courageous enough to criticize tradition.

Married women and old women become invisible in every aspect of life. These women are absent in other more current research too. For instance, Mulumebet (2006:278) wrote that married women are absent from HIV/AIDS discourse. Selamawit mentions that ETV drama portray old women as talkative, dependent, poor, unemployed, money minded, etc (2013:9). Gadeszko (2009:74) says:

...In terms of being sources of information as well as subjects of news, certain categories of women –rural women, elderly women, women from minority ethnicities and religious groups, women living with disabilities and working class women, are even more marginalized than their elite urban sisters (:...)

By the same token, married women did not speak their complaints and challenges. For a woman to be free and fight for “the justice”, she has to be either a divorcee or a widow. When I say old women are silenced, I mean they are visible but not active. We see them only through their younger co-wives. We see them through elderly men. They are dependents during their old age. They are inherited.

The newspapers (Apx.6, ZN3) also silence young males. Male abductors and female abductees who are victims of these traditional practices are missing from the narratives. Accordingly, the perpetrators (men in this context) are not interviewed. The newspapers silence such social actors with another mechanism. They claim that the sources do not volunteer to give information to the newspapers. This is disclosed to convince the readers that the media has attempted to make the news report balanced. These exclusion and silencing strategies indicate the media's control over a story, the power of excluding and including sources (Conboy, 2007:36).

How does the newspaper reflect its role? As indicated earlier, women are portrayed as if they are not capable leaders. Women say this themselves. Women confirm their difficulty in the

leadership roles. In chapter 3, we discussed how hegemony renders the oppressed unconscious of his or her oppression and how they contribute to their own subordination. The newspapers magnify this point. They are saying, look, nothing is happening. The women themselves accept the system. When the newspapers asked these female characters, they ask them to give their judgments. They narrate traditional impositions. Similar to education, other institutions help women to take part in political activities.

As indicated in Chapter 5, in the selected editions and items, the quantitative representation of women and men is not equal (Chapter 5, Table 5.2, and Table 5.7). Women are relatively absent from the media. When it comes to the gender of the storywriters, females have very limited participation within the newspapers. In addition to this, the presence of women writers within the media did not bring or ensure change in itself (Byerly and Ross, 2006: 77, GMMP, 2010).

As indicated in Chapter 3 subsection 3.3.1, in discourse analysis, the untold aspect of a given phenomenon is implicitly described in the stories. The media use frame packages to select topics told by implication and interpretation.

**Figure 9.2 types of social actors present/absent**

<b>Present</b>	<b>Absent</b>
Victim women/girls	Perpetrators (they exist in the society)
Officials, who speak on behalf of victims	Women arbitrators (we do not know if they are)
Married women	Old women
Girls	Boys
Men as challenges of women	Abducted girls and abductors
	Widowers
	Men from HIV discourse
Father of abducted girl	Mother of abducted girl

This figure examines examples of gaps and positions not represented in the majority of the narratives. Conboy (2007:183) states that: “These narratives of inclusion and exclusion include scripts which predispose an audience to certain longer term frames of reference with regard to those represented as hostile to indigenous community”. These untold aspects of the topics are critical areas, which either magnify or hide the stereotypes that exist. For instance, why are the ordinary women, in their diversity, absent as social actors from the narratives? Why are male perpetrators particularly absent from the narratives?

## CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

### 10.1 Introduction

This research is conducted to contribute to the knowledge production in the field of gender and media from sociological perspectives. The research has its own distinctive features that differentiate it from most research in media and gender in the Ethiopian context. First, it is conducted from a sociological perspective that examines human relations and how they are represented by the media. This illuminates trends in gender relations and their impacts on the lives of people. Second, the research examines the media-sociology-gender interplay. Third, the research attempts to answer why the media present gender relations in the way observed in the selected data. Most research conducted in the country misses this salient gender point. In doing so, this research shows how the media uses different genres to deliver its message and how it conveys its ideology. In terms of gender representation, format and content go together.

#### 10.1.1 Objectives of the chapter

This chapter sums up the findings of the research in relation to the theoretical approaches introduced in Chapter 3. I employ theories of Gender and gender relations, CDA, Narrative and Framing. I connect these theoretical foundations with a social constructionists approach. Gender and gender relations are socially constructed. Gender relations are hence changeable. This indicates that it is of interest to explore gender relations in the selected Ethiopian Amharic print media. The media do not only objectively reflect reality but also contribute in constructing and reconstructing it.

From a discourse theoretical viewpoint, media are seen not just as passively expressing or reflecting social phenomena, but also as specific machineries that produce, reproduce, and transform social phenomena. The media are not just one of the societal sites where discourses circulate, but also discursive machineries that can be considered using Foucault's (1972: 37-38) concept – “systems of dispersion” of discourses, with their proper and specific rules of formation... (Carpenter and De Cleen, 2007:274).

The media has the power to silence; it deemphasizes and emphasizes certain issues, events, persons or social interactions (see Chapter 9).

Based on these theoretical approaches and the project's research design, this chapter looks at how the research questions: How do the selected newspapers represent gender and gender relations?; How do the selected news items, features, and editorials depict female and male social actors?; What changes do the discourses and narratives promote in gender relations? What new society do they imagine?; and What narrative strategies do they use?. In order to answer these questions, selected editions of *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* are examined quantitatively and qualitatively.

### 10.1.2 The context

Previous literature has helped me understand how the newspapers represent gender and gender relations. Few studies show patterns and theories developed from the local Ethiopian reality ((Meseret, 2013; Skjerdal, 2012:246, Gubae, 2009, Seble, 2006, Biset, 2007)). Representation of gender by the media is not yet explored in the Ethiopian context (Skjerdal, 2012, Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009, Agaredech, 2006 & 2002; Tsehay in Mikell, 1997) and attention to examination of media and gender studies has only been given very recently. Therefore, my research addresses how newspaper narratives represent gender and gender relations, how they advocate changes, and how they show impediments to change. I examine materials from different genres, that is, news, editorials, profiles, and features. The different genres serve different functions in newspapers even though their all reflect the ideology of that particular media (Conboy, 2007: 36-37 & 209).

#### *Gender and a cross-examination of genres*

Inter-textual analysis of different texts within a medium and across different newspapers is important. By analysing inter-textuality and inter-discursivity, I gained insight into the role of discourse in processes of change in gender and gender relations. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, discursive practices always function in a dialectical interplay with dimensions of social practices and other dimensions set structural limitations to their effects on change (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008:139-140).

Inter-textuality is useful when looking at the advantage of employing a quantitative approach (as supporting data description) and a qualitative approach (as the main data research tool) which is employed in this research. Both approaches shed light on the topic, particularly since there is



little previous knowledge on how newspapers deal with gender. For instance, female social actors have fewer presences than male social actors. The distribution of women and men shows disparities in terms of genres and in terms of topics. Women are almost absent from “Hard News” while they are better represented in “Soft News” according to media research (GMMP, 2010, Byerly, 2011). However, a close examination of genres and topics of either hard news or soft news is important. In culture, for instance, group males are more prominent while group females have more presence in traditional practices. The qualitative data analysis shows that few women are portrayed as agents of change that break traditional hindrances so that the entire society may learn (Apx.6, ZF4). Generally, a mixed method approach identified where women were absent and where men were overrepresented and vice versa.

As pointed out in Chapter 5, different genres (News, features and profiles and editorials) paint different pictures of gender and gender relations. Mostly women are portrayed in the feature genre while their number is small compared to that of men in the news genre (Chapter Five, tables 2, 3, 7 & 8; Appendix four and five: tables 5.2 & 5.7 respectively). I believe that a cross-examination of multiple genres in a given media may offer different results when examining the women and men social actors in that media. Consequently, this demands a cross-examination of multiple genres in relation to the study of gender and gender relations in the newspapers.

In this regard, I have a different view from Skjerdal. Skjerdal recommends that journalists should focus on news and current affairs (2012:246). This helps researchers to examine the journalistic trends of a given country. I contend that other genres are also important, particularly for the analyses of gender. Not only genres but also different topics should be examined to see how the media perceive gender and gender relations (see chapter 4, discussion on soft and hard news). Thus I created nine topic categories of Agriculture, Culture, Economy, Education, Election, Health, Politics and War and conflict (see Appendix 3, Table 5.1).

The narratives complement each other. For instance, in one news story the importance of amendment of the old law is emphasized. In another story, the differences between the old and the new are described (Apx.6, ZN2 and ZF3). Looking at these two different texts helped me to see consistency or inconsistency in their newspapers. Thus, inter-textual analysis proves its

importance in the study of representation of gender relations and changes in gender relations. I have concluded that a media does not approach an issue in a consistent way.

*Background knowledge*

My background knowledge of the topics has been useful in determining what the newspapers exclude and include in a given article. In other words, the text has to be understood in its true contexts even though meanings vary according to the interpreter. "Inter-textuality occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in communicative event (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008: 73).

## **10.2 The role of newspapers towards change in gender relations**

The sample data reflects how newspapers angle or frame their narratives. In other words, with regard to gender and gender relations reports, certain angles get more focus. The media concentrates on both the public and private sphere. In the public sphere, education and election are examined, while in private spheres, traditional practices and marriage are examined.

In the public sphere, the topics that dominate are institutional activities and attempts for communal security. The narratives depict institutional roles in designing secular law. If institutions take measures, they become a topic in the newspapers. In the private sphere, the dominant issues are conflicts between a woman and a husband and how families oppress women. Women are disadvantaged and men are invisible. If men and women act outside the norm, they become media topics.

### **10.2.1 Duplicating the status quo**

The study explores the dual faces of the media roles. The media maintains tradition and addresses change areas by critiquing the old. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, I am not concerned with accuracy of the newspapers. I do not evaluate whether or not the texts speak to reality. I want to examine what the newspapers say, how they say it, and why they say it. I use a social constructionist framework and based on this, *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* attempted to depict the reality in Ethiopia even though their depiction is not complete. Hall's representation theory proves useful because it is reflective, intentional and based on social constructionists theories.

Reflective theory discusses how media directly imitates the reality and the other theories discuss intentional perspectives.

*The transparent curtain: Presence through absenteeism*

In Chapter 9, I showed how absenteeism manifests two forms: absenteeism from the content and absenteeism from active participation.

Media's representation of reality normalizes the exclusion of girls and women; they remain at the periphery of news despite the fact that for several decades now women have inserted themselves into public spaces that were once exclusively male domains. For instance, the flexibilization of labour led women to waged employment outside the home in addition to their unpaid work in the home. Public spaces are where events that make the news happen (GMMP, 2010:37).

Both kinds of absenteeism imply superficial absenteeism. Things are not really absent because within the explication, another meaning lies behind it. Accordingly, behind every girl and boy, there are mothers and fathers. We said husbands are absent. Mothers are also absent unless they are widowed or divorced. Where do they go?

A mother is invisible but she is practically at the back of her daughter. The newspapers do not touch mothers. Similarly, men characters are invisible in the narratives. However, their identity is visible from the descriptions made by women. The readers know the positions of men by reading about the positions of women. For instance, a rural Christian man is a husband. A Muslim man has more than one wife. An urban man is vague but he is not portrayed as husband.

However, young female characters are talked about more often than old women. Old women are silenced and curtained. Their absence is both active and invisible. They are out of sight within the newspapers. When I say silenced, I mean they are visible but not active. We see them through their young co-wives. We see them through elderly men. They are dependents during their old age. They are inherited.

Married women have little chance to the public sphere. The sample narratives describe a married woman as either sick and in need of assistance or as a person who resolves conflicts.

### 10.2.2 Media duplicating partial reality

Quoting Goffman (1979), Briggs and Cobly (2002: 334) say:

... The representation of gender in mainstream culture is profoundly asymmetrical. This asymmetry appears in various dimensions of representation. If we think, first of representations as a reflection of real persons, (1979) argues that pictures of men have a closer link to reality than pictures of women. They occur more often in non-fictional genres like news and current affairs...

The word non-fictional in the above quotation refers to the three genres: news, features and editorials. I have identified the view, which is similar to Goffman's classic finding. Men are represented realistically in some places. Men are represented as abusers of women, as controllers of all properties, and holders of all resources. In this respect, newspapers represented power as asymmetrical. Wrong (1968:673) describes asymmetrical power as follows.

... power relations are asymmetrical in that the power holder exercises greater control over the behaviour of the power subject than the reverse, but reciprocity of influence- the defining criterion of the social relations it self- is never entirely destroyed except in those forms of physical violence which, although directed against a human being, treat him as no more than a physical object.

Goffman actually conducted research on advertisements. Compared to advertisements men are more like non-fictions. The findings in this research show how very few women enter the public sphere. However, this public sphere does not include all political power (NAP, 2006; Nestanet in Rocha, 2007).

The media can be credited for reflecting the diversity of social interactions and traditions. They also reflect the different statuses of women and men. The narratives show diverse views of social actors, gender, status, and ethnicities. In reality, where more than 85 ethnic groups live, women and men have different positions in their respective communities. As seen in Chapter 6 (Table 6.1), women have different role from that of men. Berger (2012:121) describes social roles as follows:

... Social roles are formed by certain kinds of behaviour that we learn, that relate to expectations people have of us, that are connected to specific situations. An individual's social roles are determined, in part, by that person's place in society. In the course of a day, the average individual plays many roles: parent, worker, companion, and so on (...)

The newspapers portrayed different women and men social actors with various positions. An educated woman helps uneducated women.

When we focus on the portrayals of women, these social actors can be categorized into three. An urban woman is educated. She gives value to marriage and she is ready to get married but with a new procedure. She believes that marriage without her consent is not good. She would prefer to stay single. The rural woman has two faces. On the one hand, she is Christian, lives monogamously, is uneducated, probably a widow, and consequently, a single head of the household. The second rural woman is Muslim, uneducated, lives polygamously, is probably inherited by her brother-in-law, and old in her age. The narratives give the readers these images.

Last but not least, regarding differences of women, we have seen single woman on the one hand and married woman on the other hand. When the two are compared, the single woman has a better chance to be involved in processes of change. Are married women totally absent from the processes of change?

### **10.2.3 Avoiding and marginalising**

As indicated in Chapter 9, one newspaper discourse is where columns are printed. First, most of the time, the stories that describe women are placed on the women's page only. Women's stories are placed in the inside pages of the newspapers even if they are news (Apx 6, ZN4 & ZN3). Exceptions to this are that sensational issues publish on the front page (Apx. 6, AN1).

Parliament has separate bureaus for women. Women's integration in the existing political structure happens through separate organizations. Their participation differs from the (male) norm. Men have given women the right and access to political power but also secured their own power. In this context, women can only achieve power if they fight against the established order at every level. None of this was even a topic before the election in the media coverage. Gender, gender relations and women's position were not discussed as part of the election campaign.

Second, attribution of sources differs. The distribution of women sources is less than men (See Appendix 4 and 5). Where women are portrayed they talk about women's problems and the possible solutions, if any. If an event relates to women or children, most sources are women, not men. They voice their views through the organization with a separate female structure. Women's

issues marginalize issues as women-only and marginalize women and their experiences. Men are excluded. Sometimes women are quoted in other sources, but this needs further investigation.

The media reflects women need to participate; otherwise, their problems cannot be abolished. This takes on dual forms. Sometimes women's issues are located in a separate column. Other times that the article claims that women, in order to overcome their problem, must create solidarity or must be organised with men.

#### **10.2.4 The struggle is harsh in the public sphere**

Education offers a way out with modernity. At the same time, modernity conflicts with tradition. Education does not bring women and men together, rather it pushes the two apart. An educated and urban man is still portrayed as under the influence of the tradition. In other words, tradition imposes on modernity. This implies that education cannot change the attitudes of men. The content of the education system itself may cause this. Or this could be the media's biased representation.

On the other hand, women benefit from education. Educated women are self-aware. They are able to claim their rights. They seek more freedom, more power, and more opportunities.. Information empowers people (Nath, 2001). Media plays socialisation roles (Berger, 2012:122). The sample newspapers narratives (Apx.6, AF1), have shown that a woman's partner did not welcome an educated woman (White, 2004). Althusser defines a "Repressive State Apparatus" as Police and an "Ideological State Apparatus," as mass media (cited in Jorgenson and Phillips, 2008:15). Education is a state apparatus used to maintain the status quo. As discussed in chapter 5, designing an education policy could be part of this, as addressed in the news, especially where *Addis Admass* accounting for 50% (N=42: Appendix Three: Table 5.1).

To sum up, newspapers support change by showing examples of modern or civilised women but sometimes their framing serves to ridicule these women.

Getachew (1991) wrote how women's independence was un-welcome even when they are economically empowered. The woman who owned property was not allowed to be free and to decide for herself (Apx6, ZF2). In situations where a woman is independent, obstacles still hinder her from advancement. Women are absent from leadership positions. Women are not

officials and authorities. All decisions are made by men. Men are not aware of equality issues between women and men. This idea is inculcated through the tradition.

Women imposed by tradition sometimes merely reinforce and reproduce social dominance as Van Dijk (2000:44) writes. As a result of this, the media cannot always be an agent of change, especially with respect to gender and gender relations. Gender relations are interrelated with power relations; and newspapers convey messages and images that reinforce the existing gender and power relations. Both the state-owned newspaper and the privately owned newspaper share common denominations in this regard. The ideological foundation in the texts shows male supremacy and female inferiority.

#### **10.2.5 Media maintaining the status quo**

The newspaper's role of maintaining the status quo as far as gender and gender relations manifest through the following strategies. First, the quantitative description shows unequal distribution of men and women as sources, as social actors and as storywriters (Apx.4: tables 5.2 and 5.3, Apx. 5, tables 5.7 & 5.8). The media professionals are mostly men (Chapter Five, figures 5.2, P. 114 & 5.3, P. 120). Quoting Agaredech (2003) and Mengistu (2007), Skjerdal wrote that the presentations of women media professionals are very small (2012:38). As sources men are also used more often than women (Chapter Five, tables 2 & 7). When it comes to the qualitative description, we have seen how women fight against the burdens and how they are challenged by them (Apx6, AF2 & ZA4).

Women are taught to respect tradition through various mechanisms. Women and men act accordingly without realizing its impacts on their lives. This hegemony can make the victims themselves accept weak positions in societies. Tradition imposes control over women, Connell (1985: 262) writes:

Women's disadvantages are attributed mainly to stereotyped customary expectations, held by both women and men, which keep women back from professional advancement and create prejudice and discrimination against them. In principle then, sex inequalities can be eliminated by measures to break down the stereotypes and redefine the roles. Among them, are giving girls better role models, bringing in anti-discrimination laws, establishing equal opportunity programs in education and employment, and the like ....

The newspapers implicitly promote tradition instead of promoting new change. The media is part of the existing tradition and system. As a part of the system, they nurture that which oppresses women.

*Does the media mirror reality?*

Few women enter the public sphere. However, even if they are represented in the public sphere they do not act at the top of the ladder. The media in fact indicated some of the obstacles women encounter. Ballington and Karam (2005:5) say, "In certain countries, cultural norms of equality between men and women, or discourses on rights, meritocracy and conventions about representation, may be avenues that can be used to alter parliamentary balances". The data has shown how education and the economy hinder women from entering the public sphere. On the other hand, the newspapers do not act as though they are factors for men's success.

The newspapers present some facts, but they do not explore topics in-depth. The newspapers boldly write how tradition affects the women's lives. The victimhood of the women comes to the forefront of the texts while the men's victimhood remains hidden. That is, the articles present men as though they cannot be affected. This implies that women are weak while men are strong. The newspapers implicitly promote the tradition instead of change. This again indicates how the media is part of the existing tradition and system. When they do this, they nurture what oppresses women. They do not promote traditions that support.

Research shows how the newspapers strengthen stereotypical attitudes and beliefs of society members. Gubae says: "The media in this general framework, work towards strengthening the values that society deems befitting to women" (2009:6). Seble, (2006) and Selamawit (2013) reflect similar views in their theses. These findings show how the media is an instrument of women's oppression; because newspapers duplicate the oppressive views and hegemonic influences of the media. "... In some parts of Ethiopia, women are excluded from farming and threshing crops because of the myth that women's involvement will reduce production" (Kolawole, ed.; 1998:17). Accordingly, the newspapers reflect how the society is prevented from progressing. They do not go delve into how social practices affect all sides of gender relations.

The rule of law does not consider the local situations as well as it should (Connell, 2009; Mamma, 2003). By local, I mean Ethiopian socio political situations (see Chapter Two). I



contend that some changes are coming from within. Not all change comes from external forces (Baye in FES, 2012). With regard to this, De Luca quoting Laclou and Mouffe (1999: 336-337) says:

It is important to understand that there are not original or essential antagonisms, but that antagonisms emerge as limits from within the social. As Laclou and Mouffe explain, "The limit of the social must be given within the social itself as something subverting it, destroying its ambition to constitute a full presence. Society never manages fully to be society, because everything in it is penetrated by its limits, which prevent it from constituting itself as an objective reality" (1985, 127).

In short, the newspapers do not detail obstacle areas in gender relations. What really impedes women from entering the public sphere? What happens to the youth who are prohibited from marrying early? Print media focuses on information which may contribute to its lack of depth.

### **10.3 Reconstructing Reality**

According to the social constructionist approach, gender and gender relations are socially constructed. According to Hall (1985), social construction representation is one of the three theories of representation. How do the newspapers reconstruct reality?

#### **Through constructing controversies**

Newspapers present controversies even when no one else will expose them. In this regard, the two newspapers raised the following topical issues in an irregular manner.

The narratives reflect the irreconcilability of tradition and the rule of law. In order to change tradition, strong pressure from the legal dimension is necessary. The underlined premise of this is that tradition is still stronger than the rule of law. Social norms and conventions are highly entrenched in society members. Showing this situation, the newspapers side by side explain that the new rule of law is not totally against the tradition. Tolerance is one of the mechanisms employed by the new law. The new family law is not endorsed by all the nine states. The public is given a choice. If they want to use tradition, they are welcome; if they want to be governed by the family law, they are given the opportunity. How is a woman, particularly a victim of polygamy, to be courageous enough to claim her right in the public sphere? The newspapers have shown us how challengers are outcast and secluded from social life.

The second area of controversy is the Laws on the domestic front and the laws that are adopted from the globe. The newspapers narrate the efforts made by the government to accept international conventions that “ensure” gender equality in particular and citizen equality in general. Consequently, we could deduce that institutions who promote modern attitudes brought from other cultural influence to the media. The writers magnify social practices. They witness how society is reconstructed by their views. Thus change emerges.

Ethiopia is also on a fast track developmental process, which aspires to give room to individual liberty and prosperity. However, many of these ‘modern practices’ are imported from abroad, forms that at times challenge and confront local contexts and culture. This leads to a specific Ethiopian process of modernity or “Zemenawinet” (FES, 2012:1).

Ideas are coming from outside, that is, from the non-local. Thus, introducing the non-local to the local creates conflict between the outsider and insider.

#### **Power relations as negotiable and coercive**

Power relation in gender has dual faces. First, it is oppressive as Van Dijk writes (in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2008). Second, power is not only cohesive as Foucault says (Ibid) but, negotiable. If we take the first approach, the newspapers show how women are under the power of their husbands and their fathers. Men can control the behaviour of their wives according to the tradition and according to the old Civil Law. Article 644 says “1) the husband owes protection to his wife, 2) He may watch her relations and guide her conduct, provided this is in the interest of the household, without being arbitrary and without vexations or other abuses” (Nāgarit Gazéṭa, Proclamation No. 165 of 1960, p. 109).

In the second approach, we have also seen how women negotiate with their partners and their families. They use the gap that exists in the discourse. They negotiate with an individual’s relative freedom, a certain degree of education and economic independence.

As per the narratives, mostly tradition is portrayed as having a negative effect on social progress. Gusfield (1967: 352-357) lists the seven fallacies in the perceptions of the traditional-modern polarity: 1) Developing societies have static societies, 2) Traditional culture is a consistent body of norms and values, 3) Traditional society is a homogeneous social structure, 4) Old traditions are displaced by new changes, 5) Traditional and modern forms are always in conflict: as

manifest in the conflict between tradition and the law, 6) Tradition and modernity are mutually exclusive systems, and 7) Modernizing processes weaken traditions.

Almost all discursive practices portrayed tradition as negative except in the last point. As a developing country, Ethiopian communities are not static. Changes in gender relations can even be observed in the narratives to some extent. This implies that traditional norms are not consistent. Flexibility exists in the discursive practices of public spheres and private spheres. Changes in division of labour have also occurred.

**Figure 10.1 Farmer ploughing coupling ox with donkey**



*Source: Department of Veterinary Studies, Addis Ababa University, May 2013*

The above picture shows a woman's effort to use a donkey with an ox to plough as reported by the newspaper in 2000. Now this practice has been adopted by male peasants. At the time, women did not have access to oxen and other farming instruments (NAP, 2006).

The old is not displaced by changes. The samples reflect how this is deconstructed. As observed in the above picture (10.1), ploughing with an ox only is also changeable. Donkeys come to the farmland and work coupled with oxen. Tradition and modernity are not mutually exclusive systems; rather they go together and complement each other in gender and gender relations. The two exist together. However, I do not completely agree with the last point. According to the last

point, though very slowly, the modernizing process weakens traditions. Thus most abusive rights are changed by the legal enforcements.

**Ideological effects: Negation of the past and heralds for the future**

Baye defines modernity as a bridge between the old and the new, which transforms the old to the new.

In this presentation, I use the term *modernity* to refer to any major socio-cultural changes located between the past and the future, but with a scope that may extend a bit to both. In temporal terms, this is what is called the relative present. Such major changes stem from the past, where existing distinctive features get negated in favour of a new set of features. These features trigger the emergence of a relatively new socio-cultural reality. The new reality, which is a transform of the past, is what I will refer to by the term *modern*, which is in part, a negation of the past and heraldic of the future. ... (Baye in FES, 2012:38).

According to Endreas, "Modernity thus marks the decline or end of religious and traditional authority, including the authority of the past" (Ibid: 4). The choice between past and present is presented. *Addis Admass* advocates that the past is better than the present. On the other hand, *Addis Zemen* tries to say that modernity is better than the past. But they both seem ambivalent in this choice when the topic is gender and gender relations.

Implicitly, the newspapers say that men must obey tradition instead of supporting women to change the situation. Men seem to more interest in holding on to tradition in gender relations than women. Although the media does not critically contrast this difference. Going against the tradition is a taboo and labels one as modern. Discursive practices in gender relations have an ideological effect works for the wider social context.

The media favours men or frames an issue from the advantages and disadvantages of men. For instance, family planning was advocated as topical issue of 2000. The narratives show its applicability in the practical life as questionable. According to both social actors and the media-makers, contraceptives affect men's sexuality. The author excludes the effects of contraceptives on women's sexuality. Thus not all changes are perfect for men. A new measure must be tried. We must contest imbalanced media.

The newspapers try to justify that the members of societies are not happy with some kinds of norms in relation to gender relations. Men explain how they are not happy with the practice of

abduction. The other way of understanding this is that tradition and social practice impose control over an individual's actions. If parents refuse the man who asks the hands of their daughter they will lose his friendship. Abductors and arbitrators explain the practice is forced by tradition. Men do not want to abduct women but the tradition forces them to do so because they are asked a huge amount of dowry. As Nidya Pesántez C. (in GMMP, 2010:37) reported:

Women's marginality in the news media, be it due to their relative absence from the content, the type of news considered worthy of dissemination, or the role they play in the news, is illustrative of their minimal importance or relevance in the public and media sphere. In such a way that when women suffer violence within the home, social behavior does not repudiate the aggressor, but rather seeks the 'reason' that motivated the event.

This practice takes us to the linguistic aspect of discursive practice referred to as an ideological square (Rahman quoting Van Dijk, 2002:11).

Men are conscious of women's operations according to the newspapers. However, men are portrayed as if they cannot do anything since the tradition is imposed on them. Thus, even if they believe that women are disadvantaged, men can do nothing to alter the situation. This is ideological because men have the upper hand on the resources. Therefore, it is natural for men to argue in this way because they do not want to lose their positions of power. The existing situation advantages them. They do not see the advantages they will have if women have equal status. We do not see men take marriage as unnecessary. In fact, in some articles, urban men are neutral about marriage. For instance, if they cannot accept an educated woman, they refrain from continuing their relations. But if they find women who help free them from obligations, such as a dowry payment, they remain passive and they accept the practice positively. Because the newspapers do not include the views of these men, readers cannot know a different male take on the issue.

The discourse encourages women to be tolerant and live under any situation, be it friendly or unfriendly, for the sake of the family's safety (including themselves). What Cranny-Francis, et al. (2003:1) say strengthens this view:

Gender divides humans into two categories male and female. It is a system, which organizes virtually every realm of our lives whether we are sleeping, eating, watching TV, shopping or reading gender is at work. Yet because it is everywhere, it is sometimes difficult to see it in operation.

The power imbalance between women and men is not visible until one makes detailed examinations. Power is practiced in a subtle way (Connell, 2009:77). Because of this, even the disadvantaged females are not aware of the oppressive nature of their relationship with men. They themselves contribute towards enhancing the existing gender relations. As discussed in Chapter 3, hegemony is doing this.

Women are taught to respect tradition through various mechanisms. Berger (2012:122) says “Socialisation is the process by which people are taught the rules, roles, and values of their society. It may be seen as a kind of indoctrination that is done formally through the media (...)”. The media has role in this aspect. They act accordingly without realizing its impacts on their lives. This is hegemony. This hegemony can make the victims themselves accept their positions in the societies. Society lays heavy burdens on women. Regarding this traditional imposition on women, Connell (1985: 262) writes:

Women's disadvantages are attributed mainly to stereotyped customary expectations, held by both women and men, which keep women back from professional advancement and create prejudice and discrimination against them. In principle then, sex inequalities can be eliminated by measures to break down the stereotypes and redefine the roles. Among them, are giving girls better role models, bringing in anti-discrimination laws, establishing equal opportunity programs in education and employment, and the like ....

Kolawole writes “... In some parts of Ethiopia, women are excluded from farming and threshing crops because of the myth that women's involvement will reduce production” (1998:17). Women accept such myths.

Change can be initiated from internal and external forces. Similarly, challenges can be internal and or external. There are resistances from the tradition. This leads us to the notion that the values of both tradition and legal frameworks that are based on modernity. Consequently, even though the newspapers are do not articulate the sources of the problems; they are able to reflect the contradictory nature or fallacies of tradition-modern polarity.

## 10.4 Recommendation

In examining the representation of gender and gender relations, it is not enough to see what content is covered in a given topic. The framing of the newspapers of that topic reveals their meanings. Therefore, follow-up research is needed to see whether or not the newspapers suggest improvements. Based on the findings of this research, the following observations are put forward for future researchers.

### 10.4.1 Understanding of gender and gender relations

The newspapers have two shortcomings. In the first place, they lack an understanding of gender. They follow a traditional and dichotomizing approach to women and men. Media makers should understand the importance and the complexity of gender and gender relations to ensure equality of women and men. The media should look back to their professional efficiency. They should ask critical questions, challenge authorities, and look at their own blind spots. They should consider the framing and the language they use.

In fact, from the implicit meanings explored through the analysis, we have noticed how the newspapers show the existence of changes in gender and gender relations. We have seen how a few women demonstrated their ability to enter the public sphere, to do a man's job. However, the newspapers did not say women are capable of doing all the kinds of jobs men can do. This is media stereotyping.

...The media do not adequately informed the public about the rights and roles of women in society; nor do they usually engage in measures to promote or improve women's positions. Most of the world's media have yet to deal with the fact that women, as a rule, are the first to be affected by political, social, and economic changes and refers taking place in a country – for example, they are among the first to lose their jobs. The fact that women are largely alienated from the political decision-making process is also ignored by the media (Ballington and Karam, ed., 2005:45).

The newspapers do not educate the public more about gender equality and the common advantages to both men and women it presents. Even when they cover it, they do not frame the issues as gender issue. For instance, education is presented as if it is important for women only. The newspapers do not present it from the men's side. It seems they perceive men's access to

education is taken for granted. For this reason, the quote also applies to the Ethiopian media situation. The media tells how women need to be free from different traditional impositions.

#### **10.4.2 Developing sense of research**

The media makers do not present a given event, situation or personal experience from different perspectives. Even if framing is one of the media discourses, the story has to be written in a way it can make the point strongly. However, the newspapers lag behind in this regard. Their frames are loose most of the time. In order to tackle these limitations the following three strategies could be suggested.

##### *Accommodating multiple views*

Media makers should be more sensitive and alert by presenting and describing a diverse society as Ethiopia (and they should not exclude some voices).

The mass media deserve to be called the fourth branch of power because their influence on public opinion and public consciousness. The media in any society have at least two roles: as a chronicler of current events; and as an informer of public opinion, thereby fostering different points of view. Often, the mass media tend to minimize coverage of events and organizations of interest to women (Ballington and Karam, ed. 2005: 45).

When they start accommodating different views in a given piece, women only and men only sources will be tackled accordingly.

##### *To be critical*

Some issues in gender and gender relations are not explicitly addressed. These untouched issues are still unanswered. Why do men not initiate change in traditions? Why do male sources exclude themselves from gender issues and address women as “they”? What is the view of different kinds of women on a given gender issue, for instance on polygamy? If the newspapers become critical to some controversial issues, they can accommodate different views. In this way they would enhance their role as instruments of change.

The newspapers mostly do not criticize the new. Critical approach trends both in media practices and on media research. We have discussed this as a missing element in chapter 2. An absence of a critical approach to previous works causes an absence of longitudinal relations of knowledge. Media's lack of criticality towards the new also hinders society from learning from the media



about the current issues. For instance, what does introducing the imposition of new laws over the traditional practices imply? The media does not address these issues. By so doing, the media appears to be backing the old tradition and at the same time, siding with the institutions by covering every aspect of their activities (Apx.6, AF4).

*Consider the local social values*

One of the salient limitations of the newspapers is their approach towards tradition. Even in the news, they do not say anything about the social values that may be useful for social changes. Therefore, the newspapers, in order to enhance change in gender and gender relations, must look for the positive values that can be implemented to ensure equality of gender and gender relations. The grassroots have to be addressed. Women themselves have to be able to speak their views. To borrow Elizabeth Eide's approach (2009), it would be important to note how anthropological. When taking a grassroots approach it is important to write about the grassroots. The analysis indicates how change can be initiated internally. It also examines how change can come from external actors. The newspaper should play a role in these changes.

Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> የጠቡ ውጤት ሞት ከሆነ ግን ከከብት ካሳ (ከ7 እስከ 14 ቁም ከብቶች) በተጨማሪ ሴት ልጅም አብራ ለሟች ቤተሰቦች ትሰጣለች። ይህም በብሔረ-ሰቡ አጠራር አሻ ይባላል። ከከብቶቹ በተጨማሪ ከሦስት እስከ አስር አመት ዕድሜ ያላትን ሴት ልጅን ወይም እህቱን መስጠት የማይቀርለት ግዴታው ነው። እናም ይህች ሴት ልጅ ኑሮዋ ከሟች ቤተሰቦች ጋር ይሆናል ማለት ነው።

<sup>ii</sup> አንድ የመኪኒት ጎልማሳ ካሉት ሁለትና ሦስት ሚስቶቹ መካከል አንዷ ወይም ሁሉም ነፍሰ ጡሮች በሆኑ ጊዜ ከሁሉም አስበልጦ የሚጨነቀው የሚወለደው ህጻን ወንድ ይሆን ሴት በሚል ሀሳብ ነው። ምክንያቱም በብሔረሰቡ ሴት ልጅን አስይዞ ከብትና ገንዘብ መበደር ስለሚቻልና ለጋብቻ ስትደርስም እስከ ሃያና ሰላሳ ቁም ከብት ጥሎሽ ለቤተሰብ ስለምታስገኝ ነው።

<sup>iii</sup> የመኪኒት ሴት አበሳ በዚህ ብቻ አያበቃም። ካገባች በኋላ ከባሏ ጋር ባትጣጣም አብራ የመኖር ግዴታ አለባት። አለበለዚያ ቤተሰቦቿ በጥሎሽ የተቀበሉትን ሀብት እንዲመልሱ በሽማግሌ ስለሚፈረድባቸው ከቤተሰቦቿ ጋር ትቆራረጣለች።

<sup>iv</sup> ከመኪኒት ብሔረሰብ እስካሁን 12ኛ ክፍል ጨርሰው በሥራ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች አሉ ወይ ተብለው ለተጠየቁት ሲመልሱ ብእናታቸውም በአባታቸውም ከመኪኒት ብሔረሰብ የተወለዱና የ2ኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ያጠናቀቁ አሉ ለማለት አያስደፍርም። ከሌሎች ብሔረሰቦች ጋር በጋብቻ ከተሳሰሩ ቤተሰቦች የተወለዱ ግን 12ኛ ክፍል ጨርሰው በመንግስት ስራ ላይ የተሰማሩ አሉ። የሚማሩት ግን በዞኑ ሳይሆን ሌላ ቦታ ነው።

<sup>v</sup> ወይዘሮ ወጋየሁ በቅርቡ የገጠማቸውን አንድ ጉዳይም እንዲህ ሲሉ አውግተውናል። ብባቱማ ከተማ አንዲት የመኪኒት ልጃገረድ ከገጠር መጥታ እየተማረች ሳለ ገጠር ተድራ የነበረችው ታላቅ እህቷ ሳትወልድ ትሞታለች። የሟች ባል ታዲያ የምትማረውን ወጣት በካሳነት ካልሰጣችሁኝ ብሎ ከፍተኛ ውዝግብ ያስነሳል። ከዚህ የተነሳ ልጅቷ ትምህርቷን በአግባቡ ለመከታተል ከፍተኛ ስጋት አድርገታል። የዞኑ ሴቶች ጉዳይ ጽህፈት ቤትም ተማሪዋ በካሳነት እንዳትሰጥ ተቃውሞ አሰምቷል።

<sup>vi</sup> የመኪኒት ሴቶች እንደሌሎች የደቡብ ክልል አናሳ ብሔረሰብ ሴቶች ሁሉ የተለያዩ ተጽእኖዎች አሉባቸው። ከእነዚህ ተጽእኖዎች ለመላቀቅ ትምህርት ወሳኝ በመሆኑ ጽህፈት ቤቱ ከመምህራን፣ ከሀገር ሽማግሌዎችና ከወላጆች ጋር የተቀናጀ እንቅስቃሴ በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛል።

<sup>vii</sup> የአካባቢው የሀገር ሽማግሌዎች እንደሚሉት በአሁኑ ወቅት በመኪኒት ሴቶች ላይ የሚደርሱትን እንደነዚህ አይነቶች ችግሮች ለማስወገድ በተደረገው ጥረት መጠነኛ መሻሻል ቢታይም ሴቶችን የሀብት ምንጭ አድርጎ የመጠቀሙ ባህል ባለመወገዱ በመደበኛ ትምህርት ላይ ተጽእኖ አሳድሯል። ወላጆች ሴት ልጆቻቸውን ወደ ትምህርት ቤት ላኩ ሲባሉ ገንዘብ ትሰጡናላችሁ ወይ ብለው ይጠይቃሉ። ታዲያ ይህን ሁሉ መሰናክል አልፎ ለትምህርት የሚበቁ ይኖሩ ይሆን?

<sup>viii</sup> የመኪኒት ሴቶች የሚደርስባቸውን ተጽእኖ ለማስወገድ እስካሁን የተደረገ ጠንካራ እንቅስቃሴ አለ ለማለት አያስደፍርም። ስለዚህም ጉዳዩ በዋናነት ከሚመከሉታቸው የሴቶች ጉዳይ ጽሕፈት ቤቶች መንግሥታዊና መንግሥታዊ ካልሆኑ ድርጅቶች ብዙ ይጠበቃል።

<sup>ix</sup> ኡህ!... ባለቤቱ በሞተ በማግስቱ አራቱም ወንድሞቹ የጋብቻ ጥያቄ አቀረቡልኝ። እኔ ደግሞ በውርስ ጋብቻ መቀመጥ እንደማልፈልግ በግልጽ ተናገርኩ። ምክንያቱም በብዙ ሴቶች ላይ በባህል ስም ስለሚደርስባቸው በደል በሚገባ አውቃለሁ። መልሼ አስቸጋሪ ሕይወት ውስጥ መግባት አልፈለኩም። ወጣት እንደመሆኔ መጠን ሁለቱን ልጆቼን በጉልበቴ ሠርቼ ለማስተዳደር እኔም ደግሞ የተሻለ ኑሮ የማገኝበትን ሁኔታ ለማመቻቸት ውሳኔ ላይ ደርሼ ነበር።

x እሷ ደግሞ የሁሉንም ሀሳብ አልተቀበለችም። በባህል ስም ሊፈጸምባት የተሞከረውን ድርጊት ረግጣ ተጸይፋለች። እናም ለማንም አላገባም የራሴን ሕይወት ባሻጅ መንገድ መምራት እፈልጋለሁ። በሚል ጸንታለች። ከዚህ አቋጫ የተነሳ ግን የተለያዩ በደሎች ደርሰውባታል። ዛሬም ኑሮዋ የሽሽግና የፍርሐት ሆኗል።

xi ይሁንና በአካባቢዬ ብዙ ሰዎች እምቢተኛ የሽማግሌዎችን ሀሳብ የማልቀበል አድርገው ይቆጥሩኛል እንደዘመናዊ ሰው ለመሆን ካለኝ ፍላጎት ይመስላቸዋል። አንዳንዶቹ ደግሞ በተለይ መምህራንና የወረዳው መስተዳድር በዓላማዬ መጽናት እንዳለብኝ አበረታተውኛል።

xii በመሬቱ መጠቀም ብችልም በሌላ በኩል ግን ሙሉ በሙሉ መብቴን ማስጠበቅ አልቻልኩም።

xiii በእርግጥ ባለቤቱ ጥቂትም ቢሆን ትምህርት የቀሰመ በመሆኑ ብዙ በደል አላደረሰብኝም። እኔም የትዳር ሕይወቴ ሰላም የሰፈነበት እንዲሆን በማለት ሁሉን ነገር በዝምታ ማለፉን እመርጥ ነበር። ባለቤቱም ገበሬ በመሆኑ የእኔንና የጣውንቴን ቤት ለማስተዳደር ችግር ነበረበት። ስለዚህ እኔ ልጆቼን በተገቢው ሁኔታ ለማስተዳደር በየእለቱ መጣጣር ጀመርኩ። በዚህ ሁኔታ ላይ እያለሁ ባለቤቱ እንደገና ሶስተኛ ሚስት ለማግባት ዝግጅት ጀመረ። ይህ ሁኔታ በጣም አበሳጩኝ። ምክንያቱም ሁለት ሚስቶቼንና ልጆቼን በሚገባ ለማስተዳደር ሳይችል ሌላ ሶስተኛ ሚስት ማግባቱ በጣም እንደሚጎዳኝ አውቃለሁ። በመጀመሪያም ቢሆን የቤተሰቤ ፍላጎት በመሆኑ እንጂ ትምህርቴን አቋርጬ የማግባት ፍላጎት አልነበረኝም።

xiv በተጨማሪ ትዳር መስርቼ ለመኖር እፈልጋለሁ። ነገር ግን የባለቤቱ ወንድሞች ይህን ሁኔታ እንደማይፈቅዱ አውቃለሁ።

xv ይሁንና ባለቤቱ በብዙ ነገሮች ላይ ጥሩ አስተሳሰብ ያለው ቢሆንም ከባህል ተጽእኖ ያልተላቀቀ ስለነበር እኔን እንደጥፋተኛ በመቁጠር ለሽማግሌዎች ጉዳዩን አሳወቀ።

xvi ሽማግሌዎቹም የባለቤቱን ሦስተኛ ሚስት ማግባቱን በደስታ መቀበል እንደነበረብኝ ገለጹልኝ። ሴት ልጅ ይህን አይነት ነውር በባሏ ላይ መፈጸም የለባትም እያሉ ወቀሱኝ። ስለዚህ ሁኔታውን ተቀብሎ አርፌ መቀመጥ እንደሚገባኝ ተወሰነብኝ። ምንም አማራጭ ስላልነበረኝ፣ ለልጆቼ ስልታርቄ ተቀመጥሁ።

xvii :እንዴት አድርጌ? ... ፈፅሞ የሚሞከር አልሆነም። ለምሳሌ የዛሬ አመት ገደማ እንደወትሮዬ መሬት ላሳርስ ወደ ይዘታዬ ሄጄ ነበር። ነገር ግን የባለቤቱ ወንድሞች ከለከሉኝ። የዚህን ጊዜ በጣም እልህ ስለያዘኝ በሬ አስጠምጄ አብሬ ወደ እርሳ ገባሁ። ወንድሞቹ እየገፈተሩ አስወጡኝ።

xviii በወቅቱ በተቻለኝ አቅም ሁሉ ከመሬቱ መጠቀም ያለብኝ እኔና ልጆቼ እንጂ እነርሱ አለመሆናቸውን ለመናገር ሞከርኩ። ግን ሰሚ አላገኘሁም። እንዲያውም ሴት ሆኜ ይህን ያህል መዳፈሬ ሁሉንም አበሳጫቸው።

xix በአካባቢያችንም ይህን መሰል የሴቶች ችግርን ለማስወገድ የሚጥር የለም። ስለሕግ ሁኔታ ለማወቅ ፍላጎቱ ቢኖረኝም ቀርቦ የሚያማክረኝ አላገኘሁም። በኑሮዬ በሕይወቴ ላይ የሚደርሰውን ተጽእኖ ለማስወገድ ሕጉን የሚያስተምረኝ፣ ስለሴቶች መብት ትምህርት የሚሰጠኝ እፈልጋለሁ።

xx የጽህፈት ቤቱ ኃላፊ ወይዘሮ እሌኒ ደምሴ ከትናንት በስቲያ እንደገለጹት፣ ጠለፋና አስገድዶ መድፈርን ለመግታት ጥረት ቢደረግም ድርጊቱን ፈጻሚዎች ልማዳዊ ዳኝነት በመጠቀም ጉዳዩን ስለሚያደብሱበት በአሠራር ላይ ችግር አስከትሏል።

xxi ... የኢሉባቦር ዞን ፍትህ መምሪያ ኃላፊ አቶ ማንደፍሮ መሸሻ በአዲስ መልክ በወንጀለኛና ፍትህ ብሔር ሕግ ሥር እየተረቀቀ ያለው የቤተሰብ ሕግ በቅርቡ ሥራ ላይ ሲውል የሚታዩት ችግሮች እንደሚቀረፉ ተናግረዋል።

xxii ስማቸውን መግለጽ ያልፈለጉና ጠልፈው ያገቡ በመቱ ወረዳ በቻ ቀበሌ ነዋሪ የሆኑ ሁለት ግለሰቦች በሰጠት አስተያየት በአካባቢው ወላጆች ለጥሎሽና ለሠርግ ድግስ እስከ 2 ሺ ብር ስለሚጠይቁ ሴቶች ጠልፈው ትዳር ለመመስረት እንደተገደዱ ተናግረዋል።

xxiii ወንጀሉን የሚፈጽሙ ግለሰቦች ከሕግ ተጠያቂነት ለማምለጥ በልማዳዊ ዳኝነት ከ50 እስከ 100 ብር ለተጎጂ ቤተሰቦች ካሳ በመክፈል አስገድደው ከሚጠለፉ ሴቶች ጋር ትዳር ስለሚመሰርቱ ለክትትሉ እንቅፋት ፈጥሯል ብለዋል። (emphasis added)

xxiv ይህም ሆኖ ጽህፈት ቤቱ የችግሩን አሳሳቢነት በመረዳት ካለፈው መስከረም እስከ ተያዘው ወር በጠለፋና አስገድዶ መድፈር ጋብቻ መስርተው እንደገና በባሎቻቸው ተደብደብው የተባረሩ የ125 ሴቶችን መብት ለማስከበር ጉዳያቸው በፍርድ ቤት እንዲያዝ ማድረጉን ገልፀዋል።

xxv ባለፈው ዓመት ማገባደጃ ላይ የቤተሰብ ህግ ከኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ህገ መንግስት ጋር በተጣጣመ ሁኔታ ለማሻሻል ተብሎ በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፅ.ቤት የሴቶች ጉዳይ ቢሮ ባዘጋጀው ኮንፈረንስ፣ በረቂቅ የቤተሰብ ህግ ውይይት ተካሂዷል። በዚህ ውይይት ስጋብቻ ውጪ በግብረ ሥጋ ግንኙነት አብሮ መኖር፣ በተሰኘው የወንድና ሴት ግንኙነት ላይ ጥናታዊ ጽሁፎች ቀርበው አስተያየትም ተሰጥቷል።

xxvi ... ከጋብቻ ውጪ ላለ የወንድና ሴት ግንኙነት የነበረው ሕግ ጥበቃ ያደርግለት ነበር። የጎደለው የወንዱን መብት ሙሉ በሙሉ ማስጠበቅ ብቻ ነው።

xxvii ትውልድ ይቀጥል ዘንድ፣ ሰዎችና ሌሎችም እንሰሳት፣ የግብረ ስጋ ግንኙነትን እንደ ስራ ሊፈጽሙ እንደማይፈቅዱ ፈጣሪ ቀድሞውኑ አውቆ፣ ፍጡራኑ ከምድረ ገፅ እንዳይጠፋበት ሲል ዘር መተካትን ከወሲብ ግንኙነት ጋር አጣምሮት ይሆን?

xxviii ሥልጣኔ ደግሞ የተወለደው ልጅ ሰው እስኪሆን ደረሰ የሚያስፈልጉትን ነገሮች ከማብላትና ከማጠጣት ያለፈ ሃላፊነትን አስከትሏል። ልጁ እራሱን ችሎ፣ የሌሎችን ሰዎች መብት ሳይጋፋና የማህበረሰቡን ሰላም ሳይደፈርስ ይኖር ዘንድ የሚያደግበት ማህበረሰብ በተቀበለው ሥነ-ምግባር ታንቦ በሙያ መሰልጠን /መማር/ ... አለበት። ይህም ከሥልጣኔና ዕድገት ጋር ተያይዞ የመጣ ነው። ስለዚህ አባት ተፈጥሮ የሰጠችውን ነፃነቱን ተገን አድርጎ፣ ልጁን የማሳደግ ኃላፊነትን ለእናቱ ብቻ ጥሎ ገሸሽ ቢል ሊከሰት የሚችለውን ችግር ማስተዋል አይከብድም።

xxix ... ከማህበረሰቡ ከተገለለ ሕይወትን ለማኖር የእድገት ደረጃ የግድ ከሚለው ደቦ፣ ቀብር፣... ወዘተ፣ መተባበርና መረዳዳት እንዳይችል ከግንኙነት ስለሚያገለው ሕይወቱ ፈተና ላይ እንድትወድቅ ሊያደርገው ይችላል። በመሆኑም ወንዱም ሆነ ሴቷ ባህሉ የጣለባቸውን ግዴታ ያከብራሉ፣ በጋብቻቸው ፀንተው ይኖራሉ። የሌሎችንም ጋብቻ ያከብራሉ። በሹልክታ አጥር ዘለው ካልሆነ በስተቀር በገሃድ አንዱ የሌላውን ትዳር ደፍሮ አይሰስንም።

xxx ግን፣ ይህ የምድር እንግዳ ወደ እዚህ ምድር የመጣው ከእናት ከ/ሴት/ ብቻ አይደለም። ከአባትም እኩል የዘር ፍሬ ተጋርቶ እንጂ። አባትን/ወንድን ለተወለደው ልጅ ከእናቱ እኩል ድርሻ ሃላፊነት አለህና የእናቱን ቦታ ተክተህ ልጅህን አሳድግ ቢባል፣ እንዴት አዳጋች እንደሚሆንበት መገመት ይቻላል። ወንድ/አባቱ የግድ ቢባል ወይም በግል ፍቃዱ ሃላፊነቱን ቢወስድ፣ የተለወደው ልጅ ምናልባት ሰው ሳይሆን በጅምር ሊቀጭ ይችላል። ይሞታል ማለት ነው። ይህ ማለት ግን ሥልጣኔ የፈጠረው ጡጦና በተለይ ለሕጻናት የሚዘጋጁት ምግቦች፣ አባት ልጁን ማሳደግ አያስችሉትም ማለት አይደለም። የዝንጆሮን አባት ወይም በሬን ልጁን አሳድግ ቢባል ከሚፈጠረው ሁኔታ አንጻር ለማየት እንጂ። ሰው መሰልጠን ከመቻሉ ውጪ ሌሎቹን ተፈጥሯዊ ባህርያት ከእንሰሳት ጋር ሙሉ በሙሉ እንደሚጋራ ልብ በሉ። የልጅና የእናትን ፍቅር ያጠናክረውም ይኸው ሁኔታ ነው።

xxxxi ጋብቻ ግን በዚህም የማህበረሰብ እድገት ደረጃ ላይ ያለው አስፈላጊነት ከቀድሞው የበለጠ አስፈላጊነት ከቀድሞው የበለጠ አስፈላጊ ሆነ። ይህም ጋብቻ ከባህል ጥበቃ ወጥቶ የሕግ ጥበቃ የሚሻ እንዲሆን አደረገ።

xxxii በተቃራኒው ሁሌ እንደ ተበዳይ የምትታየው ሴት፣ ምስኪን አብሯት የሚኖር ወንድ ባላሰበበት ጊዜ ሳሻሻ ጅብ ይብላህ ብላ ከቤቷ ብትወረውረው ተበዳዩና አቤት ማለት ያለበት ወንዱ ወይስ ሴትዋ፣ የነበረው ሕግ መሻሻል ካለበትም፣ ይህንኑ ያካተተ መሆን ይኖርበታል።

xxxiii የህጻናት፣ የሴቶችና የቤተሰብ መብትና ደኅንነትን ለማስከበር የሚያስችል የተሻሻለ የወንጀለኛ መቅጫ ሕግ ለማውጣት የሚረዳ ዓውደ ጥናት ሰኞ በአፍሪካ አዳራሽ እንደሚጀመር ተገለጸ።

xxxiv አድልኦ የሚፈጥሩ የማይፈጥሩ ሕገ ሰብእናው የተሟላ አዲስ ኅብረተሰብ ለመገንባት ለሚደረገው ጥረት እንቅፋት መሆኑን ጠቁመው የሕጻናት፣ ሴቶችና የቤተሰብ መብት የሚያስከብርና ደኅንነትን የሚያስጠብቅ የተሻሻለ የወንጀለኛ መቅጫ ሕግ እንደሚያስፈልግ ወይዘሮ አፀደ አስረድተዋል።

xxxv እንደ ወይዘሮ አፀደ አነጋገር ከአገራችን ሕገ መንግሥትና የኅብረተሰብ ዕድገት ጋር የሚጣጣም የተሻሻለ ወንጀለኛ መቅጫ ሕግ አስፈላጊ ነው።

xxxvi ባለፈው ሳምንት በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ መስተዳድር የሴቶች ጉዳይ ጽ/ቤት እና የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ መስተዳድር ዴሞክራሲያዊ ማኅበር የቤተሰብ ሕግን መጽደቅ ምክንያት በማድረግ ባዘጋጁት የድጋፍ ስብሰባ ላይ ከተካፈሉ ሴቶች መካከል አብዛኛዎቹ ከሕይወት ልምዳቸው በመነሳት የሕገ መሻሻል ለሴቶች መብት መከበር ያለውን የጎላ አስተዋጽኦ ተናግረዋል።

xxxvii ወይዘሮዎ የደስታ ሲቃ እየተናነቃቸው ነበር ይህንን የተናገሩት። ንግግራቸውን ሲጨርሱም ሊቆጣጠሩት የተሰናቸውን ውስጣዊ ደስታ በዕልልታ ገለጹ። ሰኔ 28/1992 በኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የጸደቀውን የቤተሰብ ሕግ ምክንያት በማድረግ በአዲስ አበባ የስብሰባ አዳራሽ የተሰባሰቡ ከ500 በላይ ሴቶችም ይህንኑ የጋራ ደስታ በጭብጨባና በእልልታ አጀቡት።

xxxviii ይህም ሕግ መደንገጉ ወንዱም ሆነ ሴቷ በተወሰነ ጊዜ እንደባልና ሚስት አብረው የሚኖሩ በመሆናቸው በቀጥታም ሆነ በተዘዋዋሪ ንብረት በማፍራት ሂደት አስተዋጽኦ እንደሚኖራቸው በመታመኑ ነው። ጋብቻው ሕጋዊ በመሆኑም ብቻ በግንኙነቱ ጊዜ ባፈሩት ንብረት ተጠቃሚ እንዳይሆኑ መከልከል ከፍትህ አኳያ ተቀባይነት የለውም። በኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ ሕገ መንግሥት የንብረት ባለቤትነትም ሆነ የእኩልነት መብት ለማንኛውም ዜጋ የተሰጠ መሠረታዊ መብት ነው።...

xxxix ከፈታሁት ባሌ የወለድኳቸውን ልጆች የማሳደጉ ኃላፊነት በእኔ ላይ የተጣለ ነበር። ታዲያ ልጆቹ 18 ዓመት ሊሞላቸው ጥቂት ዓመታት ብቻ ቀርተዋል። አባታቸውም ቀለብ መቁረጥ እንደሚያቆም በየጊዜው በሚያስፈራራኝ ወቅት የተሻሻለው የቤተሰብ ሕግ መጽደቁ ታላቅ ድል ሆኖልኛል። በዚህም ሕግ ልጆች እራሳቸውን እስኪችሉ ድረስ ቀለብ እንዳይቋረጥ መጠቀሱ ከአገራችን ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ጋር የተገናዘበ ነው። እኔም ከእንግዲህ ሥራ ያላገኙትን ልጆቼን ምን አበላ ይሆን የሚለው ስጋቴ ተቃሎልኛል።

xl በፍትሐብሔር ሕግ ቁጥር 712 ከጋብቻ ውጪ በግብረ ሥጋ ግንኙነት አብረው የሚኖሩ ወንድና ሴት የጋራ ሀብት እንደማይኖራቸው ይደነግጋል። ይሁንና በተሻሻለው ሕግ በመደበኛ ጋብቻ አፈጻጸም ስርዓት መሰረት ጋብቻ ያልፈጸሙ ሰዎች ከ5 ዓመት በላይ አብረው ከኖሩ ተጋቢዎቹ የጋራ ሀብት እኩል የመካፈል መብት እንዳላቸው በተሻሻለው ሕግ መደንገጉን የሕግ ባለሙያዎቹ ገልጸዋል። (Emphasis added.) አጽንኦት የታከለ።

xli በወቅቱ ባልና ሚስቱ 8 ልጆች ቢወልዱም ሕጋዊ የሆነ የጋብቻ ውል አልነበራቸውም። ስለዚህ ሁኔታው አሳዛኝ ቢሆንም በሕገ መሰረት ከጋብቻ ውጪ የሚኖሩ ወንድና ሴት የጋራ ሀብት

ስለማይኖራቸው ሴትየዋ ንብረት የመጠየቅ መብት አልነበራቸውም። እንዲያውም ሕጋዊ ውል የሌለው ይህ ጋብቻ በወንዱ አማካኝነት እንዲቋረጥ ከተደረገ እጅግ ቢበዛ ለ3 ወር የሚበቃ ኪሣራ ዳኞቹ ሊያስከፍሉ እንደሚችሉ ይደነግጋል።

xlii የስብሰባው አዘጋጅ የሆኑትና በአዲስ አበባ መስተዳድር የሴቶች ጉዳይ ጽ/ቤት የትምህርትና የሕዝብ ግንኙነት መምሪያ ኃላፊ ወይዘሮ ኤልሳቤጥ ወ/ገብርኤል በበኩላቸው በሰጡት ሀሳብ የቤተሰብ ሕግ መጽደቁ በሴቶች ላይ የሚፈጸሙ ችግሮችን ለማቃለል መፍትሔ ይሆናል። የድጋፍ ስብሰባውም የተዘጋጀው ሴቶች ስላገኙት መብት ግንዛቤ እንዲኖራቸው ለማድረግ ነው። ሕጉ የሚፈቅደውም ይህ ብቻ በመሆኑ የ8 ልጆች እናት የሆኑት ሴት የደረሰባቸው ጉዳት ከፍተኛ መሆኑን እያወቅሁ ሕጉ በሚለው ብቻ ለመወሰን ተገደናል። ይህን መሰል ገጠመኞች በርካታ ናቸው።

xliii ከሰሐራ በታች የሚገኙ የአፍሪካ ሕዝቦችና የስነሕዝብ ካርታ በሚል ርዕስ በተባበሩት መንግሥታት የትምህርት፣ የሳይንስና የባህል ድርጅት (ዩኔስኮ) ከስነሕዝብ ጽ/ቤት ጋር በመተባበር ለሦስት ቀናት በሂልተን ሆቴል በተካሄደ አውደ ጥናት ላይ የአፍሪካ መንግስታት ለስነ ሕዝብ ፖሊሲያቸው ውጤታማነት ሕዝባቸው መጥኖ የመውለድ ባህል እንዲያዳብርና የኢኮኖሚ እድገት ፀር ከሆነው ኤድስ ራሱን እንዲጠብቅ ማድረግ እንዳለባቸው ተገልጧል።

xliv ... ሁላችንም እየተጨነቅንበት ያለውን የትምህርት ጥራት ለመጠበቅ ባንድ ክፍል ውስጥ የሚገኙ ተማሪዎች ቁጥር በጣም አነስተኛ መሆን አለበት። ይህንን ለማመቻቸት የሕዝብ ቁጥር እድገትን ልንገነባቸው ከምንችላቸው ት/ቤቶች ቁጥር ጋር ማመጣጠን ይኖርብናል። አሁን እንደሚታየው ባንድ ክፍል ውስጥ ከሰማሊያ እስከ መቶ የሚደርሱ ተማሪዎችን እያስተማሩ የትምህርትን ጥራት እጠብቃለሁ ማለቱ ዘበት ነው የሚሆነው።

xlv የትምህርት ሚኒስቴር ተወካይ በበኩላቸው በኢትዮጵያ ሥራ ላይ የዋለው ሥርዐተ ትምህርት ስነሕዝብ እና ቤተሰባዊ አኗኗርን ያካተተ መሆኑን ገልጸዋል። አሁን ሊቀረጽ የታሰበው የአፍሪካ የስነሕዝብ ካርታ ኢትዮጵያን ጨምሮ የተቀሩት የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች በልማት፣ በጤና በአካባቢ ጥበቃና በመሳሰሉት ዘርፎች ለሚያደርጉት እንቅስቃሴ ስኬታማነት ትልቅ ሚና እንደሚጫወት ይጠበቃል።

xlvi ከ63 ሚሊዮን በላይ የሕዝብ ብዛት ባላትና ከአፍሪካ በሦስተኛነት ደረጃ የምትገኘው ሀገራችን እየታየ ያለው (ከኢኮኖሚ እድገት ጋር ያልተጣጣመ) ፈጣን የሕዝብ ቁጥር መጨመር ሁላችንም ሊያሳስቡን የሚገባ ጉዳይ ነው።

xlvii የሕዝባችን ቁጥር በሚያስደነግጥ ፍጥነት በመጨመሩም የሥራ አጠቃቀም ቁጥር የዚያኑ ያህል እያደገ ነው። በተለይ በከተሞቻችን ሥራ አጠቃቀም ሕዝብ ለመኖር ሲል፣ ሴቱ ለሴተኛ አዳሪነት፣ ወንዱ ለወንጀል ተግባር እየተጋለጠ ነው (Emphasis added)።

xlviii አንድ የሀገራችን ሴት ከ15-49 ባለው እድሜዋ በአማካይ 6.52 ልጆችን ትወልዳለች። በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ ዝቅተኛው 1.2 ሲሆን ከፍተኛው በየመን የተመዘገበው 7.6 ነው። እንግዲህ የሀገራችንን ሁኔታ ከነዚህ ጋር ስናነጻጽረው ከኢኮኖሚ እድገታችን ጋር ያልተመጣጠነው የሕዝብ እድገት ምን ያህል አደገኛ እንደሆነ መገንዘቡ አያዳግትም።

xlix የድርጅቱ አባላት በአዲስ አበባ መስተዳድር ብቻ የሚንቀሳቀሱ ሲሆን ልጃገረድ የሆኑ ሴቶችን በማሰባሰብና እራሳቸውን በአርአያነት በማቅረብ ለወጣቶችና ለህጻናት ትምህርት መስጠትንና ሴተኛ አዳሪዎችን በተለያዩ ሙያዎች ማሰልጠንን እንደቀዳሚ ተግባራዊ እንቅስቃሴ እንደሚወስዱም ገልጸለች። ባለፈው ሳምንት የሰልጠና እንቅስቃሴው መጀመሩ የታወቀ ሲሆን «በተለይም ክብረ ንጽህናን መጠበቅን እንደጎዳቀርነት አድርገው የሚያዩ ሴቶችን አስተሳሰብ ለመለወጥ እንታገላለን» ትላለች አስቴር።

i በዚህ ቀደም ድንግልናቸውን ያጡና በአሁኑ ጊዜ የድርጅታችሁ አባል ለመሆን የሚፈልጉ ሴቶችን ታስተናግዳላችሁ ወይ ተብላ ተጠይቃም፤ <አዎን ለማስተናገድ ፈቃደኛ ነን> ስትል የገለፀችው አሥቴር የኢትዮጵያ ቤተሰብ መምሪያ ማህበርም ለሚያደርጉት ጥረት ቀና ድጋፍ እንደሚያደርግላቸው አስረድታለች።

ii እንደአስቴር አገላለጽ አርአያነት ያላቸው ልጃገረዶች የሚባሉት ከጋብቻ በፊት ግብረሥጋ ግንኙነት ሳያደርጉ መቆየትን የሚቀበሉ፤ ድንግልነትን እንደሸቀጥ ማድረግን የማይቀበሉ፤ ወደ ጥንቱ ባህላችን ለመመለስ ክብረ ንጽህናን መጠበቅ አስፈላጊ መሆኑን የሚያምኑ፤ መሆን እንዳለባቸው ያስረዳች ሲሆን አንድ ለአንድ መፈቃቀርን፤ ጋብቻ የመጣጣም ጉዳይ ሳይሆን የመቻቻል ጉዳይ መሆኑን ተፋቃሪዎች የጋብቻ ጊዜያቸውን ቢያሳጥሩ ሊያጋጥሙ የሚችሉ ችግሮችን ከወዲሁ እንደሚቋቋሙ አክላ አብራርታለች።

iii ... በመጨረሻም <የድንግልና ክብር ፕሮግራም ግቡን እንዲመታ ህብረተሰቡ ሊረዳን ይገባል። ሰው በቀላሉ ሊቀበለው የማይችል በመሆኑ ብርቱ ጥረት እንደሚያስፈልገው በጣም እናውቃለን። ለዚህ ነው በምንሰጠው ሥልጠና ውስጥም ባህላዊ ጋብቻን፣ ቅድመ ጋብቻን፣ ቅድመ-ጋብቻ ዝግጅትን፣ የጋብቻን ምንነት፣ ካገቡ በኋላም ምን ዓይነት ትዳር መምራት እንደሚገባ፣ የትዳርን ኢኮኖሚያዊ ችግሮች እንዴት እንደሚቋቋሙ ወዘተ ትምህርት የምንሰጠው ስትል አስምራብታለች።

iiii እሷ ስለጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የስልጣንና የፖለቲካ ፍጆታ ስታሰላ እሱ ደግሞ የሆቴሉን የየቀን ገቢ ይተምናል። ሁለቱም ተገናኝተው ሀሳብ ሲያዋጡ ለእሱ የእሷ አተያይ ከሲታ ነው። ለእሱም ደግሞ የእሷ አመለካከት እብራት ነው።

lv እሱ በትምህርት ደረጃ ደርዘን ሞልቶ የሚያስፈልገኝን የእውቀት ኮታ ወስጄያለሁ ብሎ ከነጋዴው ቤተሰብ ጋር በመቀላቀሉ እሷ ደግሞ ከእንግሊዙ ሀርቫርድ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ማስትሬቷን ሰርታ በመምጣቷ እኔን ከደደደች ወረፋ ውስጥ ፊት መሪ አድርጋ አሰልፋኛለች ሲል ሃሳቡን አሳርጓል። ፍቅራቸውም ይህን ኬላ መስበር አልቻለምና እዚህ ሲደርስ ሞተ።

lv <ይህን የምትይውን ንግድ እዚያ ቢሮሽ ውሰጄና አንቺና ንደኞችሽ ተገብያዩበት> በተቀመጠችበት ጥሏት ሄደ። ይኸው የየእለቱ የጦር ሜዳው ያደከማት እሷ በስተመጨረሻ ላይ ወራጅ አለ አሰኛት። <ሀሳቤን የሚያከብርልኝ እርሱ ባሌ ነው። እኔና አንተን አብሮ የሚያኖረን ሕይወት የለንምና ቻው> ተሰናብታው ሄደች።

lvi ...ቆይ እኮ ረጋ ብለህ አድምጠኝ ገና እኮ ሀሳቤን አልጀመርኩም። ደግሞ እጮኛህ እንጂ ሆቴል ቤትህ ውስጥ የቀጠርካት አስተናጋጅ አይደለሁም። በጨዋነት ልታነጋግረኝ እንጂ ልታመነጫጭቀኝ አትችልም> የግንባሩን ቆዳ ሰበሰበች።

lvii በዚህ ፍልሚያ እሱ ራሱን እንደማይጠቅም ጊዜው እንዳለፈበት ካላንደር መቁጠሩ ለቀጣይ እርምጃ እግሩን እንዳያነሳና በቃኝ እንዲል አድርጎታል። ከአነሳሱ ለምጻም ፍቅር የመሰለው አጀማመር ለክፉ ቀን ተብሎ የታሰበ ተቀማጭ አልነበረውም። ይኸው ለአንዱ አብነት ለሌለው ቅሌት የሆነበት ፍጫ መርፌ ያለ ክር ወደ ተቀደደ ልብስ ያደረገው አይነት ጉዞ አስመስሎበታል። ለመፋቀር የግድ ሁለቱም የእውቀትን ጥግ ይዘው እንዲጓጉቱ ባይገደዱም የመግባባት አቅማቸው ግን የፍቅራቸውን ፍሕ ያስረዝማል ወይም ያሳጥራል።

lviii ለመግባባት የግድ በእውቀት መመጣጠን አያስፈልግም። አስተማሪና ተማሪ የሚደማመጡት በእውቀት ስለተመጣጠኑ ሳይሆን ስለተግባቡ ብቻ ነው። በሁለቱም ዘንድ የመብለጥና የመበለጥ ደረጃ አለ። ግን ስለሚግባቡ ይስማማሉ። እናም አስተማሪው እውቀቱን

ያካፍላል። ተማሪው ደግሞ ይካፈላል። በዚህ አይነት ከአንዱ ወደ አንዱ የሚደረግ የሽግግር መዋቅር በከፊል የገዢነትና የባርነት ሕልፈተ ሕይወት ይከሰታል።

lix የህይወት ሁሉም እንደክት ልብስ መታየት ካለበት የእውቀት ሳይሆን የመግባባት ጋብቻ ይፈጸም ዘንድ ግድ ነው። በደረሱበት በመመላለስ በተለያዩ የአስተሳሰብና የአመለካከት እርከን ላይ ሆኖ በመጣላት ግን ደግሞ በመታረቅ በመከባበር ግን ደግሞ በመግባባት መሞትና ወደ መሬት ኪስ መግባት ይቻላል።

lx የህይወትን ልዩ ልዩ መልኮች ለማየት እንድንችል፣ ትምህርትን፣ ሴቶችን፣ ህግን፣ ሃይማኖትንና ባህልን፣ ፋሽንን ወዘተ በየፈርጁ ለማጤን ይህን አምድ ከፍተናል። የሁላችን ገጽታ ነው።

lxi አሁን አሁን ከፍተኛ ትኩረት የሚሰጠው ለሚበላና ለሚጠጣ ነገር ሳይሆን በሠርጉ ዋይማ አንዳንዴ ከሚዜዎች ትውውቅ ለሚጀምረውና እስከ ቅልቅሉ በቪዲዮ ለሚቀረጸው ትርጉም ነው። ጥሎሽ ከነዚህ ትዕይንቶች አንዱና ትልቁ ክፍል ተደርጎ ይቆጠራል።

lxii ... እኛ ለእገሊት ለወንድማችን የዛሬ እጮኛ የነገ ባለቤት አሜሪካና አውሮፓ አስልክን በግር በፈረስ አስፈልገን ያስመጣነው ቀሚስ... ጫማ... ነው። ይባላል። እልል እልል ጭብጨባ ይቀልጣል። ካሚራ በትከሻው የያዘ ሰው በያቅጣጫው ይዞራል። የሙሽሪትን ጥሎሽ ምሽት ትዕይንት ለልጅ ልጆቿ ቀርጾ ለማስቀረት። ጥሎሹን ከሻንጣ እያወጣ የሚያቀርበው የምሽቱ ዋና ተዋናይ ምላሱ ጤፍ ይቆላል የሚሉት አይነት ነው። ወንድማችን፣ ዘመዳችን እያለ የሚያሞጋግሰውን ሙሽራ ማን እንደሆነ እንኳ ላያውቅ ይችላል። የጥሎሹን ምሽት ለማድመቅ በሳቅ በጨዋታ የሚያዋዛ ሰው ነው ተብሎ ከታመነበት፣ ዝምድናውና ጓደኝነቱ ያን ያህልም አይጠየቅም። ከሚዜዎቹ በአንዱ ተመርጦ ሊጋበዝ ይችላል።

lxiii የጥሎሽን አይቀሬነት ያጎላው የቪዲዮ ቀረጻ ጣጣ መሆኑን ብዙ ተጋቢዎች ይገልጻሉ። የብዙ ሴቶች ምክንያት ደስ ይላል የሚል ነው። አቅሙም ባይኖር ነው ታዲያ የጥሎሽ ጋጋታ ነገ ለሚመሰረተው ትዳር ማገር ባይሆንም እንኳ ቤቱና እጅ የሞላ እጮኛ (የነገ ባል) የጨርቅ ብቻ ሳይሆን የወርቅ ቀሚስና ጫማ ጥሎላት በጓደኞቿና በቤተሰቦቿ ፊት ቢያኮራት የማትመኝ ሴት የምትኖር አይመስለኝም። ምን አይነት የትዳር ህይወት እንደሚጠብቃቸው ተጋቢዎቹ ቀድሞ ቢያውቁትም በጥሎሽ ምሽት በቪዲዮ የሚቀረፀው ታሪክ የሚያሳየው ግን የብዙ ተጋቢዎች የኑሮ ደረጃ ከፍተኛ መሆኑን ነው።

lxiv ጥሎሽ ሙሽራው ለሙሽሪት ያለውን ፍቅር መግለጫና ከናት ካባቷ ቤት አስመርቆ ወደራሱ ቤት ሲወስዳት እንዴት ያለ ኑሮ እንደሚጠብቃት ማስመስከሪያ ነው ተብሎ ይታመናል። ከጥሎሽ መሃል መሀረብ እንኳ ቢጎድል የሙሽሪት ቤተሰቦችና ጓደኞች «በተናቅን» ስሜት ይቆጣሉ። ሽማግሌዎች ዛሬ ከእናት ካባቷ ቤት ሳትወጣ ይህን ካጎደለባት ነገ ቤቱ ስትገባ አብልቶ ማሳደሩን በምን እናውቃለን ይላሉ። የሙሽራው ጓደኞችም ያንደሉት በቶሎ እንደሚያሟሉ ያሳውቃሉ። ግን እንኳን መሀረብ ሌላም ባይመጣ «ዘንግተን ነው» ዋስ እንጠራለን። በማለት የሚታለፍ ነው። ዋስ የተጠራበት ነገር ስለመምጣቱ እርግጠኛ መሆን ባይቻልም ለወጉ ዋስ ይጠራል።

lxv ይሁንና ቀሪዎቹ ተጋቢዎች በቤተሰብና በተጋቢዎቹ ለመፍታት ካለመፈለግ የተነሳ ጋብቻውን ለመሰረዝ እንዳልተቻለ ምክትል ሊቀመንበሯ ተናግረዋል። ያለእድሜ ጋብቻ በአካል ባልዳበሩ ልጃገረዶች ላይ የሚያስከትለው ችግር የከፋ በመሆኑ በቀጣይም የሴቶች ማኅበራት፣ መምህራን፣ የመስተዳድርና የፍትሕ አካላት እንዲሁም ኅብረተሰቡ ችግሩን ለማስወገድ እንዲጥሩ ጥሪ አቅርበዋል።



lxvi በትግራይ ደቡባዊ ዞን የአላማጣ ሴቶች ማኅበር ሊቀመንበር ወይዘሮ አልማዝ ዓለሙ ሰዋኑን ለዋልታ ኢንፎርሜሽን ማዕከል እንዳስታወቁት፣ በቤተሰብ ተፅእኖ ከታጩ 115 ሴት ተማሪዎች የ93ቱን ለማሰረዝ ተችሏል። ተማሪዎቹ ከ8 እስከ 9 ዓመት የዕድሜ ክልልና ከ1-6ኛ ክፍል የሚማሩ የነበሩ ሲሆኑ ጋብቻው ሊሰረዝ የቻለው በራሳቸው ተነሳሽነት በየቀበሌያቸው ለሚገኙ የሴቶች ማኅበር ጽሕፈት ቤቶችና ለትምህርት ቤቶቻቸው ባቀረቡዋቸው አቤቱታዎች መሠረት ነው ብለዋል።

lxvii የማህበሩ ምክትል ሊቀመንበር ወይዘሮ ተክለ ገብረሚካኤል እንደተናገሩት፣ የዞኑ የሴቶች ማህበር ሀብረተሰቡን በማሳተፍ ባደረገው ቅስቀሳ እድሜያቸው ከ13 እስከ 15 አመት ሆነው ጋብቻ ከፈጸሙ 65 ሴቶች ውስጥ የ61 ጋብቻ ተሰርዞ ትምህርታቸውን እንዲቀጥሉ አድርጓል።

lxviii ባልና ሚስቶቹ ከተጣሉና ለአጭር ጊዜ ከተለያዩ በኋላ ባልየው በረጅም ዓመት ትዳር የተገኘውን የጋራ ሀብትና ንብረት በመሸጥ፣ በመለወጥና ለዘመዶቻቸው በማውረስ በሌሎች ሰዎች ስም እስከማስመዝገብ ድረስም ሔደው እንደነበር ወይዘሮዋ ተናግረዋል።

lxix ወይዘሮ ሙሉ ከፍርዱ በኋላ በሰጡት አስተያየት ሴቶች በቤት ውስጥ የሚደርስባቸውን ችግር ፍትህ አላገኝም፣ በማለት ከማሳለፍ ይልቅ ታግለው መብታቸውን ማስከበር ይኖርባቸዋል ሲሉ መግረዋል። ባለቤታቸውን አቶ ሚላውን ግን ለማግኘት ተሞክሮ አልተቻለም።

lxx መቀሌ (አ.ዜአ)፣ በመቀሌ ከተማ ከዘጠኝ ወራት በላይ የፈጀ የባልና ሚስት የንብረት ይገባኛል ጥያቄ በማኅበራዊ ፍርድ ቤት ውሳኔ በማግኘቱ የተደሰቱ የከተማዋ ሴቶች አደባባይ በመውጣት ድጋፋቸውን ገለጹ።

lxxi ወ/ሮ ተንሱ የልጆቿ አባት በሞት ሲለዩዋት የቀራት ሀብት አንድ በሬ ብቻ ሆነ። ለጊዜው የታያት አማራጭ በሬ ካለው ሰው ጋር በሬውን በማቀናጀት መሬቷን በእኩል በማሳረስ ኑሮዋን መግፋት ብቻ ነበር።

lxxii ሌላ ሀሳብ መጣላት። በዋጋ ደረጃም ቢሆን ከበሬ 3 እጅ ያነሰ ጠቃሚ እንስሳ አለ አህያ። ይሁን እንጂ ለጊዜው አህያውንም ቢሆን ከአባቷ እንደምታገኝ ገመተች። ነገር ግን በአህያ ማረስ ደግሞ በአካባቢው አልተለመደም። ከበሬ ጋር ማቀናጀቱም አስቸጋሪ ነው። ይሁን እንጂ ተንሡ በሀሳቧ ገፋችበት። ለአባቷ አማከረች። ነገር ግን ያገኘችው መልስ አስደንጋጭ ነበር። ይህን ካደረገች ቤተሰብ እንደሚያገልግሉት ተገለጸላት። በተጨማሪም እርግማን እንደሚወርድባትም በብርቱ አስጠነቀቁት።

lxxiii በአሁኑ ጊዜ መጠነኛ የአመለካከት ለውጥ መታየት ጀምሯል። ይኸው ካለፈው ዓመት ጀምሮ አንዳንድ ሴቶች እንዴት እንደሚታረስ እንድታለማምዳቸው ይጠይቁት ጀምረዋል። ለተንሡ እየቀረበላት ያለው ጥያቄ ከላይ የተጠቀሰው ብቻ አይደለም። ባሎቻቸው ወደ ጦር ግንባር የሄዱባቸው አንዳንድ ሴቶችም መሬታቸው ላይ እንድታርስላቸው ሲማጸናት ታይቷል።

lxxiv በ1974 ዓ.ም/ ገደማ በአካባቢው ይንቀሳቀስ የነበረው የትግራይ ሕዝብ ነጻ አውጪ ግንባር የእርሻ ክፍል ሴቶች እንዴት በበሬ ማረስ እንደሚችሉ ሥልጠና ከተሰጣቸው ሰዎች መካከል አንዷ ነበረች። ይሁን እንጂ ባለቤቷ በሞት እስከተለዩዋት ድረስ የእርሻውን አስተራረስ ትምህርት ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ አልቻለችም ነበር። በአካባቢው የባህል ተጽእኖ ምክንያትም እርሻ ማረስ የሚያስቡት ተግባር አልነበረም።

lxxv የወ/ሮ ተንሡ ፈጠራ ሌላም አነሳስቷል። በመስኩ ያለውን ችግር ለመፍታት በርሷ የለውጥ ሀዋርያነት የተጀመረውን ተግባር ለማጠናከርና ሌሎችም አርሶ አደሮች እንዲጠቀሙበት በማሰብ ተመራማሪዎች የግብርና የልማት ጣቢያ ባለሙያዎችና ለለውጥ የተነሳሱ ሴት አርሶ አደሮች ቅንጅት ፈጥረው ጥረት እያደረጉ ነው።

lxxvi የጎታች ልማዳዊ ድርጊት ቀንበር እየተሰባበረ ነው። ታዲያ ወ/ሮ ተንሡ ጎጂ ልማድን ያመክነች ታታሪ ልትባል አይገባትም ትላላችሁ?

lxxvii በሀገራችን ሥር ሰዶ የቆየው ጎጂ ልማዳዊ ድርጊቶች በበርካታ ሴቶች ሕይወት ላይ ከፍተኛ ተጽእኖ አሳድሯል። ይህንና ይህን በሴቶች ላይ የተጫነ ከባድ ቀንበር ከላያቸው ላይ እያሸቀነጠሩ አንቱ የተባሉ የሀገራችን ሴቶች በበርካታ ናቸው።

lxxviii መለስተኛ ቀዶ ሕክምናው የተደረገው ባለፈው ዓመት ፈቃደኛ ለሆኑና ፍላጎት ላላቸው ወንዶች ተከታታይ ትምህርትና ምክር ከተሰጠ በኋላ በደሴ የቤተሰብ ክሊኒክ ውስጥ በከፍተኛ የሕክምና ባለሙያዎች አማካኝነት መሆኑን የተናገሩት ሥራ አስኪያጁ የወሊድ መከላከያው በግብረ ስጋ ግንኙነት ላይ የሚያስከትለው ችግር እንደሌለ ገልጸዋል።

lxxix ሥራ አስኪያጁ አቶ ላቃቸው ዋሴ ትናንት እንዳስታወቁት ሴቶች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ ወንዶችም የቤተሰብ ምጣኔ አገልግሎት ተጠቃሚ እንደሚሆኑ የገባቸው ከ20 በላይ የመቀሌ፣ የኮምቦልቻና የተሁለደሬ ወረዳ ነዋሪ ወንዶች ዘላቂ የወሊድ መከላከያ በመለስተኛ ቀዶ ሕክምና አሰርተዋል።

lxxx ባለቤታቸው በወሊድ ምክንያት የጤና ችግር ስላለባቸው ዘላቂ የወሊድ መከላከያውን ራሳቸው ለመጠቀም መወሰናቸውን የተናገሩት እኒሁ አርሶደር፣ መከላከያውን በማሰራታቸውም በግብረ ስጋ ግንኙነት ወቅት ምንም አይነት ችግር እንዳላጋጠማቸው አስታውቀዋል።

lxxxii ...በአጠቃላይ በኢትዮጵያ ብዙ ችግሮች አሉ። ፍርድ ቤት በጣም መዳከሙን በቅርበት ተመልክቻለሁ። የመብቶቻችን መከበር ዋስትና ፍርድ ቤት ነው። ነገር ግን ፍርድ ቤቶች ያሉበት ሁኔታ በጣም አሳሳቢ ነው። እነዚህ ችግሮች መስተካከል እንዳለባቸው አምናለሁ። ለዚህም የተቻለኝን ለመጣር ተዘጋጅቻለሁ። ዋናው ነገርተስፋ ቆራጭነትቁጭ ማለታችን እንዲያበቃ የበኩሌን ድርሻ ለመወጣት ነው የምፈልገው። ተስፋ ቆራጭነትን መስበር ነው ከሁሉም በላይ፣ ከሁሉም በፊት ትኩረት እንዲሰጠው የምፈልገው።

lxxxiii ሴቶች እንዲማሩ፣ አቅማቸውን እንዲያዳብሩ እርዳታ ቢደረግላቸው ጥሩ ነው የምትለው ብርቱካን፣ በፓርላማው እና በሌሎችም ስራዎች መግባት ያለባቸው በችሎታቸው ተወዳድረው በብቃት ያለፉ ከሆኑ ራሳቸውንም ህብረተሰቡንም ይጠቅማሉ ባይ ነች።

lxxxiiii ... እንዲያውም ፓርቲዎች ከመንግስት የገንዘብ ድጋፍ ያገኛሉ። የግል ተወዳዳሪ ግን በራሱና በደጋፊዎቹ አቅም ብቻ ነው የሚንቀሳቀሰው። እስካሁን የምፈልገውን ያህል ባይሆንም አንዳንድ ሃሳቤንና እቅዴን የሚደግፉ ግለሰቦች ባደረጉልኝ እርዳታ ጥሩ እየሰራሁ ነው። ለወደፊቱ ሀሳቤን ሲረዱ ብዙ ሰዎች ድጋፍ እንደሚሰጡም እርግጠኛ ነኝ።

lxxxv በጣም የሚገርመው ከጠበቅሁት በላይ ነው ድጋፍ ያገኘሁት። ወጣት እንዲሁም ሴት መሆኔ ሙያየም ሰው የሳበልኝ ይመስለኛል። ያቀረብኩት ሃሳብም ሰዎችን ማርኮልኛል። ስዘዋወር መንገድ ላይ ስለኔ ሲነጋገሩ አያለሁ። በተለይም ወጣቶች፣ ወንዶችም ሴቶችም እየመጡ ያነጋግሩኛል። ከዛም የምንረዳሽ ካለ ብለው ይጠይቁኛል። ባጠቃላይ ህዝቡ እያደረገልኝ ያለው ትብብር ጥሩ ነው።

lxxxvi በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ለውጥ እንዲመጣ ከጠበቅክ በእርግጥም ምርጫ የሰብአዊ መብቶችን መከበር ላያረጋግጥ ይችላል።

lxxxvii በሶስተኛ አለም አገሮች ምርጫ ለውጥ አያመጣም የሚል አመለካከት አለ። ይህን እንዴት ታይዋለሽ።

lxxxvii ለመመረጥ ብቻ ብሎ የፖለቲካ አስተሳሰብ ከህዝብ ቃርጭ መሄድ ትክክል እንዳልሆነ ነው የሚነገረው። እና ፓርቲዎች የራሳቸውን አመለካከት ይዘው በኋላ ዜጎችን ለማሳመን ቢጥሩ ምን ክፋት አለው፤

lxxxviii እዚህ ላይ የግል ተመራጮች ትልቅ አስተዋጽኦ ይኖራቸዋል። ፓርላማ ውስጥ በመናገር፣ በማጋለጥ ቢነስ ባለስልጣናት የሰውን መብት ሲደፍሩ ወይም የህዝብን ሃብት ሲዘርፉ ሰው እያያቸው እንደሆነ እንዲያውቁ በማድረግ ሁኔታውን ሻሸላሉ።

lxxxix በኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የሴቶች ጉዳይ ቋሚ ኮሚቴ እና በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጽ/ቤቶች የሴቶች ጉዳይ ንዑስ ዘርፍ አስተባባሪነት ሴቶች በሕገመንግስቱ የተረጋገጡት መብቶች ተጠቃሚ በሚሆኑበት ስልት ላይ ለመወያየት የተመራጭ ሴቶችን ፎረም ለማቋቋም የሚያስችል መስራች ጉባኤ ከጥር 29 - የካቲት 2/1992 ዓ.ም. በአዋግ የሲዳማ ባህል አዳራሽ ተካሂዷል።

xc ... ወይዘሮ ሂሩት ብራሳ የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የሴቶች ጉዳይ ቋሚ ኮሚቴ ሰብሳቢ አድላዊ አመለካከትና አሰራሮች ተለውጠው በሁሉም መስክ የእኩልነት መብታቸውን ለማረጋገጥና በኢኮኖሚውም መስክ የነቃ ተሳትፎ ለማድረግ ሴቶች መንቀሳቀስ እንደሚኖርባቸው ነው የገለጹት።

xci በኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ መንግስት አንቀጽ 33/1 መሰረት ማንኛውም ኢትዮጵያዊ/ኢትዮጵያዊት ከፈቃዱ/ከፈቃዷ ውጪ ኢትዮጵያዊ ዜግነቱን/ዜግነቷን ሲገፈፍ ወይም ልትገፈፍ አይችልም/አትችልም። ኢትዮጵያዊ/ኢትዮጵያዊት ዜጋ ከሌላ ሀገር ዜጋ ጋር የሚፈጽመው ጋብቻ ኢትዮጵያዊ ዜግነቱ/ዜግነቷን አያስቀርም የሚለው ድንጋጌ ቀደም ሲል በአገራችን የነበረውን እና በተለይ በሴቶች ላይ ከፍተኛ ጫና ሲፈጥር የቆየውን ችግር ሙሉ በሙሉ የሚቀርፍ ነው። ስለዚህም ዝርዝር ሕገ መውጣቱ አስፈላጊ በመሆኑ ኮሚቴው ከኢ.ሚ.ግሬሽንና ስደተኞች ጋር በመሆን የዜግነት ሕግ አዋጅ እንዲረቀቅ ግፊት በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛል።

xcii በአፋር ክልል የሴቶች ጉዳይ ጽህፈት ቤት ተወካይ አማካይት የቀረበው ሪፖርት እንደሚያመለክተው ብሔራዊ የሴቶች ጉዳይ ፖሊሲን ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ በአፋር ክልል በዞንና በወረዳ ደረጃ ጽ/ቤቶች ተቋቋመው እንቅስቃሴ ማድረግ ከተጀመረ የቆየ ቢሆንም ጽ/ቤቶቹ ካለባቸው የሰው ኃይልና የበጀት አቅም ማነስ የተነሳ የተፈለገውን ያህል መንቀሳቀስ አልተቻለም። ይሁንና ከመንግሥትና መንግስታዊ ካልሆኑ ድርጅቶች ጋር በመተባበር የሴቶች ተማሪዎችን ቁጥር ለማሳደግ በልማት ለማሳተፍና ጎጂ ልማዳዊ ድርጊቶችን ለማስወገድ የተደረጉት ጥረቶች በዝርዝር ቀርበዋል።

xciii ወ/ሮ ሒሩት ተመራጭ ሴቶች ማከናወን ስለሚጠበቅባቸው ተግባራት የተናገሩትም አለ። የሴቶች እኩልነት ስንል 85 በመቶ የምትሆነዋን የገጠር ሴት ጥያቄ እስካለመለሰ ድረስ፣ የሴቶች እኩልነት ተከብሯል ለማለት አይቻልም። ይህንን ለማሳካት በየደረጃው ያለን ሴት ተመራጮች የውሳኔ ሰጪነት ደረጃ ላይ ሆነን የተጣለብንን ኃላፊነት ለመወጣት ግንባር ቀደም ሚና በመጫወት ሁለንተናዊ የሴቶች ጥያቄ እንድንመልስ መታገል ይጠበቅብናል።

xciv የሴቶች እኩልነት ስንል 85 በመቶ የምትሆነዋን የገጠር ሴት ጥያቄ እስካለመለሰ ድረስ፣ የሴቶች እኩልነት ተከብሯል ለማለት አይቻልም።

xcv የሐረሪ ሕዝብ ክልል ምክር ቤት የክልሉን ርዕሰ መስተዳድር ከሥልጣን በማውረድ በምትካቸው የመጀመሪያዋን ሴት ርዕሰ መስተዳድር መስከረም 4/1993 መርጧል። በዚህ በምክር ቤቱ 12ኛ መደበኛ ጉባኤ ላይ የተመረጡትን ወ/ሮ ኮሪያ አብዱላሂን በሕይወታቸውና በሥራቸው ዙሪያ በስልክ ቃለ ምልልስ አድረገናል።

xcvi በአገራችን ለሴቶች ያለው አመለካከት ባለመለወጡ ሴቶች እንዴት ለከፍተኛ ኃላፊነት ይመረጣሉ የሚሉ ሰዎች አልጠፉም።

xcvii በቤተሰብ አካባቢ ለዚህ ኃላፊነት መብቃቱን ሲሰሙ ባለቤተ በደስታ ተቀብሎታል። ልጆቹ ግን እናታችን በኃላፊነት ጫና የተነሳ ትቸገራለች ብለው በማሰባቸው የተሰማቸውን ቅሬታ ገልጸውልኛል።

xcviii በቅርቡ ምክር ቤቱ በሚያካሂደው ስብሰባ የክልሉን ርዕሰ መስተዳድርና ሥራ አስፈጻሚዎች እንደሚመርጥ ይጠበቃል። በዚህ ላይ የመመረጥ ዕድል አገኛለሁ ብለው ያስባሉ?

xcix በርግጥ በተለያዩ ሕዝባዊ አገልግሎት የመመረጥ ሁኔታ ያጋጥመኛል። በምርጫው ላይም በድርጅቱ አማካይኝነት ለውድድር ስቀርብ ከሕዝብ የነበረው ድጋፍ የሚያረካ ነበር። አላህ ይመስገን በሰዎች ዘንድ ተቀባይነት አለኝ ብዬ አስባለሁ። የሁንና ለክልሉ ርዕሰ መስተዳድርነት እመረጣለሁ ብዬ ግን አስቤ አላውቅም።

° ሴቶች ለውሳኔ ሰጪነት ሲበቁ ተቃውሞ የሚመጣው ከወንዶች ብቻ አይደለም። ከሴቶችም የሚመጣበት ጊዜ አለው። ይኼም የአመለካከት ችግር ነው። ስለዚህ ሴቶች በሁሉም ዘርፍ ብንሳተፍ ብቁ ነን ብለን ማሰብ አለብን።

cii በርግጥ በተለያዩ ሕዝባዊ አገልግሎት የመመረጥ ሁኔታ ያጋጥመኛል። በምርጫው ላይም በድርጅቱ አማካይኝነት ለውድድር ስቀርብ ከሕዝብ የነበረው ድጋፍ የሚያረካ ነበር። አላህ ይመስገን በሰዎች ዘንድ ተቀባይነት አለኝ ብዬ አስባለሁ። የሁንና ለክልሉ ርዕሰ መስተዳድርነት እመረጣለሁ ብዬ ግን አስቤ አላውቅም።

ciiii ከሰሐራ በታች የሚገኙ የአፍሪካ ሕዝቦችና የስነሕዝብ ካርታ በሚል ርዕስ በተባበሩት መንግሥታት የትምህርት፣ የሳይንስና የባህል ድርጅት (ዩኔስኮ) ከስነሕዝብ ጽ/ቤት ጋር በመተባበር ለሦስት ቀናት በሂልተን ሆቴል በተካሄደ አውደ ጥናት ላይ የአፍሪካ መንግስታት ለስነ ሕዝብ ፖሊሲያቸው ውጤታማነት ሕዝባቸው መጥኖ የመውለድ ባህል እንዲያዳብርና የኢኮኖሚ እድገት ፀር ከሆነው ኤድስ ራሱን እንዲጠብቅ ማድረግ እንዳለባቸው ተገልጧል።

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix One: Glossary

- Abduction:** taking a girl as a wife forcefully. The action is practiced by waiting the proposed girl on her way back home from market, or from school, or from any other place. The abductor takes the action with assistance of other people, who are for him.
- Arbitration:** conciliation moderated by go betweens.
- Aša:** The local language of Mäinit people meaning, process of reconciliation and Compensation.
- Čat:** a flowering evergreen shrub native to East Africa and Southern Arabia more specifically to Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Madagascar, and Tanzania, (Uhlig, ed, Vol. 1, 697)
- Compensation:** blood price or any form of payment paid to the victim by perpetrator
- Däbo:** one of traditional self help organizations prevailing in agricultural communities of Ethiopia (Kebebew, 1978: 10).
- Early marriage:** traditionally arranged marriage, when the girl is immature or below the legal marriageable age.
- Edder:** an association formed by a group of people living in the same locality or part of town, with the main objective of providing mutual aid and financial assistance in certain circumstances (Amsalu, 1999).
- Qäber:** Funeral ceremony
- Šemagellé (elder):** The Amharic word used to describe the elderly people is Šemagellé, which refers to male old people.
- Ṭawent:** Rival

## Appendix Two: Notes on Amharic Pronouns

In Amharic language, pronouns are different from English language pronouns.

- You masculine singular, informal
- You feminine singular, informal
- You plural
- You singular polite or formal (for both female and male)

## Appendix Three: Tables 5.1

*Distribution of topics, and subtopics in Addis Zemen and Addis Admass*

Topic	Sub topic	<i>Addis Admass</i>		<i>Addis Zemen</i>	
		Fr.	Va.%	Fr.	Va %
Agriculture	extension program	1	3.1	37	16.8
	irrigation	1	3.1	26	11.8
	food security	1	3.1	17	7.7
	Harvesting			41	18.6
	environment	28	87.5	73	33.2
	cattle	1	3.1	22	10
	Other			4	1.8
	Total		32	99.9	220
Missing	System	1206		1577	
Total		1238		1797	
Culture	traditional practices	85	18.9	42	37.2
	art	222	49.4	7	6.2
	tourism	11	2.5	25	22.1
	marriage related	22	4.9	4	3.5
	love affairs	43	9.6	7	6.2
	communication	38	8.5	17	15
	other	17	3.8	3	2.7
	sport	11	2.5	8	7.1
Total		449	100.1	113	100
Missing	System	789		1684	
Total		1238		1797	
Economy	investment	51	57.3	65	23.3
	micro credit	9	10.1	27	9.7
	taxation	9	10.1	9	3.2
	small scale industry	6	6.7	27	9.7
	infrastructure-project	4	4.5	141	50.5
	other	10	11.2	10	3.6
	Total		89	99.9	279
Missing	System	1149		1518	
Total		1238		1797	
Education	drop outs	2	4.8	10	7.6
	higher education	11	26.2	27	20.6
	policy	21	50	10	7.6
	school construction	3	7.1	31	23.7

Missing Total	training	1	2.4	37	28.2
	other	4	9.5	16	12.2
	Total	42	100	131	99.9
	System	1196		1666	
		1238		1797	
Election (voters)	yes	6	100	43	97.7
				1	2.3
				44	100
Missing	System	1232		1753	
Total		1238		1797	
Election (candidates)	yes	20	100	61	98.4
				1	1.6
				62	100
Missing	System	1218		1735	
Total		1238		1797	
Election (agenda)	yes	18	100	42	95.5
				2	4.5
				44	100
Missing	System	1220		1753	
Total		1238		1797	
Election (others)	yes	16	94.1	34	100
	No	1	5.9		
	Total	17	100		
Missing	System	1221		1763	
Total		1238		1797	
Health	Vaccination	4	2.9	16	7.2
	family planning	24	17.4	34	15.4
	epidemics	9	6.5	25	11.3
	HIV	39	28.3	75	33.9
	hospital	18	13	33	14.9
	other	44	31.9	38	17.2
	Total	138	100	221	99.9
Missing	System	1100		1576	
Total		1238		1797	
Law	legislation	14	29.8	47	19.7
	crime and HR violation	32	68.1	190	79.5
	other	1	2.1	2	0.8
	Total	47	100	239	100

Missing	System	1191		1558	
Total		1238		1797	
HRV	rape	2	5.9	16	8.1
	corruption	18	53	87	43.9
	red terror	1	2.9	24	12.1
	Deforestation			5	2.5
	household attack	1	2.9	8	4
	murder	10	29.4	30	15.2
	Abduction			11	5.6
	others	2	5.9	17	8.6
	Total	34	100	198	100
Missing	System	1204		1599	
Total		1238		1797	
Politics	officials	19	12	12	4.6
	decision making	3	1.9	1	0.4
	civil rights	31	19.5	27	10.3
	diplomatic relation	17	10.7	46	17.5
	war and conflict	47	29.6	126	47.9
	good governance	39	24.5	42	16
	other	3	1.9	9	3.4
	Total	159	100.1	263	100.1
	Missing	System		1079	
Total			1238		1797
War & conflict	Relief and rehab	6	19.4	142	68.9
	displacement	10	32.3	26	12.6
	political debate	14	45.2	35	17
	other	1	3.2	3	1.5
	Total	31	100.1	206	100
Missing	System	1207		1591	
Total		1238		1797	
Others	investment	2	1.5	2	2.7
	public demand	4	3	22	30.1
	religion	8	6.1	5	6.9
	Science & technology	83	62.9	9	12.3
	other	35	26.5	35	47.9
	Total	132	100	73	99.9
Missing	System	1106		1724	
Total		1238		1797	

## Appendix Four: Tables: Addis Zemen

**Table 5.2: Sources attribution in themes, in percent in Addis Zemen, N= 1784 (missing 13)**

Source attribution										
	male	female	mass	neutral	multiple sources	country	women	other		
Law	52.3	5.0	0.4	14.6	19.7	2.1	2.5	3.3	100	239
Health	51.1	8.1	0.9	9.5	21.7	0.0	5.9	2.7	100	221
Politics	42.0	4.2	1.1	12.6	24.8	10.3	1.5	3.4	100	262
Economy	61.2	4.3	0.4	8.0	22.5	0.7	0.4	2.5	100	276
Election	27.9	7.4	5.9	13.2	30.9	1.5	5.9	7.4	100	68
Agriculture	73.4	0.9	0.0	6.3	16.2	0.9	0.0	2.3	100	222
Education	61.1	4.8	0.0	4.0	27.0	0.8	1.6	0.8	100	126
Culture	40.2	15.2	0.0	14.3	23.2	0.9	5.4	0.9	100	112
War & conflict	44.2	4.4	0.0	7.3	31.1	6.3	1.5	5.3	100	206
Other	65.4	5.8	0.0	1.9	13.5	0.0	1.9	11.5	100	52
	946	95	11	171	410	52	40	59		1784
	53.0	5.3	0.6	9.6	23.0	2.9	2.2	3.3	100	

**Table 5.3: Social actors in topics in percent in Addis Zemen, N= 1783 missing 14**

Social actors										
Topic	Male	Female	Mass	Neutral	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	%	N
Law	17.2	5.9	17.6	2.1	27.6	9.2	11.7	8.8	100	239
Health	13.1	15.8	40.7	1.8	2.3	6.8	9.5	10.0	100	221
Politics	7.3	2.3	13.0	0.4	8.4	56.5	5.7	6.5	100	262
Economy	2.9	1.8	44.4	1.8	12.7	12.0	5.5	18.9	100	275
Election	8.8	1.5	29.4	1.5	26.5	11.8	13.2	7.4	100	68
Agriculture	1.8	0.9	51.4	1.4	3.6	12.2	1.8	27.0	100	222
Education	3.2	2.4	56.3	1.6	10.3	4.8	11.1	10.3	100	126
Culture	8.0	17.0	25.0	1.8	6.2	12.5	22.3	7.1	100	112
War & conflict	2.4	1.0	66.0	1.0	5.3	15.5	4.4	4.4	100	206
Other	7.7	9.6	38.5	1.9	17.3	9.6	7.7	7.7	100	52
Total	129	92	677	26	194	310	144	211		1783
	7.2	5.2	38.0	1.5	10.9	17.4	8.1	11.8	100	

**Table 5.4 Sources per positions Addis Zemen 1782 missing 15**

Sources	status of source attribution								Total	Total
	professional	official	witness	victim	investor	Artist	beneficiary	other		
Male	68.7	27.7	0.6	1.1	0.5	0.1	0.0	1.3	100	945
Female	32.6	38.9	3.2	16.8	3.2	2.1	0.0	3.2	100	95
Mass	18.2	27.3	27.3	18.2	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	100	11
Neutral	42.1	35.7	5.3	1.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	14.6	100	171
Multiple	24.4	19.0	44.9	2.7	2.2	0.0	0.5	6.3	100	410
Country	3.8	86.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	7.7	100	52
Women	70	12.5	12.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	100	40
Other	13.8	17.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.	100	58
Total	892	501	210	42	19	3	5	110		1782
	50.1	28.1	11.8	2.4	1.1	0.2	0.3	6.2	100	

**Table 5.5 Social actors per positions Addis Zemen N 1730 missing 67**

Social actors	Status of news actors								%	N
	professional	official	witness	victim	investor	Artist	beneficiary	other		
Male	15.5	24.8	3.1	50.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	5.4	100	129
Female	7.7	5.5	0.0	75.8	5.5	3.3	2.2	0.0	100	91
Mass	21.0	1.3	2.7	53.2	5.8	0.2	11.0	5.0	100	639
Neutral	19.2	11.5	0.0	23.1	15.4	0.0	3.8	26.9	100	26
Multiple	16.3	15.3	6.3	35.3	20.0	0.5	3.2	3.2	100	190
Country	7.1	59.2	1.9	7.1	1.9	0.0	3.6	19.1	100	309
Women	4.3	3.6	2.2	51.1	1.4	0.0	34.5	2.9	100	139
Other	9.7	3.4	0.0	3.4	8.7	0.0	2.4	72.5	100	207
Total	245	272	42	647	110	6	143	265		1730
	14.2	15.7	2.4	37.4	6.4	0.3	8.3	15.3	100	



**Table 5.6: Story attribution per theme, in Addis Zemen, N= 1784 missing 13**

Topic	Story attribution								Total	
	Male	Female	News agency	Not known	Staff reporter	Both	Documents	Other	%	N
Law	4.6	2.5	77.0	9.6	2.5	1.7	2.1	0.0	100	239
Health	11.3	2.3	48.9	15.8	14.9	0.5	6.3	0.0	100	221
Politics	5.0	2.7	65.3	16.8	5.3	1.5	3.4	0.0	100	262
Economy	2.2	2.9	87.0	5.1	1.8	1.1	0.0	0.0	100	276
Election	7.4	8.8	48.5	25.0	5.9	1.5	2.9	0.0	100	68
Agriculture	3.6	0.9	87.4	5.9	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.0	100	222
Education	2.4	1.6	81.0	7.9	3.2	0.8	3.2	0.0	100	126
Culture	13.4	6.2	41.1	20.5	12.5	0.0	6.2	0.0	100	112
War & conflict	4.9	1.5	75.2	10.2	1.9	3.4	2.9	0.0	100	206
Other	3.8	3.8	75.0	13.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.9	100	52
Total	98	48	1272	207	86	23	49	1		
	5.5	2.7	71.3	11.6	4.8	1.3	2.7	0.1	100	1784

## Appendix Five: Tables: Addis Admass

**Table 5.7: Sources attributed per topic in percent, in Addis Admass N 1146 (missing 92)**

Topic	source attribution									N
	Male	Female	Mass	Neutra l	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	%	
Law	41.7	2.1	6.2	10.4	35.4	4.2	0.0	0.0	100	48
Health	37.2	8.0	1.5	35.0	16.8	0.7	0.0	0.7	100	137
Politics	43.7	7.0	1.3	15.8	17.1	6.3	0.0	8.9	100	158
Economy	53.8	3.3	1.1	14.3	22.0	1.1	0.0	4.4	100	91
Election	34.6	3.8	0.0	7.7	30.8	3.8	0.0	19.2	100	26
Agriculture	59.4	0.0	0.0	6.2	28.1	3.1	0.0	3.1	100	32
Education	54.8	19.0	2.4	9.5	11.9	0.0	0.0	2.4	100	42
Culture	65.1	10.2	0.4	12.4	9.6	0.0	0.2	2.0	100	450
War & conflict	29.0	12.9	6.5	6.5	41.9	3.2	0.0	0.0	100	31
Other	61.1	7.6	0.0	21.4	9.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	131
Total	622	95	13	185	178	17	1	35		
	54.3	8.3	1.1	16.1	15.5	1.5	0.1	3.1	100	1146

**Table 5.8: Social actors in themes in percent in Addis Admass, N= 1146 (missing 92)**

Topic	News Actors									N
	Male	Female	Mass	Neutral	Multiple sources	Country	Women	Other	Total %	
Law	16.7	12.5	22.9	0.0	18.8	18.8	2.1	8.3	100	48
Health	17.5	13.1	51.1	0.0	7.3	3.6	5.1	2.2	100	137
Politics	19.6	8.2	11.4	0.0	10.8	46.2	1.3	2.5	100	158
Economy	18.7	4.4	17.6	0.0	28.6	25.3	0.0	5.5	100	91
Election	7.7	3.8	38.5	3.8	23.1	19.2	0.0	3.8	100	26
Agriculture	21.9	0.0	18.8	0.0	12.5	21.9	0.0	25.0	100	32
Education	19.0	11.9	33.3	0.0	28.6	4.8	0.0	2.4	100	42
Culture	32.9	16.2	18.2	0.4	12.4	4.9	2.7	12.2	100	450
War & conflict	9.7	3.2	51.6	0.0	0.0	35.5	0.0	0.0	100	31
Other	41.2	9.9	21.4	1.5	10.7	5.3	0.8	9.1	100	131
Total	302	134	271	5	154	164	23	92		1146
	26.4	11.7	23.6	0.4	13.4	14.3	2.0	8.0	100	

**Table 5.9 Sources per positions Addis Admass N 1162 missing 76**

Source	Status of source attribution							%	N
	professional	official	witness	victim	investor	Artist	other		
Male	64.6	7.3	11.0	1.1	5.1	9.4	1.4	100	627
Female	46.5	6.1	13.1	9.1	3.0	14.1	8.1	100	99
Mass	23.1	0.0	7.7	30.8	7.7	0.0	30.8	100	13
Neutral	79.1	3.7	11.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	5.3	100	187
Multiple	36.3	21.4	30.2	1.6	3.3	4.9	2.2	100	182
Country	0.0	88.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.8	100	17
Women	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	100	1
Other	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	91.7	100	36
Total	671	113	159	24	42	83	70		1162
	57.7	9.7	13.7	2.1	3.6	7.1	6.0	100	

**Table 5.10 Social actors per positions Addis Admass N 1162 Missing 76**

Social actors	Status of news actors								%	N
	professional	official	witness	victim	investor	Artist	beneficiary	other		
Male	24.8	10.0	1.9	15.2	11.3	31.6	1.3	3.9	100	310
Female	15.4	4.4	0.0	50.7	2.9	12.5	5.9	8.1	100	136
Mass	9.6	1.5	0.7	58.8	3.3	1.8	10.7	13.6	100	272
Neutral	40.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.	20	100	5
Multiple	32.1	14.7	3.8	9.6	15.4	19.2	1.3	3.8	100	156
Country	5.4	55.7	2.4	21.0	3.6	0.0	2.4	9.6	100	167
Women	0.0	0.0	0.0	56.5	0.0	0.0	21.7	21.7	100	23
Other	9.8	3.3	0.0	3.3	2.2	1.1	0.0	80.4	100	93
Total	194	161	18	342	80	151	53	162		1162
	16.7	13.9	1.5	29.4	6.9	13.0	4.6	13.9	100	

**Table 5.11: Story attribution per themes, in Addis Admass in percent, N= 1146, missing 92**

Topics	Story attribution							%	N
	male	female	news agency	not known	staff reporter	both	documents		
Law	25.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	6.2	0.0	2.1	100	48
Health	27.0	0.7	1.5	40.1	10.9	0.0	19.7	100	137
Politics	27.2	1.3	7.6	53.8	7.6	0.0	2.5	100	158
Economy	33.0	2.2	1.1	41.8	14.3	0.0	7.7	100	91
Election	15.4	0.0	3.8	69.2	7.7	0.0	3.8	100	26
Agriculture	34.4	3.1	0.0	37.5	18.8	0.0	6.2	100	31
Education	33.3	9.5	2.4	40.5	14.3	0.0	0.0	100	42
Culture	48.2	2.7	0.7	27.6	13.3	0.2	7.3	100	450
War & conflict	9.7	3.2	9.7	71.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	100	31
Other	33.6	1.5	2.3	32.1	7.6	0.0	22.9	100	131
Total	415	25	26	445	129	1	105		1146
	36.2	2.2	2.3	38.8	11.3	0.1	9.2	100	

**Appendix Six: List of Translated works in the order of their places in the chapters**

**CHAPTER VI: HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICES**

ZF1

**WOMAN AS COMPENSATORY PAYMENT****የመኪኒት ሴት እንደካላ ...**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; No. 227; June 1, 2000 (24.09.92), p. 14 (Women)

[The Scenario]:

[The man] ambushes or lulls his victim and beats him up. If this does not work he goes around and publicizes the insolence he incurred among his ‘buddies’, rallying them to his side, and ‘cleanses’ the insult by killing his ‘antagonist’.

If the damage inflicted [upon the adversary] is light, or limited to minor physical injuries, the case is taken to a council of elders and the perpetrator is let off with compensatory payment of a determined heads of cattle and the parties to the conflict are reconciled. If, however, the confrontation results in the death of one of the conflicting parties, a blood-price is set, which involves the handing over a girl to the family of the victim, over and above payment in cattle. The person who committed the act is made to compensate the victim’s family with 7 to 14 heads of cattle, as the case may be, as blood-price, which in the locality is known as aša. The perpetrator of the killing has no reprieve until he hands over to the victim’s family a daughter, or a sister, ranging in age between 3 and 7 years, in addition to the cattle. The girl so handed over, then, becomes part of the victim’s household.

The girl handed over to the victim’s family by way of indemnity is expected [as part of the recompense] to bear a child as replacement to the victim killed by her father, brother or uncle, as the case may be, and to keep the deceased’s memory alive. If, on the other hand, perpetrator and victim have no blood relationship the girl can be passed over the victim’s brother as a wife. If, however, the victim and the perpetrator happen to be related, the victim’s family can marry her to any man of their choosing, thereby appropriating any dowry-payment as they may get, while the child the girl bears from such union will serve as replacement to the diseased.

Once such a girl has been matrimonially united to her husband, with any dowry-payment as she has helped secure going to her family, adultery with any other man remains unthinkable, while the husband is allowed as many wives [as he can afford]. If she, on the other hand, even so much as desire to have an affair with another man, or if another man so desires her and happens to have had an affair with her and she kept quiet about the encounter [and the affair became known], pandemonium is sure to follow. If a woman had an affair with a man other than her husband kept silent about it [and the occurrence was revealed] the result will be calamity to her family, and she will be held responsible for whatever follows.

If a man other than her husband had an affair with her, whether with her consent or through force, and she keeps silent about it, it is believed that her family will suffer God's scourge.

Consequently, when the wife has engaged in such scandalous act, she cannot prepare food and serve it to her husband; in fact, she falls into a spell of vigorous crying and weeping that sends tremors through her family. On such an occasion, the husband who senses what has transpired goes to the community's elders and has his wife probed. It is unthinkable for the husband to take any measure on account that his wife had been violated/scandalized. What is left is for the wife to reveal 'her secret' to the elders and save her family from possible visitation [from God]. In this manner, she manages to get considerable restitution for her husband from the man who violated her or the man with whom she willingly had an affair.

The sufferings of a Mäinit woman have no boundaries. If a woman of the community happens to have any discord with her husband in the course of her married life she is forced to bear it all and stay put. If, otherwise, she decides to leave her husband, her family will be forced to return everything they received by way of dowry-payment, which in turn means her estrangement from her family. If, under such circumstances, she falls sick, there will be no one to take good care of her. If a woman happens to experience abortion, her father will ask her husband to make restitution [for the loss]. The reason [usually] given for this kind of suit is that the husband, after 'having impregnated my daughter', has caused [instigated] the abortion thereby leading to her sickness. Conversely, if the girl went to her father's house [during the pregnancy] and fell sick, the husband will sue the girl's father. If, especially under such circumstances, the wife were to die without delivering the child, the husband could get up to 20 heads of cattle in restitution. Because of such 'inconveniences', if a woman [with a child?] [or a woman without a child?] falls sick, both the husband and the father of the woman go to lengths to refuse her shelter in their respective homes, [just] to avoid being culpable and end up paying restitution.

According to the elders of the vicinity, although some improvement has been observed in the effort made to get rid such problems as experienced by the women of Mäinit, because it has become a customary practice to use women as sources of wealth acquisition, the practice has proved to inimical to women's access to formal education. When parents are urged to send their daughters to school, it has become a standard practice to ask for money. Is it possible, then, for girls to clear such hurdles and become beneficiaries of [formal] education?

The Zone's Educational Bureau has an answer to this question. [A pilot study conducted] in three primary schools in the areas inhabited by the Mäinit nationality, out of the 400 plus students enrolled in the schools only 11 girls had the opportunity to attend.

The Head of the Zone's Women's Affairs Office, Wäyezäro Wägayyähü Biyadegelleñ has something to say about the lot of the women of Mäinit. As with all women of minority nationalities in the

Southern Region, Mäinit women, too, are victims of a variety of pressures. As education is crucial to free the women from these pressures, the Women's Affairs Office is making a concerted effort in collaboration with teachers, the elders of the community and parents to alleviate the existing problems.

‘As a result of the considerable mobilization undertaken last year, several girls have been able to enrol at the beginning of the current academic year. However [said the Head of the Women's Affairs Office], since [it is likely that] the girls will drop out of school during the second semester, we have made preparations to do some follow-up job.’

To our question of whether, there were any girls, so far, from among the Mäinit community, who had completed grade twelve and secured employment, the Head said, “Of those girls born of parents who are of the Mäinit nationality, one can hardly speak of any girl who has completed grade twelve. But of those born of mixed parentage, there indeed are girls who have completed grade twelve and employed in government institutions. But such girls acquired their education not in the schools run by the Zone but elsewhere [private missionary schools?].

Wäyezäro Wägayyāhu has also shared her recent experience with us. ‘There was a girl from the town of Batuma who was going to school here [in the Zone?]. While she was pursuing her education, it happened that the girl's elder sister who was married and living in the rural area dies childless. The husband of the deceased woman, then, comes along and creates havoc, demanding that the school-girl be handed over to him as a wife by way of restitution. As a result of this, the girl suffered such anxiety that she could not pursue her education properly. The Women's Affairs Office of the Zone had duly objected the handing over of the girl by way of restitution.’

Given the fact that there are many nations, nationalities and peoples living in Ethiopia, the cultural and religious pressures [inequities?] suffered by women of these communities are as many and as varied as the customs and practices of the communities themselves. The pressure suffered by women of Mäinit is in the same order. Especially abhorrent about the oppression the women suffer is the custom using women as collateral and borrowing money and exchanging them as commodities in compensation for [alleged] damages.

One is hardly in a position to expressly speak of resolute measures undertaken to rid the women of Mäinit of the [various forms of] oppression they have been suffering. Consequently, much is required, in this respect, of Women's Affairs Offices, and governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations. However, since the main struggle required for the purpose is expected of the women themselves, engagement in an organized and concerted struggle remains the key to the solution of the problems.



ZF2

**“MY REFUSAL TO MARRY HUSBAND’S BROTHER HAS EXPOSED ME TO HARASSMENT”****‘የባሌን ወንድም ለማግባት ባለመፍቀድ ለችግር ተጋለጥሁ’**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; no. 190; April 13, 2000 (05.08.92), pp. 12 (Women)

Her name is W/o Zābiba Šāmsu. She is a resident of Kāmbata-Alaba and Ṭāmbaro Zone in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. Although the 23-year old W/o Zābiba has been riddled with problems after the passing away of her husband, her countenance radiates with resolve and endurance.

It has been about four years since W/o Zābiba’s husband died of malaria. However, since the death of her husband, his four brothers of have been in contention, each trying to win her over as his wife [as per the custom of the community]. She, for her part, is unwilling to submit to their design. She has found the practice to which they are trying to subject her rather loathsome. She has resisted the gesture with fortitude, asserting she ‘would not marry any of [her brothers-in-law] and resolved that she would live her life the way she sees fit’. [Precisely] because of this stand of hers she has been subjected to all sorts of suffering. Today she finds herself leading a life of hiding surrounded by fear”

I came across the young woman when I was on a business visit in Alaba Wārāda, KAT Zone. She sought me out herself and declared: “I want the troubles I have been through to come out in the open.” This started the talk we had around her condition. Officers of Alaba Wārāda, and especially teachers who live in the rural hamlet of Alem Gābāya, where W/o Zābiba was residing [at the time of the talk?] have confirmed to me the youngster’s trouble-filled life and the exemplary effort she has made [to extricate herself from her problems].

Following is the interview I conducted with W/o Zābiba.

➤ **When did you start your married life?**

My marriage did not take place of my own free will. My constant wish was to pursue my education all the way up to the highest level. But at the time of my promotion from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> grade, my parents pressured me to interrupt my education and get married [and start a family]. I was [only] 16 at the time. I had to accept the marriage proposal out of mere desire to fulfil the wishes of my family. As my spouse was not willing to let me continue with my education I had to stay at home [as a housewife].

In due process I gave birth successively. You could say I was with a child every year. As of this moment I have two children, while one died of a sickness she contracted.

➤ **Was your relationship with your husband harmonious while it lasted?**

Well, the fact is that because my husband had some education, there wasn't much trouble in our life. For my part, I used to let things go by quietly to make sure that my married life remained [as] peaceful [as it could]. Since my husband's first wife was my senior in age, we moved through life in mutual respect. My husband, being the mere farmer that he was, was not in a position to support both my family and that of my 'co-wife', so that I started to put myself into the business of rearing my children in the most proper way possible. With my predicament as it was at the time, my husband was preparing to marry a third wife. This idea of his really disturbed me. Because the idea of my husband getting a third wife when, in fact, he was not in a position to support his two wives, with children to boot, would be detrimental to my life. [As I have already said] I had no interest to interrupt my education and get married, save for satisfying my family's wishes.

➤ **Had you, at the time, made any attempt to explain to your husband the inappropriateness of marrying a third wife?**

Yes [indeed]. At the time, I heard that my husband was intending to marry his recently-deceased brother's wife, even while the mourning ceremony was still underway. It was just right away that my husband began the preparation for the wedding. It was then that I said to my husband, "You are past your prime. Besides the condition of your life does not enable you [to take another wife]. Why [,then,] do you want to get married?" However, he simply dismissed my question; he wasn't [even] willing to hear me out.

It is at this point that I came into a clash with my husband. I told him that I did not agree with his preparation to 'inherit' his brother's wife for a third wife, and that I was in no position to live with him under such circumstances. [Granted that] my husband was favourably disposed to a number of things; but because he was still prisoner to the community's custom, he considered me as the offender and took the matter to a council of elders. [As might be expected] the elders pronounced that I should have happily accepted my husband's wish to marry a third wife. They confronted me with [the usual] reproach: that a woman should not visit upon her husband such uncouth behaviour. They, therefore, ruled that I should accept the condition and stay put. Since I had no choice, considering the fate of my children, I reconciled myself to the situation.

To my astonishment, however, I one day found my husband readying himself to ship off the crop that I had myself had sown and harvested with hired labour on my own farmstead to his

inherited wife. So we had another fight. So, also, were we reconciled again through the meditation of elders. It is while I was in this abject living condition that my husband was stricken down with a severe case of malaria. The incident put me in a miserable situation.

➤ **What was this miserable condition you are referring to?**

(At this point W/o Zābiba sank into deep though for a few seconds.) Oh, my gosh! . . . [Just] on the [very] second day of my husband's death all his four brothers proposed to me. I told them clearly that I had no desire whatsoever to get into marriage by inheritance. For I knew very well of the injustice perpetrated against many a woman all in the name of custom. I had no interest whatever to find myself in such a difficult life all over again. I had already arrived at a decision, still young as I was, to make all effort to engage in whatever labour in order to rear my children and to create a favourable condition for the betterment of my own life.

[This intention of mine notwithstanding,] many people in the surroundings looked upon me as obstinate, as one who does not heed the counsel of the elders; they all thought my behaviour was due to a desire on my part to be like the 'moderns'.<sup>1</sup> Others, on the other hand, but especially [members of] the Wārāda administration have been encouraging to me, advising me to stand my ground [and pursue my goals].

My husband's relations were [obviously] piqued by my behaviour. They made it a point to come to my house all the time with all sorts of threats. Since the situation became foreboding I collected my children and moved back to my parents' home. Even then, my husband's brothers were not to be pacified; they continued to badger me with their insistence that I should get married to one of them . . . .

➤ **Had the same kind of proposal been made to the other two wives of your husband?**

Neither of my two co-wives had run into the kind of difficulty I did. As it happened, none of my brothers contended over the other wives. And they had reasons for that. [First of all], I was young, while my husband's first [senior] wife was beyond her prime. Neither is the one, married to my husband through inheritance, a spring chicken. Second, I have my own plot of land and, since my children obviously are not ready for any kind of labour, the brothers want to profit from

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<sup>1</sup> *The reference, very likely, is to the urbanized folks (specifically women), in which the Amharic word for 'modern', (zābānay) is negatively loaded, with such attendant concepts as 'moral laxity', 'disrespect', perhaps, even, 'vanity' and 'arrogance', even a dose of 'lewdness'. Her attempt at independence, in short, is a travesty (in the strongest possible sense) in the eyes of the community.*

its use. They also have the desire to appropriate the house I own in the city. These, coupled with other circumstances, are what instigated them into zeroing-in on me.

This, in a nutshell, is why I think all the four brothers were vying among each other for my hand. But, according to the prevailing custom, all the pros and cons of the situation must be considered [in all their dimensions] and one of them is allowed to marry [the woman in question]. The brothers, however, seemed to give no heed even to this custom. And as my family were not happy about what was going on they took me into their bosom.

One of the brothers of my deceased husband was making trouble by coming all the way to [my parents'] house. One day this brother had come home, as he was wont to do, and was threatening me, which led to an uncalled for embroilment with my relatives. In fact, the clash turned into fist fights. So I had to go to the police and report what was happening. The police, however, after looking into the matter, ruled that, since the man had incurred some physical damage in the fight, I must pay some 500 Birr for his treatment, which I somehow managed to do. The matter came to rest with the [usual] mediation of elders.

➤ **Were you able to manage your plot without difficulty after your husband's death?**

How could I? . . . It was impossible to even try. For instance, just about a year ago, I had gone to my farm as usual to have my plot tilled, only to find out that my husband's brothers stood in my way. I was so furious that I had the labourer the oxen, myself joining them on the plot, but they pushed and shoved me aside.

I had, at the time, complained that it was I and my children who had a legitimate claim to using the land, but it all fell on deaf ears. On the contrary, the fact that I, as a woman, behaved and acted the way I did peeved everybody.

➤ **Hadn't you, then, tried to appeal your case to law enforcement officials?**

The police usually do not provide prompt solutions in such instances. As for the elders, they are always on the side of the men. They have this tendency to be surprised at a woman's attempt to go against what custom has ruled 'taboo'. Because I was infuriated by my inability to use the land, I had attempted to publicize my plight. My effort had paid in the final analysis.

It was settled that I could use the land, have it tilled and take care of my children. And yet, on that very day, the elders had ruled that because I had been unruly to my children's uncles, I should pay 50 Birr to compensate for the offence. What was surprising was that they spent all the money I had 'snatched from my children's mouth' [as the saying goes] on **Čat**. When my husband was

still alive, I remember, who very well knew the ways of his brothers, he used to exhort me: "if I die [make sure] you don't engage in marriage by inheritance with any of my brothers, for they will make your life hell!"

Although I had access to my land, I was never in a position to get full protection of all my rights. They [the brothers] were observing every move I made. They threatened that I wouldn't marry anyone as long as they were around; that I couldn't sell or trade-in any of my property; and all this, contrary to my husband's will. Of all [the tragedy] I cannot forget was that no one ever come to my aid when my second child [daughter] was suffering from her illness, and she died. Because, at the time, I did not have the money needed for the mourning ritual to 'entertain' visitors coming to pay their respects. Knowing full well that I would not submit to the will of my husband's brothers, what I was 'advised' was to sell my house and get out of my difficulties [on my own]. Since I had no choice, I had to partition my house and sell half of it.

➤ **What do you have by way of prospects?**

I still have the desire to pursue my education. But, because I am presently into a 'gullit' [road-side retail] business to support my children, conditions are not favourable. If it be Allah's will, I still intend to resume my education.

I also want to start a family. But, I know that my husband's brothers are in the way. I know of women in my vicinity who share my views, whose family life has been hampered in a similar way. The problem I have in mind is that brothers of deceased [husband] have been known to engage in destroying new-built families on the grounds that they are contrary to what the law [custom?] permits. I, for one, am intent on extricating myself from such pressure. I think that all my problems will be solved if only I could get the support of the law.

There is nobody in our community who makes the effort to rid women of this kind of problem. Although I am keen on knowing things about the operations of the law, I haven't been able to find anybody to consult or talk to. I want, I need, someone to teach me about the law, someone to give me lessons in women's rights, in order for me to be able to rid myself of the pressures standing in my way.

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2302 words

ZN1

**TRADITIONAL ARBITRATION SAID TO BE A HINDRANCE TO PROTECTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS****ልማዳዊ ዳኝነት በሴቶች መብት መከበር ላይ እንቅፋት ፈጥሯል**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; No. 90; December 7, 2000 (30.03.93), p. 7

Metu (WIC): The Women's Affairs Office of Illubabor Zone has reported that, because women who are victims of abduction and rape have their cases seen by traditional courts of arbitration, it has been faced with problems with the protection of women's rights.

According to the information communicated by W/o Elleni Dämessé, Head of the Women's Office, the day before yesterday, although efforts have been made to curb abduction and rape, the perpetrators' tactics of using traditional courts of arbitration as a recourse to muffle the cases have made it difficult to follow the proper [legal] route.

Because the perpetrators of the crime resort to traditional courts of arbitration in order to avoid appearing in courts of justice, thereby getting away by paying 50 to 100 Birr to families of victims in damages and settling the matter by marrying the victims of rape, it has been difficult to pursue the matter in a court of law.

Even with the difficulties the Women's Affairs Office has been facing, however, beginning last Meskerem [September] and extending into the current month, the Office has managed to take the cases of 125 women to court: all the women were victims of abduction and rape, later forced into wedlock by the perpetrators of the crime, only to be beaten eventually and expelled from their homes. The cases are pending.

Among those abducted and forced into wedlock through the mediation of traditional tribunals are W/o Amina Abadallah and W/o Tarikua Šefāraw, residents of Dildila Boru and Bäčo Qäbälés of Mätu Wārāda. According to them, because the traditional arbitration mechanism is given legal recognition in their vicinities, they could not get the protection of the law for their rights, [for which reason] they are in support of the effort being made by the Women's Affairs Office of the Zone.

[On the other hand,] Ato Seläši Täsämma and Ato Gämmäda Lafto, who are among the elders arbitrating such cases, said that, because parties to such cases prefer to have matters settled through the traditional courts of arbitration rather than take their cases to courts of law, they had to resort to intervening in [such cases] on the basis of the traditional custom of arbitration. Two individuals living in Bäčo Qäbälé, Mätu Wārāda, and who preferred to remain anonymous and who married their wives

through abduction, said that, because parents [of the women] demanded up to 2000 Birr in dowry and for the preparation of the wedding, they had been forced to resort to abduction.

Ato Täfärra Békuma and Ato Jamal AbbaGulgu, two of the parents living in Metu-Méçi Qäbälé, Mettu Wäräda, said that, although they never wanted their daughters to be married through abduction or because of rape, they could not prevent the matter, since it was considered the custom in the area. The Head of Illubabor Zone Justice Department, Ato Mandäfro Mäšäša, has revealed that, when the Family Law, now being drafted as part of the amendment of country's Criminal and Civil Codes goes into effect shortly, the existing problems will be removed.

504 words

AF1

**WHAT IS MARRIAGE?****ጋብቻ ምንድነው?**

Addis Admass, Vol. 1; No. 1; January 8, 2000 (29.04.92), Pp. 9 &amp; 16 (Law)

Sexual attraction between the sexes [male and female] is a natural trait common to both humans and animals. It is this natural drive that is behind the physical [sexual] union between the males and females of the respective species. Offspring are the result of this sexual union. This, it is assumed, is one of Nature's mechanisms for the perpetuation of the species on the planet Earth.

This attraction between the sexes and the resulting physical union, however, does not have as its primary goal the perpetuation of the species. The primary objective of this union between men and women is not to ensure the continued survival of the human race; rather it serves to relieve a physical tension born of an inner urge and to subsequently attain a sense of equilibrium. As a function of this gratification, however, the union can result in offspring, [which is] the perpetuation of the race/species.

Could it be possible, then, that the Creator [Yahweh, God, Allah], equipped with prior knowledge that human beings as well as other animals would not engage in sexual union as a basic duty [or obligation], may have inseparably linked sexual union and producing offspring to make sure that His creatures would not perish from the face of the Earth?

Let us cut our [philosophical] speculation and turn our attention to the question of marital bond between men and women.

Marital union between men and women, and building a family and living under the same roof [as a unit] is not coterminous with the [very first] existence on this planet of human beings as such. It rather started at a given stage of human social development. It is a [social] phenomenon [practice] born of conditions that were conducive for humans to abandon their animal-like herd ways and adopt [the unitary] family arrangement as a necessary [suitable] way of life.

Man and woman are not to be viewed as two absolutely separate entities. Both have fundamental traits that bring them together as one under the conceptual rubric of 'human'. At the same time, however, there are natural, biological differences that necessitate the distinction 'man' and 'woman', [which is] sexual difference [as a given].



Seen from this angle, one of the differences, and the basic one, between man and woman is the fact that, as a result of the sexual union that both engage in, each to fulfil an inner biological urge, the woman alone brings forth a child after nine months of pregnancy.

But the woman's difference from the man, far from being limited to this [singular] fact alone, comes with other [necessary] obligations [that the man cannot meet]. The miniscule human being that is brought forth into this world [through sexual union] has to rely on its mother's breasts, with which nature endowed only the mother, for its nurture up to a certain stage of its growth and development. This new human being that came into this world is not equipped with the teeth that enable it to tear into some flesh or other. Or [to speak in more local idiom], it has neither the physical nor the mental capacity to cut off a morsel of injera, dip it into some sauce and ingest the [resulting combination]. It appears that Nature has [deliberately] determined<sup>2</sup> that, until such time as this inchoate weakling of a human being has been weaned and nurtured sufficiently such as it would be able to look around for Nature's provisions, dig for roots, pick out leaves, cook them, tear [limbs], pull out undergrowths and feed itself, it is the mother's duty/responsibility to suckle it, cuddle it in the warmth of her bosom and give it unreserved care and attention.

But [as the same Nature would have it,]<sup>3</sup> this stranger to the earth did not come forth into this world from its mother / from woman alone, but with an equal share of 'seed' [sperm cell] from its father / man as well. It is easy to imagine how difficult the father / the man would find it if he were told he has a responsibility equal to that of the mother for the child born [of both] and, therefore, he should take the place of the mother to provide the same nurture to the child as that provided by the mother. If the father / the man were to take the responsibility, whether forced, or through his own free will, it is likely that the child's development would be cut short, i.e. it would die before it becomes a full human being.<sup>4</sup> But, this does not mean that the father cannot [or is in no position to] take care of the child's nurture, given today's technological products, such as the milk bottle with its pacifier, or food products especially packaged for purposes of baby/child care. This is [invoked] to illustrate that a human father's position is not the same as that of a baboon's father or an oxen that sires a calf [the said animals naturally not expected to care for their offspring the same way as the female]. The fact is that human beings save for the fact of their

<sup>2</sup> The Amharic phrase/clause used here is “ተወሰኑ ሁኔታዎች በሰውነት ተወስኗቸዋል” (literally, ‘Nature-deliberately-has decided’). Freely translated, “It has been **determined** or **settled** by nature that . . . .”

<sup>3</sup> There is an implicit, judgmental ‘anthropomorphism’ involved in the tone of the sentence, which otherwise asserts a biological truth of ‘the man sowing his seeds’ necessary for the fertilization of the ovum. The tone is of such a nature as to pre-empt the man from making any excuses for shunning his social responsibility.

<sup>4</sup> [Naturally so, particularly at the initial [early] stage of nurture, since the man is not equipped with the resources to suckle and wean the child. Nothing mysterious about that. This is a legitimate argument from the vantage point of being a man, but. . .].

[technological] civilization, share all other natural traits with the animal species. This aspect of their nature is the ground for the [special] bond/attachment between child and mother.

Once the man has sexual union with the woman, and the child is brought to this world after a nine-month period of gestation, there is no **natural**, i.e. biological] bond that links the father with the child. The love between a father and a child is a result of mutual feelings that develop from getting used to each other over time, not a natural one [as in the case of the mother?].

There is one thing we realize when we look at this natural trait shared by man and woman. While, certainly, both the man and the woman have the same desire to satisfy their sexual urge [drive], we see that, Nature has determined that the task of caring for and nurturing of the child from the moment of inception, through pregnancy-to-birth, to maturity as being the woman's alone while 'exempting' the man from same. This duty [or obligation] has been put in place not by some [human] proclamation but by Nature itself.

Civilization, for its part, has brought into being responsibilities that go beyond providing food and drink to the child until it attains maturity. The child has to undergo further nurture in order for it to be able to handle itself independently, without infringing upon the rights of others and without disturbing the social order, through education in the ethical and moral codes governing the same society in which it grows up, while at the same time developing the skills necessary for its future livelihood. All this has come into being along with human civilization and social development. Given this [social imperative], it would not be difficult to realize the problems that would ensue if the father, under cover of the 'liberty' that Nature has endowed him with, shunned his share of responsibility and left everything to the mother alone.

It appears, consequently, that it is with rectifying the imbalance created by Nature, in which the man is exempted from caring for the child, in mind that the joining of man and woman in marital bond [wedlock] becomes **necessary** [Translator's emphasis.]<sup>5</sup>

Marriage, needless to say, enables man and woman to satisfy their sexual urge. It also creates a conducive condition for them to share the responsibility of rearing the child born of their union. [In other words,] marriage adjusts the imbalance in the responsibility of rearing a child, which Nature has, as it were, left lopsided [against the woman].

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<sup>5</sup> Plainly speaking, 'sharing in the woman's labor', one aspect of the 'social division of labor' that has been visibly kept in the dark under the excuse, as it were, of some 'Natural Ordinance', such as to say because men cannot suckle their babies, therefore, they, have no 'obligation' of sharing in the 'social nurture' of their offspring. This is the gist of this portion of the 'discourse'. The Amharic word for 'necessary' used here is ማገደድ (Yägedd'), a reference to the need to underwrite the practice by some legal mechanism.

It is when the imbalance in the responsibility of rearing the child born of the sexual union between them began to falter and threaten the stability of society that marriage was instituted [as a way of life]. Marriage is, in its origin, social or cultural. Consequently, when [people/men?] violate the 'covenant', instituted by society, of living together in [holy?] matrimony and behave and act outside of the bounds of the social ethical/moral bounds, the society keeps them at a distance and, even condemns them. That is one reason why marriage endures. If people [men?] are thus alienated from / by the society they live in, they could end up being denied the benefits of participation in such communal associations as Däbo, funerals, etc., the removal from which will break any interaction and cooperation the violators have with the rest of the community, thereby making life difficult / unbearable for them. That is why both the man and the woman obey the injunctions socially imposed on them and endure in their conjugal relationship. Not only that, they also respect the conjugal relationships of others. [In a scenario like this] neither the one nor the other will, except in strict secrecy, dare to violate the conjugal 'shrine' of another person [through adultery].

As time went by, however, because of [the vicissitudes of] civilization, the interdependence members of a given society used to have among each other began to loosen and, finally, reached a stage where it broke down altogether. [Translated into local idiom] this means that people reached a stage where they could do without such communal associations as Däbo and Edder. And yet [paradoxically], matrimony became even more important [perhaps necessary] even at this stage of social development. This meant that matrimony 'broke' out from the 'patronage' of culture and fell under the guardianship of the law. But under what conditions could this matrimony endure? Is it possible [for a man and a woman] to cohabit outside of matrimonial relationship?

### **Irregular Unions [Cohabitation?]**

Last year, the Women's Affairs Office under the Office of the Prime Minister had organized a conference on the Draft Family Law. The aim of the conference was to deliberate on the possibilities of amending the Family Law in accordance with the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. At this conference papers on irregular union [i.e. living together in sexual relation outside matrimony] had been presented and feedbacks solicited.

Those presenters/participants who were of the opinion that the kind of relationship under consideration should benefit from [the government's] legal protection started out with the following 'premise': Ethiopian women are economically dependent upon men [their husbands]. When a man and a woman decide to live together in irregular union, they may develop community of property and/or produce offspring. However, it may also be the case that the man could turn out the woman with nothing to her name just, as his whims dictate. On top of that, during the relationship, the woman could, without

her desire, find herself with a child [become pregnant]. This unwanted pregnancy could in turn lead to abortion or prove to be a health hazard to the woman. In the event that the woman brings forth a child, the father could deny that the child is his, in which case the responsibility of rearing the child would be left to the woman alone, which in turn could also mean that the child would grow up without the proper care and, eventually, end up in the streets. This in its turn would open the way for the proliferation of children reared up without care, in the process of which the country could lose its future citizens. Such were the ideas and arguments presented at the conference.

The presenters/participants had opined that, because the woman happens to be economically dependent on the man, she needs the protection of the law in regard of the relationship of the irregular union she enters into with the man in order to ward off the difficulties as well as the wrongs she would otherwise suffer.

Another opinion/suggestion in the same spirit, but articulated from a different vantage point, had also been tabled at the conference. Cohabitation of men and women outside of [the official legal framework] had been a long-standing custom. If the couple under such circumstances did not engage in other conjugal relationship and had lived together for a long time, and the surrounding community looked upon them as husband and wife, the relationship is not viewed as being any different from the [legal] matrimonial relationship. It is, therefore, [common sense] that such a relationship be provided with [a similar] legal protection that is due to matrimonial relationships [recognized by the law].

In order to understand [and weigh] the legitimacy or otherwise of the issue of irregular union, it would only be appropriate to look into how the country's civil code still operative in Ethiopia has defined matrimony and what it has to say regarding the relationship of cohabitation.

In the first place, the union formed between a man and a woman is of two types: within and outside of matrimony. The two types of relationship differ in the nature of the agreement arrived at between the individuals party to the relationship. The agreement must be considered as one in which the modality of the relationship has been found acceptable by both parties. If such a relationship has been entered into in a situation in which the woman was not of age at the time of the agreement, that is, not legally eligible to enter into the agreement, the civil code has set down provisions under which to deal with such cases.

If, for example, the agreement has been entered into while the woman was not yet of age and involved deception and underhanded scheme of lure, the law has put down specific provisions under which to handle the case. If, on the other hand, the agreement was entered between a man and a woman who both happen to be of age and the aforementioned problems don't exist, the law stipulates that **“all persons can enter into agreement to form relationships with other persons, or the law will assume that the**

**person can execute an agreement or is in a position to execute an agreement.”** Consequently, a woman that is of age can enter into agreement with a man to live together in matrimony or outside matrimony involving sexual union. Unless, in this kind of relationship or union, some kind of deception or fraud has been employed on the part of the man, there will be no special obligation imposed upon the man. Depending on the nature of their agreement, the man and the woman can live together for as long as they want, or transform their relationship into one of matrimony, or decide to end their relationship altogether.

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia stipulate that, “In accordance with provisions to be specified by law, a law giving recognition to marriage concluded under system of religious or customary laws my be enacted (Article 34 [4]).

The details of the said legal provisions, however, have not been issued yet. However, the task of amending the family law as provided for in the 1952 [E.C.] Civil Code is in process. The Ethiopian Civil Code has categorized marriage under three headings: Civil Marriage; Religious Marriage; and Marriage According to Custom. According to this law Civil Marriage is the kind of marriage that “takes place when a man and woman have appeared before the officer of civil status for the purpose of contracting marriage and the officer of civil status has received their respective consent.” A Religious Marriage “takes place when a man and a woman have performed such acts or rites and are deemed to constitute a valid marriage by their religion or the religion of one of them.” Marriage According to Custom “shall take place when a man and a woman perform such rites as constitute a permanent union between such man and woman under the rules of the community to which they belong or to which one of them belongs.” [Articles 578, 579, and 580, respectively.]

The law requires the parties to the agreements in all three types of marriage to have a written contract that meets the requirements provided for in the law. While the law specifically states that such a written contract is the sole proof for the marriage relationship so entered, this written contract, the law further states, can be prepared either at the time of the marriage or after the marriage has been completed. Even if there may not be such a written contract, however, the law provides for a situation in which the couple can present other evidences in support of their marriage, or, conversely, in witness thereof, to the non-existence of marriage in the couples’ relationship.

The law has something to say about couples who live together outside of conjugal relationship. The law calls this relationship between a man and a woman "irregular union." It defines this relationship as one in which “a man and a woman live together as husband and wife without having contracted marriage.” [Art. 708] The law further states that “it is necessary and sufficient in order to have an irregular union that the behaviour of the man and of the woman be analogous to that of married people.” [Article 709(1)]

But the recognition that the law accords to this kind of relationship is not the kind that it does to the above mentioned three types of marriage. The relationship does not entail any “affinity between the man and the relatives of the woman or between the woman and the relatives of the man [Art. 710(1)]

The law has further stipulated the conditions under which it provides protection to this kind relationship that entails sexual union between the concerned couples. The law stipulates that the couple who have entered into such relationship have mutual responsibility for obligations entered into by the woman either for her partner’s or her own welfare or for the benefit of the children born of the relationship, or other related obligations. Regarding the children born of the relationship, pending proof that the children were indeed born of that relationship, the father will be under obligation to provide for the children.

The law also makes it clear that the woman can at any time initiate proceedings to end the relationship, in the event of which she is under no obligation to pay any expenses incurred, or return or restore anything that was given her during the relationship. The law also stipulates, in a similar manner that, if it is the man who wants the relationship terminated, he can do so at any time, on condition, however, that the justices of the court can rule that he pay the woman a monthly living allowance [as in alimony] sufficient to support her livelihood. If it is known that the said relationship existed, that the man and the woman have been “living in an irregular union when, although they are not married, they behave as such, and when their families and their neighbours consider that they [have been living] as married people, they have the status of people living in an irregular union.” [Art. 718(2)]

When we look at the above-mentioned stipulations articulated in the Ethiopian Civil Code, one cannot argue that the law does not give recognition to conjugal relationships founded outside of the legally sanctioned wedlock. Since this kind of relationship is not among the types of matrimonial relationships that the law formally recognizes, it has not accorded the relationship the same rights and obligations that formal wedlock entails. Generally speaking, while the law recognizes the existence of the relationship between the man and the woman, it has not reached the level that makes it deserve the status of [full] legality.

This relationship between a man and a woman, which goes by the name of "irregular union" has not so far been given recognition by the existing family law. . . . .

This kind of relationship is created between a man and a woman who have agreed to found the relationship. If one argues that such a relationship should not be allowed to exist at all, the law cannot, beyond simply considering the relationship as non-existent and, therefore, denying it legal recognition, hinder the man and the woman who went into agreement to start the relationship of their own free will

from leading their lives [in the manner they wish; Neither can it do so [hinder the union]. If this kind of relationship is to be legally prohibited, the measure would not be any different from denying the right of men and women to form the kind of relationship that they see fit or agreeable to their temperament.

There is one thing that the proponents of this idea do not seem to have taken into consideration. Namely, that the number of men who are willing to volunteer into this kind of relationship far outstrips that of women with the same inclination. There are men who have nothing to speak of by way of income or property who are willing to enter into a non-matrimonial relationship with a woman with a home and a comfortable life and lead a life of economic dependency. When we consider the existing law, if a woman who has entered into this kind of relationship wants to terminate the relationship, the law takes her economic subordination alone into consideration and rules that she is not obliged to return whatever has been given to her by the man during the relationship, let alone oblige her to pay back any cost incurred by the man during the same relationship. If, in this kind of relationship, it is the man who wants the relationship terminated, it is him that the court rules against, requiring him to pay the woman to provide her with three months worth of living allowance. In the case of the penniless man who volunteers into this kind of relationship with a woman having in her own home with her own wealth, if it is the man who initiates the termination of the relationship, it means that the penniless man would be legally forced to pay the woman a three-month living allowance regardless, since the ruling assumes that it is always the woman that is economically dependent on the man. To look at the matter conversely, what if the woman, who is always viewed as the wronged party takes the poor man who cohabits with her by surprise and decides to dismiss him, with an "I don't care, the hyenas can get you" attitude, what then? Who is the wronged party and who must, therefore, table grievances with the courts? The man or the woman? If, therefore, the existing [family] law [or Criminal Code] must be amended, it must take such factors into consideration. The hitherto existing law used to accord legal protection to irregular conjugal relationship between men and women. The one thing that it lacked was providing full protection to the rights of the man in this relationship.

3806 words

ZN2

**WORKSHOP TO FACILITATE THE AMENDMENT OF THE CRIMINAL CODE TO BEGIN ON MONDAY****የወንጀለኛ መቅጫ ሕግን ለማሻሻል የሚረዳ አውደ ጥናት ሰኞ ይጀመራል**

Addis Zemen, vol. 59; no. 120; January 29, 2000 (20.05.92), Pp 1 &amp; 11

It has been revealed that a workshop to facilitate the amendment of the [Ethiopian] criminal code is scheduled to begin on Monday at the African Union Conference Hall. The amended criminal code is expected to ensure the protection of the rights of children, women and the family.

Wäyezäro Aşädä Buta, spokesperson for the department of children's, women's and family affairs disclosed during a press lease that the workshop deliberating on the amendment of the country's criminal code will be held on Terr 22 through Terr 25, 1994 [E.C.].

Pointing out that [unjust law?] would be a hindrance to the building of a society with a fully developed human dignity; Wäyezäro Aşädä explained the need for an improved criminal code guaranteeing the rights and security of children, women and families.

Wäyezäro Aşädä also drew attention to the importance of enabling people to bring about social development through the proper use of their rights, thereby underscoring the legitimacy and correctness of measures to institute laws that are in accord with the society's stage of development and commensurate with its needs.

According to Wäyezäro Aşädä there is indeed a need for an amended criminal code in accord with the country's constitution as well as our society's stage of development.

Wäyezäro Aşädä also pointed out that deliberations will be held regarding child abuse and, hence, the need to [include provisions] ensuring the protection of children's rights at the workshop.

It has come to our attention that the workshop was organized by the cooperative effort of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Women's Affairs Bureau under the Prime Minister's Office.

266 words



ZF3

**THE NEW FAMILY LAW: AN ANSWER TO WOMEN'S QUESTION?****የሴቶችን ጥያቄ የመለስ የቤተሰብ ሕግ**

Béthälehém Keflé

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; No. 287; August 10, 2000 (04.12.92), p. 10

The responsibility of caring for my children born of the union between myself and my now-estranged husband had fallen on my shoulders. A few years still remain before my children become 18 [legally of age]. I consider the ratification of the new Family Law as a significant victory for me, particularly at a time when their father had been threatening to discontinue payment of alimony. The fact that the living allowance due to us will continue until such time as the children have become legally self-sufficient is in accord with the concrete situation of our country. [Because of this] my anxiety as to what I might feed my children, with no opportunity for employment, has been alleviated. . . .

The lady spoke these words with sobs of joy in her voice. When she was done with what she had to say, she expressed her uncontrollable inner joy with ululation. The new Family Law was ratified by the House of Peoples' Representatives on Säné 28, 1992 [July 5, 2000], on the occasion of which over 500 women gathered at the Addis Ababa Conference Hall celebrated this collective joy with applause and ululation.

Last week, the Women's Affairs Office of Addis Ababa City-Administration and the **Addis Ababa City Democratic Association** had called a meeting in support of the ratification of the [new] Family Law. Among the women present at the meeting, a sizeable proportion, who spoke from [their own] first-hand experience, pointed out the contribution of the amendment of the law would make towards the protection of women's rights. In the discussion paper they presented, W/o Yäšewärq Yemär and Ato Abäbä Mulat, both legal professionals, spoke of the law in general, and gave detailed explanations on the substance of the Family Law.

In their analyses, the professionals pointed out that, according to the newly amended Family Law, marrying youngsters below the age of 18 has been prohibited, while any matrimonial union taking place will be based on the absolute will of the people party to the union. In the event that the marriage [contracted between the parties] runs into problems, arbitration would take place not through the mediation of family elders but through the proper channel of a legal court.

The major reason cited for this provision has to do with the problem of divorce, the solution of which must be sought in accordance with the law and the legally-stipulated procedures. Because the elders

of family arbitration institutions see cases and pass their rulings in accordance with customary procedures rather than by consulting official law, they are [feared to be] incapable of arriving at equitable decisions. It is, however, believed that the elderly mediators will have a positive role to play in arbitrating those cases involving reconciliations rather than making [binding] decisions [one way or the other]. Beyond this, however, since it has been observed that a tribunal of arbitration presided by family elders usually fails to give prompt resolution to cases presented to it, cases involving divorce, whether to recommend reconciliation or rule for dissolution of the marriage, shall be the [sole] mandate of a court of justice [according to the new Family Law].

According to Article 712 of the 1960 Civil Code of Ethiopia, “An irregular union shall not create any community of property between the man and the woman in such a union.” The legal professionals have pointed out that, according to the amended law, however, couples who have not agreed to a union in accordance with the laws/procedures of civil marriage have equal rights to share in common property as long as they have lived together over five years [as husband and wife].

The explanation of the stipulation of this [particular] law lies in the belief/conviction that, since such a couple happen to live together as husband and wife at any one given moment, both the man and the woman would have had contributed to the establishment of a community of property. Precisely because such matrimonial union has secured the recognition of the law, forbidding either of the couple from sharing in the property they acquired during their union would constitute a denial of justice. According to the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Every Ethiopian citizen has “Right to Property” [Article 40:1] and “Right to Equality” [Article 25].

Of special interest is the experience of the legal professional, W/o Yäšewärq Yemär, which she came across while serving as justice of the court at one time. She relates her experience as follows: “I was reading into a case presented by a woman who was a mother of 8 children. Then I tried to talk to both of them [the woman and the man]. Although, at the time, the husband and the wife had eight children between them, they nevertheless had no marriage contract. As sad as the case may have been, since, according to the then-existing law, a man and a woman living together outside of marriage [i.e. in irregular union] could not have a community of property, the woman had no right to ask for/demand a share in the property. In fact, the law at the time had clearly stipulated that, in the event that such a union between a man and a woman, with no legal contractual basis to it, ends up in separation/divorce on the initiation of the man, the most justices of the law could require of the man would be a three-month payment of support to the woman by way of compensation.

“Because what the law permitted was only this kind of payment, we were forced to rule [against the woman], even while [we] knew full well the gravity of the suffering inflicted upon that woman of

eight children. Many are the experiences we witnessed that are of the same type. But today, the amendment of this law is quite a significant victory to women [as a whole]. According to this law, therefore, when an irregular union [between a man and a woman] is terminated [the women have] have the right to equal share in the property acquired during the union.” So explained W/o Yäšewärq.

According to W/o Elsabét Wäldä Gäbereél, Chief of Education and Public Relations at the Addis Ababa Administration Women’s Affairs Office, and organizer of the said meeting, the ratification of the Family Law will provide one solution to the alleviation of the problems women go through. This meeting in support of the new law was organized with the aim of creating awareness among women about the rights they have won.

As W/o Elsabét put it, among the measures taken by the government toward the protection of women’s rights, the amendment of the Family Law can be considered a major one. “We are very happy that the amended Family Law has now been ratified. The Women’s Affairs Office will organize successive discussion forums to ensure that women have sufficient awareness about the [workings of] the law. Our next focus would be on the particulars of the implementation of the law. It is imperative,” she said finally, “that women get organized and struggle for their rights to ensure the implementation of the law without prejudice [to anyone].

Alongside this, a paper titled “Major Points of Comparison between the Draft of the Family Law and Previous Law” [Civil Code] has been prepared by the Institute of Justice and Legal Systems Research.”

The main differences between the amended and now-ratified Draft Family Law and the laws promulgated regarding the family in the 1960 Civil Code have been presented as follows:

[In the old customary way], while betrothal constituted an agreement [between a man and a woman] before the marriage takes place, as the case may be, and since the actual union takes place in accordance to the prevailing custom, since, also, the procedures followed and the results after the actual consummation of the union do not correspond, [this aspect of the previous law] has not been included in the new Family Law. In order to mitigate the psychological, health and social problems resulting from marriages concluded between minors, it has been stipulated in the new Family Law that the minimum marriageable age be 18 for both the man and the woman.

**Article 35** of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has stipulated that both men and women enjoy equal rights with regard to conditions of marriage, during marriage as well as in divorce matters. Accordingly, the stipulations in the 1960 Civil Code that were particularly prejudicial

to men have been amended and replaced by stipulations strongly articulating the principle of the equality of both [sexes] in matters of individual rights and social and property relations.

With the view to thwarting problems arising during marital relationships, and cognizant of the benefits accruing to social and economic issues, a system of registration that requires any marriage concluded under any of the legally recognized marriage regulations to be registered [with the officer of civil status?] indicating consent to the marriage contract by both parties has been put in place. Since marriage is founded on the basis of the free will of the parties to the union, and as such constitutes individual relationship, laws have been stipulated permitting a husband and wife that find it impossible to continue living together to take their case to a court of justice and have a divorce effected by mutual consent.

Regarding irregular union between a man and a woman, since this kind of union leads to the creation of property through individual effort by either party or in unison by both, thereby resulting in community of property, stipulations have been made to ensure that such communal property created during the union is shared equally between the parties to the contract. Because conflicts arising in the family on matters concerning marriage constitute questions of rights that require equitable decisions and, therefore, should be adjudicated by the appropriate court of justice, family arbitration through elders should be limited to seeing into matters involving reconciliation between the parties concerned.

Because the Family Law is seen as separate and independent from the civil code, that portion of the law stipulated in the Civil Code as regards minors has been integrated into the Family Law.

The explanatory paper presented at the meeting has pointed out that, in addition to what has been specifically identified so far regarding the family, the Civil Code has undergone various changes and improvements to help remove problems observed in actual practice and to make the laws therein more up-to-date, such as formulations, conceptual haziness, and similar matters, while stipulations found unnecessary or no more applicable have been altogether annulled.

1764 words

## CHAPTER VII: LITTLE LIP, CHANGE ELEMENTS

ZE1

**IF OUR DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE SHOULD ATTAIN ITS GOALS. . .****EDITORIAL****የልማት ትልማቶችን ግቡን እንዲመታ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; no. 76; November 25, 2000 (16.03.93), P. 3.

A three-day workshop on [the preparation of] Sub-Saharan African People and Demographic Map was organized at the Hilton Hotel with the collaboration of UNESCO and the **UN Secretariat for Demographic [Research?]**. The workshop was aimed at informing Africans about the importance of family planning and protecting themselves from HIV/AIDS, which poses a threat to the continent's development endeavours, if the demographic policies of the various governments should meet their goals.

In his/her speech to the participants of the workshop, the representative of the UN Secretariat for Demographic Research pointed out that African governments and the relevant agencies should strive to raise their peoples' awareness on the need for family planning for them to better plan their development programmes and involve their peoples in the various development sectors. In order to get rid of this problem, Sub-Saharan African countries need to have an integrated inter-regional demographic map put in place. UNESCO's representative, for his/her part, revealed that the drawing up of the envisioned demographic map would be based on data provided by the continent's planning experts, researchers, representatives and officials of governments and non-governmental organizations, taking into account the concrete conditions of their respective countries.

The representative of Ethiopia's Ministry of Education, for his part, disclosed the inclusion of demography and family planning as integral subjects in the country's current curriculum. It is expected that the envisioned African demographic map will play a significant role in the success of the activities to be undertaken by African countries, including Ethiopia, in their development endeavours in health, environmental protection and similar other sectors.

In Ethiopia, a country which stands third in population size with over 63 million people, the rapid increase in population growth, which outstrips the economic growth, has become a matter of concern to us [all].

As the available data indicate, it is estimated that (our) the country's population shows an average growth of 3 per cent a year. If this trend continues [unchecked] the country's population could double by the year 2017. The major factor that has contributed to the rapid growth of the country's population is [the corresponding] birth rate. An Ethiopian woman between the ages of 15 and 49 on the average gives birth

to 6.52 children. While the lowest average birth globally is 1.2, the highest figure recorded so far is in Yemen, with 7.6 children to a family. When we compare our country's situation with these figures, it would not be difficult to imagine the danger posed by the increase in population seen against the lag in its economic growth.

Over and above the pressure this unbalanced population growth places upon the people's social life, there is no doubt that it poses a hindrance to the country's future economic growth.

Our country has undertaken several significant activities to ensure the implementation of the second five-year development program in order to rid herself of poverty and backwardness. However, in order for her development goals to be successfully realized, it has to balance its population growth with that of its economy, if it must make the necessary progress along the road of development. The effort we are making today to become self-sufficient in food production through the extension program now widely implemented throughout the country will succeed only if we manage to increase food production over and above the rapidly growing population or [at least] maintain the balance between food production and population growth. If, however, the country's population continues to grow at the same rate unabated, no matter how much food the country produces, our vision of the country becoming self-sufficient in food production would be nothing more than a mere wish.

The problem that an unchecked population growth entails in all sectors of life is not something to be regarded lightly. In order to ensure the quality of education that all of us regard with deep concern, the number of students in a given classroom must be trimmed to [the appropriate] size. And in order to create a conducive environment for the realization of this [goal], we have to create a balance between our population growths with the number of schools we can build. If, as we observe now, we continue with eighty to a hundred students to a classroom, the idea of maintaining the quality of education [we all desire] will be but a mockery.

In the case of health care, too, the magnitude of the problem that an unchecked population growth entails is tremendous. Leaving aside for the moment the question of what ought to be done in the future, we need to build many hospitals and deploy as many doctors and health professional in order to be able to provide proper health care to the existing population, as it is. It is imperative that we provide sufficient amount of potable water to protect the people from water-borne diseases, from which, precisely, the majority of our people today suffer.

The difficulty of the challenge of providing living quarters, transportation and potable water services to our cities in which we see rapid population growth has become a daily scenario. In cities like Addis Ababa, which are homes to people numbering in the millions, beside the difficulty of providing the

aforementioned services, the cost required to get rid of both liquid and solid waste has become so daunting that the problem of providing sanitary services to our cities has reached a critical stage.

As a result, also, of the astonishing rate of the population's growth, the number of the country's jobless is growing with a corresponding rate. This is especially true of our cities, in which jobless women have become vulnerable to prostitution while the men are engaging in criminal activities.

In consideration of this reality, therefore, among the major priority objectives of the Ethiopian Demographic Policy we find the following: striking a balance between population growth and economic development; appropriate utilization and protection of natural resources, and attaining sustainable development for the people's self-reliance.

The government of the Ethiopian Peoples' Federal Democratic Republic and the Regional States have done everything in their power for the realization of the country's demographic policy, and still continue to do so. The Secretariat of Democratic Research of the United Nations, besides working in consultation with the Ethiopian government in identifying priority issues towards improving the development and implementation of programs, has made tremendous contribution in providing financial support needed for the implementation of demographic program activities.

While granting that the projects carried out in the preceding years are of no little significance, there is still a need to make unreserved effort until such time as the people have realized that unchecked population growth still constitutes a source of poverty and backwardness.

1112 words



AN1

**"THE COMMUNITY SHOULD HELP US WITH OUR GOAL OF UPHOLDING THE DIGNITY OF CHASTITY"<sup>6</sup>****<የድንግልና ክብር ግቡን እንዲመታ ሀብረተሰቡ ሊረዳን ይገባል>****ወ/ት አስቴር በዛ-ወርቅ**

Addis Admass, Vol. 1; No. 40; October 14, 2000 (04.02.93), Pp. 1 &amp; 17

"Bless Ethiopia Foundation," which is in the third month of its establishment as a legally-recognized institution, is part of the anti-AIDS movement in Ethiopia. The main objective of the Foundation is to mobilize girls, who have key roles to play in the society's economic as well as political development, in order to help them recognize their own potential and preserve their nature-endowed honour and protect themselves and the community at large. According to W/t Aster Bäzza-Wärqe, one of the founding members of the organization, while the Foundation was by and large initiated by girls over 20 years of age, it has planned to publicize [inaugurate] itself on Teqemete 10, 1993 [E.C.][October 20, 2000] under the banner/motto of 'The Dignity of Virginity/Chastity'.

Aster, who revealed that the membership of the organization has at the moment approached the 220 mark, said that most of the members were youngsters and people from various areas of occupation, such as students, government employees and people in the business sector.

Aster said that the members of the organization at the moment operate within the limits of Addis Ababa City-Administration. According to her, "their main task consists in bringing together girls [literally virgin-women] and acting as model [citizens] and imparting education to the youth and [small] children, while at the same time training sex-workers in various vocational fields." While the training process started last week, "our struggle is especially aimed at transforming the attitude of women who consider maintaining one's virginity as a backward [practice]," says Aster.

The way Aster explained the matter, those considered model girls are those who must uphold maintaining their virginity until marriage; who must reject using [thinking of] virginity as a commodity;

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<sup>6</sup> The title of this news report is ambiguous to the point of being vague if taken by itself. The Amharic word 'dinghil' ('virgin') and its derivative 'dinghilinna' ('virginity') mean 'chaste' and 'chastity', respectively. The ambiguity of the title, taken by itself, has the implication of remaining a virgin or maintaining once chastity forever (as in being a nun, remaining a life-time virgin). It also extends into meaning 'remaining celibate'. One who reads the title will be confused until one goes through the text; to understand that what is meant actually is 'maintain once virginity' until the consummation of one's marriage, according to tradition. The same confusion extends to the word 'kibr' or 'kibir', which could translate into 'honor' (more directly), and 'dignity' or 'virtue', depending on the context. The net message, however, is that it should not be considered shame for girls to maintain their virginity until they get married, pure and simple, which happens to be one of the missions of the Foundation. (Trans.)

who must believe [are convinced of] the necessity [importance] of maintaining one's virginity/chastity [as a condition] to return to our tradition." Moreover, [they must believe: that "love is a one-for-one affair; that marriage is not [just] a matter of compatibility but of mutual tolerance [and understanding?]; and that, **if it happens that their marriage is short-lived, they would be ready for any impending problems.**"<sup>7</sup>

Asked if their organization does [or would] accept girls that have 'lost' their virginity but would like to be members of the organization, Aster said, "Yes, we are willing," and she added that they have the good will and support of the Family Guidance and Counselling Association behind them.

She further expressed her **vision** [hope] that they **want** to see the result [of their effort] the coming Tiqimt 10, 1993 [E.C./October 20, 2000].<sup>8</sup> Finally, she underscores the need for the "community to support us in meeting our goal of preserving/upholding the 'Dignity of Virginity.' As this aim is one that people will not find easily palatable, we very well know that it takes a lot of effort on our part. That is why we provide education on cultural [sic] marriage, pre-marital preparations, the nature of marriage [wedlock], what kind of life should people lead after marriage, how to handle the economic problems accompanying family-building, etc., in the course of our training."

505 words

<sup>7</sup> This sentence is rather confusing. It could mean what it says in the translation, given the context in which the girls are presented as 'enduring' and 'full of resolve' in all other matters. However, given some of the current parlance that Amharic has fallen into (to the translator's consternation), the sentence may mean, for all intents and purposes, that the girls (and their would-be partners) may decide to shorten their engagement phase and hasten their marriage, thereby falling into unforeseen troubles/difficulties. Then the girls (who are our subject/object of discourse) may be expected to endure in spite of it all, which is suggested by the precedence given to 'tolerance'.

<sup>8</sup> Very bad construction. What the speaker purportedly says is that they are **awaiting to see the result** of their effort on the said date of the said month, which expresses both hope and anxiety combined. What the reporter tells us is that the speaker has "thus expressed her vision," an unsuccessful attempt at writing 'cute' Amharic, otherwise known as affectation. A vision is usually expressed in assertive terms: 'It is my vision that such and such will happen. . . .', as 'a matter of fact', as a fait accompli. Hope is expressed as 'I hope (to see) this happen', as a matter of wish. Suggestion: Let us stick to the speaker's purported "awaiting to see the result" –with nothing lost and everything gained in the translation.

While I am at it, quite a number of phrases, clauses, sentences, and portions of passages have been so 'confusingly' or 'ambiguously' 'constructed'. Ambiguities, as being in the nature of language, can be explained. Confusions cannot. Hence, the need to resort to free translation in which the spirit is communicated without doing violence to the letter. The article/report/essay on marriage (and only a certain portion thereof) requires faithfulness to the letter, since there are legal technicalities involved. So also does the interview with the woman about marriage by inheritance, to a lesser extent. Bertukan's interview has been found more amenable to free translation precisely because it is so 'more full with spirit,' with subtle nuances, sometimes bordering on the sarcastic and, definitely, full of irony and paradoxes. Paying homage to the letter will completely destroy it, because it is highly polemical. Which means a lot of inferences, extrapolations, in short dialogue between the languages involved come {must come} into play. The part where Bertukan engages the stance assumed or the position allegedly taken by the parties, including the ruling party, is a good example, in which she herself is actually engaged, quite literally in interpretation, not just matter-of-fact descriptive assertions. [Trans.]

AF2

## TOLERANCE OR COMPATIBILITY?

## መግባታት ወይስ መመገጠን?

Addis Admass, Vol. 1; No. 31; August 5, 2000 (29.11.92), P. 6 (What to do)

**The authorial ‘prologue’ has been skipped here, as also the ‘epilogue’ at the end [Trnas.]**

**She** is dealing with the intricacies of the prime minister’s daily political-business dealings. **He** spends his day balancing the hotel’s daily accounts. When, at the end of the day, both meet and exchange ideas, she finds his ideas rather on the lean side. And to him, her outlook tends toward the arrogant.

This couple are ‘lovebirds’ ready to give themselves the license allowing them to pass through to the ‘printing room’ of matrimony. When these two people made their betrothal, the following was what they said [to themselves?]: "Love is something that reconciles irreconcilable class differences. There is only blooming in love, not dissipation. [Love] is unity in difference [diversity], not crisis in difference. It is enough that we understand [tolerate] each other in our love [relationship]." The document they signed, by which to live, looks like this.

“Dear me, no business today; I think, maybe, people have started regurgitating and chewing the cud of what they had for lunch, so that nobody there [seemed to care for] the dinner.” Irritated, **he** sat down with his legs folded [underneath him].

“The times we live in are one in which the political market is booming. How surprising it all seemed; listening to the B.B.C. this morning, I heard that America, intent on propagating political mercantilism . . .”

“Stop it! Go do this bookkeeping of yours with your friends at your office. Why are you making a mockery of things; it is not I going bankrupt; I am telling you, we are going bankrupt!” [With these words] her face crimsoned like embers.<sup>9</sup>

“Why do you think like a one-track-minded [person]? Solutions are possible [only] through dialogue.” For all the attempt **she** made to calm **him** down, the fact that she herself was no more calm than him was belied by her countenance, with the hue of her light-tan skin turned suddenly dark.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> & <sup>16</sup> *There seems to be a mistake in the last sentences of both paragraphs. In both cases the irritation is attributed to her though she is characterized as possessed precisely of a calm disposition. Trans. The second paragraph, however, seems to imply that the calmness in her is actually nothing more than a façade, an artifice to hide her own irritation.*

“Our problems can only be solved not by the gossip you pick up from here and there but through [hard] work alone. Whether America went bankrupt or made gains, that is her business. All you care about is America’s laughter, while you give no hoot to the tears here in our family.” With these words **he** abruptly sprang up from his seat. “Do wait a moment, and listen to what I have to say. I haven’t even really started on the train of my thoughts. Besides, I am your fiancée, not one of [those] waitresses you hired [for your business]. You cannot [have no right to] upbraid me, but talk to me as becomes a prudent person.” **She** contorted her face so that her forehead was striated with furrows.

“Go away taking this ‘commerce’ of yours and deal in exchanges with your friends at your office.” **He** walked out leaving her where she was seated. Finally, worn out with this daily engagement of [his] battlefield, **she** decided to call it off and get off [the carriage]. “Only he who respects my ideas, that person is [worthy of being] my husband. Since there is nothing between us to make us share this life, Ciao.” With these words **she** bid him farewell.

On the one hand, **he** was [seemed to be] satisfied with having attained the twelfth level in education, priding himself of the sufficiency of the knowledge needed for him to join in the family of the business world; on the other hand, **he** thought, proud of her achievement as a graduate of Harvard with a Master’s degree, **she** had decided that ‘I belonged in the forefront of the [long] line of stupid people.’ This much **he** had resolved. So, because their love could not break this barrier, it died [having ‘fluttered’ only so far].

In this duel, **he** considered himself as an old calendar the usefulness of which has expired and the thought [recognition] rendered him incapable of thinking what to do next except to resolve it was the end of everything. The love, which from the start had the sickly appearance of a leprous skin,<sup>11</sup> had nothing to show for it all by way of ‘something to lean on’ for [such] a rainy day. The same haste [into marriage], which represented, to one of them, an [ulcerous] abscess, and [mere] frivolity to the other, made matters look like an attempt made by a thread-less needle<sup>12</sup> to mend a torn piece of cloth. [With] neither of them under any need [obligation] to engage in a tug-of-war, their respective capacity for tolerance could either have added longevity to their love or nipped it in the bud, depending.

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<sup>11</sup> The author of the essay actually uses the word ለምግብ (lemts), a disease that makes the skin lose its pigmentation. In the ‘Amharic culture’ the disease is looked upon as identical with, if not the same as, leprosy. The metaphor indicates ‘decay’ or ‘mortification’, a bad start from the beginning in colloquial idiom. [Trans.]

<sup>12</sup> The aptness of the metaphor lies in the needle being without thread. The idea zeroes-in on lack of foresight, which makes of the attempted union an exercise in futility. It’s all theory, so to speak. The author speaks of the attempt as the ‘travel a needle takes without thread’, which latter actually gives the needle the significance of value it has. [Trans.]

There need be no compatibility [or symmetry] of knowledge [between the couple] to understand [tolerate] each other. A teacher and a student heed each other not on grounds of compatibility in knowledge but on the basis of understanding [tolerance]. There are, in both cases, levels of superiority or inferiority, as the case may be. But because they understand each other, they get along [as well as they could]. As the teacher shares his knowledge with the student, so also does the student partake of that knowledge? [In this manner of communication structure in which something passes from one to the other, there is certain to be, however minimal, a relationship of dominance and subservience, as an integral part of life.]

If one is intent on thinking of love as always one's Sunday-Best, it is inevitable that any marriage consummated between a couple under such circumstances should be not one of compatibility [of knowledge, etc.] but of tolerance [and understanding]. It is possible to [live] and face the inevitable death even by going through argumentations based on differences of level of thinking and outlook, yet, also, by making reconciliations, in mutual respect and courtesy, leading to mutual understanding.

956 words

AF3

## THE HIDE-AND-SEEK GAME OF DOWRY

ጥሎሽ ድብብቆሽ

&lt;አየሁሽ! አላየሁሽ!&gt;

Emäbét

Addis Admass, Vol. 1; No. 17; April 29, 2000 (21.08.92), P. 8 (Women)

Depending on cultural practices and the [economic/social status] of the couples to be married, dowries assume different forms. In the southern parts of our country [Ethiopia], the dowry that [a betrothed girl] brings into her family, the whole lot of which is handed over to that family is a widely accepted practice that is awaited with [particular] longing since the very day the girl child is born. [Conversely,] there also are cultures in which the bride-to-be pays dowry to her would-be groom, much the same way as the groom does in other cultures. While in one culture cattle are valued highly as [the ideal form of] payment, cash, the amount of which is carefully gone over is desired in another culture. Since in certain families [households] dowry payment is critical [to the whole project], the party unable to provide [the desired] payment [in the desired form] will never manage to find a partner (the family of the desired partner will simply turn down the proposal).

The nature of dowry payment in urban centres differs from that in rural areas. While in the rural areas the dowry payment, whether in terms of cattle or cash, is all handed over to the family of the bride, the dowry payment in urban areas is due – almost the whole lot – to the bride-to-be. At a time back when all the expenses required for the wedding party was borne by the families of the bride and the groom, what was considered the acme of a successful wedding was serving the guests with an abundant supply of raw meat and ጥጃጃ [hydromel, [all to surfeit].<sup>13</sup>

In these our days, however, the focus given during the ceremony is less to what is served by way food and drinks than to the [dramatic] ritual of video-taping of the ceremony, beginning with the eve of the consummation of the marriage, which [usually] involves mutual familiarization among the groom's

<sup>13</sup> This, supposedly, was in the 'good-old-days', right? It may be of interest to note that Heruye Wäledä Selassé, who lived in 'those' days used one of his 'didactic' fictional works (Title: *Addis Aläm*), first published close to 80 years ago to 'denounce' the waste during wedding feasts and the carousal during the event of members of the clergy, whose over-indulgence in 'dining-and-wining' he particularly found pathetically scandalous. That was about eighty years ago! It should be of interest to make some comparisons with today's wedding feasts, in light of what the author of this essay says about dowry-payment. [Trans.]

best-men and the bride's-maids. In such [modern] video-taping [and picture-taking] ceremony displaying the dowry given to [and unfurled by/for] the bride is given a prominent place as a rite in its own right.<sup>14</sup>

All the ululation that begins on the day of the pounding of the gěšo<sup>15</sup> reaches its climax when, on the eve of that 'final day', the bride-groom's best-men and close friends go to the bride's family's home to deliver the dowry-items sent by the groom. 'Behold, herewith, the dress[es] and pair[s] of shoes that we searched for all over America and Europe, on foot and on horseback alike, for [in honour of] this eve's fiancée and tomorrow's wife of our brother.' [So goes the declaration]! Ululation and applause follows [!] A [lone] man with a [video] camera mounted on his shoulder runs about hither and thither. [Yes!] **To capture the bride's dowry-night scene for the benefit of her children and grand children.** ['For posterity to come' would be the appropriate rendering.] The performer/actor mandated with the role of pulling out one-by-one Miss Bride's dowry pieces from the valises is the type that people speak of as being possessed of an unmatched volubility. And this personage, [for all one cares], may not even have an inkling of the bride-groom on whom he heaps the honorific, now of 'our dear brother' and 'our kin' another moment. If [the spectators] are of possessed of any conviction that the person acting out this role is there to make the dowry-ceremony a joyous one to bring laughter to the hearts of one and all, no one present would give much thought to his claim of 'brotherhood' and 'kinship' with the groom. [For all one knows,] this person could have been [randomly] picked up from anywhere for the evening's purpose by any one of the groom's best-men.

The conventional wisdom is that the dowry so presented is an expression of the love that the groom has for the bride and a guarantee of what a wonderful life awaits her when he, after the blessings of her parents, takes her home to his house. If [for whatever reason] even [such a small thing as] a handkerchief is found missing from among the dowry-items presented to the bride, the bride's family and her friends get peeved with a feeling of "having been scorned." And the elders, for their part, would [express their consternation] thus: "If, before even leaving her parents' home, [the groom] has 'short-changed her' of such [an important] thing, what guarantee do we have that he would even bother to feed her when she makes her abode with him?" To which the bride-groom's friends immediately retort that they would make up for whatever has been found amiss. Let alone [such a small thing as] a handkerchief, the neglect even of other [important] items is usually passed over with such excuse as "Oh my, we just

<sup>14</sup> *That this ritual is becoming more and more fore-grounded in its own right (and as a matter-of-course) needs to be taken into account in terms particularly of the rhetoric of liberation vs. commoditization of social life, if that makes sense.* [Trans.]

<sup>15</sup> *Gěšo is a plant akin to 'hops' and is used in the brewing of 'tälla' (local beer) and 'täg' (hydromel or honey-wine). The pounding of the gěšo, which is literally a communal undertaking, is a rite with its own rituals. and any neighbour in the community who absents himself/herself from the ceremony of the pounding of the gěšo better not show their face anywhere near the wedding feast. They will be the shameless laughing stock of the community sniffing around when it comes to the eating and the drinking, a big (and grave) taboo in itself.*

happened to forget . . .” and with an assurance of "someone bearing witness” that "we will restore whatever is missing. . . .” or some such thing. One has no way of ensuring that the item for which a guarantor has been named would indeed be restored, but a guarantor is named all the same, as part of the ritual.

The ancestors have a saying: "One lives [ought to live] according to one’s means, not according to how one’s neighbour lives.” But my observation of the goings at dowry-nights has made me dare say that this [‘wisdom’] has been neglected among couples getting married in our urban centres. At the time when video-taping of parties, birthdays, weddings, and seeing-off people [to some far away place—usually abroad] and keeping them ‘for posterity’, [has its own wonders enough to hold one glued to the event] what began to strike communities in our country as a rather odd thing to do was video-taping burial ceremonies. There have been several jokes surrounding the video-taping of burial ceremonies, [the main idea of which is the following]: During the video-taping, when the camera zooms in certain individuals, those individuals cry they hearts out in a make-believe performance, which serves, particularly for the relatives of the deceased who may happen to live abroad, as a record of evidence of who actually wept [and who didn’t], come pay-back time, when settling scores comes [in the event of similar tragedy befalling the pretenders]. Such pretenders, though not moved by the misfortune of the deceased, let out bales of tears just for the purpose of being captured by the camera while in the act. Similarly, at weddings, many make-believe acts are performed with the knowledge that such activities are captured for viewing at some later occasion [down-posterity-lane].

Many married couples have opined that the existence of video-taping has been responsible for the ‘exhibitionism’ now rampant at dowry-ceremonies, turning it into a matter of necessity. The reason [for this prevalence of video-taping as a ritual] given by many women is that it is exciting [pure and simple]. It is my opinion that there isn’t a single woman who would not wish her fiancé (tomorrow’s husband) to present her not only with mere cloth garments but dresses and shoes made of gold and make her proud in front of her family, never mind that that today’s dowry would not hold together the family to be built tomorrow, and this even when the means do not measure up to the envisioned end.<sup>16</sup> Although [for all intents and purposes,] the couple party to the wedding already [seem to] know what kind of family-life awaits them on the morrow, what the story ‘told’ through the eye of the video-cameral shows is the high

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<sup>16</sup> *The Amharic sentence here is rather mangled syntax-wise, and for that reason incoherent. So, what I have tried to do is try to be faithful to the letter, at the same time struggling to keep the sense alive. The core idea, for purposes of analysis, is the following: Regardless of the groom’s means, and knowing full well that the dowry by itself will not make tomorrow’s solid family, that the bride-to-be will still opt for the most expensive dowry under the circumstances just to cater to her ‘vanity’, to simply make her proud in the face of her family (add ‘and friends’). The core idea is the bride’s vanity is what is being served; this is what is being critiqued. That the writer of the ‘essay’ is angry with this ‘madness’ of [her?] female compatriots, with no little blame owing, is evident. The visible absence of the groom in this ‘castigation’ in this particular passage is all-telling. (Trans.)*



standard of living of the parties involved.<sup>17</sup> The bride that ‘accumulates’ make-believe dowry, too, is among the promoters of this side of the story. [Considering] the parade of dresses, gold articles and other decorative paraphernalia, the bride, though fully aware that the dowry is beyond the means of her bride, [simply] collects dowry-items from her friends and relatives [stashes them in valises], which are then drawn out from their containers and [displayed] to the [usual] accompaniment of ululations, which same are then captured by video. The bride knows fully well, in the heart of her hearts, when she exhibits the dowry presents that her bride-groom has not actually presented them to her.<sup>18</sup> [Worse yet is the fact that] knowing full well that the dowry displayed on the eve of the wedding will not find its home in the bride’s valises, [the bride’s maids/friends] become accomplices in this act of make-believe and spend their evening [slapping] their palms and ‘burning’ their vocal cords with [undue] ululations. It may even be the case that there could be present at the ceremony a bride’s maid witnessing her own dress worn for a full year now laundered, pressed and pulled out of one of the valises containing the dowry gifts.

If, on the other hand, the person [bride-groom] happens to be one whose future life would not be affected by the expenses he incurs for the wedding, ‘all power to him’ in doing what he wants to do and flood his bride with all the dowry he can lay his hands on [or she wants]. But what if this is not the case? What if the means are not there? Then, there is nothing to do [, period!]. Unless collecting dowry-items through temporary loan is an act of playing hide-and-seek with oneself, it should not be [one’s chosen] way for presenting oneself as no-less [capable] than others. It may be a source of joy/happiness to pretend that one has what actually one doesn’t, that something not given has actually been given and having the whole lot video-taped, but only for the duration of that moment. But if [our] brides-to-be carefully weighed the matter [and gave it enough thought], they would find that they were lying to no one but themselves. And such a lie would not stop with them. There is an Amharic saying to the effect that ‘when a lie is repeated over and over again it assumes the value of truth.’ Every time such wives revisit the video-tape of their dowry-ceremony, they would not stop to think twice before telling their children: ‘these are the dresses and ornaments that your father sent me for my dowry [on the eve of our wedding]’. It is, therefore, only when new [future] couples do what is within their means and make it their genuine

<sup>17</sup> *One cannot be certain as to whether this is to be taken literally or if the author of the ‘essay’ is actually being ironic (more on the side of satire than on that of sarcasm). That the clause about the particular couple in the passage may actually be in the high-living standard bracket is only supported by the sentence following this one, about the ‘pretenders’.*

<sup>18</sup> *There seems to be a mistake (or confusion) in this sentence. The mistake lies in the use of two negatives. From the context that is made clear later down the line, the dowry displayed is **not** anything that the groom might have sent her, if ever. Or, if he had, whatever he did may have been stashed away never to be displayed. Or, the groom had nothing to send (which is unlikely) and his best-men as also the groom are part of the drama of the hide-and-seek game, which shows things in an even more different light than that presented us by the author of the essay. Anyone relying on the Amharic text alone for analysis would either end up being confused or misinterpreting the whole meaning, not just of the sentence in question but the significance of the whole drama itself. [Trans.]*

concern to accept the non-existence of what could not be made available.<sup>19</sup> The wisdom that ‘one lives according to one’s means, not by imitating one’s neighbour’ is worth remembering [in situations like that].<sup>20</sup>

1762 words

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<sup>19</sup> This is better rendered as "to make do with what is available, or what one can only afford," as not going beyond one's means, with the further implication that 'there is nothing to be ashamed of where no shame accrues'.

<sup>20</sup> Unless this saying is read within context, it can easily be misapplied and, not seldom, be subjected to misinterpretation. What is asserted (and emphasized) here is the importance of living within one's means when conditions are not favourable. Emulation is not discouraged, or the need to do so denied, for people have always done that where situations allowed. The late Haddis Alämayyāhu has incurred the 'anger' of Emperor Hayelä Selassé for suggesting, in the aftermath of the aborted coup d'état of 1960, that there sometimes would come a time when one needs to live like one's neighbour, clearly implying the need for **emulating** (not mimicking) others to improve one's conditions where situations necessitate. (A Letter handwritten by Haddis and submitted to the Emperor.)

ZN3

**PLANNED MARRIAGES OF 154 GIRLS ANNULLED****የ154 ልጃገረዶች ጋብቻ ተሰረዘ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; No. 154; March 9, 2000 (30.06.92), P. 14 (Women)

Preparations for family-arranged marriages of 154 minors [under-age girls] shortly due to take place in Southern and Eastern Tegrave Zones have been successfully thwarted, according to information disclosed by the chairpersons of the Women's Associations of the respective Zones.

According to the information disclosed by Wäyezäro Almaz, Chairperson of Allamaጳ Women's Association in Southern Tegrave, 93 of the family-instigated imminent weddings of 115 under-age girls have been successfully thwarted. The success of preventing the weddings were due to the initiative taken by the girls themselves, who reported their predicament to the Women's Associations of their respective Qäbälés and their school administrations. The ages of the girls ranged between 8 and 9 while their class levels were between 1 and 6.

The weddings were blocked after consultations among members of the Women's Association, teachers and the families of the girls once information was received on the planned weddings. The families of eight under-age girls were, however, summoned to a people's court and their case is pending, it was reported. The Chairperson of the Zone's Women's Association has revealed that, the family of one of the girls had consented to terminating the marriage of their daughter through divorce and for the daughter to resume her education, while the husbands of the rest of the girls had appeared in court and signed a commitment of obligation to provide support to their spouses for them to be able to continue with their education.

In the case of Eastern Tegrave Zone, a report by Walta Information Center/Agency has revealed that the Zone's Women's Association had managed to have the marriage of 61 under-age girls, who had been wedded without their consent as of last Hedar /November/, annulled, thereby enabling them to resume their education.

According to Wäyezäro Täklé Gäberämyikaél, Vice-Chairperson of the Women's Association, thanks to the campaign undertaken by the Women's Association of the Zone, the marriage of 61 of the 65 under-age girls, ranging in age from 13-15, has been annulled, consequently enabling the girls to resume their education.

At the same time, however, the Vice-Chairperson has also disclosed that, due to unwillingness on the part of their families, as well as that of the parties to the wedding, it had been impossible to effect a divorce in the case of the four remaining girls. Considering, however, the severity of the damage resulting from the wedding of under-age girls not physically robust enough to go through the risk [of childbirth], the Vice-Chairperson has, meanwhile called upon women's associations, teachers, zonal administrative and justice agencies, as well as the general community to make a concerted effort to bring an end to the practice.

439 words

ZN4

**AN END TO A NINE-MONTH LITIGATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE****ዘጠኝ ወራት የፈጀ የባልና ሚስት ክርክር ውሳኔ በማግኘቱ****የተደሰቱ የከተማዋ ሴቶች ሰልፍ ወጡ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; no. 97; December 16, 2000 (07.04.93), Pp. 7

Mekele (ENA): A nine-month litigation between a man and his wife concerning claims [and counter-claims] on property [sharing] finally came to an end in a Mäqälé people's community court, triggering a public rally by the town's women, supporting the ruling [in favour of the woman], who were joyed over the outcome of the case.

The litigation between Ato Milaw Asamañe and W/o Mulu Abbay, who lived as husband and wife for 23 years, but whose marriage went sour due to a conflict that one day sparked a confrontation leading to the litigation, ended last Saturday, affirming the right of the lady to equal share of the property the two acquired during their marriage.

After a short spate of separation following the clash between husband and wife, the man started selling and exchanging and even bequeathing to his relatives the property that had been acquired between the two over a period of many years; he even went to the extent of having the registry altered through the transfer of proprietary rights to other people, according to the wife's complaint.

Upon finding out what the husband had been doing, the wife rallied the Women' Association of the Sämén Wäradä of Mäqälé town behind her and presented her case to the Qäbälé community court and confronted her husband who had the aid of two lawyers and the apparent support of written documents later discovered to be falsified documents, and argued her case over a nine-month period.

When the 'Qädamay Wäyyané' Qäbälé court finally ruled in favour of the lady and affirmed her right of equal share in the contested property, 500 of the women who had been keenly following the case went public on Sunday in support of the decision, expressing their satisfaction.

Expressing her opinion after the ruling [in her favour], W/o Mulu said that instead of giving up as a lost cause the suffering they incur at home on the grounds that "justice would not be served [anyway]," women should put up a struggle for the protection of their own rights. Attempts to get hold of her husband, Ato Mila, [and find out what he had to say] had failed.

Among the items registered as properties under other people's proprietorship, and which the court confirmed to be common property to both husband and wife were a sizeable residence, a contemporary hotel, two [grain] mills, as well as other enterprises.

398 words

ZF4

THE INDEFATIGABLE [WOMAN] FARMER<sup>21</sup>

## ታታሪዋ አርሶ አደር

by Tewodros Täkelä Hayemant, 'Sänay Amateur Journalists' Association, (Dässé)

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; No. 32; October 12, 2000 (02.02.93), P.10 (Women)

The deeply-ingrained harmful traditional practices prevailing in our country have caused much distress to numerous women. And yet, many are the women who have [successfully] helped throw off this massive burden from the shoulders of women and gained the respect of [one and all].

It has now become common to see women efficiently handling tasks that had been customarily and seemingly considered to fall in men's domain. Let us take a moment today to introduce you to one such woman worthy of emulation.

They call her W/o Tänsu Gäberämädehen. She is a young woman of 30. She lives in the central parts of Tegray. At present W/o Tänsu runs a household of five through farming. While her husband was still alive, the household of W/o Tänsu made their living out of a one-hectare plot of land, which her husband tilled and sowed with sorghum, Ṭéf, maize, barley and similar other crops.

W/o Tänsu was one of the people who was given training by TPLF's agricultural task force in the 'art' of tilling the land with oxen, sometime in 1974, while the TPLF was operating in the vicinity. However, not until the death of her husband could W/o Tänsu apply her training to the actual work of tilling the land. And given the cultural taboo of the area at the time, tilling the land [even using oxen] was something unthinkable [for a woman].

At the time of her husband's passing away, the only property W/o Tänsu had to her name was a solitary ox. So, the only choice she had then was to let out her ox to another farmer in a joint, share-cropping venture and have her plot tilled to support her family.

In this manner, the man who coupled his ox with that of W/o Tänsu entered into an arrangement in which he would till his own plot for two days and that of W/o Tänsu for one day. The arrangement also required that she give half of her harvest to the man, for that was the custom in the area. Given this arrangement, [W/o Tänsu's] annual income [output] being so small, her family fell onto hard times. [In

<sup>21</sup> I think the title could equally be translated as "A FARMER WITH MOST EXEMPLARY RESOLVE," the woman's resolve against all odds being central to her character as well as the spirit of the 'essay'. The so-called beasts of burden can be [indeed are] indefatigable, but one can hardly speak of them as having 'resolve', which is in the category of a 'conscious drive'. [Trans.]

spite of that, however,] W/o Tänsu persevered and tried looking for other means to raise her family's income. An idea flicked in her mind. She wanted to do the tilling on her own. She weighed the matter carefully. She [of course,] needed another ox to pair with the one she had. But she could find none.

Another idea struck her. There is another animal 3 times cheaper than an ox—a donkey [of course]! [As she did not have the wherewithal to buy the donkey] she estimated that she could get one from her father, if only temporarily. But then, tilling the land with a donkey was unknown to the area, other than the fact that it would be difficult to pair a donkey with an ox. All the same, Tänsu stuck to her idea and, accordingly, consulted her father. But the answer she got back came to her as a shock. She was told that, if she insisted on putting her idea to work, she would be cast out by her family. Her parents' family further warned her with [an impending] curse befalling her.<sup>22</sup>

Because the predicament of her family became too much of a worry to her, and yet not giving much thought to the objection she met with, she resolved to carry out her idea and on her own and continued with her effort to realize it. She [somehow] secured the donkey she needed. But she found it difficult to pair the donkey with the ox. [First thing] the donkey was much smaller than the ox; [Second] the donkey being without a hump, holding the yoke steadily in place proved [rather] futile. She still persisted and found a solution and succeeded. [How?] She brought some old rag and shaped it such as to make it stay steady on the donkey's scruff. [Yet] another problem presented itself; she couldn't manage to coordinate the ox's manoeuvre with that of the donkey, and vice-versa. [The likelihood is that the donkey couldn't understand the 'command' voices that the ox was used to.]

She still persisted and came up with a language suitable to goading each animal separately. Thus did she finally succeed in coordinating the movements of the two animals and began to till her plot in a way never before tried [or thought of] in the community.

As W/o Tänsu related it, although she thought she did good by herself, she became a laughing stock of the community; it was, in fact, intimated [gossiped] that what made her behave and act so was something [some strange affliction], because she had violated the community's custom; because she had

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<sup>22</sup> *If any shock accrues to anybody at this point, it should be to W/o Tänsu's father, and through him to the community, who was probably dared out of his wits by the audacity of his child (a woman at that) to even think of the idea in the first place. If anything, Tänsu would probably be disappointed with the response she got, as expected. What could (and would) have come more as fear than shock to Tänsu is the possibility of being cast out (even disowned) by her family, which is as bad as death, the cutting off of the umbilical cord that sustains her life. And yet, that she dared to move ahead amidst all the odds is actually the 'stuff she is made of'. That she goes about her business (ignoring her father's 'injunction' and yet with full resolve) is a gesture certainly accompanied with ambivalence—filial loyalty on the one hand, and individual resolve to be free on the other. This should be noted. This last choice, the daring to go ahead, is doubly significant, in that its effect extends to her decision to break off her relationship with the farmer, her share-cropping male-'partner'. Hence, the relevance, in fact aptness, of the rhetorical question at the end of the essay. [Trans.]*



altered a practice that had always been believed to be the domain of males, and even then, using only oxen. [In short she had broken a taboo.] As for the community, rather than [live to] see such [grave] violation of [tradition], they would choose to be dead [there and then].

There is an Amharic saying to the effect that ‘when God sends his visitations upon a person, He does so with the commensurate forgiveness made ready in advance to make up for it.’ So, W/o Tänsu did not end up without the support she needed. The agricultural development officer assigned in the area by the government encouraged her with the words that what she had done was good work. Tänsu who was into it all from the start, pursued her work with gratification and [a good measure of] self-confidence.

Currently, however, there are some signs of change of attitude among the community. As of the previous year, some women in the community have been asking W/o Tänsu to show them how to till the land [the way she does]. The request coming to Tänsu has not been limited to [getting instruction]. It has been observed that some women, whose husbands had been away to the front had been imploring her to "please till" their land for them. W/o Tänsu’s creativity [‘invention’] has inspired other [groups] as well. To further develop and strengthen the activity started by her ‘apostolic’ initiation of change and to extend its use to other farmers, students, development professionals and women supporting the cause of change have created alliance to carry the effort forward.

At present Tänsu’s creative endeavour has gained acceptance among the community [in which she lives]. The drag exerted by the yoke of backward customary practices is being thrown asunder. Does anyone, then, dare to say that W/o Tänsu does not deserve to be called the indefatigable farmer, who proved [through sheer resolve] harmful beliefs and attitudes barren?

1120 words

ZN5

**MEN VOLUNTEER TO UNDERGO VASECTOMY, IT WAS REVEALED****ወንዶች ዘላቂ የወሊድ መከላከያ ተጠቃሚ መሆናቸው ተገለጸ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; No. 34; October 14, 2000 (04.02.93), P. 6

Dessie (ENS): The Manager of the North-eastern branch of the Ethiopian Family Guidance and Counselling Association has revealed that more than 20 men residing in three towns, where the branch provides family guidance services, have become [voluntary] beneficiaries of vasectomy.

According to the Manager, Ato Laqačāw Wasé, not only women but also more than 20 male residents of the towns of Mäqälé, Kombolča and Tähullädäré, who have realized [the advantage of] being beneficiary to family planning services, have undergone vasectomy involving minor surgery. The surgery was performed after the men were given successive training courses and counselling [sessions], while the operation was performed by high-level medical professionals at the Dässé Family Clinic. The Manager revealed that the vasectomy would not pose any problem to the men in terms of normal sex life.

Among the men who underwent the vasectomy, Ato Sayyed, who said that, because he had no prior knowledge of family planning and had successively sired 11 children, he had faced taxing problems. For fear of facing worse problems, therefore, he said, he had the vasectomy performed on himself. The same farmer, who revealed that his wife who incurred health problems due to child birth, and who, therefore, decided to undergo the operation himself, explained that he faced no problem whatsoever during sex.

Ato Sayyed has also informed [us] that he is teaching [advising] other men to be beneficiaries of the vasectomy.

233 words

## **CHAPTER VIII :WOMEN'S PLACE IN ELECTION**

AF4

**[DARE TO] ELECT, BE ELECTED, AND WE CAN MAKE CHANGE****እንምረጥ ... እንመረጥ ... ለውጥ እናመጣለን**

Addis Admass, Vol. 1; No. 7; February 19, 2000 (11.06.92), Pp. 8 &amp; 17 (Women)

W/t [Miss] Bertukan Myidäqsa is an independent candidate running for the House of Peoples' Representatives. After her graduation with a Bachelor of Arts degree from Addis Ababa University, she has been serving for the last three years as justice of a federal court. Bertukan says she has gained significant experience both from her education and her professional engagement. In her opinion, it is impossible to bring about economic growth in the absence of a strong judiciary and a transparent system of governance that is geared toward ensuring [people's] freedom and [democratic] rights. W/t Bertukan, who believes in the [importance] of providing educational access to women to help them develop their capacity, is of the opinion that women will benefit both themselves and the society at large if they were to participate in the legislative branch of government [i.e. run for and be elected into the parliament] and other public offices through competition based on their capacities [alone]. [Following is an interview]

➤ **What have you accomplished so far [in your campaign]?**

I have done several things. I have distributed about 5 thousand flyers in the [locality?] I am running my campaign. I have introduced myself and my objectives to the community through posters and by making personal appearances in various localities. In particular, I have been engaged in reminding voters to register before the deadline in order for them to be able to vote. I shall attempt, to the very day of elections, to make my views known to voters and expand my support base.

➤ **[As is well known,] there are many qäbälés in a single electoral zone. And it needs both human and financial support to move among the different qäbälés and disseminate [campaign] flyers. The task may be easier for [the] parties. Wouldn't this be rather daunting for [independent] candidates like yourself?**

It is indeed difficult. In fact, [the] parties [running as a group] are provided with financial support from the government, while an independent candidate counts on his/her own resources and the assistance of his/her supporters alone. So far, though [ in all truth,] I cannot say it is as sufficient as I would have liked it to be, I have been faring well with the assistance I have been getting from some individuals in support of my ideas and plans. And I am certain that many more people will rally to my support when they understand my objectives.

➤ **What kind of response did you manage to get from the people [the community]?**

It was surprising that I got more support than I had been expecting. I am of the opinion that the fact of my youth, of my being a woman and the nature of my profession have all helped attract people into supporting me. The ideas that I voiced also have attracted people. When I was moving from one locality to another, I have observed that I am the subject of conversation. The youth in particular — both boys and girls — approach me for a conversation, [asking] if they could help me in any way. All said, the spirit of cooperation people have been showing me has been good.

➤ **There is a tendency to see elections as being of no consequence in Third World countries. What is your stand on this [issue]?**

If one is out for immediate change, it may be the case that elections may not, indeed, ensure the protection of human rights. However, [the fact remains that] elections are the [one] instrument for bringing about peaceful change. [For example,] articulating your objections to existing policies, outlooks and operational procedures in the course of your campaign will help broaden the scope of dialogue and discussion among the people. [In other words,] it is not through winning [the elections] alone that change can be realized. Elections help bring to light the country's problems in their [true] nature. [It is] when people elect the candidate they want [that] change comes about, however gradually.

➤ **But there does not seem to be any visible change . . .**

It does not mean that, if I were to win the elections, I would effect miraculous change. But as long as I perform to the best of ability, it is inevitable that I will make contributions to the improvement of certain things. The most significant point is that, if I run in the elections and win, so also will others in upcoming elections, who will have made their own contributions in turn. It is only as a cumulative result of the activities and performances of those who will participate tomorrow and beyond that any significant change can be realized. It is when the participation of the people grows from time to time, when elections under better conditions take place between now and the years that follow that [any desired] change would become a reality.

➤ **It is common knowledge that Ethiopia finds itself in difficulties/problems, and the customary intimation is that there is no one to speak out about the solutions. [The various] parties do not [clearly] articulate the things they are out to improve. If you were elected what would you. . . ?**

Generally speaking, parties are [like entities] suspended in mid-air, each all by itself. They don't appear to have come onto the scene with the concrete needs of the people in mind and, thereby, to provide appropriate solutions to those problems. They are of the type who [want to] impose their

baseless [abstract] ideas on the people. When you ask [yourself] ‘why citizens’ political participation is minimal’, [it is then that] you will come to understand that [the] parties stand alone [aloof from the people].

- **It is often told that picking up political tendencies from the people and operating along that line for the mere purpose of winning elections is not correct. But, where lies the wrong in the attempt of parties to promote their own political outlooks and, at least, win the confidence of the people?**

Let us assume that political ideas are initiated from among the intellectuals. But where is the effort to convince the citizens? The common practice has been to impose oneself on the people—from above [top-bottom approach]. In demonstration of this claim of mine, I shall cite but a few political concepts: Do the citizens really know what 'revolutionary democracy' ['abyotawi democracy] means? It doesn't stop there. Take government agencies, who are imposed on the people from above. How many of them really know the people/or the concepts?<sup>23</sup> What [indeed] is the difference between 'House of Federation' and 'Parliament'?

All said, what [the] parties are out to do is not so much to come up with ideas and convince [the people] as to impose their whims and wishes on them. They are in haste to be at the helm [of the national politics]. And when and if they get to that position they forget the problems of the citizens, of the country. And [once there] they cannot even give them any attention. That is why one [often] sees parties short on providing solutions. One cannot pay due respect to human rights through lip service to proclamations and policies. How could one possibly sit up there raining down proclamations and policies [from above] and still [claim to] bring about change? This is [the crux of] the problem parties have.

- **There are intimations that we are in no shortage of laws but [the ability/willingness] to implement them, on the one hand, while at the same time there are suggestions that the problem lies with the laws themselves. What are your thoughts on this?**

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<sup>23</sup> [Translator's note: The Amharic sentence referring to government agencies' 'ignorance' is ambiguous: the sentence literally translates: 'How many of **them** really know **them**?' The 'them' in italics definitely refers to 'government agencies', while '**them**' in simple bold face could refer either to the 'concepts', with which the speaker started out, or to the 'people', on whom the agencies are supposedly imposed from above. In discursive terms (i.e. language discourse, this ambiguity plays a significant role.) The last sentence of the paragraph, relating to the distinction between 'house of federation' and 'parliament' probably makes it clear where the intention of the speaker (interviewee) lies, that is, she is still referring to the concepts.

One cannot [in all honesty,] conclude that the absence of implementation is the cause for all the problems [we have], [because] there are [indeed] many misguided policies. It is therefore imperative that we rectify the wrong laws and policies

Even [if we grant] that, had there been some body [agency] to implement the existing laws [themselves], the resulting change would not be insignificant. [Consequently,] the primary task of the elected officials should be to see to it is that those laws are implemented. [The problem is that,] if we looked [closely] at the so-called measures we hear of as ‘being taken’ by the government, we will find that they are sham. [It is the case that] in our country laws are respected [are operative] only when the government wants them to be. [As a matter of rule, however,] it is the parliament, the judiciary that should make sure that the laws are accorded due respect and, consequently, implemented in actual fact. Let us look at the case of the courts. If the judiciary is not in a position to mete out its rulings in the service of justice free from all pressure external to its jurisdiction, there would be no such thing as human rights. It all boils down to nothing more than mere talk. The situation of our judiciary is really frustrating. My experience in the courts has taught me many lessons. There is no commitment to the rule of law—on the part of the government itself [mind you]. What the law says is one thing, what actually happens on the ground is quite another. For example, there is a regulation that parties will not engage in business ventures, whereas the ruling party is involved in business. [No matter how much] you try to invoke the law against the practice, what you say falls on deaf ears. The [country’s] broadcasting (radio and television) policy forbids parties to own media outlets. But the law is not respected.

One of the duties of the legislative is to circumscribe the conduct of the executive [the ministers, etc.]. But where is the [so-called] checks-and-balances mechanism? [As things stand,] both the members of parliament [legislative] and the ministers belong in the same party. Consequently, if the people take enough care to elect those representatives who articulate their concerns, such people will hold the government [the executive] in check. Such representatives will ensure the implementation of the laws and the policies. [The bottom line is]: ‘Let citizens dare to elect and they will make a difference [literally, change will come].

➤ **What is your major objective/your goal?**

Speaking in blanket terms, Ethiopia’s problems are multiple. I see such problems as the violation of human rights and economic freedom; such pressures as lease payments, rents for business premises, taxation, corruption, etc., problems that came about as a result of EPDRF’s policies [come to mine]. I have moreover witnessed, at close range, strong weakening of the judiciary, which could have played a significant role in the amelioration of the problems we have.

The [sole] guarantee for [the protection of] our rights lies with the judiciary. But, [as things stand now] the predicament of the courts is in a critical stage. I believe that all these things must be improved, and I am ready to do the best I can in this regard. The most important point is that it is my desire to make sure that we have parted with our weaknesses on all fronts, our subjection to apathy, our sceptical acquiescence to frustration [and all such attitudes], and do the best I can to that end. What I want us all to focus on, more than anything else, is breaking the spell of despair and hopelessness. We can move on to a better life only if we make what little effort we can to the best of our capacity. If, on the contrary, we sit by idly dreaming of tomorrow's good life, we will end up realizing [actualizing] neither of our wishes. We all need to be active in all domains [of life] as best as we can, shun despair, do what work we can find to improve our individual livelihood, be able to speak out in the political domain, go the election polls and run for public offices during elections [etc.]. All these are necessary. This is the package [of objectives] that I have ventured out with [to reach my goal].

Everyone must learn, [make it part of himself / herself] to question the violation of their rights, take the matter to a court of law, elect the representatives of their desire during elections. This is very crucial. All this takes time, to be sure, but there is no doubt that we will create a better life [for ourselves, for society].

➤ **There is a feeling that corruption is really getting rampant. What are your thoughts?**

Since the establishment of the Institute of the Bondsman and the Human Rights Commission may serve as places for the people to voice their grievances, the said institutions may help bring about some [limited] change. But those institutions are not where the real work can be done. One cannot expect to see change in a situation where everything is in the hands of one political party, where the parliament and the ministerial functionaries operate under the jurisdiction of the same party, and in which the judiciary has been stripped off its strength. [This one] party certainly cannot compromise its own people. It has its name and honour to worry about. It also wants to hold on to its power. It may parade [its] slogans; or organize symposia. But this hardly is a solution. If a person with no connections in the government pockets 500 Birr from the public fund under his care, that person will be sent to jail unceremoniously. But others [with connections and guilty of the same fraud] are seen in the front rows of a symposium on "how to combat corruption."

Independent candidates [to the parliament] have a role to play. By speaking out in parliament, by exposing corruption, by, at least, making it known that human rights violations or theft of public funds by public servants are known to the people, they [will create the conditions] for the amelioration of the problem.



- **You have worked in the courts. There are lots of grievances about the courts. What, in your opinion can/should be done [to solve the problem]?**

The problem in the courts is really grave. How can people [freely] engage in business if the courts do not dispense justice promptly? Cases that should possibly not take longer than a week have been known to languish on the shelf for a year or two. Imagine the cost incurred in situations like that.

Take, in particular, criminal cases. It takes a person accused of some crime or other years before the person's case has been investigated, supported by evidence and the case settled [one way or the other]. [In fact,] it may even take a public prosecutor a year to prepare his/her case [against a defendant] and present it to a court of law. And, then, it may take more time until witnesses are called to the court to give their testimonies. And, by the time the witnesses have presented themselves at court, they will either have forgotten all about the case or be at a loss to remember what actually transpired to begin with. For such reasons [and the like] criminals [actually guilty] could be let off with their cases dismissed. On the other hand, other criminals may be subjected to punishment long after the case has been forgotten, after they have been improved, grown up in life and become an altogether different person. The effort to improve such situations is by far too minimal. The number of court clerks and errand persons are very few. There isn't even any typewriter worthy of the name. And computers? Simply unthinkable! The judiciary, the courts have to be refashioned.

2598 words

ZF5 (a)

**THE FOUNDING OF ELECTED WOMEN'S FORUM IN HAWASSA (first article)****የተመራጭ ሴቶች ፎረም ምስረታ-በአዋሳ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; No, 142; February 2000 (16.06.92), p. 12 (Women)

A conference to form elected women's forum, whose purpose was to create a condition for women to discuss strategies which will enable them to assert their constitutional rights, was held from 7 to 10 February 2000 in Sidama Cultural Hall in Hawassa. The conference was organized and coordinated by the Women's Affairs Standing Committee of the FDRE Council of People's Representatives and the Women's Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister's Office.

In the opening ceremony of the conference, in which elected women and representatives of women's affairs bureaus from all the regional states participated, W/o Hirut Birassa, Chairperson of the Women's Affairs Standing Committee of the Council of People's Representatives, said that women must work hard to change the existing biased attitudes against them, assert their equal rights in all spheres of life and actively participate in the economic sector.

However, gender bias still persists and is an impediment for women to implement their full constitutional rights.

W/o Hirut pointed out in her speech that the present environment is conducive for women to address their own questions, and underscored that the exercise of power, the rights to make decisions and ensuring equal economic benefits are what women have to struggle to achieve, not charity given to them by anyone.

W/o Hirut also indicated the tasks that elected women are expected to accomplish. She said that it is not possible to claim that the equality of women has been respected unless it addresses the question of rural women, who comprise 85% of the population. To solve the problems facing women in all respects, elected women at various levels of decision-making must be at the forefront of the struggle and discharge their responsibilities.

She went on and said that it would be necessary to create an independent forum where elected women meet and share experiences and thereby raise their capacity. The conference which was organized for the first time in Ardaita, Arsi from December 27 to December 31, 1997 laid the ground for elected women to discuss issues which are decisive in the lives of women and helped in passing decisions, outlining the directions for the struggle that lay ahead. Thus, In line with the resolutions passed in Ardaita, the present conference will be a forum for exchanging information regarding the activities undertaken so

far in different places and sharing experiences. In addition, the conference will survey better options for action and will attempt to put in place links for future meetings of elected women. It will also discuss and approve the draft by-laws.

The conference has listened to and discussed the reports of the activities carried out by the various women's affairs organs. Prior to this, Dr. Ethiopia Băyănă, the Secretary of the Women's Affairs Standing Committee of the Council of People's Representatives, presented the five-year (1995-1999) report of the tasks undertaken by the Committee. The main points of the report are summarized as follows.

The Council of People's Representatives of the FDRE officially commenced its duties in August 1995 in accordance with the rights and responsibilities vested in it by Article 55 of the FDRE Constitution. In order to be able to carry out its duties and responsibilities properly and successfully, the Council formed nine standing committees on October 2, 1995 in line with Article 55/19 of the Constitution. One of these was the Women's Affairs Standing Committee.

In accordance with the by-laws approved by the Council, the Women's Affairs Standing Committee has made efforts to get proclamations that safeguard women's constitutional rights to be drafted and approved by the Council. In addition, it has been following up the implementation of the approved proclamations and their benefits in the five-year program.

The Committee held a national conference in Măqălé in which representatives from all the regional governments and the City Administration Councils of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa participated. The objective of the conference was to examine the civil and criminal codes and to harmonize the contents with the FDRE Constitution. Above all, the conference was fruitful in that common understanding was reached regarding the discriminatory nature of the family law and that this has been disseminated through the various mass media to create awareness of the general public.

The Committee also made concerted efforts for a new family law to be drafted in consultation with the FDRE Ministry of justice. It organized a six-day workshop and garnered ideas that would further develop the draft law by forming a coalition committee comprised of the Women's Affairs Standing Committee in the FDRE House of People's Representatives, the Women's Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister's Office, the Institute of Justice and Legal Research, the FDRE Ministry of Justice, and in consultation with various sectors of the society. Efforts and follow up are being made for the draft family law to be issued by the House of People's Representatives, and it is expected that the new law will solve the society's problems in general and those of women in particular.

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In accordance with Article 35, Sub-article 5 (a) and (b) of the FDRE Constitution, the Committee in collaboration with the Civil Service Commission has been able to effect the issuance of a regulation that ensured women's rights to maternal leave with full payment.

Similarly, as stipulated in Article 35 (8) of the Constitution, the regulation that ensures the equality of the rights of women to be able to transfer pension has been approved and issued without delay, as a result of the efforts made by the Committee in collaboration with (the Agency for) Social Security.

It is stated in Article 55 (2) of the FDRE Constitution and Article 35 (7) of the Land Proclamation that women have equal rights with men in using, transferring, managing and controlling land. This has been made to include adequate details and approved.

The Committee has worked closely with the Ministry of Justice for amendments to be made in the penal code. The Committee has coordinated and organized workshops in collaboration with different bodies to gather comments and suggestions which will help to revise the penal code, and it is expected that the draft proclamation will be officially issued soon.

It is a fact well known that a significant number of Ethiopian nationals leave abroad, especially in Arab countries, in a condition whereby their human rights are denied, they are dehumanized and suffer from psychological problems and physical injuries. Most of these citizens are women. Having realized the seriousness of the situation and with the aim to mitigate the problem, the Committee in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, effected the approval of Employer and Employee Relations Agency Proclamation. Regulations and guidelines have also been issued for the implementation of the proclamation.

According to Article 33 (1) of the FDRE Constitution, no Ethiopians' citizenship can be revoked without their consent. The law that marriage to a citizen of another country does not revoke the citizenship of an Ethiopian has put an end to the problem that used to hard-press, especially women in the past. However, it is necessary that this law is adequately detailed and hence the Committee, in collaboration with Citizenship and Refugee Affairs, is pressing hard for the citizenship proclamation to be drafted.

The Women's Affairs Standing Committee in the FDRE House of People's Representatives and the Women's Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister's Office organized a forum in Ardaita, Oromya Regional State from December 27 to December 31, 1997 for elected women to meet and share experiences and prepare the grounds for future meetings. At the meeting, it was felt that the forum was extremely important for elected women to come together regularly, exchange experiences, discuss and find solutions for the problems they face in their work. It was also believed that such a forum would facilitate the flow of information from top down and from bottom up and thereby enable them to create the capacity to solve

their problems once and for all. Thus, the conference was held for the second time in Hawassa, SNNPR to form the elected women's forum.

The Committee has also made efforts to increase the participation of women in the forum. Accordingly, it has included women officers who were training at the Police College and has been able to raise the number, although not to the level needed.

The Committee, in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice, has made efforts so that an inheritance law, which is in accordance with the FDRE Constitution, could be drafted, and the proclamation is expected to be issued soon. It has also made relentless efforts to raise the participation of women in the 2000 election.

Having realized the harmful effects of rape and abduction on women, the Committee is working closely with government and non-government organizations to combat the problems.

In carrying out all the tasks mentioned above, the Women's Affairs Standing Committee obtained the necessary comments as well as material and financial support from the leadership of the Council, other committees and professionals in the House of People's Representatives and from different bodies outside the Council. The Committee particularly underlined the commendable contribution made by the Austrian Development Cooperation towards the efforts made to revise the various laws and regulations. With this, it concluded its report on the activities undertaken.

Next, the Women's Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister's Office presented a detailed report of the tasks it had accomplished. According to the report, the policies issued from 1991 onwards had been made to take gender into account, both in their objectives and their implementation, with the aim to raise the participation of women in all spheres of life.

In order to avoid the impact of gender bias against women in development activities and raise women's awareness about themselves, their rights and their environment. Laws and policies which create conducive environment for government and non-government organizations, as well as women themselves to work together in order to curb the impact of gender bias against women's participation in development activities and raise their awareness about themselves, their rights and their environment.

Women's affairs structures which have been integrated in the government structure have not been able to perform to the level desired in terms of policy implementation, programming and budget, owing to different obstacles. However, the problems have been identified and the areas of focus have been laid down.

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Women have begun to be organized at the central and regional levels in different professional associations and around their own problems, and the Women's Affairs Sub-sector is giving all the support that the associations need.

In the quarterly meetings of the top management and the sector association offices organized by the Women's Affairs Sub-sector it has been observed that the plans and reports presented by the different sectors do not take into account gender issues. The Women's Affairs Sub-sector has issued directives to sector heads so that attention is paid to the affairs of the sector, although the process is still slow and there have not been significant changes. Efforts have also been made to give training in capacity building to those involved in women's affairs. In sum, the report presented in detail the multifaceted support obtained in order to tackle the social, economic and political problems of women.

The reports of the activities of the women's affairs offices of all the regional states were presented by their respective bureau heads, and their working procedures were assessed at the conference. The discussions held in this connection will be presented next week.

1910 words

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ZF5 (b)

**THE FOUNDING OF ELECTED WOMEN'S FORUM (Second article)****የተመራጭ ሴቶች ፎረም ምስረታ-በአዋሳ**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 59; No, 148; March 2, 2000 (23.06.92), P. 14 (Women)

The efforts made by elected women and other bodies involved in women's affairs to help women avail themselves of their constitutional rights have been encouraging but not sufficient. A conference was held recently in Sidama Cultural Hall in Hawassa to form elected women's forum. It was shown at the conference that the activities undertaken at the national level in relation to women's affairs were not fruitful because of lack of coordination.

Following the reports presented by the women's affairs bureaus of all the regional states, the conference participants made assessments of the tasks carried out by elected women. The outcome of the discussions held indicated that the tasks accomplished so far did not help achieve the goals set to bring about changes in the lives of Ethiopian women in line with their rights as stipulated in the Constitution.

Some attempts have been made in many regional states to empower women economically, protect them from harmful traditional practices and raise their political participation, but it is difficult to say that these attempts have borne fruit. Initial steps have been taken, especially in Amhara, Tegray, Oromiya as well as in other regions to organize women so that they can struggle to achieve common goals and strengthen their economic power through various means. However, it was pointed out that there is a need to work harder in order to change women's conditions.

It was indicated that there had been shortage of human resources and lack of professional expertise around women's affairs bureaus. This was particularly serious in some of the regional states. The conference participants brought out in their discussion that there was shortage of human resource in the women's affairs bureaus of most regions but the problem was glaring, especially in the Afar Regional State.

According to the report presented by the Afar Region Women's Affairs Office representative, it has been a long time since offices have been opened at the regional, zonal and district levels to implement the national women's affairs policy. However, the office could not perform at the level expected of it because of shortage of human resource and finance. In spite of this, it was reported that concerted efforts have been made in cooperation with government and non- government organizations to raise the number of female students, to help women participate in development activities and to prevent harmful traditional practices.

Lack of sound structure in the office and shortage of educated human resources are among the main problems that impeded the efforts to bring about changes in women's lives. In addition, the fact that the office did not have its own allocated budget meant that it was difficult to work out different schemes in which women could participate and benefit. This problem was made even more complex because of lack of the necessary attention from the higher bodies concerned.

In order to overcome these problems, the office needs to have its own structure. It was also pointed out that it is imperative to support the office with the necessary human resources and budget.

The conference participants discussed the matter in small groups and finally suggested that it was necessary to examine the root causes of the problems presented by the Afar Region Women's Affairs office. In order to look into the matter and clearly identify the underlying problem, the responsibility was given to the Women's Affairs Standing Committee of the Council of People's Representatives and the Women's Affairs Sub-sector in the Prime Minister's Office. It was also suggested that the neighbouring Regional States of Tegray and Amhara, which are cooperating in women's affairs activities, should give assistance in this regard.

On the other hand, the tasks accomplished by women in asserting their constitutional rights by means of elected women and the various regional women's affairs bureaus have been encouraging. It has also been said that this should be the focus of more attention in the future. In addition, participants have agreed that efforts should be strengthened in organizing women, as this is the means by which women can safeguard their rights.

Moreover, the conference participants believed that the formation of elected women's forum is the only route towards strengthening the various women's affairs organs. Accordingly, they held discussions on issues pertaining to the programs and by-laws of elected women's union and laid down the direction for the struggle that lay ahead.

In line with the direction set, efforts will be made to replace the existing laws and regulations that are incompatible with the FDRE Constitution by new laws and regulations that are in line with the Constitution and hence ensure the rights of women in practice. The forum will also do its level best to make sure that executives and the judiciary will be more aware of gender issues and pass decisions that are free from gender discrimination.

The forum will engage in activities in all regions to see to it that the rights of women in producing, managing, controlling, using and transferring material wealth are observed. Regarding practices such as early marriage, rape, abduction and genital cutting, which are harmful to women's physical and psychological well-being, the forum will make every effort to raise the awareness of the society and to gain legal support so that the judicial system will give the matter special attention.

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In order to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to them, elected women will play their revolutionary roles, by safeguarding the overall interests of the people in general and those of the oppressed women in particular. The elected women's forum is aiming at making protracted efforts to change the biased attitude of the society towards women and that of women towards themselves and to make the cause of women the agenda for public discussions.

Continued efforts will be made to ensure that elected women's forums are formed centrally, at regional, district, and Qäbälé levels. Considering the due attention given to the establishment of the Women's Affairs Standing Committee in the FDRE Council of People's Representatives, it seems that there is positive supportive environment to make similar efforts to form women's affairs standing committees in regional councils. Elected women have made it clear in their program that they will be at the forefront to ensure the participation of women in elections and to help lasting peace prevail in our country.

In responding to the question of the importance of the forum for women in terms of its aims and organizational structure, W/o Dästa Duke, Chairperson of the Gédéo Zone Women's Association, said that the aim of the forum is to struggle for the assertion of the rights of women and to ensure the active participation of women in all spheres of life. She added that the formation of the forum will help women to work together to achieve a common goal and hence lays the basis for a coordinated and consolidated effort at the national level to change the lives of women.

W/o Zänäbäč Alämnäh, the Bénešangul Women's Affairs Representative, said on her part that women did not participate in the previous meeting, but now, because the attitude towards women is changing and women have started to stand up for their rights, representatives of women's organizations and private candidates have appeared for this year's election.

W/o Zänäbäč added that the formation of the forum will help in coordinating and consolidating the activities of the women who will be elected from Bénešangul.

On the other hand, W/o Aster Amarä, Head of the Tegray Women's Affairs Bureau, stressed the importance of establishing the forum at the national level but expressed her reservation regarding its feasibility at the level of regions.

W/o Aster went on and explained that in Tegray, elected women are members of women's associations, and they work at different levels. Hence, because elected women are participating in associations, depending on the objective reality of a region, it is not necessary to create a separate forum. She however reiterated that there is no doubt about the importance of forming the association at the national level for coordinating activities.

1332 words

ZF6

**THE FIRST WOMAN REGIONAL PRESIDENT****የመጀመሪያዋ ሴት ርዕሰ መስተዳድር**

Addis Zemen, Vol. 60; No, 25; October 5, 2000 (25.01.93), P.10 (Women)

After removing the incumbent President of Region's Harari National Regional State, the House of Peoples' Representatives, at its 12<sup>th</sup> regular session has named its first Woman State President on Mäskäräm 4, 1993 [September 14, 2000]. We had an interview with W/o Nureya Abdullahi to brief us on her personal as well as professional experience.

➤ **To start with, would you be kind enough to tell us about your family?**

Well, I am a mother of nine, to begin with, and my spouse is a government employee [like myself]. Four of my children have joined the world of work. All said, my family life rests on a solid base of peace and mutual understanding.

➤ **Would you brief us on your experience and various contributions [in the public sphere] prior to assuming your current position as President?**

First of all, I have served in positions of responsibility in the Harari Cultural Centre for many years. In the area of community service, I have served, for example, as Chair Woman of the Jema (Harari women's Eldder) for 12 years. I have also served as Chair Woman of the Harari Women's Association. In this particular position of responsibility I have, alongside members of the Association, contributed, as I still do, to the struggle for women's liberation from their multifarious pressures and oppression. I have also made efforts to provide my share of contribution on matters of national issue; I have, accordingly, done my national duties by serving as a member of various committees, such as the those for National Sovereignty and the Red Cross. In the political domain, I have been participating, from the very beginning, in the Harari League. I also am a member of the Harari Women Lawyer's Association. Especially, I have used every opportunity that came my way to ensure the implementation of the Constitutional rights of women in their struggle to liberate themselves from their oppression. To the extent that I am an elected representative of the people, I have waged unrelenting struggle to undertake the responsibilities that the people, as well as my organization, have mandated me with. Overall, I can [frankly] say that I have used the time available to me more in the service of the people than of my family. While granting that I do not have any professional degree acquired through formal education, I feel as if I were in possession of one, considering the broad range of experience I have and the contributions that I made so far in my life.

- **Had it, at any time, ever occurred to you that you would one day be named to the Office of Regional President, that is, had you ever thought about it at all?**

Well, I've come across many an opportunity to be elected to public positions. And the support I got from the people when I ran for office representing my organization has been tremendously gratifying. Grace be to Allah, it is my belief that I have the acceptance of the people. Truth be told, however, that I had never ever thought that I would be named for the Office of Regional President. And yet, I had [a strong] wish women ought one day be in a position to hold this Office, that they should find themselves in a decision-making position. And I am struggling for the realization of this vision. In short, I am of the conviction that women should participate in the management of the highest possible office in the country's political affairs.

- **What was the extent of the support you got from the members of the Regional House of Representatives when you were nominated for the Office of the President? And how was the reception [or response] on the part of your family and the community when you assumed the office?**

I had the full support of the House, with only one objection. As for my family's response, while my spouse accepted it with jubilation, my children were rather apprehensive, thinking of the difficulties I would meet with in the face of such a [huge] responsibility; they took it in with some reservation. What I did on my part was tell them of my conviction that women should be in a position to assume such responsibilities; that they should, therefore, be proud of my assumption of the responsibility, as my decision [to accept] would set an example for opening up a favourable condition for [women's participation]; my attempt at the time was to convince them to change their outlook. I have also explained to them that [what I did] was but a result of the struggle of our country's women for ensuring their rights.

One [certainly] finds, hither and thither, people who, because of the persisting negative attitude towards women, argue, as if in wonder, against the assumption of such high offices by women. We have, however, made all the effort to change such misconstrued and prevailing attitude through [campaigns] undertaken by our Region's women's associations. And the fact that the majority of the Harari population happens to consist of urban dwellers has made our task of educating the people easier [than otherwise]. And the effort to change such enduring attitudes has begun to yield results. The thinking that women are incapable and, therefore, do not have the capacity to function in leadership positions, is [gradually but surely] giving place to new attitudes. If we could only make more concerted efforts in the future, I am certain that all the deeply- engrained negative attitudes will be removed.

➤ **What are your prospects?**

I, for one, am doing everything I can to live up to the responsibilities mandated to me [by the people] to the best of my ability, and I trust, with no uncertainty, that I would manage to do so. It is my desire to contribute something significant in the process and move on from there. It is also my desire to see other women follow the example I [am attempting to] set. And this can only be proven through what [I accomplish] in concrete terms. [It is my belief] that women should be self-confident. Change of attitude begins within oneself, and that is what one must aim at.

Opposition to women assuming decision-making positions is not something that comes from men alone. There are times when the same kind of opposition is voiced by women as well. It is all about attitude. That is why we women should therefore convince ourselves that we are capable of participating in activities in all spheres of life.

In order for us women to succeed in this endeavour, we must organize ourselves and struggle to win our rights. Such a struggle as we may conduct [is sure] to secure us many victories. The change that has already taken place in our country in this regard serves as one positive factor to support our struggle.

➤ **It is expected that, in its meeting to take place shortly, the House of Representatives will name the Region's President along with other executive officers. Do you think you stand a chance of being named to [one or the other of] the offices?**

While I am still a member of the House through due process of election, I am nevertheless not of the belief that I should be [the one] named to the Office of President. Since there are individuals who can perform better than me, I would rather that such people be named to the position. I am neither shying away from, nor shunning, the position because of my womanhood, No. It is because I believe that one has to make it through competition on the basis of one's capacity and capability. If we prove our capacity for the position, there is no reason why one should not assume that position. It is therefore my desire to see a person, capable enough to accomplish the task in a manner that is worthy of the position and of the people to be served, be elected to the office

There are about 8 of us women in both houses [House of Representatives and House of Federation]. It is my conviction that some among those already elected into the Houses should be named for [the available] executive positions.

1371 words

**Appendix Seven: List of newspapers in 1999<sup>1</sup>**

No	Name of publication	Language	Ownership	Content
1	Abeyotawi Democracy (Revolutionary democracy)	Amharic	EPRDF	<u>deals with political, social and economic affairs</u>
2	Addis Ababa	Amharic	Addis Ababa Journalists association	<u>professional journalist activities</u>
3	Addis Business	English		
4	Addis Demeş	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
5	Addis Kätäma	Amharic	Addis Ababa Province	socio economic
6	Addis Lessan	Amharic	Region of Addis Ababa	<u>socio economic activities of the region</u>
7	Addis Tribune	English	NA	<u>economics, politics and historical issues</u>
8	Addis Zemen	Amharic	Government owned	
9	Aemero	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economics</u>
10	Al-Hijab	Amharic	Private	<u>Muslim religion</u>
11	Amarac (alternative)	Amharic	Private	<u>Socio- economic affairs</u>
12	Amdä Hayimanot	Amharic	Private	Orthodox Religion
13	Andenät	Amharic	Organization of All Amhara People	<u>Politics and socio economic affairs</u>
14	Arbänaw (The Patriot)	Amharic	Private	Basically political
15	Atekurot	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economic</u>
16	Aterefe	English	Private	<u>Advertisement</u>
17	Bati	Amharic		
18	Bäkur (Elder)	Amharic	Government owned	<u>Politics, socio economic affairs of Amhara region</u>
19	Belatténa (teenager)	Amharic	Private	socio economic
20	Beleceta	Amharic		
21	Barrissa	Oromiffa	Government owned	
22	Bewasiw Berhan	Amharic	Under control of Ethiopian Orthodox Church	<u>Religions</u>

23	Béza	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, social and economic</u>
24	Business Posta	Amharic	Government owned	postal affairs
25	Capital	English	Private (business newspaper)	deals with political issues
26	Champion	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
27	Derešačēn	Amharic	National Association of the disabled	<u>to secure the rights of the disabled</u>
28	Effoyeta	Amharic	EPRDF	<u>politics, social and economic</u>
29	Ehlas	Amharic	Private	<u>Muslim religion, politics</u>
30	Ehsan	Amharic	Private	Muslim Religion and politics
31	Ennat Hagäre (my mother land)	Amharic	Private	
32	Entrepreneur	English	Private	business and advertising
33	Enetāwaweq (Let us introduce each other )	Amharic		
34	Enegoča	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
35	Eregeb (dove)	Amharic	Private	Advertising
36	Eshan	Amharic	Private	<u>Muslim religion and politics</u>
37	Etal	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
38	Ethiopian Herald	English	Government owned	
39	Etop	Amharic	NA	
40	Ewenätäña feker (true love)	Amharic	Private	<u>love and other social affairs</u>
41	Ewenät	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
42	Examiner	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
43	Fanos (lamp)	Amharic	Private	socio economic
44	Feker (love)	Amharic	Private	<u>love and sex</u>
45	Fätaš (examiner)	Amharic	Private	
46	Fiameta	English	Private	<u>politics</u>
47	Fekerāñoč (lovers)	Amharic	Private	<u>love and social affairs</u>
48	Gānanaw	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
49	Global	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>

50	Hayemanot (Religion)	Amharic	Private	Muslim religious affairs
52	Hawarya, (Apostle)	Amharic	Private	<u>Orthodox religious activities</u>
53	Hayat	Amharic	Private	<u>deals with Islam religion</u>
54	Hikma	Amharic	Private	<u>Muslim religious activities</u>
55	Hollywood	Amharic	Private	<u>deals with cinema</u>
56	Intersport	Amharic	Private	<u>sport</u>
57	Juliet	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
58	Kalkidan (Promise)	Amharic	Private	Love and social affairs
59	Kambolojo	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
60	Känedile	Amharic	Evangelical Church of Addis Ababa	<u>deals with protestant faith</u>
61	Keberite	Amharic	Private	Political
62	Ketabe	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
63	Qeyeṭe (mixed)	Amharic	Private	Political, social and economic
64	Libro	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
65	Madona	Amharic	Private	<u>love and sex</u>
66	Maebäle	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
67	Mahedär	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economics</u>
68	Mahetot	Amharic	EPRDF	<u>politics, social and economic</u>
69	Marathon	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
70	Mäbruk	Amharic	Private	<u>politics</u>
71	Mäläkäte	Amharic	Private (under control of Orthodox Church)	<u>Religious issues</u>
72	Menilik	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
73	Menilik	English	Private	Political issues
74	Mäqalehe Tegray	Tegrigna	Government owned	<u>politics, social and economic</u>
75	Mercury	Amharic		
76	Mäyesaw	Amharic	Private	Political
77	Mogäd (Wave)	Amharic		

78	Monitor, The	English	Private	<u>Politics, business and social affairs</u>
79	Moräše	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
80	Negat (Dawn)	Amharic	Private	Political
81	Negedenna Lemat (Business and development)	Amharic	Addis Ababa Chamber of commerce	business oriented
82	Nika	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economics</u>
83	Oromiya	Oromigna	EPRDF	<u>Politics and socio economic affairs</u>
84	Police and Eremejaw	Amharic	Government owned	<u>crime and activities of police</u>
85	Profile	Amharic	Private	<u>Cinema, art and music</u>
86	Reporter	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, business, socio economic affairs</u>
87	Reporter, The	English	Private	<u>Politics, Business and social affairs</u>
88	Right	Amharic	Private	
89	Roha	Amharic		
90	Ruhama	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economics</u>
91	Semea Şedeq	Amharic	Ethiopian Orthodox church	deals with Orthodox faith
92	Säyefä Näbälebal	Amharic	Private	
93	Şotäl	Amharic		
94	Soccer	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
95	Sun, the	English	NA	<u>Politics, socio-economic affairs and advertisement</u>
96	Tarik (History)	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics</u>
97	Tazabi	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
98	Ṭéna Yeseteleñ	Amharic	Professional medicines association	Health
99	Ṭénaçen	Amharic	Ministry of Health	<u>Health</u>
100	Tänagär	Amharic		
101	Ṭenqeşe	Amharic	Private	<u>love and sex</u>
102	Täntaň	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>



103	Ṭeräte	Amharic	MEOC Ethiopia business company	<u>announce the economic activities of the company and its future plans</u>
104	Ṭequr Däme	Amharic		<u>Politics</u>
105	Tekusate	Amharic	Private	
106	Time	Amharic	Private	<u>deals with cinema and love</u>
107	Ṭobbiya	Amharic	NA	<u>politics and society</u>
108	Ṭomar	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
109	Ureji	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio economic</u>
110	Wäqete	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, socio-economic</u>
111	Wälafäne	Amharic	NA	<u>NA</u>
112	Wänčefe	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
113	World Sport	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
114	Wäyyene	Tegereгна	EPRDF	<u>politics and socio economic affairs</u>
115	Yädäbub Hezboče Demeş (voice of the people of Southern Ethiopia)	Amharic	EPRDF	<u>Politics, social and economic</u>
116	Yädäbub Negate	Amharic	Southern Ethiopia Regional Government	<u>Politics, economic, social and culture</u>
117	Yedeneqačäwe	Amharic	Private	<u>Sport</u>
118	Yäfeqer Mahedäre	Amharic	Private	<u>sex and love</u>
119	Yäfeqere Čäwata	Amharic	Private	<u>love and sex</u>
120	Zagol	Amharic		
121	Zäbibe	Amharic		
122	Zämbaba	Amharic		
123	Zéna Admass	Amharic		
124	Zoba	Amharic		

*Source:* Røe and Aadland's Report (1999)

**Appendix Eight: List of magazines in 1999**

<b>Magazine</b>				
<b>No</b>	<b>Name of the magazine</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Ownership</b>	<b>Content</b>
1	Abisineya	Amharic	Private	<u>Socio economic and politics</u>
2	Aemero (check with the newspaper)	Amharic	NA	
3	Alef	Amharic	Private	<u>socio-economic and politics</u>
4	Assär	Tegeregna	EPRDF	<u>politics and socio—economics</u>
5	Awras	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economics and politics</u>
6	Bilale	Amharic	Private	<u>Muslim religion magazine</u>
7	Beleçeta	Amharic	Private	<u>Political and socio economic</u>
8	Emañ	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economics and politics</u>
9	Eyoha	Amharic	Private	<u>social economic and politics</u>
10	Fäläge	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
11	Efyoyeta (compare with the Newspaper)	Amharic	Pro-EORDF	<u>Politics and propaganda</u>
12	Färete	Amharic	Private	<u>Music literature and the arts</u>
13	Fenot	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
14	Fekdaré	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
15	Geda	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
16	Gännäte	Amharic	Private	<u>dealing with women affairs (to argue that Kalkidan is not the first women's magazine)</u>
17	Gähade	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
18	Gizé	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
19	Hammär	Amharic	Ethiopian Orthodox Church	<u>Religion</u>
20	Hebere	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
21	Hellina	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
22	Leyyu	Amharic	NA	
23	Maläda	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economics</u>
24	Maheléte	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economics</u>
25	Märäwwa	Amharic	Government owned	<u>artistic development of the country</u>
26	Mäsetäwat,	Amharic	NA	<u>Politics and others</u>
27	Mäqedäla	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
28	Nägadéew	Amharic	Private	<u>Business affairs</u>
29	Negat Ethiopia	Amharic	Government owned	<u>Politics and socio economics</u>
30	Raeye	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
31	Reporter	Amharic	Private	<u>Political, socio- economic</u>

				<u>affairs</u>
32	Ruh	Amharic	NA	<u>Politics</u>
33	Salem	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, social and economics</u>
34	Sännaye	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics and socio economic</u>
35	Sänedäqe	Amharic	Government owned	<u>Political, social and economic</u>
36	Ṭobiya (compare with the newspaper)	Amharic	Private	<u>Politics, social and economic</u>
37	Urji (check with the newspaper)	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economic and politics</u>
38	Wäye Feqerr	Amharic	Private	<u>love and other social affairs</u>
39	Wägagäne	Amharic	Government owned	<u>Political, socio-economic and business affairs</u>
40	Yääfärica Qänedd (Horn of Africa)	Amharic	NA	<u>politics</u>
41	Yäfeqere Enekäne	Amharic	Private	<u>love and social affairs</u>
42	Zebade	Amharic	Private	<u>socio economics and politics</u>

**Appendix Nine: Languages used in the community radio stations at present<sup>1</sup>**

<i>No</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	Afar	22	English	43	Malé
2	Agäw	23	French	44	Mareqo
3	Alaba	24	Gamo	45	Masulé
4	Alé	25	Gédéoña	46	Mäenit
5	Amharic	26	Gidičo	47	Mäžänegär
6	Arabic	27	Ñangatom	48	Mursi
7	Arboré	28	Gofiña	49	Nao
8	Ari	29	Guragé	50	Oromiñña
9	Argobba	30	Hadiya	51	Silté
10	Awi	31	Hamär	52	Šako
11	Baskéto	32	Harrari	53	Šakäčo
12	Bänna	33	Hämeṭeña	54	Sidamiña
13	Bénče	34	Hoyedé	55	Somaliña
14	Boddi Ñangatom	35	Kaffa	56	Surma
15	Buregeñña	36	Qäbéna	57	Ṭambaro
16	Čära Mäžänegär and Mäžänegär	37	Kämebata	58	Tegriña
17	Dassänäče	38	Konso	59	Šamay
18	Dawro	39	Konta	60	Wolayeta

## Appendix Ten; List of periodicals owned by the government and by the States and Provisions

No	<i>Names of periodicals</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Newspapers</i>		<i>Magazines</i>		
	<i>Names of periodicals</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	
1	Addis Zemen	Daily	Zemen	Monthly	5
2	Ethiopian Herald	Daily			
3	Al Alem	Weekly			
4	Berrissa	Weekly			
	Total	4	1		

<b>Newspapers run by States</b>				
<i>Region</i>	<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	<i>Magazines</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
<i>Tegray</i>	<i>Meqalih Tegray</i>	<i>Fortnightly</i>	<i>Meqalih Tegray</i>	<i>Quarterly</i>
Affar			Ratta	
Amhara State	Bekur	Weekly	Heddassie	Monthly
Oromiya State	Kellecha Oromiya	Weekly		
Somali	Demball	Weekly	Demball	Monthly
SNNPR	Dehub Nigat (South Dawon)	Monthly	Mahedere Dehub	Quarterly
Harrari	Harrar	Weekly	Harrar	Quarterly
Direda Province	Meleekete Dire	Weekly	Derre	Quarterly
Addis Ababa Province	Addis Lissan	Weekly	Addis Metropolitan journals	every two months
Benshangul	Wegegta	Monthly	Addis Meeraf	Quarterly
Gambella	-	-	-	
Total	9		9	

## Appendix Eleven: CODE BOOK FOR THE QUANTITATIVE DATA

1. Article Id	4. victim	7. abduction
2. Newspaper	5. investor	8. others
1. Addis Admass	6. artist	9.2 Health
2. Addis Zemen	7. beneficiary	1. Vaccination
3. date	8. other	2. Family planning
4. genre	9. donors <sup>24</sup>	3. Epidemics
1. News	8. Objective	4. HIV/AIDS
2. editorial	1. Objective-	5. Hospital
3. feature	information (1= y,	8. Other
4. Profile	2= N)	99. Not applicable
9. No response	2. Objective-	9.3 Politics
5. story_ attribution	entertainment (1= ,	1. Officials
1. Male	2= N)	2. Decision making
2. Female	3. Objective –	3. Civil rights
3. News agency	criticism (1= y, 2=	4. Diplomatic elations
4. Not known	N)	5. War and conflict
5. Staff reporter	4. Objective –	6. Good governance
6. Both	persuasion (1 = y,	8. Other
7. Documents	2 = N)	99. Not applicable
8. Other	5. Objective- other	9.4. Economy
9. No response	(1=Y, 2= N)	1. Investment
6. source_ attribution	9. Themes	2. Micro finance
1. male	9.1 Law	3. Taxation
2. female	1. Legislation	4. Small scale industry
3. mass	2. Crime & HR	5. Infrastructure-project
4. neutral	violation	8. Other
5. multiple sources	1. Rape	99. Not applicable
6. country	2. Corruption	
7. women	3. red terror	
8. other	4. deforestation	
9. no response	5. household attack	
7. status source	6. murder	
1. professional		
2. official		
3. witness		

9.5 Election	8. Other
Election-voters (1=y, 2=N)	9. Sport
Election- candidates (1=Y, 2=N)	99. Not applicable
Election-agenda (1=y, 2=N)	9.8 War and conflict
Election-other (1=Y, 2=N)	1. Relief and rehabilitation
9.6. Agriculture	2. Displacement
1. Extension program	3. Political debate
2. Irrigation	8. Other
3. food security	99. Not applicable
4. harvesting	9.9 other
5. environment	1. Investment
6. cattle	2. Public demand
99. Not applicable	3. Religion
9.7 Education	4. Science and technology
1. Dropouts	8. Other
2. Higher education	99. Not applicable
3. Policy	
4. School construction	
5. Training	
8. Other	
99. Not application	
9.8 Culture	
1. Traditional practice	
2. Art	
3. Tourism	
4. Marriage related	
5. Love affairs	
6. Love affairs.	
7. Communication	

Appendix Twelve: Calendar of the year 2000 (both GC and EC)

ጥር ስዕድንጃጃ							Jan. - Feb. 2000 የካቲት ስዕድንጃጃ							Feb. - Mar. 2000															
እዮ-ፎ		፯	7	፲፬	13	፳፩	21	፳፰	28	እዮ-ፎ		፳	5	፲፪	12	፲፱	18	፳፮	28	እዮ-ፎ		፳	5	፲፪	12	፲፱	18	፳፮	28
ሰኞ										ሰኞ		፯	6	፲፫	13	፳	20	፳፯	27	ሰኞ		፯	6	፲፫	13	፳	20	፳፯	27
ግንባኞ	፩	10	፳፮	፲፭	24	፳፪	22	፳፱	7	ግንባኞ		፯	14	፲፬	21	፳፩	29	፳፰	7	ግንባኞ		፯	14	፲፬	21	፳፩	29	፳፰	7
ኃሌ	2	11	፲፮	9	18	፳፫	23	፳፲	30	ኃሌ		፯	15	፲፭	22	፳፪	29	፳፯	8	ኃሌ		፯	15	፲፭	22	፳፪	29	፳፯	8
ረቡዕ	3	12	፲፯	10	19	፳፫	24	፳፲	31	ረቡዕ	፩	1	፳	16	፳፫	25	፳፯	9	ረቡዕ	፩	1	፳	16	፳፫	25	፳፯	9		
ኅዳር	4	13	፲፰	11	20	፳፫	25	፳፲	31	ኅዳር	፩	2	፳፫	17	፳፫	26	፳፰	10	ኅዳር	፩	2	፳፫	17	፳፫	26	፳፰	10		
ቀዳሜ	5	14	፲፱	12	21	፳፫	26	፳፲	31	ቀዳሜ	፩	3	፳፫	18	፳፫	27	፳፯	11	ቀዳሜ	፩	3	፳፫	18	፳፫	27	፳፯	11		
ሕዳር	6	15	፲፲	13	22	፳፫	27	፳፲	31	ሕዳር	፩	4	፳፫	19	፳፫	28	፳፰	12	ሕዳር	፩	4	፳፫	19	፳፫	28	፳፰	12		

መጋቢት ስዕድንጃጃ							Mar. - Apr. 2000 ሚያዝያ ስዕድንጃጃ							Apr. - May 2000																			
እዮ-ፎ		፫	3	፲፱	10	፲፯	17	፳፬	24	እዮ-ፎ		፩	1	፳	8	፲፭	15	፳፪	22	፳፱	29	እዮ-ፎ		፩	1	፳	8	፲፭	15	፳፪	22	፳፱	29
ሰኞ										ሰኞ		፪	2	፲፮	9	፲፮	16	፳፫	23	፳፲	30	ሰኞ		፪	2	፲፮	9	፲፮	16	፳፫	23	፳፲	30
ግንባኞ	፩	13	፲፩	4	13	፲፩	11	፲፰	27	ግንባኞ		፪	10	፲፯	17	፲፯	17	፳፫	24	፳፲	31	ግንባኞ		፪	10	፲፯	17	፲፯	17	፳፫	24	፳፲	31
ኃሌ	2	14	፲፪	5	14	፲፪	12	፲፱	28	ኃሌ		፪	11	፲፰	18	፲፰	18	፳፫	25	፳፲	30	ኃሌ		፪	11	፲፰	18	፲፰	18	፳፫	25	፳፲	30
ረቡዕ	3	15	፲፫	6	15	፲፫	13	፳	29	ረቡዕ		፪	12	፲፱	19	፲፱	19	፳፫	26	፳፲	31	ረቡዕ		፪	12	፲፱	19	፲፱	19	፳፫	26	፳፲	31
ኅዳር	4	16	፲፬	7	16	፲፬	14	፳፩	30	ኅዳር		፪	13	፳	20	፳	20	፳፫	27	፳፲	30	ኅዳር		፪	13	፳	20	፳	20	፳፫	27	፳፲	30
ቀዳሜ	5	17	፲፭	8	17	፲፭	15	፳፪	31	ቀዳሜ		፪	14	፳፩	21	፳፩	21	፳፫	28	፳፲	31	ቀዳሜ		፪	14	፳፩	21	፳፩	21	፳፫	28	፳፲	31
ሕዳር	6	18	፲፮	9	18	፲፮	16	፳፫	31	ሕዳር		፪	15	፳፪	22	፳፪	22	፳፫	29	፳፲	31	ሕዳር		፪	15	፳፪	22	፳፪	22	፳፫	29	፳፲	31

ግንባኞ ስዕድንጃጃ							May - June 2000 ሰኞ ስዕድንጃጃ							June - July 2000																			
እዮ-ፎ		፯	6	፲፫	13	፳	20	፳፯	27	እዮ-ፎ		፬	4	፲፩	11	፲፰	18	፳፫	23	፳፲	30	እዮ-ፎ		፬	4	፲፩	11	፲፰	18	፳፫	23	፳፲	30
ሰኞ										ሰኞ		፭	5	፲፪	12	፲፱	19	፳፫	24	፳፲	31	ሰኞ		፭	5	፲፪	12	፲፱	19	፳፫	24	፳፲	31
ግንባኞ	፩	15	፲፮	7	14	፲፮	14	፳፩	29	ግንባኞ		፭	6	፲፫	13	፳	20	፳፫	25	፳፲	30	ግንባኞ		፭	6	፲፫	13	፳	20	፳፫	25	፳፲	30
ኃሌ	2	16	፲፯	8	15	፲፯	15	፳፪	30	ኃሌ		፭	7	፲፬	14	፳፩	21	፳፫	26	፳፲	31	ኃሌ		፭	7	፲፬	14	፳፩	21	፳፫	26	፳፲	31
ረቡዕ	3	17	፲፰	9	16	፲፰	16	፳፫	31	ረቡዕ		፭	8	፲፭	15	፳፪	22	፳፫	27	፳፲	30	ረቡዕ		፭	8	፲፭	15	፳፪	22	፳፫	27	፳፲	30
ኅዳር	4	18	፲፱	10	17	፲፱	17	፳፬	31	ኅዳር		፭	9	፲፮	16	፳፫	23	፳፫	28	፳፲	31	ኅዳር		፭	9	፲፮	16	፳፫	23	፳፫	28	፳፲	31
ቀዳሜ	5	19	፳	11	18	፳	18	፳፭	31	ቀዳሜ		፭	10	፲፯	17	፳፫	24	፳፫	29	፳፲	31	ቀዳሜ		፭	10	፲፯	17	፳፫	24	፳፫	29	፳፲	31
ሕዳር	6	20	፳፩	12	19	፳፩	19	፳፮	31	ሕዳር		፭	11	፳	18	፳፫	25	፳፫	30	፳፲	31	ሕዳር		፭	11	፳	18	፳፫	25	፳፫	30	፳፲	31



