

## Back & Forth – Changes in the agency of women in Maale, southern Ethiopia

Dr. Sophia Thubauville, Frobenius-Institut Frankfurt am Main

### Introduction

Ethiopia has never been colonized by a European Colonial Power, still gender relations have changed during the course of the last centuries due to several factors, i.e. the conversion to Protestant Christianity and the modern Ethiopian Nation State, which both aim at achieving a gender order according to western norms.

In the following paper I would like to focus on the transformation of Maale women's agency, which is brought about by the change in gender relations. Within the traditional ritual system of the Maale society women were feared for their impurity and respected for their procreative powers.

Furthermore their life was structured by a certain sequence of rituals. Today many Maale women follow the western normative gender order instead of adhering to their own traditional ritual order. Thereby they lose the power that had been ascribed to them as well as their orientation in life that was formerly assured by a strict sequence of live cycle rituals. I would like to explore, whether the new lifestyle promoted by the Protestant churches as well as Ethiopian government policies (especially the announcement of so-called *Traditional Harmful Practices*) does endorse an increase of Maale women's agency or whether it is a step backwards concerning the empowerment of women, who have actually never been powerless.

### Recording Maale women's lives

The Maale of southern Ethiopia count 74.517 people according to Ethiopia's 2005 census<sup>1</sup>. They are agro-pastoralists who raise cattle and goats and cultivate sorghum and maize. Since the 1960s the Maale have been facing serious transformations in their lives, above all through the increasing influence of Protestant Christianity and the conversion of many Maale, improved infrastructure, as well as through the integration into the Ethiopian nation (see Donham 1990 and 1999; Thubauville 2010).

I began research in southern Ethiopia in 2002, and have conducted extensive field studies on Maale women's lives for my PhD between June 2006 and October 2009 (see Thubauville 2010).<sup>2</sup> I accompanied women while they were carrying out their daily tasks, I joined their celebrations, listened to them relating episodes of their past lives during idle hours or interviews, as well as to their gossip on other women and daily worries. I documented their stories in my field diary, and also recorded interviews to be able to reproduce and quote their statements in their own words. As a further method I carried out focused group interviews at a nearby research center. I found this method to be especially helpful as women were usually very busy and occupied with their families

---

<sup>1</sup> Statistical source from the South Omo Zone Administration.

<sup>2</sup> Before that I have been researching in Maale for my MA (see Thubauville 2005).

when at home. Taking them to another place tightened our relation and experiences and gave us more time to learn from each other.

### Current transformations among the Maale

As already mentioned Ethiopia has never been colonized by a foreign power. However, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century emperor Menelik II incorporated the south of Ethiopia in his Ethiopian Empire and exploited this newly incorporated part of the country of human and other resources (Lydall 2010). In Maale he initially built up a very weak and indirect rule and the local political leaders didn't lose much of their former power (Donham 1979: 2, 1981: 520). Some years later then he sent out settler soldiers to the borders of his empire. Only in the 1980s under the military rule of Mengistu Haile Mariam the Maale became consequently a part of the Ethiopian state (Donham 1999: 46). Today all major villages have an own police station, a school, a health station, and other public offices. Recently, since 2008, the Maale even got their own government district (*woreda*) (Thubauville 2010:46).

Two changes that arrived together with the current administration and influence the lives of women are the presence of the police and the increased enrollment of girls in schools. Even though police posts are nowadays common even in small villages the Maale still have many own ways of dealing with violence and conflicts. A practice that is for example applied frequently is offering asylum to a woman who is in trouble with her husband and making her husband pay a compensation for his misbehavior. This practice is called *bettitsi* in Maale. A woman, who for example has been beaten or neglected by her husband, can take refuge in a homestead of her father's patrilineage. Usually she stays until her husband comes to apologize and to talk about the compensation. By that way the disagreement between the two can cool down, the husband is punished for his misdeed and reminded of his duties towards his wife (Thubauville 2010: 148ff). The female informants I had, had all made use of this practice at least once and would have never thought of involving the police in such a case. The police is, however, involved when it comes to abduction of women (*miiritsi*). This practice of marrying, which was very popular in former times, has because of police intervention, nearly ceased in Maale (Thubauville 2010:112). Another important factor of change among the Maale is formal education.<sup>3</sup> Today schools cover the whole Maale area, most of them being run by the government.<sup>4</sup> Whether parents send a child to school or not depends mostly on the distance to the next school and on the question if the work force of the child is needed or not. Most people that I got to know send some of their children to school and asked others to assist them with the work on the fields and with the cattle. In this regard the situation of girls is a special one. Boys are preferably sent to school, while girls are expected to stay at home and learn the household chores of women to become good wives and mothers. Since some time, however, this tendency has been changed through external incentive. The *World Food Program* (WFP) is handing out vegetable oil to the families of girls who attend school regularly.<sup>5</sup> As oil is expensive for humble people in Maale, this has already motivated many families to send girls to school. Which impact this exceptional gender division will bring for the future is yet to be seen.

<sup>3</sup> According to the capacity building office of the district there have been 17 schools (official and private ones) in the Maale area in March 2008. 33,88% of all children of school-going age had been enrolled.

<sup>4</sup> The first schools in Maale had been built by Protestant missionaries. Under the socialist regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam schools were nationalized and their number increased rapidly (Donham 1979: 339).

<sup>5</sup> The oil is distributed in Baneta, Koybe, Balla, Boshkoro und parts of Gongode. I observed the distribution between 2006 and 2008. Akna of the capacity building office of the district informed me that in 2007 the school enrollment rate of girls was already higher than that of boys.

### Former means of female agency

The society of the Maale is organized patrilineally and patrilocally. Furthermore, it is the men who make all important decisions. Male dominance is also enhanced through the norms and values of the society (compare Moore 1986: 193), such as inheritance to male descendants or the claim to the reproduction of women by men. Among the Maale all important ritual and political offices are held by men.

However, within this male realm women do have some means of agency, which are not too rare and insignificant. As MacCormack and Strathern (1980) as well as Errington and Atkinson (1990) show, women have different domains of agency than men, who often dominate in the political and ritual sphere. Also Lenz (1990: 38) states that the formal, political power, that is usually controlled by men, makes up only a small percentage of the entire societal power. Lenz supports a multifocal view of power, which she subdivided into the areas production, reproduction, sexuality and symbolic order.

There are plenty examples one could use to describe the former gender order and women's means of agency among the Maale. I have already mentioned shortly the possibility women had to take refuge in their father's lineage. Women could stay there as long as necessary. The period mostly ended with their husbands' excuse and a compensation of the woman and her father's lineage (Thubauville 2010: 148ff).<sup>6</sup> Apart from this chance for women, girls have a lot of say when it comes to choosing a prospective husband (Thubauville 2010: 112ff) and in former times also showed their strength by bringing in a big part of the household equipment while their husbands only paid a very low bride price or even none at all (Thubauville 2010: 126ff).

Two further examples I would like to describe more in detail are divorces and means of protest, such as protest songs. Is it not possible anymore to solve the conflicts between a couple, for example through the before mentioned measure of asylum of the woman, a next step would be to start the process of divorce. In Maale divorces are common and happen quite frequently (Thubauville 2010: 150ff). Being divorced is not a reason of disgrace for a woman and she will be able to marry again afterwards.<sup>7</sup> A woman can also initiate a divorce, in fact this is even more common than a man taking the first step. As the bride payments in Maale are low compared to neighboring groups, bride payments are not paid back to the husband after a divorce, if the couple had been married for more than a year.<sup>8</sup> Because of that men usually have no interest in a divorce as a new marriage demands a new bride price payment. Before a divorce takes place it is of course discussed thoroughly between the two parties – a divorce, like a marriage, is no individual decision. If it is decided that it is better to end the relationship, elders of both sides come together and bless the divorcees. Then the couple pours green grass over each other's heads and says "May you be green/fertile!" and by those words wishes the other more luck and fertility for his/her next relation. Here I have to mention that divorces often occur when a couple stays childless, as children are the most important outcome of a marriage. Thus the blessing draws mostly upon fertility and children. After it they both go their separate ways.<sup>9</sup>

If women are dissatisfied with their husbands or out of another reason on a smaller scale than in the case of a divorce, they further have several possibilities to express their discontent. I often listened to women who freed themselves from frustrations while having tea with and talking to a female friend; music offers a further opportunity. Some women sing their problems off their chest while

<sup>6</sup> One has to note that women with small children could, of course, not use this possibility as easily and frequent as women without children or older children. However, I also knew women with small children who flew frequently and also found some place that could accept them (Thubauville 2010: 149).

<sup>7</sup> It might of course happen that the choice of possible partners for a marriage is reduced at that stage. Many women I knew, who married a second time, were married as second wives.

<sup>8</sup> The rationale of that rule is that a husband pays the bride price for the work force of his wife. If she has worked for him one year or more her work has already made up for the bride price.

<sup>9</sup> When a divorce happens, the property is not separated. Women usually only get some share when they had common children, who are still small and have to be with their mother.

rhythmically grinding grain.<sup>10</sup> Others play the five string lyre of the Maale and compose songs to accompany their play. In many of the texts they express their frustration and dissatisfaction with their husbands. One example are the following lyrics:<sup>11</sup>

*Gachen galatta base*

<i>Gachen galatta base.</i>	There is no gratitude for grinding.
<i>Madda maragge base.</i>	If I work or not, it makes no change.
<i>Ade gelea mashalla.</i>	When a man enters, it is like sand.
<i>Katsen maragge base.</i>	If I cook or not, it makes no change.
<i>Shoen maragge base.</i>	If I give birth or not, it makes no change.

Many songs - also the above mentioned - are very popular amongst women. Women sing them frequently when playing lyre and by that way call attention to the restrictions of their agency. As the songs are very popular they are also sung without an ulterior motive. By that way their intentions behind singing those songs stay hidden. The men who listen to them have to find out themselves if the songs are directed at them or not.<sup>12</sup>

### Former Ritual Order

As in many parts of the world, girls and women in Maale are regarded as “guests” by their kin with whom they stay only until they are married and as “foreigners” by their in-laws to whom they move when they are already grown-up. In general they are and will always stay “in between” two families and clans (Strathern 1972). This fact of not belonging to just one clan and lineage makes them to be considered as impure and respected as dangerous. This leads to several prohibitions (*kets’e*) for women among the Maale. Those prohibitions are as in many other societies (see Alexander Naty 1997, Mabilia 2005, Sanday 1981, Schlehe 1987, Schröter 1995, Valeri 1990, van Gennep 1960) mostly related with the periods of menstruation and breast-feeding. During those periods women may accidentally lose certain bodily fluids, which are said to be dangerous or polluting. Directly after birth they have to stay in seclusion and take care for not losing some of their breast milk or menstruation blood. Those fluids are considered to spoil foods and drinks and seriously endanger the people who consume them. The mentioned taboos limit the agency of women in some ways as they are not able to move freely during the periods of breastfeeding and menstruation. However, being a source of danger also enables them to pass on some of their duties to other women and thus be able to slow down in those times when their bodies are weakened (Thubauville 2010: 188).

Women not only have to keep certain taboos as of their status as unclean and dangerous outsiders, they also have to pass through certain life circle rituals, to become a part of their father’s and husband’s lineages (Thubauville 2010: 196ff). During her course of life a woman has to follow a strict order of rituals of incorporation. The female ritual cycle starts after a girl marries. There are no special rituals for girls in Maale, also not after they start to menstruate. Anyway, girls marry quite early with about 16 to 18 years of age and leave their natal family at the day of marriage.

A bride moves to the homestead of her husband, often accompanied by a party of female friends and relatives. Arriving at the homestead a first ritual called *uto kashi* (‘ritual of the bride’) takes place. This ritual includes the bride and the groom entering through the cattle entrance.<sup>13</sup> There they are welcomed by the groom’s father and his eldest sister. The groom has to kiss the feet of his father, while the bride’s head is heavily smeared with butter by her new sister-in-law as a sign of fertility.

<sup>10</sup> This is quite a common way of protest among many societies (see Isichei 1993: 211).

<sup>11</sup> The lyrics have been composed and sung by my informant Danjite. The lyrics as well as the tune can be changed situational. However, certain elements, such as the chorus, are fixed.

<sup>12</sup> See Scott (1990: 140/161), who shows that the anonymity of resistance can be very important under certain circumstances. He also mentions oral traditions, such as lyrics, as a good opportunity for anonymous resistance.

<sup>13</sup> The cattle entrance to a homestead is used by all individuals, who are associated with cattle such as herders, bond friends and brides. Bond friends and brides both engage in an exchange that includes cattle.

Then the newlywed couple sits down on a cowhide and is given coffee, milk and honey to consume together out of one gourd bowl. Through the offering of food and the expressed wish that the bride may be fertile, the bride is accepted in her new homestead (Thubauville 2010: 197f).

The second ritual in the life of a woman is the *lali ba'enne* ('bringing of a woman'). The time of the ritual is determined by clan customs. Some clans may carry it out even before a woman gives birth for the first time, others after a woman has given birth twice. At the beginning of the ritual the husband is supposed to abuse his wife, who is supported by her brothers. This part refers to the actual possibility of women to search asylum in her patriline and to the constant support of her male kin. Then the woman will sit naked like during giving birth under a tree and a male person ties the rope of the *laze* plant around her hip.<sup>14</sup> Next the woman pretends to give birth and imitates the cutting of the umbilical cord, the postpartum seclusion, and the cutting of the first hair. Then she feeds all her children with certain seeds and her husband gives them a gourd filled with milk to drink. This is the first time for them to drink the milk from his cows.<sup>15</sup> Like after giving birth the woman then has to wash her whole body with water and in doing so is not allowed to enter a river. Then the ritual is completed. Afterwards her husband again has to transfer presents to his wife's family, because through this ritual they lost her a second time, this time as member of their clan. Through the ritual a woman attains the status of a *koysha inda*, a 'full woman'<sup>16</sup> and she herself, as well as all her children become only now members of the clan of the husband and father. After the *lali ba'enne* a woman is not allowed to marry again, even if her husband dies early. She will stay a member of the clan of her husband for the rest of her life (Thubauville 2010: 198ff).

The last ritual a woman has to pass through during her course of life is the *gelli kashi* ('ritual of entering'). As a woman is a member of the clan of her husband after the *lali ba'enne* she is no longer allowed to eat in the house of a member of her natal kin, nor is she allowed to exchange food or cattle. To change this situation, her father or one of her brothers organizes the *gelli* ritual in his homestead. To this ritual the woman and perhaps also one or more of her sisters enter the compound of the father or the brother bringing milk, flour and honey from their houses. Then they sit together, mix their food with that of their brother or father and consume it together. Through this act the women are accepted by their father's clan as outsiders, members of another clan and can again exchange food and cattle with their natal kin (Thubauville 2010: 202f).

#### Impacts on the agency and ritual order

Until recently – or, for the Maale who still follow their traditional belief, still – rituals, amongst them the rituals done for women, have been the central element of their traditional belief. Especially through the advent of Protestant missionaries and increased conversions, the traditional belief and its adjunct customs declined immensely. Especially when lineage elders (*toidi*) are converted, it leads to the conversion of a whole lineage, as the elders are the ritual leaders of their lineages and without their performance of rituals also the other lineage members can't continue their former way of live and belief.

However, once a woman converts to Protestantism, she does not continue the former cycle of rituals, but follows new life cycle rites instead according to the new belief. Protestants among the Maale will celebrate a church marriage, sometime after the birth of a child they will baptize it and finally at the end of one's life one is buried in a religious funeral. Similarly to the abovementioned

<sup>14</sup> His rope is called *koysha*. The new status of the woman *koysha inda* means literally 'mother of a *koysha*'.

<sup>15</sup> People are only allowed to drink the milk from their own clan. Before the *lali ba'enne*, the wife and the children can only drink milk from her father's clan. As this is very cumbersome, especially for the boys who herd the cattle, the milk matter is often the reason that drives a family to carry out the *lali ba'enne* as early as possible.

<sup>16</sup> A *koysha inda* is given more respect by other members of the society as normal woman. Her high respect is also shown later at her burial. She is buried in a cow hide like man, while normal women are buried in goat hides.

traditional rituals, also the church rites, especially the sermon that belongs to each of them, remind the concerned person of her rights and duties as a Protestant believer and of the moral order of the church.

The motivations to become a Protestant are manifold among the Maale, but no matter if someone finds the belief more progressive, wants to escape from traditional obligations or get rid of his alcohol dependency, all converts have in common that they want to improve their life and often also the lives of their close kin by converting to Protestantism (Thubauville 2010: 51f).

Protestant women have nearly the same daily routine as traditional believers. However, they are expected to dress smarter and exclusively in fabricated clothes, while other women in some parts of Maale still wear leather skirts. They are also expected not to wear traditional jewelry such as beaded necklaces or brass bracelets anymore. Protestants are further not allowed to consume alcohol, what makes them to organize their own work parties because usual work parties drink sorghum beer. Instead Protestant women bake flat bread for work parties.

Concerning the two examples of women's agency that I have described before – the possibility of getting divorced and the playing of protest songs- , both of them do not exist in the liveworld of Protestant women. Protestants are neither supposed to get divorced after tying the knot in church, nor are they allowed to play traditional music instruments and sing customary songs, such as the hidden protest songs that women sing accompanied by playing lyre. However, the protestant church bans polygyny which may be seen as an advantage by many women. While some women state that it has advantages like the sharing of household tasks, many women complain about the competition amongst co-wives which in the end increases the power of the husband (Thubauville 2010: 144ff).

The Ethiopian state currently adds its own contribution to the agency of women. Since several years 'harmful traditional practices' are banned by the Ethiopian constitution. Article 35 of the constitution says: "States shall enforce the right of women to eliminate the influence of harmful customs, laws, and practices that oppress or cause bodily or mental harm to women." The harmful traditional practices, are a constant discussion topic for meetings of NGOs and health workers. Many so-called 'harmful' practices also affect the agency and sexual freedom of women.

There are different lists of such practices circulating, one of them, made by Unicef in 2009, contains harmful practices for girls and women all over Ethiopia. Of the 22 practices that are on the list, the following 16 concern the South Omo Zone in the south of Ethiopia, where the Maale are located:

1. Infanticide
2. Abduction
3. Rape
4. Early marriage
5. Female circumcision
6. Lack of property rights
7. Labor abuse
8. Lack of education
9. Bodily injury
10. Postpartem seclusion
11. Prohibition to take off clothes while washing
12. Marriage payments
13. Abortions
14. Scarifications



15. Pulling out of teeth as sign of beauty

16. Sexual harassment

7

Apart from the list by Unicef, the administrative regions of the South Omo Zone have each made own lists with traditional harmful practices as the one for the whole country is very general. The practices that are considered harmful for women in the administrative regions can be summarized as follows:

1. Female genital cutting
2. Female dress codes and body decorations (heavy beads, the ban of taking off skirts, lip plates, scarifications, pulling off teeth)
3. Ritual restrictions and taboos (postpartem seclusion, unclear conceptions and abortions)
4. Restrictions of work (milking, sawing,...)
5. Bodily force (whipping, rape,..)
6. Practices related to marriage (abduction, polygyny, bride prices, early and arranged marriages, ghost marriage)
7. Lack of property rights and rights to inherit
8. Lack of school education
9. Lack of respect

Even that each district has an own list, they translate them very differently into action. Some districts as the Nyangatom and Hamar don't involve very much in the issues mentioned on those lists as they are thought to be family concerns. In the Maale district, on the other hand, the list is taken very seriously and following the practices that are decided to be harmful will end up with a fine or sentence once it is reported to or observed by the police. In Maale two brides I knew were arrested by the police for staying away from school during their bride time.<sup>17</sup> After spending some night in the police post, their family had to pay some fine and they had to return to school. A woman, who gave an unclean birth and tried to kill the infant, was also arrested.<sup>18</sup>

### Conclusion

If one looks at the agency of women in Maale in a historical perspective, one will find out that the numerous changes which the last decades have brought along, have neither increased nor decreased, but rather changed the means of women's agency.

We have seen that converting to Protestantism can decrease the agency of women as divorces are restricted. At the same time Protestants are only allowed to engage in monogamous marriages what might empower women within the nuclear family. Concerning the changes by the Ethiopian State, I showed that certain traditional practices which save women from domestic violence are still functional and preferred to government involvement, which might also be changing in near future. If the imprisonment of brides, who drop out of school, increases the agency of women, is a question that defies a general answer. The increase of female students, which is stimulated from outside and its changes for women's agency and the whole society, is a phenomenon that should be studied intensively in the near future, when the first female dominated year graduates from high school. At the moment one can only speculate whether the girls will accept husbands with a lower educational status and gain agency through their education or if the lack of educated husbands will make them migrate to towns.

<sup>17</sup> Brides are expected to stay in seclusion for about three months after their marriage. This practice should prepare the bride as well as her in-laws for the common future life and duties towards each other. To let a bride directly work and go out to the public is seen as rude and disrespectful towards the new family member (Thubauville 2010: 128ff).

<sup>18</sup> Read more about that practice in Thubauville (2010: 93ff).

The rituals carried out in Maale are of central importance to the world view and the moral concept of the society. Today they are disappearing increasingly in favor of Protestant clerical rites. By losing the once so crucial rituals, the society also loses many customs that had been promoted through the rituals (Thubauville 2010: 204) such as nursery customs or the mutual exchange of food between relatives. While other changes, for example the ones promoted by the government, can be individually accepted or rejected by actors, the changes brought forward by the Protestant belief have to be accepted as a whole by converts. If a woman converts to Protestantism she has to directly agree to the new value system and reorganize her daily and ritual life accordingly.

#### Bibliography:

- Alexander Naty. 1997. 'Articulating the Experience of Domination: Metaphors of Powerlessness among the Aari People of Southwest Ethiopia.' In: *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. II, edited by Katsuyoshi Fukui et.al. 501-515. Kyoto: Shokado.
- Atkinson, Jane Monnig, Shelly Errington (eds.). 1990. *Power and Difference. Gender in Island Southeast Asia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Donham, Donald. 1979. *Work and Power in Maale, Ethiopia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Donham, Donald. 1981. Beyond the Domestic Mode of Production. *MAN* 16, 515-541.
- Donham, Donald. 1990. *History, Power, Ideology*. Central Issues in Marxism and Anthropology. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Donham, Donald. 1999. *Marxist Modern*. An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Isichei, Elizabeth. 1993: Does Christianity Empower Women? The Case of the Anaguta of Central Nigeria. In: Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood und Shirley Ardener (eds.): *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*. Providence, Oxford: Berg, 209-228.
- Lenz, Ilse. 1990. Geschlechtssymmetrische Gesellschaften. Neue Ansätze nach der Matriarchatsdebatte. In: *Frauenmacht ohne Herrschaft. Geschlechterverhältnisse in nicht-patriarchalischen Gesellschaften*. Hrsg.: Lenz, Ilse und Ute Luig. Berlin: Orlanda, 17-74.
- Lenz, Ilse und Luig, Ute (eds.). 1990. *Frauenmacht ohne Herrschaft. Geschlechterverhältnisse in nicht-patriarchalischen Gesellschaften*. Berlin: Orlanda.
- Lydall, Jean. 2010. The paternalistic neighbor. In: *To Live with Others. Essays on Cultural neighborhood in Southern Ethiopia*, edited by Echi C. Gabbert and Sophia Thubauville. Köln: Köppe.
- Mabilia, Mara. 2005. *Breast Feeding and Sexuality. Behaviour, Beliefs, and Taboos among the Gogo Mothers in Tanzania*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.
- MacCormack, Carol P. and Marilyn Strathern (eds.). 1980. *Nature, Culture and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moore, Henrietta L. 1986. *Space, Text, and Gender. An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya*. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Müller, Klaus E. 1989. *Die bessere und die schlechtere Hälfte. Ethnologie des Geschlechterkonflikts*. Frankfurt, New York: Campus.
- Sanday, Peggy R. 1981. *Female Power and Male Dominance. On the Origins of Sexual Inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlehe, Judith. 1987. *Das Blut der fremden Frauen: Menstruation in der anderen und in der eigenen Kultur*. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus.
- Schröter, Susanne. 1994. *Hexen, Krieger, Kannibalinnen. Phantasie, Herrschaft und Geschlecht in Neuguinea*. Münster, Hamburg: Lit.
- Strathern, Marylin. 1972. *Women in Between: Female Roles in a Male World: Mount Hagen, New Guinea*. London, New York: Seminar Press.
- Thubauville, Sophia. 2005. *Maale Material Objects in Their Cultural and Ritual Context*. Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien der Johannes Gutenberg- Universität Mainz. No. 61 (<http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/workingpapers/AP56.pdf>).
- Thubauville, Sophia. 2010. *Die Wandernde ist eine Kuh. Lebenswege von Frauen in Maale, Südäthiopien*. Köln: Köppe.



- Valeri, Valerio. 1990. 'Both Nature and Culture: Reflections on Menstrual and Parturitional Taboos in Huaulu (Seram).' In *Power and Difference. Gender in Island Southeast Asia*, edited by Jane M. Atkinson and Shelly Errington, 235-272. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.