Intimate Partner Violence and Divorce among Ethiopian immigrants to Israel – A pathway to empowerment

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ABSTRACT:

Divorce has become a worldwide phenomenon, witnessing increasing rates over recent decades. It is essential to expand the literature relating to the phenomenon among immigrant women. Ethiopian immigrants in Israel are a unique community, embodying significant cultural differences. Immigration has increased the rates of intimate partner violence and femicide in the Ethiopian community. The current theoretical article explains the reasons for the high divorce rates among Ethiopian women in Israel, and how these rates can be related to intimate partner violence. The main conclusion reached is that immigrant Ethiopian women are seeking a better life following divorce since they perceive veteran Israeli women as role models, learning from them that they are entitled to live without violent partner abuse. It is therefore essential to establish ties between immigrant Ethiopian women and veteran Israeli women who can act as mentors to familiarize the immigrants with the host society's norms and customs.

Keywords: Cross-Cultural issues, divorce, Ethiopian immigrants, intimate partner violence (IPV), women's empowerment

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have addressed the connection between immigration and divorce. The present article views immigration as causing or catalysing divorce (Anderson et al., 2014). Scholars disagree as to whether immigrants, be they women or men, benefit from immigration. Some argue that migration typically benefits men's careers while having an adverse effect on the women's labour market. Indeed, family migration is strongly influenced by traditional gender roles that prioritize the male's economic well-being (Boyle et al., 2008). On the other hand, it is argued that migration does benefit women's status, albeit mainly in non-professional jobs (Houseworth & Chiswick, 2020) ; Author B & Author A, 2021).

The debate between the two attitudes can be understood by examining the immigrants' original culture. If the immigrant community was based on a patriarchal system that had been carefully preserved, women's status would be expected to remain low. Another possibility is that immigrant women

from traditional cultures will try to raise their status by absorbing the host culture to a greater extent and more rapidly than their husbands (Houseworth & Chriswick, 2020). In this respect, studies have found that the divorce rate among immigrants moving from patriarchal to modern cultures tends to be much higher than among immigrants from countries with a Western culture (Anderson et al., 2014).

Immigrant minority communities may be relatively more vulnerable in terms of the effect of immigration on their lives, including cultural conflicts, changes in gender norms and status, and violence resulting from these changes (Alaggia et al., 2009). The fact that migrants may experience conflicting gender norms between the country of origin and the host country is well documented. Conflicting norms and culture affect relationships between couples, becoming stressful when women begin aspiring to empowerment (Fouron & Schiller, 2001; Mahler, 2001). Immigrant women often switch gender roles following migration by becoming breadwinners or assuming other masculine functions (Zoniti, 2010). In response, men may feel marginalized or their masculinity under attack, leading to marital conflicts and even violence towards their spouses, at times culminating in their murder (Charsley, 2005; Author B & Author A, 2021; Erez, 2000; Fouron & Schiller, 2001; Gallo, 2006; Mahler, 2001).

In many cases, women immigrating from traditional cultures, e.g. Mexican or Ethiopian, to more modern countries experience freedom from constraining gender

norms, rendering their marriage unstable, and prompting requests for a divorce. Some studies have found that women who migrate to Western countries are relatively more prone to divorce (Caarls and Mazzucato, 2015; Author B & Author A, 2021; Hill, 2004; Hirsch, 2003; Jolly & Reeves, 2005; Zontini, 2010). The researchers explain this phenomenon by the fact that the women are willing to alter their traditional gender roles (Caarls & Mazzucato, 2015). The present article examines the status of Ethiopian immigrant women in the above context.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE IN ISRAEL AND ETHIOPIA: As of late 2020, the population of former Ethiopian residents in Israel numbered 159,500 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Members of the Ethiopian community who immigrated to Israel belong to the Beita Israel (Home of Israel) group, or as referred to by their neighbours, "Falasha." Immigration from Ethiopia to Israel was conducted principally in two rescue operations: Operation Moses (1984) and Operation Solomon (1991-1992). Both were carried out with the Mossad and U.S. Intelligence organizations (Shimron, 1998).

One of the significant differences between the two cultures touches on the aspect of habitation. Jews in Ethiopia lived principally in rural areas, with each village comprising a number of households. Socio-cultural life centred around patriarchal communities, characterized by a strict hierarchy according to gender and age, with men enjoying greater privileges than women. This was evident on two levels. Firstly, the village leaders were exclusively men; the religious, spiritual chief – the Kes – occupied the top of the echelon, under whom were the village elders ("Shmagluch") (Barhani, 1990), (Salmon, 1987), charged with maintaining social order. Secondly, in accordance with the patriarchal mindset, there was a strict division of work according to gender. The man was solely responsible for the family's livelihood (being engaged in farming and pottery) and representing the family vis-à-vis external entities. In contrast, the woman was responsible for the inner workings of the household: cooking, cleaning, and raising children. The woman and children were under the man's absolute authority, and any deviation from his demands could end in physical punishment that was violent but never lethal (Ben-Ezer 1992), (Bodovsky et al., 1990), (Bodovsky et al,.1992), (Bodovsky et al,.1994).

Verbal abuse, and more so physical abuse, in Ethiopia was regarded as a standard, legitimate means of control that could be used by the man on his wife and children if they failed to carry out the duties incumbent upon them by their society(Cainkar & Del Toro 2010). Women accepted their role as victims of the man's violence as part of their social and cultural norms. From birth, they underwent acculturation to the patriarchal society, recognized their place in society, and were committed to absolute obedience to their husbands, including his demands for sexual intimacy (Kacen, 2006), (Wallach et al., 2010), (Gal, 2003).

The above behaviours are not considered legitimate in Israel; indeed, Israeli law protects the woman from violence by her husband, a fact that has been a game changer for female Ethiopian immigrants to the country. Another important custom in Ethiopian culture lies in the realm of family and marital affairs, according to which arguments and other interaction within the family – mainly sporadic, moderate instances of violence (Kacen, 2006) – are the family's affairs alone. In other words, the airing of dirty linen in public is prohibited.

In towns and neighbourhoods where the Ethiopians have been settled following their arrival in Israel, it was found that unemployment, dropout from the educational system, and anti-social behaviour were higher than those in other towns (Gal, 2003), (Herzog, 1998), (Kacen & Keidar, 2006), (Sullivan et al., 2005), (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010); (Kacen, 2006). For the first time in their lives, married couples were exposed to a new family structure – the nuclear family, which dictated ways of dealing with interpersonal conflicts that in Ethiopia would have been resolved by traditional means or would not have surfaced at all.

Data collected on the state of former Ethiopian residents in Israel show that among adults, the employment rate is lower than that in Israeli society as a whole, with unemployment among men reaching 40% (National Insurance Institute, 2018). The percentage of individuals employed in non-professional jobs is significantly higher among Ethiopians than in the rest of the population. At the same time, the percentage of Ethiopian women in the workforce is higher than that of women in the labour market overall (Haviv et al., 2010). Interestingly, a study that examined the work participation of married immigrants in Norway found that the husbands' employment status positively impacted the wives' chances of finding work (Brekke, 2013).

The absorption in Israel of Ethiopian men has been different from that of the women. The unemployment rate among the immigrants points to difficulties in adaptation and absorption in the labour market, which is key to integration in society in general. Ethiopian men have not had the skills and education that are suited to modern Israeli society. At the same time, no attempt has been made to include these men in agricultural training courses or occupational programs (Svirsky & Capela, 2005). According to (Sellin, 1938), a person who has not yet embarked on a process of cultural absorption acts according to the norms of his home culture without sensing any cultural conflict. Thus, only after the immigrant has internalized the dos and don'ts of the new culture, which conflict with those of his home culture, will he feel a cultural conflict. Whereas Ethiopian men have aspired to maintaining the norms of their patriarchal culture, which had placed them in a socially superior position to that of the women, the opposite process may be seen to be taking place with Ethiopian women (Shapiro-Zur, 2013).

CULTURAL CHANGES AND THEIR IMPACT ON ETHIOPIAN WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL:

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is described as abuse that occurs in intimate relationships and involves actions used by a person to obtain or retain power and control over another person, regardless of culture, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Marrs Fuchsel & Brummett, 2021). The professional literature devoted to studying the cultural transition between a patriarchal society and an egalitarian one has found that immigration of the type described involves high-risk factors in terms of the murder of female immigrants by their husbands. The principal reasons for this are the reversal of gender roles and status, the depreciation in the status of the man, and the consequent reliance on violent, lethal conduct out of frustration, anger, despair, and a desire to maintain the social status the man had in the old country. As a general rule it may be said that a husband tries to regain his status through the use of violence that was legitimate in the original society. In response, he may find himself in prison (Bent-Goodley, 2007), (Cote & Bornstein, 2014), (Jin & Keat, 2010), (Kim et al., 2007), (Lee & Hadeed, 2009), (Hollifield et al., 2014), (Morash et al., 2007), (Raj & Silverman, 2002), (Vatnar & Bjorkly, 2012), (Websdale, 1999). In Israel, similar and even identical phenomena have occurred among former residents of Ethiopia (Kacen, 2006), (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010), (Bourdieu, 2011). Indeed, the rate of Ethiopian women in Israel who were murdered by intimate partners is threefold that in the female population as a whole.

The three mainstays of power possessed by men in patriarchal-traditional societies, including Ethiopian men, are: 1) Financial dependence on the man by his wife and children by virtue of his being the sole breadwinner in the family; 2) Institutionalization of male superiority, including the extra privileges enjoyed by the man by virtue of his being male; 3) Permission to resort to physical violence towards a wife who refuses to conform to the code of conduct expected of an Ethiopian woman (Kacen, 2006), (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010).

In immigrating from a patriarchal culture to a modern, egalitarian one, a situation could arise in which the man finds himself unemployed and/or is not the sole wage earner – a situation that puts his power and status in jeopardy. To ensure his superior status under any conditions, the second mainstay of power comes to the fore, granting him clout based on the very fact of his masculinity. However, his masculinity depends on his ability to earn a livelihood and consequently impose his authority on his family. Where both the first and second pillars of power are threatened, the man can resort to the third, namely, the use of violence towards the person endangering his status (Jin & Keat, 2010), (Kim et al., 2007), (Lee & Hadeed, 2009), (Morash et al., 2007), (Raj & Silverman, 2002), (Vatnar & Bjorkly, 2012), (Websdale, 1999). Whereas in the past essential mechanisms, upheld by the elders of the Ethiopian community, were in force that

maintained the man's status and social order, in Israel the authority wielded by the elders has been eroded to the point where they can no longer serve in their traditional roles. The transition to Israel and the cultural changes that have taken place among Ethiopian immigrants have virtually extinguished the three mainstays of power held by the Ethiopian male.

A review of employment data shows a rise in employment of Ethiopian women, in contrast to the relatively low employment rates of Ethiopian men (National Insurance Institute, 2018). This phenomenon is rooted in several causes: the Ethiopian male lacks the educational and occupational skills required in Israel's modern labour market; employers in non-professional occupations (manual labour in industrial plants, general cleaning jobs) prefer to employ women over men since their wages are lower; and some Ethiopian men would prefer not to work in jobs they consider to be unworthy.

The upshot of the above is that many Ethiopian women have become the chief, if not the only, breadwinners in the family. This is in addition to payments they receive from the National Insurance Institute directly to their bank accounts. The result has been a significant rise in women's say concerning financial decision-making in the family (Haviv et al., 2010). The fact of women going out to work has brought men face to face with new norms that have opened up a different world for them – one in which the status of women in the family can be much more egalitarian, and in which women do not have to submit entirely to the wishes of their husbands. Ethiopian women have learned that divorce from a violent or unsavoury husband is legitimate in Israeli society, with a divorce rate of around 30%. They have also learned that violence towards a spouse constitutes deviant, criminal behaviour, calling for formal complaint (Kacen, 2006), (Shuval, 1979), (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010), (Kacen & Keidar, 2006).

The Ethiopian male has thus lost the three components of power that he wielded in the old country and that were instrumental in maintaining his social status. The requirement of the new society to undergo acculturation and reassess the cultural norms of the home country has caused Ethiopian men to feel that they have fallen mightily. They have not only lost muscle by the very fact of their being male; they have shed their masculinity in their own view, in the view of their spouses and children, and in the view of their male friends. Some regard their wives as responsible for their condition and for the loss they have experienced since becoming providers.

Given the above situation, some women seek separation from their husbands. In response to the man's use of the only means he knows to deal with the threat to his status, namely, violence (Bourdieu, 2011), they can have their husbands removed from the home through a restraining order. If the explanations for violence towards spouses and IPV among

men in general, and Ethiopian immigrants in particular, had a socio-cultural basis only, one would expect all immigrants, or at least the majority of them, to behave violently towards their wives. Since violence of this nature, and especially extreme violence, manifested in IPV, is not common, the explanations proposed are not sufficient to fully understand the phenomenon, and psychological explanations on the individual level must also be explored (Bourdieu, 2011).

In this context, it is worth considering the concept of acculturation stress. Research studies have found that among Ethiopian men and other male immigrants worldwide, a range of mental disorders has been observed as a result of the socio-cultural processes described above. Due to the inability of some of the immigrants to cope with changes in their lives, including their self-image and new identity, extreme cases have been reported of depression, suicidal leanings, outbursts of anger, and psychiatric hospitalization (Ponizovsky et al., 1998), (Youngmann et al., 1999) (Youngmann et al., 2009), (Finkelstein & Salomon, 2007). One of the main reasons causing women to remain with abusive husbands is the negative social perception of divorce (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009). Indeed, the social stigma associated with divorce serves as a potent deterrent for women who would wish to report domestic abuse. On the other hand, the fact that women in Israel have an equal right to initiate divorce proceedings appears to increase the divorce rates while reducing IPV (Samuels et al., 2019).

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MIGRATION: Bourdieu was one of the first researchers to revive the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 2011). According to him, social capital represents a pool of resources (actual or potential) related to long-term affiliation with a social network (Briggs 2004). As a corollary, Coleman argues that any social relationship that constitutes a resource for a person deserves to be defined as social capital. In his view, social capital is a natural, integral part of the relationship between people. It can be expressed in several forms, including commitment, opening channels of information, and establishing norms with respect to trust and reciprocity. The social connection may allow access to information, expedite its acquisition, and reduce the costs involved. In Israel, as a country of immigration, a situation has arisen in which connectivity between immigrants and natives is what enables assimilation into Israeli society. This allows the sharing of knowledge between Israeli-born and Ethiopian women, as a result of which Ethiopian women have learned about the norms regarding intimate relationships between spouses.

Social capital also lays the foundation for building a sense of commitment and reciprocity. According to Putnam, the reference is to aspects of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can help society function more efficiently through coordinated action. Based on an analysis of these approaches, Bourdieu refers to the concept of social capital as an asset belonging to the individual (although the individual depends on others). In contrast, according to Putnam, social capital belongs to the community as a whole.

Two major types of social capital exist (Bak-Klimek et al., 2015). The first, bonding social capital, is the more powerful form, accepted within the extended family and among members of the same ethnic group (Putnam, 2000). It is built on a social network based on shared identity. The second, bridging social capital, refers to common norms and connections between people from different groups in terms of race, ethnic origin, and socioeconomic status. It consists of networks whose members may come from diverse backgrounds and have different interests. (Briggs, 2004) emphasizes the importance of bridging social capital, especially for vulnerable groups trying to break out of the cycle of poverty. These groups may be characterized by high bonding social capital for daily support from neighbours or relatives who are also steeped in poverty.

We claim that as long as Ethiopian women transition from bonding to bridging social capital and improve their social status, the divorce rate in the Ethiopian community will be higher than that in the general population. Immigrants frequently have lower social capital than natives because they have less family and friendship ties in the host community, while their social networks may be hampered by linguistic and cultural hurdles (Martinivic et al., 2009). These factors could explain the gaps in wellbeing between immigrants and natives (Tegegne and Glanville, 2019). Nevertheless, social links do exist to allow immigrants to obtain resources in the way of knowledge and support that are considered to be the most significant indicators of wellbeing for their purposes (Bak-Klimek et al., 2015).

Divorce is more likely to occur in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. (Ramseyer, 2014) found that couples living in a low social capital environment are more inclined to pursue disagreements, with accessibility of an attorney having no bearing on the decision to litigate. Women use formal support less frequently than informal support (Ansara & Hindin, 2010). (Renner & Hartley 2022) point out, however, that women who have suffered severe violence are more likely to seek formal help (Anderson et al., 2014). In a study examining the way women recognize and cope with IPV, results showed that 27% of the participants would seek help from a third party, such as government agencies, and initiate a divorce process. Still, most of the participants were not used to complaining about their husbands because of cultural norms (Hou et al., 2022).

MIGRATION TO ISRAEL AS A WAY TO IMPROVE SOCIAL CAPITAL: According to Baker, people will stay married if their utility as a spouse is of greater significance than their utility as an individual outside of marriage. Recent research has found that better work possibilities, as evaluated by educational attainment, English proficiency, and length of stay in the United States, are linked to a higher likelihood of divorce among immigrants.

The divorce rate among immigrants is directly proportional to that in the host country (Houseworth & Chiswick, 2020). In Israel, as in other Western nations, there is a rise in divorce rates as increasing numbers of women who have experienced IPV wish to be separated from their husbands (Bo Vatnar & Bjorkly, 2011).

Ethiopian women's entry into Israeli society has opened up for them an attractive world in which the man is no longer allowed to control them, strike them, or impose sexual relations on them. Women in Israel receive incentives to work and receive remuneration directly to their bank accounts without their husbands having control over the payments. This constitutes a complete contrast to the home culture, raising the status of the Ethiopian woman to a significant extent (Bourdieu, 2011), (Kacen & Keidar, 2006). Ethiopian women in Israel choose ownership over their lives and their future. They do not want to remain in a place where they are categorized as victims, and opt for divorce in order to move on with their lives and better themselves. These women have gained empowerment with the help of veteran Israeli women, who have made them aware of their rights and have encouraged them to undergo speedy acculturation to Israeli society while denouncing any act of violence on the part of the husband.

A dramatic change in the life of the Ethiopian woman is associated with the "code of respect." Whereas, according to Ethiopian culture, individual and marital affairs are confined to the family, the Ethiopian woman has learned that she can involve women in essential positions and consult them about private life, financial management, rights and support (Bourdieu, 2011), (Kacen & Keidar, 2006), (Kacen, 2006), (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010).

We claim that divorce is one way to improve social capital.

TWO PERCEPTIONS OF DIVORCE: The research literature presents the divorce process through two approaches. One approach (Dreman, 1991), (Martin & Doka, 2000), (Oliver, 1999) sees divorce as disastrous and traumatic, involving loss, destruction, crisis and severe damage to the self-esteem of the individual, who has experienced rejection and failure. The other approach (Peck, 1989), (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) sees divorce as an opportunity for personal development in each spouse; it treats the termination of marriage as the end of one lifestyle and establishment of another, including new offspring, a fresh status, and a different self-identity. It is an approach that demonstrates control over life and the individual's ability to choose, while establishing a new identity and redefining personal and functional attributes (Deidrick, 1991).

Various models describe the complexity of divorce as a multi-stage process that occurs under conditions of risk and uncertainty (McElroy & Dowd, 2007). The decision to divorce consists of several steps, leading up to a point of no return (Fok, 2005). Some models present divorce as a linear process that begins with the individual's understanding, initially undisclosed, that he is unhappy in the relationship, and ends in separation (Ahrons & Rogers. 1987). Other models present the process as a multi-stage one, in which rational cost and profit considerations play seesaw with the couple, until separation and divorce finally ensue (Palisi, 1984), (Sprecher, 1992). Contrary to these perceptions, (Hopper, 1993) argued that divorce is an unorganized, chaotic and complicated process with varying results. According to him, it affects the couple's personality, self-worth and dignity (Crosby et al,.1983). Divorce may thus be related to the development of psychopathologies, depending on the degree of the individual's vulnerability (Hopper, 2001). On examining the connection between poverty and divorce, it is interesting to see that poverty does not directly affect the divorce rate. On the other hand, where the women has an independent income, this could serve as a potential catalyst for divorce (Amri et al., 2022).

As regards the initiative to end a marriage, studies have shown that women who initiate divorce proceedings experience stress in the marriage prior to their spouses and are more aware of a lack of satisfaction. It was found that women who initiated divorce report increasing mental distress, both in terms of symptoms and intensity, and are willing to risk abandoning the institution of marriage in order to find a more satisfying way of life (Rosenfeld, 2015), (Vannoy, 2000). Women were also found to be more likely than men to initiate divorce in order to improve their condition (Amato & Previti, 2003). (Baum, 2003) argued that the higher prevalence of women initiating divorce is related to the grieving process they experience (Bø Vatnar & Bjørkly, 2010). According to her, women begin grieving for a relationship earlier than men, being more socially sensitive and aware of the emotional climate of the relationship (Loscocco & Walzer, 2013).

DIVORCE - THE ISRAELI CASE: Higher divorce rates in the country of origin may lead to higher divorce rates among migrants (Kavas and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2010). A study examining divorce rates among immigrants in Belgium shows that among Turkish and Moroccan migrants they have increased in the past 15 years (Dupont et al., 2020). From another point of view, findings shows that when the wife has a stable job and her husband does not, the risk of divorce is greater (Kaplan & Herbst-Debby, 2018).

According to the (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2019), the divorce rate in Israel is approximately 3.4 per 1,000 persons, i.e. 28-34 percent. Among the Ethiopian population in Israel, the divorce rate is significantly higher than that in the country as a whole (Young & Fok, 2005). Interestingly, almost all Ethiopian marriages (89%) involve a partner of the same ethnicity. They marry later than the overall Jewish population, with the median of first marriage among men in 2013 standing at 29 and among women at 26.7. An examination of the status of immigrants in other countries

shows the data to be consistent. For example, according to the (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, 2021) in the USA (2021), 11% of all immigrants have undergone divorce. Despite the rise in divorce rates, Israel is still considered a family-oriented and pro-marriage country (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 2002), (Hashiloni-Dolev, 2007). The importance of the family structure in Israel is recognized, as also the institutionalization and legitimization of the two-parent family (Herbst, 2013). This might explain why, despite its rising trend, Israel's divorce rate is lower than the European and American average (Kaplan & Herbst-Debby, 2018).

Ethiopian women who suffer from IPV claim that violence, which is a part of marital life, is a crucial component in causing divorce (Meler & Hisherik, 2020). Divorce was described as a coping strategy and a way to create a new destiny (Yassour-Borochowitz & Wasserman, 2020). We propose that changes as a result of migration be treated differently from the way they have been viewed to date. As the female immigrant assimilates into the new society and leans on emotional and mental encounters with Israeli women, the change becomes positive. She gains strength and, most importantly, discovers resources in the way of resilience, allowing her to choose how to manage her life – among other things, by opting for divorce. Surprisingly, women reported feeling more resilient and empowered as a consequence of that process (Mendoza et al., 2019).

In light of the above, the claim made in this article is corroborated. Ethiopian women have used their arrival in Israel to upgrade their status, with veteran Israeli women serving as role models for this cause. They have become family breadwinners and have resorted to divorce when their husbands have stood in their way to achieving social capital and mobility in Israeli society. In addition, the tradition of the battered wife is no longer accepted by women, and once divorced, they gain control over their lives and their future.

CONCLUSIONS

Immigration from a patriarchal culture to a modern one may cause dramatic changes in the family and between spouses. The case of Ethiopian women in Israel may serve as a mirror for these processes, which may take the course as described herein or, alternatively, the woman may choose to retain her inferior status. Where immigrant women take advantage of the dynamic in gender roles, they are better absorbed than their male counterparts. They learn a new language and have more chances of finding jobs, albeit non-professional ones. As they become the only or main breadwinner, the dynamic of their empowerment leads them further afield. The above picture is not always optimistic or easy to achieve. Intimate male partners will not lose their status without a fight. Some of them may use violence, even to a lethal extent, to keep their spouse in "the traditional place," accounting for the relatively high rates of violence and murder among immigrants. Contrastingly, where immigrant women do not use their new situation to advance themselves, there is much less violence against them. When immigrant women start to view veteran native women as role models and realize that they can live without violence from their intimate partners, they will be on the road to a better life as single parents. In Western countries, including Israel, this entitles them to social security services, including many financial benefits. In other words, some Ethiopian women in Israel use divorce as a platform for a better life for themselves and their children. It should be borne in mind that the phenomenon described herein does not exist everywhere. Some immigrants remain bonded to their husbands and confront the new experience following immigration together. Thus, not all Ethiopian women choose to divorce their husbands, preferring to maintain their traditional roles.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors do not have any existing conflict of Interest

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