

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

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EDITORIAL

Women and children are often in great danger in the place where they should be safest: within their families. For many, 'home' is where they face a regime of terror and violence at the hands of somebody close to them – somebody they should be able to trust. Those victimized suffer physically and psychologically. They are unable to make their own decisions, voice their own opinions or protect themselves and their children for fear of further repercussions. Their human rights are denied and their lives are stolen from them by the ever-present threat of violence.

This Innocenti Digest looks specifically at domestic violence. The term 'domestic' includes violence by an intimate partner and by other family members, wherever this violence takes place and in whatever form. The Digest builds on the research carried out by the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre for an earlier Digest on *Children and Violence*.

In recent years, there has been a greater understanding of the problem of domestic violence, its causes and consequences, and an international consensus has developed on the need to deal with the issue. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted by the United Nations General Assembly some 20 years ago, the decade-old Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, all reflect this consensus. But progress has been slow because attitudes are deeply entrenched and, to some extent, because effective strategies to address domestic violence are still being defined. As a result, women worldwide continue to suffer, with estimates varying from 20 to 50 per cent from country to country.

This appalling toll will not be eased until families, governments, institutions and civil society organizations address the issue directly. Women and children have a right to State protection even within the confines of the family home. Violence against women is perpetrated when legislation, law enforcement and judicial systems condone or do not recognize domestic violence as a crime. One of the major challenges is to end impunity for perpetrators. So far, only 44 countries have adopted specific legislation to address domestic violence.

As this Digest demonstrates, domestic violence is a health, legal, economic, educational, developmental and, above all, a human rights issue. Much has been done to create awareness and demonstrate that change is not only necessary, it is also possible. Now that strategies for dealing with it are becoming clearer, there is no excuse for inaction.

Mehr Khan

Director, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

OVERVIEW

“Violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women...”

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, General Assembly Resolution, December 1993.

Violence against women and girls continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures, and maims – physically, psychologically, sexually and economically. It is one of the most pervasive of human rights violations, denying women and girls equality, security, dignity, self-worth, and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms.

Violence against women is present in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity and age. Even though most societies proscribe violence against women, the reality is that violations against women’s human rights are often sanctioned under the garb of cultural practices and norms, or through misinterpretation of religious tenets. Moreover, when the violation takes place within the home, as is very often the case, the abuse is effectively condoned by the tacit silence and the passivity displayed by the state and the law-enforcing machinery.

The global dimensions of this violence are alarming, as highlighted by studies on the incidence and prevalence of violence. No society can claim to be free of such violence, the only variation is in the patterns and trends that exist in countries and regions. Specific groups of women are more vulnerable to violence, including minority groups, indigenous and migrant women, refugee women and those in situations of armed conflict, women in institutions and detention, women with disabilities, female children, and elderly women.

This Digest focuses specifically on domestic violence – the most prevalent yet relatively hidden and ignored form of violence against women and girls. While reliable statistics are hard to come by, studies estimate that, from country to country, between 20 and 50 per cent of women have experienced physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner or family member.¹

For the purpose of this Digest, the term “domestic violence” includes violence against women and girls by an inti-

Definitions and Key Concepts

There is no universally accepted definition of violence against women. Some human rights activists prefer a broad-based definition that includes “structural violence” such as poverty, and unequal access to health and education. Others have argued for a more limited definition in order not to lose the actual descriptive power of the term.² In any case, the need to develop specific operational definitions has been acknowledged so that research and monitoring can become more specific and have greater cross-cultural applicability.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”³

This definition refers to the gender-based roots of violence, recognizing that “violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.” It broadens the definition of violence by including both the physical and psychological harm done towards women, and it includes acts in both private and public life. The Declaration defines violence against women as encompassing, but not limited to, three areas: violence occurring in the family, within the general community, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State.

Domestic violence, as defined for this Digest, includes violence perpetrated by intimate partners and other family members, and manifested through:

Physical abuse such as slapping, beating, arm twisting, stabbing, strangling, burning, choking, kicking, threats with an object or weapon, and murder. It also includes traditional practices harmful to women such as female genital mutilation and wife inheritance (the practice of passing a widow, and her property, to her dead husband’s brother).

Sexual abuse such as coerced sex through threats, intimidation or physical force, forcing unwanted sexual acts or forcing sex with others.

Psychological abuse which includes behaviour that is intended to intimidate and persecute, and takes the form of threats of abandonment or abuse, confinement to the home, surveillance, threats to take away custody of the children, destruction of objects, isolation, verbal aggression and constant humiliation.

Economic abuse includes acts such as the denial of funds, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs, and controlling access to health care, employment, etc.

Acts of omission are also included in this Digest as a form of violence against women and girls.⁴ Gender bias that discriminates in terms of nutrition, education and access to health care amounts to violation of women’s rights. It should be noted that although the categories above are listed separately, they are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they often go hand in hand.

mate partner, including a cohabiting partner, and by other family members, whether this violence occurs within or beyond the confines of the home. While recognizing that other forms of violence are equally worthy of attention, this Digest does not cover the violence inflicted on women by strangers outside the home – in public places such as streets, workplaces or in custody, or in situations of civil conflict or war. It does not look at the issue of violence against domestic workers, as this is a form of violence perpetrated by individuals who are not related. In other words, the term “domestic” here refers to the types of relationships

involved rather than the place where the violent act occurs.

The Digest attempts to set out the magnitude and universality of domestic violence against women and girls, and its impact on the rights of women and children. It emphasizes the need for coordinated and integrated policy responses; enhancing partnerships between stakeholders; setting up mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating programmes and policies; implementing existing legislation; and ensuring greater transparency and accountability from governments in order to eliminate violence against women and girls.

Women’s groups have long pushed for

such responses, and have placed women's rights firmly on the agenda of international human rights through their advocacy. The 1990s, in particular, witnessed concentrated efforts on the part of the world community to legitimize and mainstream the issue. The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) accepted that the rights of women and girls are "an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights." The United Nations General Assembly, in December 1993, adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. It is the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women, a groundbreaking document that became the basis for many other parallel processes.

In 1994, the Commission on Human Rights appointed the first UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, entrusting her with the task of analyzing and documenting the phenomenon, and holding governments accountable for vio-

lations against women. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) included elimination of all forms of violence against women as one of its twelve strategic objectives, and listed concrete actions to be taken by governments, the United Nations, international and non-governmental organizations.

While gender-based violence is not specifically mentioned in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in 1992 the Committee overseeing CEDAW implementation adopted General Recommendation 19, which states that gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that inhibits a woman's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men. It asks that governments take this into consideration when reviewing their laws and policies.

Under the new Optional Protocol to CEDAW, adopted by the UN General Assembly in October 1999, ratifying States recognize the authority of the

Committee to receive and consider complaints from individuals or groups within that State's jurisdiction. On the basis of such complaints, the Committee can then conduct confidential investigations and issue urgent requests for a government to take action to protect victims from harm, bringing the Convention into line with other human rights instruments such as the Convention against Torture.

This growing momentum has compelled a better understanding of the causes and consequences of violence against women, and positive steps have been taken in some countries, including reforming and changing laws that deal with violations against women. Some regions have developed their own conventions on violence against women, examples of which are the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, and the African Convention on Human and People's Rights, including its Additional Protocol on Women's Rights.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

The family is often equated with sanctuary – a place where individuals seek love, safety, security, and shelter. But as evidence shows, for many it is a place that imperils lives, and breeds some of the most drastic forms of violence perpetrated on women and girls.

Violence in the domestic sphere is usually perpetrated by males who are, or who have been, in positions of trust and intimacy and power – husbands, boyfriends, fathers, fathers-in-law, stepfathers, brothers, uncles, sons, or other relatives. Domestic violence is in most cases violence perpetrated by men against women. Women can also be violent, but their actions account for a small percentage of domestic violence.

Violence against women is often a cycle of abuse that manifests itself in many forms throughout their lives (see Table 1). Even at the very beginning of her life, a girl may be the target of sex-selective abortion or female infanticide in cultures where son-preference is prevalent. During childhood, violence against girls may include enforced malnutrition, lack of access to medical care and education, incest, female genital mutilation, early marriage, and forced prostitution or bonded labour.

Some go on to suffer throughout their adult lives – battered, raped and even murdered at the hands of intimate partners. Other crimes of violence against women

include forced pregnancy, abortion or sterilization, and harmful traditional practices such as dowry-related violence, sati (the burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband), and killings in the name of honour. And in later life, widows and elder-

Table 1 - Examples of Violence against Women Throughout the Life Cycle

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Type of violence</i>
Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortion; effects of battering during pregnancy on birth outcomes.
Infancy	Female infanticide; physical, sexual and psychological abuse.
Girlhood	Child marriage; female genital mutilation; physical, sexual and psychological abuse; incest; child prostitution and pornography.
Adolescence and Adulthood	Dating and courtship violence (e.g. acid throwing and date rape) economically coerced sex (e.g. school girls having sex with "sugar daddies" in return for school fees); incest; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuse; abuse of women with disabilities; forced pregnancy.
Elderly	Forced "suicide" or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuse.

(Source: "Violence Against Women", WHO., FRH/WHD/97.8)

ly women may also experience abuse.

While the impact of physical abuse may be more 'visible' than psychological scarring, repeated humiliation and insults, forced isolation, limitations on social mobility, constant threats of violence and injury, and denial of economic resources are more subtle and insidious forms of violence. Its intangible nature makes it harder

to define and report, leaving the woman in a situation where she is often made to feel mentally destabilized and powerless.

Jurists and human rights experts and activists have argued that the physical, sexual and psychological abuse, sometimes with fatal outcomes, inflicted on women is comparable to torture in both its nature and severity. It can be perpetrated

intentionally, and committed for the specific purposes of punishment, intimidation, and control of the woman's identity and behaviour. It takes place in situations where women may seem free to leave, but are held prisoner by fear of further violence against themselves and their children, or by lack of resources, family, legal or community support.⁵

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

The extent, validity and reliability of the data available are critical in determining the magnitude of the problem and in identifying priority areas for intervention. Prevalence studies with samples of representative populations, for example, are relatively new in developing countries. Such studies were initially conducted in industrialized countries – the United States, Canada, and Europe. One very influential survey was conducted in Canada in 1993, under the auspices of the Canadian government. This survey was developed in consultation with women's organizations and ensured adequate support and services were available for women participating in the survey.

When designing research on violence against women, it is important that the research itself does not put women at risk. The World Health Organization (WHO) has developed specific ethical and safety recommendations that take into account, among other issues, the safety of respondents and the research team, protecting confidentiality to ensure both women's safety and data quality, and specialized training of interviewers.⁶

Most of the data available on violence against women are believed to be not only conservative, but unreliable. Studies vary in the sample size of women chosen, and the ways in which questions have been posed. It is difficult to compare these studies because of inconsistency in the definition of domestic violence and in the parameters used, which can range from just physical abuse to physical, sexual and psychological abuse.

Debate regarding the magnitude of the problem is also clouded by the fact that domestic violence is a crime that is under-recorded and under-reported. When women file a report or seek treatment,

they may have to contend with police and health care officials who have not been trained to respond adequately or to keep consistent records. On the other hand, shame, fear of reprisal, lack of information about legal rights, lack of confidence in, or fear of, the legal system, and the legal costs involved make women reluctant to report incidents of violence.

Physical abuse

A growing body of research studies confirms the prevalence of physical violence in all parts of the globe, including the estimates of 20 to 50 per cent of women from country to country who have experienced domestic violence⁷. Statistics are grim no matter which part of the globe one focuses on. Data from industrialized and developing countries as well as from transitional countries (see Table 2) provide an overview of the global problem. The data in this table focus only on physical assault. There are few comparable statistics on psychological violence, sexual abuse, and murder of women at the hands of intimate partners and other family members. As already mentioned, physical violence is usually accompanied by psychological abuse, and in many cases by sexual assault.

Sexual abuse and rape in intimate relationships

Sexual abuse and rape by an intimate partner is not considered a crime in most countries, and women in many societies do not consider forced sex as rape if they are married to, or cohabiting with, the perpetrator. The assumption is that once a woman enters into a contract of marriage, the husband has the right to unlimited sexual

access to his wife. Surveys in many countries reveal that approximately 10 to 15 per cent of women report being forced to have sex with their intimate partner.⁸

Some countries have begun to legislate against marital rape. These include Australia, Austria, Barbados, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Mexico, Namibia, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad & Tobago, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Although provision of such laws represents considerable progress, it is often difficult for a woman to press charges because of the evidential rules concerning the crime.

Psychological and emotional abuse

Because psychological violence is harder to capture in quantitative studies, a full picture of the deeper and more insidious levels of violence defies quantification. Victim-survivors report that ongoing psychological violence – emotional torture and living under terror – is often more unbearable than the physical brutality, with mental stress leading to a high incidence of suicide and suicide attempts. A close correlation between domestic violence and suicide has been established based on studies in the United States of America, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Peru, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Suicide is 12 times as likely to have been attempted by a woman who has been abused than by one who has not.⁹ In the United States of America, as many as 35 to 40 per cent of battered women attempt suicide.¹⁰ In Sri Lanka, the number of suicides by girls

Table 2 - Domestic Violence against Women

Industrialized Countries**Canada**

- 29% of women (a nationally representative sample of 12,300 women) reported being physically assaulted by a current or former partner since the age of 16.

Japan

- 59% of 796 women surveyed in 1993 reported being physically abused by their partner.

New Zealand

- 20% of 314 women surveyed reported being hit or physically abused by a male partner.

Switzerland

- 20% of 1,500 women reported being physically assaulted according to a 1997 survey.

United Kingdom

- 25% of women (a random sample of women from one district) had been punched or slapped by a partner or ex-partner in their lifetime.

United States

- 28% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported at least one episode of physical violence from their partner.

Asia and the Pacific**Cambodia**

- 16% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported being physically abused by a spouse; 8% report being injured.

India

- Up to 45% of married men acknowledged physically abusing their wives, according to a 1996 survey of 6,902 men in the state of Uttar Pradesh.

Korea

- 38% of wives reported being physically abused by their spouse, based on a survey of a random sample of women.

Thailand

- 20% of husbands (a representative sample of 619 husbands) acknowledged physically abusing their wives at least once in their marriage.

Middle East**Egypt**

- 35% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported being beaten by their husband at some point in their marriage.

Israel

- 32% of women reported at least one episode of physical abuse by their partner and 30% report sexual coercion by their husbands in the previous year, according to a 1997 survey of 1,826 Arab women.

Africa**Kenya**

- 42% of 612 women surveyed in one district reported ever being beaten by a partner; of those 58% reported that they were beaten often or sometimes.

Uganda

- 41% of women reported being beaten or physically harmed by a partner; 41% of men reported beating their partner (representative sample of women and their partners in two districts).

Zimbabwe

- 32% of 966 women in one province reported physical abuse by a family or household member since the age of 16, according to a 1996 survey.

Latin America and the Caribbean**Chile**

- 26% of women (representative sample of women from Santiago) reported at least one episode of violence by a partner, 11% reported at least one episode of severe violence and 15% of women reported at least one episode of less severe violence.

Colombia

- 19% of 6,097 women surveyed have been physically assaulted by their partner in their lifetime.

Mexico

- 30% of 650 women surveyed in Guadalajara reported at least one episode of physical violence by a partner; 13% reported physical violence within the previous year, according to a 1997 report.

Nicaragua

- 52% of women (representative sample of women in León, reported being physically abused by a partner at least once; 27% reported physical abuse in the previous year, according to a 1996 report.

Central and Eastern Europe/CIS/Baltic States**Estonia**

- 29% of women aged 18-24 fear domestic violence, and the share rises with age, affecting 52% of women 65 or older, according to a 1994 survey of 2,315 women.

Poland

- 60% of divorced women surveyed in 1993 by the Centre for the Examination of Public Opinion reported having been hit at least once by their ex-husbands; an additional 25% reported repeated violence.

Russia (St. Petersburg)

- 25% of girls (and 11% of boys) reported unwanted sexual contact, according to a survey of 174 boys and 172 girls in grade 10 (aged 14-17).

Tajikistan

- 23% of 550 women aged 18-40 reported physical abuse, according to a survey.

(Adapted from "Violence Against Women," WHO, FRH/WHO/97.8, "Women in Transition," Regional Monitoring Report, UNICEF 1999, and a study by Domestic Violence Research Centre, Japan.)

and women 15-24 years old is 55 times greater than the number of deaths due to pregnancy and childbirth.¹¹

Femicide

Femicide – murder of women by their batterers – is another phenomenon that should be reflected as a separate category when recording domestic violence. Studies carried out in Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Kenya, Thailand and the United States of America have documented the incidence of femicide within the domestic sphere.¹² In Southern Africa, women's groups have begun to document the increasing incidents of femicide, and data are available from Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.¹³ A comparative analysis of spousal homicide, based on 1991 data, concluded that Russian women are 2.5 times more likely to be murdered by their partners than American women. However, American women are already twice as likely to be killed by their partners than women in Western European countries.¹⁴

Sexual abuse of children and adolescents

Considering the taboo in most countries that surrounds incest or sexual abuse against children and adolescents occurring within the family, this is one of the most invisible forms of violence. Because the crime is perpetrated most often by a father, stepfather, grandfather, brother, uncle, or other male relatives in a position of trust, the rights of the child are usually sacrificed in order to protect the name of the family and that of the adult perpetrator. However, studies have shown that from 40 to 60 per cent of known sexual assaults within the family are committed against girls 15 years and younger, regardless of region or culture.¹⁵ A recent study in the Netherlands showed that 45 per cent of the victims of sexual violence within the domestic sphere are under the age of 18. Of these, girls are far more likely to be victims of incest than boys.¹⁶

Forced prostitution

Forced prostitution or other kinds of commercial exploitation by male partners or parents is another form of violence against women and children reported worldwide.

Destitute families, unable to support their children, often hire out or sell their children, who may then be forced into prostitution. Very often the young girl is sent as a domestic worker, in which case she may be physically and sexually exploited by her employers. For example, in West Africa – from Senegal to Nigeria – tens of thousands of children of destitute families are reportedly sent to the Middle East each year, many of them ending up as prostitutes.¹⁷ In South Africa, child prostitution is on the rise and has become an increasingly organized activity. In certain hill districts of Nepal, prostitution has become an almost 'traditional' source of income. Women and girls are tricked or forced by their husbands and relatives into being trafficked to India for prostitution. In the poor rural areas of Thailand, where poverty has given rise to the phenomenon of debt bondage, it is believed that it is the daughter's duty to sacrifice herself for the well-being of her family. Traffickers buy the "labour" of young women and girls in exchange for money. The high incidence of HIV/AIDS in the country has been attributed to this trafficking in young girls.¹⁸ In Northern Ghana and parts of Togo, girls are "donated" to priests, and are forced to live as "wives" and submit sexually to the shrine priests in return for protection for the family. A similar practice exists in southern India where young women and girls (*devadasis*) are "donated" to serve a temple; and very often end up being prostituted.

Sex-selective abortions, female infanticide and differential access to food and medical care

In societies where a higher value is placed on sons, discrimination towards female children can take extreme forms such as sex-selective abortions and female infanticide. In India, a recent survey reported

10,000 cases of female infanticide annually. The figure does not take into account the number of abortions performed to prevent the birth of a child.¹⁹ An official survey in China revealed that, with its one-child policy, 12 per cent of all female embryos were aborted or otherwise unaccounted for.²⁰ And in many countries the discrimination that leads to the neglect of girl children is the greatest cause of sickness and death among girls between the ages of two and five years.²¹ Girls in many developing countries receive less nourishment than boys, and they are more likely to suffer mental or physical disability or even die, as a result of poor nutrition. Less access to health care also exacerbates the much higher mortality rate among girls.

Sex-selective abortion, female infanticide, and systematic differential access to food and medical care have led to the phenomenon known as the "missing millions" of women and girls. An estimated 60 million women are simply missing from the population statistics. In other words there are 60 million fewer women alive in the world than should be expected on the basis of general demographic trends. The phenomenon is observed primarily in South Asia, North Africa, the Middle East and China.²²

Traditional and cultural practices affecting the health and lives of women

Around the world, women and girls suffer the harmful and life-threatening effects of traditional and cultural practices that continue under the guise of cultural and social conformism and religious beliefs. Examples include:

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM): It has been estimated that nearly 130 million women worldwide have undergone FGM and that approximately two million undergo the procedure every year. FGM

Killing in the Name of Honour

The issue of killings in the name of honour began to appear on the political agenda in Pakistan in 1999 as a result of growing pressure from NGOs, the media, activists, and UN agencies including UNICEF. On 21 April, 2000, at a National Convention on Human Rights and Human Dignity, General Pervez Musharraf, The Chief Executive of Pakistan announced that such killings would be treated as murder. "The Government of Pakistan, vigorously condemns the practice of so-called 'honour killing'. Such actions do not find any place in our religion or law." The killings continue, but steps are now being taken to address the issue.

takes place in 28 countries in Africa (both eastern and western), in some regions in Asia and the Middle East, and in certain immigrant communities in North America, Europe and Australia. It can lead to death and infertility; and long-term psychological trauma combined with extreme physical suffering.

Dowry-related violence: Even though India has legally abolished the institution of dowry, dowry-related violence is actually on the rise. More than 5,000 women are killed annually by their husbands and in-laws, who burn them in “accidental” kitchen fires if their ongoing demands for dowry before and after marriage are not met. An average of five women a day are burned, and many more cases go unreported.

Deaths by kitchen fires are also on the rise, for example, in certain regions of Pakistan. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan reports that at least four women are burned to death daily by husbands and family members as a result of domestic disputes.

Acid attacks: Sulphuric acid has emerged as a cheap and easily accessible weapon to disfigure and sometimes kill women and girls for reasons as varied as family feuds, inability to meet dowry demands, and rejection of marriage proposals. In Bangladesh, it is estimated that there are over 200 acid attacks each year.

Killing in the name of honour: In several countries in the world including, but not limited to, Bangladesh, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, and Turkey, women are killed in order to uphold the “honour” of the family. Any reason – alleged adultery, premarital relationships (with or without sexual relations), rape, falling in love with a person of whom the family disapproves – is enough reason for a male member of the family to kill the woman concerned. In 1997, more than 300 women were victims of these so-called “honour” crimes in just one province of Pakistan. In Jordan, the official toll is rising and in reality the numbers are higher because many such murders are recorded as suicides or accidents. Victim-survivors of attempted murders are forced to remain in protective custody, knowing that leaving custody would result in death at the hands of the family. The penal codes in Jordan that govern crimes of honour sanction killing by making the penalty disproportionately lenient, partic-

ularly if the crime is committed by boys under 18 years of age.

Early marriages: Early marriage, with or without the consent of the girl, constitutes a form of violence as it undermines the health and autonomy of millions of young girls. The legal minimum age of marriage is usually lower for females than for males. In many countries, the minimum legal age for marriage with parental consent is considerably lower than with-

out it; more than 50 countries allow marriage at 16 or below with parental consent.²³ Early marriage leads to childhood/teenage pregnancy, and can expose the girl to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. It is also associated with adverse health effects for her children, such as low birthweight. Furthermore, it has an adverse effect on the education and employment opportunities of girls.

CAUSES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There is no one single factor to account for violence perpetrated against women. Increasingly, research has focused on the inter-relatedness of various factors that should improve our understanding of the problem within different cultural contexts.

Several complex and interconnected institutionalized social and cultural factors have kept women particularly vulnerable to the violence directed at them, all of them manifestations of historically unequal power relations between men and

women. Factors contributing to these unequal power relations include: socio-economic forces, the family institution where power relations are enforced, fear of and control over female sexuality, belief in the inherent superiority of males, and legislation and cultural sanctions that have traditionally denied women and children an independent legal and social status.

Lack of economic resources underpins women's vulnerability to violence and their difficulty in extricating themselves

Table 3 - Factors That Perpetuate Domestic Violence

Cultural	Gender-specific socialization Cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles Expectations of roles within relationships Belief in the inherent superiority of males Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls Notion of the family as the private sphere and under male control Customs of marriage (bride price/dowry) Acceptability of violence as a means to resolve conflict
Economic	Women's economic dependence on men Limited access to cash and credit Discriminatory laws regarding inheritance, property rights, use of communal lands, and maintenance after divorce or widowhood Limited access to employment in formal and informal sectors Limited access to education and training for women
Legal	Lesser legal status of women either by written law and/or by practice Laws regarding divorce, child custody, maintenance and inheritance Legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse Low levels of legal literacy among women Insensitive treatment of women and girls by police and judiciary
Political	Under-representation of women in power, politics, the media and in the legal and medical professions Domestic violence not taken seriously Notions of family being private and beyond control of the state Risk of challenge to status quo/religious laws Limited organization of women as a political force Limited participation of women in organized political system

(Source: Heise, 1994)

from a violent relationship. The link between violence and lack of economic resources and dependence is circular. On the one hand, the threat and fear of violence keeps women from seeking employment, or, at best, compels them to accept low-paid, home-based exploitative labour. And on the other, with limited economic independence, women have no power to escape from an abusive relationship.²⁴

The reverse of this argument also holds true in some countries; that is, women's increasing economic activity and independence is viewed as a threat which leads to increased male violence.²⁵ This is particularly true when the male partner is unemployed, and feels his power undermined in the household. Studies have linked a rise in violence to the destabilization of economic patterns in society. Macro-economic policies such as structural adjustment programmes, globalization, and the growing inequalities they have created, have been linked to increasing levels of violence in several regions, including Latin America, Africa and Asia.²⁶ The transition period in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union – with increases in poverty, unemployment, hardship, income inequality, stress, and alcohol abuse – has led to a rise in violence in society, including violence against women. These factors also act indirectly to raise women's vulnerability by encouraging more risk-taking behaviour, more alcohol and drug abuse, the breakdown of social support networks, and the economic dependence of women on their partners.²⁷

Cultural ideologies – both in industrialized and developing countries – provide 'legitimacy' for violence against women in certain circumstances. Religious and historical traditions in the past have sanctioned the chastising and beating of wives. The physical punishment of wives has been particularly sanctioned under the notion of entitlement and ownership of women. Male control of family wealth inevitably places decision-making authority in male hands, leading to male dominance and proprietary rights over women and girls.

The concept of ownership, in turn, legitimizes control over women's sexuality, which in many law codes has been deemed essential to ensure patrilineal inheritance. Women's sexuality is also tied to the concept of family honour in many

societies. Traditional norms in these societies allow the killing of 'errant' daughters, sisters and wives suspected of defiling honour of the family by indulging in forbidden sex, or marrying and divorcing without the consent of the family. By the same logic, the honour of a rival ethnic group or society can be defiled by acts of sexual violence against its women.

Experiences during childhood, such as witnessing domestic violence and experiencing physical and sexual abuse, have been identified as factors that put children at risk. Violence may be learnt as a means of resolving conflict and asserting manhood for children who have witnessed such patterns of conflict resolution.

Excessive consumption of alcohol and other drugs has also been noted as a factor in provoking aggressive and violent male behaviour towards women and children. A survey of domestic violence in Moscow revealed that half the cases of physical abuse are associated with the husband's excessive alcohol consumption.²⁸

The isolation of women in their families and communities is known to contribute to increased violence, particularly if those women have little access to family or local organizations. On the other hand, women's participation in social networks has been noted as a critical factor in lessening their vulnerability to violence and in their ability to resolve domestic violence. These networks could be informal (family

and neighbours) or formal (community organizations, women's self-help groups, or affiliation with political parties).²⁹

Lack of legal protection, particularly within the sanctity of the home, is a strong factor in perpetuating violence against women. Until recently, the public/private distinction that has ruled most legal systems has been a major obstacle to women's rights. Increasingly, however, States are seen as responsible for protecting the rights of women even in connection with offences committed within the home. In many countries, however, violence against women is exacerbated by legislation, law enforcement and judicial systems that do not recognize domestic violence as a crime. The challenge is to end impunity for the perpetrators as one means of preventing future abuse.

Investigations by Human Rights Watch have found that in cases of domestic violence, law enforcement officials frequently reinforce the batterer's attempts to control and demean their victims. Even though several countries now have laws that condemn domestic violence, "when committed against a woman in an intimate relationship, these attacks are more often tolerated as the norm than prosecuted as laws....In many places, those who commit domestic violence are prosecuted less vigorously and punished more leniently than perpetrators of similarly violent crimes against strangers."³⁰

CONSEQUENCES

Denial of fundamental rights

Perhaps the most crucial consequence of violence against women and girls is the denial of fundamental human rights to women and girls. International human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted in 1948, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted in 1989, affirm the principles of fundamental rights and freedoms of every human being. Both CEDAW and the CRC are guided by a

broad concept of human rights that stretches beyond civil and political rights to the core issues of economic survival, health, and education that affect the quality of daily life for most women and children. The two Conventions call for the right to protection from gender-based abuse and neglect.

The strength of these treaties rests on an international consensus, and the assumption that all practices that harm women and girls, no matter how deeply they are embedded in culture, must be eradicated. Legally binding under international law for governments that have ratified them, these human rights treaties oblige governments not only to protect

women from crimes of violence, but also to investigate violations when they occur and to bring the perpetrators to justice.³¹

Human development goals undermined

There is a growing recognition that countries cannot reach their full potential as long as women's potential to participate fully in their society is denied. Data on the social, economic and health costs of violence leave no doubt that violence against women undermines progress towards human and economic development. Women's participation has become key in all social development programmes, be they environmental, for poverty alleviation, or for good governance. By hampering the full involvement and participation of women, countries are eroding the human capital of half its population. True indicators of a country's commitment to gender equality lie in its actions to eliminate violence against women in all its forms and in all areas of life.

Health consequences

Domestic and sexual violence against women leads to far-reaching physical and psychological consequences, some with fatal outcomes (see Table 4). While injury represents only a part of the negative health impacts on women, it is among the more visible forms of violence. The United States Department of Justice has reported that 37 per cent of all women who sought medical care in hospital emergency rooms for violence-related injuries were injured by a current or former spouse or partner.³² Assaults result in injuries ranging from bruises and fractures to chronic disabilities such as partial loss of hearing or vision, and burns may lead to disfigurement. The medical complications resulting from FGM can range from haemorrhage and sterility to severe psychological trauma. Studies in many countries have shown high levels of violence during pregnancy resulting in risk to the health of both the mother and the unborn foetus. In the worst cases, all these examples of domestic violence can result in the death of the woman – murdered by her present or ex-partner.

Sexual assaults and rape can lead to unwanted pregnancies, and the dangerous complications that follow from resorting

Table 4 - Health Consequences of Violence Against Women

NONFATAL OUTCOMES

Physical health outcomes:

- Injury (from lacerations to fractures and internal organs injury)
- Unwanted pregnancy
- Gynaecological problems
- STDs including HIV
- Miscarriage
- Pelvic inflammatory disease
- Chronic pelvic pain
- Headaches
- Permanent disabilities
- Asthma
- Irritable bowel syndrome
- Self-injurious behaviours (smoking, unprotected sex)

Mental health outcomes:

- Depression
- Fear
- Anxiety
- Low self-esteem
- Sexual dysfunction
- Eating problems
- Obsessive-compulsive disorder
- Post traumatic stress disorder

FATAL OUTCOMES

- Suicide
- Homicide
- Maternal mortality
- HIV/AIDS

(Source: "Violence against Women", WHO Consultation, 1996)

to illegal abortions. Girls who have been sexually abused in their childhood are more likely to engage in risky behaviour such as early sexual intercourse, and are at greater risk of unwanted and early pregnancies.³³ Women in violent situations are less able to use contraception or negotiate safer sex, and therefore run a high risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.³⁴

The impact of violence on women's mental health leads to severe and fatal consequences. Battered women have a high incidence of stress and stress-related illnesses such as post-traumatic stress syndrome, panic attacks, depression, sleeping and eating disturbances, elevated blood pressure, alcoholism, drug abuse, and low self-esteem. For some women, fatally depressed and demeaned by their abuser, there seems to be no escape from a violent relationship except suicide.

Impact on children

Children who have witnessed domestic violence or have themselves been abused, exhibit health and behaviour problems, including problems with their weight, their eating and their sleep.³⁹ They may have difficulty at school and find it hard to develop close and positive friendships. They may try to run away or even display suicidal tendencies.

Domestic Violence and HIV/AIDS

Nearly 14 million women today are infected with HIV and the rate of female infection is rising. A forthcoming study from WHO finds that the greatest risk of HIV infection for many women comes from a regular partner, and is heightened by an unequal relationship that makes it difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate safe sex. For these women, sex is not a matter of choice.³⁵

A study of women aged 18 and over in one province in Zimbabwe found that 26 per cent of married women reported being forced to have sex when they did not want to. It is widely acknowledged that, even when a woman is aware that her partner has other sexual partners, or is HIV infected, she may not be in a position to insist on condom use or monogamy. Most HIV/AIDS prevention programmes, however, advocate both methods. Many women would feel that any attempt to discuss such measures would provoke yet more violence.³⁶

Other studies have found that the spread of HIV/AIDS in some parts of Africa is being exacerbated by practices that see women as the 'property' of men. The tradition of wife or widow inheritance, for example, is fairly common in Eastern and Southern Africa. When a woman's husband dies, his wife and property are often inherited by his eldest brother. In Western Kenya women have been forced to marry, even when their husbands have died of AIDS, when they themselves are infected, or when their future husband has AIDS. There are no laws to address this practice in Kenya.³⁷

Sexual cleansing is a more recent phenomena, resulting from, and contributing to, the spread of HIV/AIDS. Practised within extended families in Western Kenya, Zimbabwe and parts of Ghana, it is based on the belief that a man can be cured of HIV/AIDS if he has sex with a young girl who is a virgin. Girls as young as eight are selected to ensure their purity.³⁸

A new approach is required that acknowledges the links between violence against women and the spread of HIV/AIDS, and translates this into policies and programmes for HIV prevention and care.

(continued on page 12)

COMBATING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: OBLIGATIONS OF THE STATE

by Radhika Coomaraswamy

United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women*

Domestic violence, whether it be perpetrated by private or state actors, constitutes a violation of human rights. It is the duty of states to ensure that there is no impunity for the perpetrators of such violence. Often state policies and inaction perpetuate or condone such violence within the domestic sphere. States have a double duty under international human rights law. They are not only required not to commit human rights violations, but also to prevent and respond to human rights abuses.

In the past, human rights protection was interpreted narrowly – state inaction to prevent and punish violations was not viewed as a failure in its duty to protect human rights. The concept of state responsibility has now developed to recognize that states also have an obligation to take preventive and punitive steps where rights violations by private actors occur.

International legal standards

Three doctrines, developed by human rights scholars and activists, have to be taken into account when dealing with the issue of violence against women by private actors. The first is that states have a responsibility to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish international law violations and pay just compensation.

Due diligence

In 1992, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted General Recommendation 19, in which it confirmed that violence against women constitutes a violation of human rights and emphasizes that “States may also be responsible for private acts if they fail to act with due diligence to prevent violations of rights or to investigate and punish acts of violence, and for providing compensation”.¹ The Committee made recommendations on measures states should take to provide effective protection of women against gender-based violence, including:

(1) effective legal measures, including penal sanctions, civil remedies and compensatory provisions to protect women against all

kinds of violence, including, inter alia, violence and abuse in the family, sexual assault and sexual harassment in the workplace;

(2) preventive measures, including public information and education programmes to change attitudes concerning the roles and status of men and women;

(3) protective measures, including refuges, counselling, rehabilitation action and support services for women who are the victims of violence or who are at risk of violence.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women also calls on States to “pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating violence against women” and, further to “exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons”.²

The concept of due diligence has been taken forward by the judgment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the case of *Velásquez Rodríguez*. The Court required the government to “take reasonable steps to prevent human rights violations and to use the means at its disposal to carry out a serious investigation of violations committed within this jurisdiction, to identify those responsible, to impose the appropriate punishment and to ensure the victim adequate compensation”.³

Thus, the existence of a legal system criminalizing and providing sanctions for domestic assault would not in itself be sufficient; the government would have to perform its functions to “effectively ensure” that incidents of family violence are actually investigated and punished.⁴

Equal protection of the law

This doctrine is related to the concept of equality and equal protection. If it can be shown that law enforcement discriminates against the victims in cases involving violence against women, then the State may be held liable for violating international human rights standards of equality.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, in Article 2, requires State parties

to “pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women”, which includes the duty to “refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation” and “to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women”.

Domestic violence as torture

This school of thought argues that domestic violence is a form of torture and should be dealt with accordingly. The argument is that, depending on the severity and the circumstances giving rise to state responsibility, domestic violence can constitute torture or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

It is argued that domestic violence involves the very four critical elements that constitute torture: (a) it causes severe physical and or mental pain, it is (b) intentionally inflicted, (c) for specified purposes and (d) with some form of official involvement, whether active or passive.

Proponents of this argument call for domestic violence to be understood and treated as a form of torture and, when less severe, ill-treatment. This argument deserves consideration by the rapporteurs and treaty bodies that investigate these violations, together perhaps with appropriate NGO experts and jurists.

Responses to combat domestic violence

Today, many States recognize the importance of protecting the victim from abuse and of punishing the perpetrator of the crime. One of the major questions facing law reformers is whether to ‘criminalize’ wife battery. There is a sense that domestic violence is a crime between those who are

linked by bonds of intimacy. The question of intimacy, i.e. whether wife-battering should be treated as an ordinary crime or whether there should be an emphasis on counselling and mediation, poses a major dilemma for policy makers.

Criminalization

Advocates of the criminal justice approach point to the symbolic power of the law and argue that arrest, prosecution and conviction, with punishment, is a process that carries the clear condemnation of society for the conduct of the abuser and acknowledges his personal responsibility for the activity. Research conducted by the Minneapolis Police Department has shown that 19 percent of those involved in mediation and 24 percent of those ordered to leave their matrimonial homes repeated the assault, but only 10 percent of those who were arrested indulged in further violence.⁵ It is, however, critical that those involved in policy making in this area take into account the cultural, economic and political realities of their countries. Any policy which fails to acknowledge the singular nature of these crimes and which is unaccompanied by attempts to provide support for the victim and help for the abuser is doomed to fail.

Legislation

Legislation with regard to domestic violence is a modern phenomenon. There is an increasing belief that special laws should be drafted, having special remedies and procedures. The first problem that arises with regard to legislation is to allow for prosecution of men who beat their spouses even if the latter, under pressure, want to withdraw their claims. In response some countries have instructed police and prosecutors to proceed with cases even in situations where women indicated that they would rather not proceed.⁶ In addition, since the spouse will be the main witness, some jurisdictions have introduced legislation making the woman a "compellable witness" except in certain situations. Other countries, such as the United States, are moving towards advocacy support.

Quasi-criminal remedies are also being utilized by several countries. The most important of these are the "protection" or "bound over" orders. This is a procedure by which a person can complain to a magistrate or a justice that violence has taken place and the violent party is then "bound over" to keep the peace or be of good behaviour. The standard of proof is lower than with strictly criminal proceedings and this may provide some women with appropriate relief, with a court order obtainable on the balance of probabilities. Breach of the order is a criminal offense and the police may arrest, with-

out a warrant, a person who has contravened a protection order.

Civil law remedies, such as an injunction which is used to support a primary cause of action such as divorce, nullity or judicial separation, can also be utilized. Some jurisdictions have enacted legislation removing the requirement of applying for principle relief and allowing the woman to apply for injunctive relief independently of any other legal action.⁷ Another civil remedy which is available in certain states in the United States of America is an action in tort claiming damages from the marital partner.⁸

Police action

In most jurisdictions the power of the police to enter private premises is limited. In the context of domestic violence this can protect the violent man at the expense of the woman. Some legislations allow the police to enter if requested to do so by a person who apparently resides on the premises or where the officer has reason to believe that a person on the premises is under attack or imminent attack.⁹ In many cases of domestic violence, immediate release of the offender on bail may be dangerous for the victim and, certainly, release without prior warning to the victim may have serious consequences for her. A number of Australian jurisdictions attempt to strike a balance between the interests of the offender and the victim by specifying conditions designed to protect the victim to be attached to the release of the offender.¹⁰

Training and Community Support Services

Most police, prosecutors, magistrates, judges and doctors adhere to traditional values that support the family as an institution and the dominance of the male party within it. It is therefore necessary to train law enforcers and medical and legal professionals who come in contact with victims to understand gender violence, to appreciate the trauma of the victim and to take proper evidence for criminal proceedings. Professionals in law and medicine are often resistant to this type of training and to learning from anyone outside their specialty. It would therefore be more effective to involve other professionals in the training programme.

The nature of the crime of domestic violence requires the intervention of the community to assist and support the victims. Community workers should be trained to provide information to the victim on the law and law enforcement, available financial and other support offered by the State, the procedures for obtaining such assistance, etc. Community workers can also play an important role in identifying violence, raising awareness about such issues and directing

victims to the correct procedures for seeking redress.

Any relief given to domestic violence victims should also include counselling for both the battered and the batterers. These programmes can even serve as alternative sentencing options especially in cases where women prefer that their partners "get help" rather than punishment. In order to be effective, all these approaches should utilize formal and informal methods of education and dissemination of information.

Cooperation at all levels

Overwhelmingly, governments lack the necessary expertise to develop and implement policy relating to violence against women. Therefore, a more cooperative relationship between governments and civil society should be built to combat violence against women.

An integrated, multidisciplinary approach with lawyers, psychologists, social workers, doctors and others working together to gain a holistic understanding of each particular case and the needs of the individual victim is the best option. Giving attention to the real-life context of the battered woman, her hopelessness, dependency, restricted options, and her consequent need for empowerment, should underpin every approach. The goal is to work with the victim to develop her capacity to decide her own future.

*The Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women was appointed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1994 with a mandate to: seek and receive information from governments, organizations and individuals on violence against women; recommend measures to eliminate such violence and remedy its consequences; and carry out field visits.

1 Committee on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Eleventh Session, General Recommendation 19, Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 38 (A/47/38), Ch.1.

2 General Assembly Resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993, Article 4.

3 Velázquez Rodríguez Case (Honduras), 4 Inter-Am. Ct. HR, Ser. C, No.4, 1988, para 174.

4 Ibid, para 167.

5 Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment.

6 Confronting Violence: A Manual for Commonwealth Action, Women and Development Programme, Human Resource Development Group, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, June 1992.

7 Australia, Family Law Act, 1975, Sections 114, 70 C' Hong Kong, Domestic Violence Order, 1986; Matrimonial Causes Act, 1989, section 10.

8 "Developments in the law- Legal responses to domestic violence", 106 Harvard Law Review, 1993, p.1531.

9 Justices Act, 1959 (Tas) section 106F; Crimes Act 1900 (NSW), section 349A.

10 Bail Act 1978 (NSW) section 37; Bail Act 1980 (Qld); Bail Act 1985 (SA) section 11.

Witnessing and experiencing violence as a child can also result in internalizing violence as a form of conflict resolution. Girls who witness their mother being abused may

be more likely to accept violence as the norm in a marriage than those who come from non-violent homes. While many children from violent homes do not grow up to

be violent, those who have witnessed violence in childhood are more likely to become adults who engage in violent behaviour both inside and outside the home.

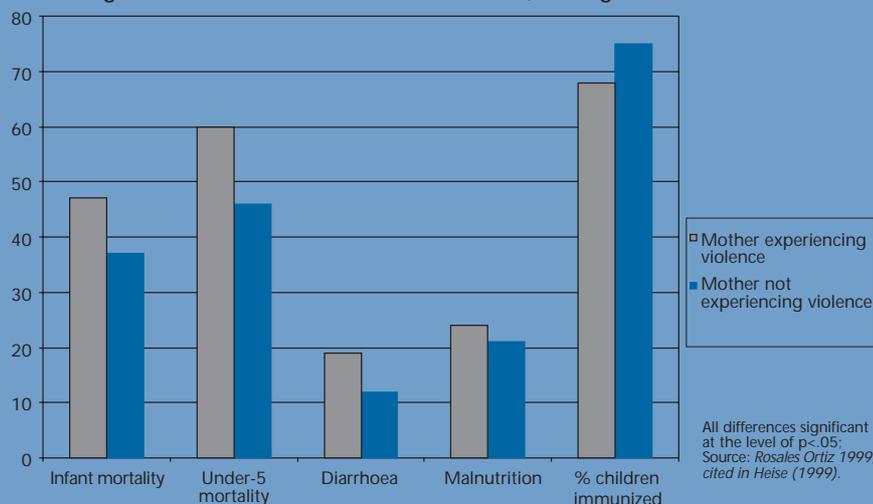
Violence in the Home Undermines Child Survival

A study in León, Nicaragua reports that children of women who were physically and sexually abused by their partners were six times more likely than other children to die before the age of five.⁴⁰ Similarly, children of beaten women were more likely than other children to be malnourished, to have had a recent episode of diarrhoea, and less likely to have received oral rehydration therapy and to be immunized (see Figure 1). The study was carefully controlled to exclude other possible factors affecting infant and child survival.

A study in the Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh also found that women who had been beaten were significantly more likely than non-abused women to have had a pregnancy loss from abortion, miscarriage, or stillbirth, or to have lost an infant. The study controlled for other influences on infant mortality such as mother's education, age, and parity.⁴¹ In rural Karnataka, India, a study found that children of mothers who were beaten received less food than other children did, suggesting that these women could not bargain with their husbands on their children's behalf.⁴²

While the exact manner in which violence against women affects child survival is not known, one possible explanation is that children of mothers who are abused are more likely to be born underweight, and thus carry a higher risk factor of dying in infancy or childhood. Another explanation is that women in abusive relationships suffer from lower self-esteem, weaker bargaining position, less access to food and resources, and therefore are less able to care for their children.⁴³

Figure 1 - Domestic Violence and Child Health, Nicaragua



CALCULATING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC COSTS OF VIOLENCE

Calculating the costs of violence is a strategic intervention to make policy-makers more aware about the importance and effectiveness of prevention. Studies carried out in Canada, the United States, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Australia calculate costs using different parameters.⁴⁴ In Canada, the study, which estimated the costs of violence against women in the larger context of violence both within and outside the home, concludes that the state spends over \$1 billion (Canadian) annually on services, including police, criminal justice system, counselling, and training.⁴⁵ For the United States, according to one study cost estimates range between \$5 and \$10 billion annually.⁴⁶ These studies, it should be noted, refer only to direct service-related costs and do not address the human costs of violence.

In 1993, the World Bank estimated that in industrialized countries health

costs for domestic violence and rape accounted for nearly one in five disability-adjusted life years* lost to women age 15 to 44.⁴⁷ The health costs of domestic violence and rape are the same in industrialized and developing countries, but because the overall burden of disease is much higher in developing countries, a smaller percentage is attributed to gender-based victimization. In developing countries, depending on the region, estimates range from 5 to 16 per cent of healthy years lost to women of reproductive age on account of domestic violence.⁴⁸

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has recently carried out studies in six countries in Latin America – Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela – taking a more holistic look at the socio-economic cost of domestic violence.⁴⁹ For analytical purposes, the IDB has divided the costs of domestic and

social violence into four categories using the following framework (see Table 5)⁵⁰:

(i) **Direct costs** take into account expenditures on psychological counselling and medical treatment (emergency room care, hospitalizations, care in clinics and doctors' offices, treatment for sexually transmitted diseases); police services including time spent on arrests and responding to calls; costs imposed on the criminal justice system (prison and detention, prosecution and court cases); housing and shelters for women and their children; and social services (prevention and advocacy programmes, job training, and training for police, doctors, the judiciary and the media).

(ii) **Non-monetary costs** that do not draw upon medical services, but in themselves take a heavy toll on the victim-survivors by way of increased morbidity and mortality through homicide and suicide,

*The Bank estimates count every year lost due to premature death as one disability-adjusted life year (DALY), and every year spent sick or incapacitated as a fraction of a DALY, with the value depending on the severity of disability.

increased dependence on drugs and alcohol and other depressive disorders. These are the intangible costs that are comparable, according to World Bank estimates, to other risk factors and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, cancer, cardiovascular disease, and sepsis during childbirth. (iii) **Economic multiplier effects** include, for example, decreased female labour participation and reduced productivity at work, and lower earnings. In the United States, it has been reported that 30 per cent of abused women lost their jobs as a direct result of the abuse.⁵¹ A study in Santiago, Chile estimates that women who do not suffer physical violence earn an average of US\$385 per month while women who face severe physical violence at home earn only \$150 – in other words, less than half the earnings of other women.⁵² The study also focuses on the macro-economic impact as a result of loss of women's earnings.

Another effect under this category is the potential impact of domestic violence on the future capacity of children to obtain adequate employment. Apart from the loss of human capital, there are direct costs on the school system as children from violent homes may perform badly and have to repeat grades. According to an IDB study in Nicaragua, 63 per cent of children from families in which women are subjected to domestic violence repeat a grade at school, and on average drop out at age 9, compared with age 12 for children of women

who are not victims of severe abuse.⁵³

(iv) **Social multiplier effects** include the inter-generational impact of violence on children, erosion of social capital, reduced quality of life and reduced participation in democratic processes. These effects are difficult to measure quantitatively, but their impact is substantial in terms of a country's social and economic development.

It is clear that all sectors of society are deeply affected by, and bear the consequences of, violence against women. More

studies need to be carried out in both developing and industrialized countries to estimate the costs of domestic violence in order to advocate for national policies to eradicate this largely preventable crime.

A major knowledge gap also exists on the cost-effectiveness of interventions for domestic violence.⁵⁴ This is an important area of research that would provide guidance on effective, workable and replicable programmes, and thereby help channel resources and energy in the right direction.

Table 5 - The Socio-Economic Costs of Violence: a Typology

Direct costs: value of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Medical ● Police ● Criminal justice system ● Housing ● Social services
Non-monetary costs: pain and suffering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased morbidity ● Increased mortality via homicide and suicide ● Abuse of alcohol and drugs ● Depressive disorders
Economic multiplier effects: macro-economic, labour market, inter-generational productivity impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Decreased labor market participation ● Reduced productivity on the job ● Lower earnings ● Increased absenteeism ● Intergenerational productivity impacts via grade repetition and lower education attainment of children ● Decreased investment and saving ● Capital flight
Social multiplier effects: impact on interpersonal relations and quality of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intergenerational transmission of violence ● Reduced quality of life ● Erosion of social capital ● Reduced participation in democratic process

(Source: Buvinic et al, 1999)

STRATEGIES AND INTERVENTIONS: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Domestic violence is a complex problem and there is no one strategy that will work in all situations. To begin with, violence may take place within very different societal contexts, and the degree to which it is sanctioned by a community will naturally influence the kind of strategy needed.

Considering the interconnections between the factors responsible for domestic violence – gender dynamics of power, culture and economics – strategies and interventions should be designed within a comprehensive and integrated

framework. A multi-layered strategy that addresses the structural causes of violence against women while providing immediate services to victim-survivors ensures sustainability and is the only strategy that has the potential to eliminate this scourge.

When planning strategies and interventions, there are a variety of stakeholders that should be borne in mind. Partnerships with these stakeholders can operate on several levels at once.

- At the level of the family, the stakeholders include women, men, adolescents and children.

- Within the local community, partnerships have to be developed with traditional elders, religious leaders, community-based groups, neighbourhood associations, men's groups (e.g., village farmers' associations), local councils and village level bodies.
- Within civil society, the range of partners include professional groups, women's and men's groups, NGOs, the private sector, the media, academia, and trade unions.
- At the state level, strategies must be designed in partnership with the criminal

justice system (the police, judiciary and lawyers); the health care system; parliament and provincial legislative bodies; and the education sector.

- At the international level, the stakeholders include international organizations (such as the United Nations agencies, the World Bank, and the regional development banks).

Domestic violence is a health, legal, economic, educational, developmental and human rights problem. Strategies should be designed to operate across a broad range of areas depending upon the context in which they are delivered. Key areas for intervention include:

- advocacy and awareness raising
- education for building a culture of non-violence
- training
- resource development
- direct service provision to victim-survivors and perpetrators
- networking and community mobilization
- direct intervention to help victim-survivors rebuild their lives
- legal reform
- monitoring interventions and measures
- data collection and analysis
- early identification of 'at risk' families, communities, groups, and individuals.

These areas are not mutually exclusive; interventions may touch upon several areas at once.

Above all, five underlying principles should guide all strategies and interventions attempting to address domestic violence:

- prevention
- protection
- early intervention
- rebuilding the lives of victim-survivors
- accountability

This section of the Digest attempts to formulate a framework for coordinated action at the policy and programme level. An effective strategy is one that is designed to be culture- and region-specific, providing victim-survivors easy access to wide-ranging services, and involving the community and individual stakeholders in the design of interventions. By focusing on the stakeholders and by highlighting responsibilities of the family, the local community, the civil society, the state, and international organizations, this framework points to relevant areas of action.

The family

WOMEN Because their life and dignity are at stake, women have emerged as the most significant agents of change in the struggle against gender-based violence. While women's organizations have played a critical role (see section on civil society), the collective strength and courage of individual women have been notable in fighting many forms of violence. Poor, often illiterate and powerless, these women have managed to mobilize hundreds of other women, raised resources, designed strategies and forced policy-makers to revise laws and policies. A systematic effort has to be made to listen to the voices of grassroots women and survivors of domestic violence, and to incorporate solutions they have to offer. Their perspectives will provide valuable lessons in making programmes and services effective and targeted to their needs.

Women need to be empowered through education, employment opportunities, legal literacy, and right to inheritance. Human rights education and information regarding domestic violence should be provided to them because this is a matter of their absolute rights. Integrated supportive services, legal intervention and redress should be made available in situations of domestic violence. Assistance to help women rebuild and recover their lives after violence should be part of the intervention strategy, including counselling, relocation, credit support, and employment.

Consistent support for women must be provided by all relevant sectors – the criminal justice system, health, welfare, and the private sector. Support must also be available to women via informal networks, for example, family, friends, neighbours, and local community groups.

Community groups and government institutions should be trained to identify women, men, adolescent boys and girls, and children at risk of domestic violence, and to refer them to confidential and accessible services. Where such services are not available, communities must be helped to establish local culturally appropriate mechanisms to support women.

MEN There are a growing number of male professionals designing and facilitating training events on gender inequality, including the issue of violence. Some are

working with other men to review male behaviour and to develop new models of masculinity (see section on civil society). There are examples of male leadership on gender violence in most parts of the world and the involvement of men is critical in changing behaviour.

Men should receive one consistent message from all sectors and levels of society – that those who perpetrate violence will be held accountable. The criminal justice system must act to reinforce this message by taking action against perpetrators, as well as providing rehabilitation options for those who offend. Services need to be developed that provide the possibility to change violent behaviour. These services, offered at the local level, also need to address associated issues of drug and alcohol problems.

Men need to challenge other men to stop abusing women, and to change the norms that encourage this violence. This requires support for men to act as healthy role models to younger men, and the raising of boys in a non-violent climate to respect women.

ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND BOYS Adolescent girls need all the protection and support that should be available to adult women. They need clear messages about their rights from society and the educational system. Educational programmes that equip girls with self-esteem and negotiation skills, and enhance participation of girls in leadership roles should become part of the school curriculum.

Adolescent boys need positive role models and clear messages from the men in their families and society in general that violence against women is not acceptable and that they will be held accountable. Like adult men, adolescent boys need access to services to help them deal with any violent behaviour they may have.

Support services need to address associated behaviour patterns such as drug and alcohol problems, or the risky sexual behaviour in which adolescent girls and boys may indulge as a result of being victimised themselves.

CHILDREN need to be identified as victims of domestic violence, and their safety has to be ensured. This requires ensuring the safety of their mothers and making childcare facilities available to women in shelters. Appropriate programmes should be developed by the community and the

state to assist children to recover from the violence and abuse they have suffered and/or witnessed.

Local community

In traditional societies, families have relied upon community-based support mechanisms to resolve issues of conflict. The local community therefore needs to be mobilized to oppose domestic violence in its midst. Actions taken by local people may include greater surveillance of domestic violence situations, offering support for victims, and challenging men to stop the violence.

Complacency needs to be replaced with active intervention and education. Community information and education programmes regarding the nature and unacceptability of domestic violence should be developed. Such programmes should address cultural forms of behaviour that uphold male aggression, beating, punishment and abuse of women as acceptable. Traditional cultural practices, such as FGM, that violate women's integrity need to be re-examined and challenged. Culture is not static, and newer forms of cultural norms need to be developed that respect women and promote their dignity and safety.

Children's Views on Domestic Violence

A recent study by four universities in the United Kingdom examined how children and young people perceive domestic violence, and how those who have lived with such violence cope with it and make sense of their experiences. The research, which covered 1,395 children aged 8-16, found that:

- The vast majority of children at secondary school, and just over half at primary age, want to learn more about domestic violence – what it is and how to stop it – as well as to understand why it happens.
- Children who live with domestic violence cope in a variety of ways, ranging from keeping themselves safe and trying to protect their mothers and siblings, to getting help and intervening directly, by calling the police, for example.
- Most children who had lived with domestic violence said that professionals, with the exception of refuge workers, either ignored or disbelieved them. Children want to be listened to, to be taken seriously and to be involved in decisions about their lives. They want support, understanding and reassurance, to be in safety with their mothers and have their own belongings, and even their pets, around them.

This is a rare example of research focusing on the views of children and young people, and found that children were not silent or passive victims of violence. Children of all ages were quite active in their responses to, and methods of coping with, violence, sometimes with understanding and initiative well beyond their age.

The study concluded that the perspectives and understanding of children and young people should inform the development of appropriate policy and practice in health, welfare, education and the criminal justice system as well as in specialist services for women and children. Children's tenacity and resilience are key resources for agencies to work with.⁵⁵

Community elders and religious leaders have the responsibility to demonstrate leadership in this area. For example, religious leaders should be encouraged to re-examine religious doctrines and cultural practices that lead to the subordination of women and violation of their rights. Local council bodies (e.g., the 'panchayat' system in India) should play a strong role in

creating a culture of non-violence, in setting up sanctions, negotiating appropriate local cultural responses to preventing violence, and monitoring respect for, and implementation of, the sanctions that are in place.

Creating awareness about the impact of domestic violence on their communities conveys the importance of preventing such violence against women and children. Developing integrated responses to domestic violence through involvement of local community groups, community health workers and women serves to create sustainability and accountability, which in itself is a significant step. However, since adapting to change is difficult, protection should be provided to activists, human rights advocates and community workers. Ultimately, human and financial resources are key to any programme development and delivery.

Female Genital Mutilation

As a "traditional practice prejudicial to the health of children", governments now have to take measures to abolish FGM in accordance with their obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 24.3).

While legislation to address FGM is important, co-operation at the community level is essential to the process of FGM eradication. The most successful campaigns of recent years have had their roots very firmly in the villages and communities where FGM is traditionally practiced.

One of the most striking examples of change has taken place in Senegal, where the movement to end FGM began with the women of one village – Malicounda Bambara. As a result of their courage, 148 communities have now publicly renounced the practice and national legislation is in place banning FGM.

In 1995, the women of Malicounda discussed the previously hidden subject of FGM during debates on human rights and public health issues organized by the NGO Tostan (*Breakthrough*). Once the discussion began there was no stopping it, with friends, husbands, village leaders, the local midwife and the "cutters", drawn into the debate and the entire village acknowledging, for the first time, the scale of the problem. Religious leaders also played an active and crucial role. By mid-1997, the practice had been abolished in Malicounda and former cutters were being given encouragement and support to find alternative sources of income.

Spurred on by this success, the women spread the word to other villages, with continued support from Tostan, UNICEF and the Government. These efforts culminated in the Diabougou Declaration of February 1998, when the representatives of 13 communities publicly and formally renounced FGM. And in April 2000, the women, men and children of 26 islands in the Sine-Saloum river gathered on the island of Nioudior to celebrate the end of FGM. The traditional cutters from the islands wrapped their mystical cutting knives in cloth to hide them from the public eye. Then, in formal procession, they put the knives into a traditional straw basket, symbolizing the end of FGM.⁵⁶

Civil society

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS For nearly a quarter of a century, women's organizations have provided leadership in boosting the visibility of violence against women; giving victim-survivors a voice through tribunals and personal testimonies; providing innovative forms of support to victims of violence; and forcing governments and the international community to recognize their own failure to

protect women from violence. From local, collective action, women have transformed their struggle against violence into a global campaign.

Women's advocacy has prompted the formal sectors (legal and judicial system, criminal justice system, and the health sector) to begin to respond to the needs of women who suffer violence. Women have pushed for policy change and institutional mechanisms to be set up – be it legal reform, training of police, or providing shelter to women and their children. In attempting to address the structural causes of such violence, women's organizations have sought to empower women through human rights education, credit programmes, and linking women to larger networks. It is crucial that women's advocates continue to lead the process, particularly in playing a monitoring and accountability role, and that governments increase partnerships with them.

MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS can also provide leadership in the local community to oppose violence against women, working in collaboration with women's organizations that have expertise in this area. Service organizations can use their resources and networks, and men's national and local sporting organizations have a particular place in raising men's awareness of this issue.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS for doctors, lawyers, psychologists, nurses, social workers, welfare workers and other professionals are key players in opposing violence against women. Their members may come into contact with situations of domestic violence on a regular basis, but may not recognise the signs because of their own biases, background or lack of training. It is critical that such organizations build domestic violence and human rights curricula into their professional training, and that professionals in the field receive regular training on these areas. Such associations need to develop protocols for identifying and referring cases of domestic violence to appropriate bodies, and screening measures for detection and early intervention. These protocols must be developed in collaboration with experts in the domestic violence field.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs), like women's organizations, have worked in partnership with government agencies and international organiza-

Rethinking Male Roles

Many men are re-evaluating their own role in the family and in society. Some are asking themselves why some men are violent, and how can they be helped to end their violent behaviour. UNICEF has launched initiatives to work with men on improving knowledge about the male role in the family.⁵⁷ And men's groups in many countries are taking the lead to examine cultural and social assumptions on masculinity, and develop strategies to help men curb violent behaviour.

In 1993 in Mexico, for example, the Collective of Men for Egalitarian Relationships (CORIAC) was set up by a group of men to give aggressive men the space for self-examination and re-education. Participants are helped to understand their violence, take responsibility for their actions, and express their emotions in non-violent ways.

The White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) in Canada is an organization of men working to end men's violence against women. WRC has developed education and action kits that have been distributed to schools, universities, corporations, and labour unions. Their work has expanded to other countries, including countries in Europe.

In Australia, a variety of initiatives are helping men to stop their violence, including: media campaigns speaking to men about the need to take responsibility; a men's hot line with male volunteers who are trained and supervised to help men and refer them to services available; and programmes that assist men to overcome violent and abusive behaviour.

tions to provide a diversity of services, and education and awareness programmes. Their capacity to continue to deliver a range of services should be strengthened, particularly in collaboration with state agencies.

NGOs have a fundamental role to play in bringing pressure on governments to ratify, or withdraw their reservations to, the international human rights instruments such as the UDHR, CEDAW and the CRC. NGOs have played a critical role in monitoring implementation of non-treaty instruments such as the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. NGO leadership has to continue in its role of lobbying and advocating for legislation that protects the rights of women, girls and children.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR has a vested interest in addressing this problem since the costs of domestic violence to society, and industry in particular, are phenomenal in terms of low productivity, absenteeism, and staff turnover. The private sector would benefit by identifying and supporting staff suffering from, or perpetrating, domestic violence. It should build gender and domestic violence awareness into corporate training, and develop organizational cultures free of abuse, including sexual harassment, in the workplace. The private sector should also be encouraged to finance preventive and support services in the local community.

TRADE UNIONS must support these actions by the private sector, using their

resources to promote non-violence towards women among their members and encouraging members to seek appropriate support and assistance.

THE MEDIA plays a pivotal role in both influencing and changing social norms and behaviour. Repeated exposure to violence in the media has been associated with increased incidence of aggression, especially in children. In the area of domestic violence, media campaigns can help to reverse social attitudes that tolerate violence against women by questioning patterns of violent behaviour accepted by families and societies.⁵⁸ Collaboration with the media needs to focus on creating new messages and new responses to reduce domestic violence. Hence a conscious effort to make media professionals aware of the issues, can play an important role in addressing violence against women.

Alternative media channels such as theatre groups, puppeteers, community radios, musicians and performers of all sorts have a role to play in raising public awareness of the issue, and creating role models for men and young people in the community.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND SCHOLARS need to re-examine interpretations of religious texts and doctrines from the perspective of promoting equality and dignity for women. Many men who abuse women justify such behaviour on a religious basis, and many cultural practices that abuse and violate women are justified in the name of religion. Religious leaders at all levels have a responsibility to ensure that religious interpretations are not used to oppress women.

ACADEMIA AND RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS should address the chronic lack of statistics on domestic violence that acts as a barrier to policy change on this issue. The lack of adequate data and documentation about violence against women, and domestic violence in particular, reinforces governments' silence. In the absence of concrete data, governments have been able to deny the fact of, and their responsibility to address, such violence.⁵⁹

In the area of research, there are several priorities. Reliable data on the magnitude, consequences, and the economic and health costs of gender-based violence will help to place the issue on the policy-makers' radar screen. Researchers need to identify best practices in prevention and treatment, and evaluate them for effectiveness and replicability.

Greater collaboration is required between research and academic institutes, women's organizations, NGOs, and service providers when conducting qualitative research so as to deepen our understanding of the causes of domestic violence, and its physical and psychological impact on women. Such research needs to be fed back to the community so that it can lead to awareness and transformation.

The state machinery

Violence against women cuts across all government sectors, with implications for all programming. It demands new levels of coordination and integration between a variety of government sectors including the criminal justice system, health, education, and employment.

Legislation on Domestic Violence

In the 1990s, several factors contributed to significant changes in domestic violence legislation in many countries. Women's successful campaigning raised the profile of the issue of violence against women; and several United Nations conferences (Vienna, 1993; Cairo, 1994; and Beijing, 1995) recognized women's rights as an inalienable part of universal human rights. As a result of the new awareness generated, laws on domestic violence were adopted in many countries.

To date, 44 countries from around the world have adopted specific legislation on domestic violence, of which 12 are in Latin America. The signing of the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women in 1994 provided the momentum to enact such legislation. The countries in the region to adopt legislation include Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Puerto Rico, and Uruguay.

The South African Domestic Violence Act of 1998 contains a particularly innovative feature – granting of a temporary Protection Order in cases where the court is satisfied that the actions of the aggressor pose 'imminent harm' to the complainant. This ruling allows protection of the health, safety, and well-being of the applicant, and includes provision for the aggressor to be evicted from the matrimonial home while continuing to provide monetary relief to the applicant.

Women Police Stations

Special women's police stations, staffed with multi-disciplinary female teams equipped to respond to the different needs of victim-survivors, have been set up in several countries as an attempt to make police stations more accessible to women. The first women's police station was established in Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1985 in response to women's complaints that they could not report violations in regular police stations because they were treated with disrespect and disbelief. Brazil's success encouraged Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela to set up their own specialized units.

Malaysia, Spain, Pakistan, and India, too, have introduced their own versions. In India, each station has female civilian workers attached, who provide advice and support, referring women to support networks and suggesting other options. Because these stations are designed to provide comprehensive support to women, including social, legal, psychological, housing, health, and day-care services, they respond to the many levels of support that a victim of domestic violence needs.

However, a recent study in India points to several problems with these stations, the most notable being that women are discouraged from registering complaints at other police stations. As a result, victim-survivors have to travel great distances to register their complaints at the special women's police stations, and are no longer assured of protection from the regular police stations in their neighbourhood.⁶⁰

The criminal justice system

LEGAL REFORM It is the responsibility of governments who have ratified international conventions and human rights instruments to harmonize their national laws in line with these instruments. One step towards upholding the right of women to equal protection under the law is to enact domestic violence legislation that specifically prohibits violence against women. Under this legislation, a woman should have protection from threats and acts of violence, safety and security for herself, her dependents and property, and assistance in continuing her life without further disruption.

In conformity with their obligation under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 24.3), governments should also denounce and reform all laws, practices and policies that allow harmful cultural practices such as female genital

mutilation, crimes committed in the name of honour, and discrimination based on son preference. Once such legislation is passed, implementation and enforcement become a priority. Enforcement requires the cooperation and sensitization of the police and the judicial system.

THE POLICE are particularly well-positioned to provide assistance to victim-survivors, but very often their own prejudices, lack of training, and reluctance to intervene in cases of domestic violence hinder them from dealing with domestic violence. Training and sensitization of police at all levels must be instituted, and guidelines must be developed to monitor police response. Police must be held accountable for their own behaviour towards victim-survivors in order to prevent secondary victimization of women at their hands.

THE JUDICIARY can strongly reinforce the message that violence is a serious criminal matter for which the abuser will be held accountable. The judge sets the tone in the courtroom and makes the most critical decisions affecting the lives of the victim, perpetrator, and children, and must therefore be sensitive to the dynamics of domestic violence in order to pass equitable verdicts. Sensitization of the judiciary to gender issues is, therefore, critical and law schools should include relevant courses in their programmes.

PROTECTIVE MEASURES The protection and safety of victim-survivors should be the prime focus of legal systems. It is important that protective measures are provided so that victim-survivors are not left without adequate protection, and are not re-victimized. In industrialized coun-

Training the Judiciary to be Gender-Sensitive

Training of the judiciary – from Supreme Court justices to public defenders and prosecutors to social workers and support personnel – has been successfully carried out in Costa Rica, India, and the USA. In Costa Rica, the training has been part of the action taken by the government to deal with domestic violence, while in India and the USA efforts have been led largely by non-governmental organizations.

These training workshops have focused on the dynamics of domestic violence and specific types of abuse; gender and power relationships; analysis of relevant laws; legal procedures and legal services available to victims of domestic abuse; and strategies for helping both victims and their abusers. In examining these programmes, it is clear that participation at all levels, including the highest officials within the judiciary is necessary if laws and actions dealing with domestic violence are to be promoted, implemented, and monitored.

tries, women's shelters have provided support to victims of domestic violence since the 1970s, usually providing a 24-hour hotline, support groups for the victims, basic child-care, and social and legal services. Similar centres have been created in many developing countries since the early 1980s, mostly run by NGOs. Given that shelters are expensive, NGOs in developing countries are hard-pressed to provide shelter for victims, and focus instead on providing legal advice and psychological and social support.

This is an area where support from municipal and provincial governments is needed to provide viable, short-term and long-term shelters, referral services to other sectors (health, justice, police) and assistance in related needs such as housing, employment, and child care. Increasingly, governments are creating such support services in partnership with NGOs as part of an integrated response to domestic violence.

In Namibia, for example, women and child protection units have been established in partnership with the Namibian police, ministries of health and social services, and NGOs. The role of social workers stationed at the units is to ensure the protection and safety of the abused women and children during and after the crisis; and assist in preparation of court reports, appearance in court, and medical examinations needed for evidentiary purposes.

Helping women re-build their lives and self-esteem has been a particular focus of NGO efforts. Many adopt an empowerment approach for women through education, legal literacy, and economic self-reliance programmes within shelter homes to help women take charge of their own lives and personal security. Such programmes also provide counselling and a connection to existing networks of

women. It is clear that when victim-survivors have the opportunity to interact with other women experiencing the same problems, they are able to escape their isolation, shame and fear, and are able to re-build their lives at a faster pace.

Telephone hotlines, usually set up by NGOs, have also expanded in many countries of Latin America (Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Uruguay) and in South Asia. However, given the scarcity of telephones in most rural areas, such hotlines can only reach the urban population.

It is critical that every woman who has been abused or who is at risk has immediate and ongoing access to support services that provide non-judgmental and non-directive service. At all times, the woman must be helped to be an active agent in her interaction with the civil and criminal justice systems so that she can examine options available to her and make choices about her safety.

The health care system

The health care system is well-placed to identify women who have been abused and refer them to other services, as the vast majority of women visit a health facility at some point in their lives – during pregnancy, for example, or to get treatment for themselves or their children. The reality, however, is that far from playing a proactive role, the health care system has usually been unresponsive to women suffering from domestic abuse. Training for health care providers is necessary to guide

them on the early screening and identification of women who are suffering domestic violence. Such training, as far as possible, should be integrated into existing training programmes rather than be created as separate programmes. WHO has identified the following issues that need to be addressed in sensitizing health care providers:

- their possible negative feelings, including inadequacy, powerlessness and isolation, particularly in areas with few referral services;
- some cultural beliefs, including the idea that domestic violence is a private matter;
- possible misconceptions about victim-survivors, including the belief that women provoke violence.⁶¹

Training should be supplemented with protocols to guide health care providers to implement standards. Protocols should include procedures for documentation for legal, medical and statistical purposes; legal, ethical and privacy issues; and up-to-date information on local referral services. Protocols need to be culture-specific with special attention paid to respecting the rights of women.⁶²

Education

Curricula that teach non-violence, conflict resolution, human rights and gender issues should be included in elementary and secondary schools, universities, professional colleges, and other training settings. Violence against women can be prevented and eliminated only when the underlying causes of violence are addressed and cultural norms and attitudes are challenged. Curriculum reform that works towards eliminating the gender stereotyping in schools (teaching about women's contributions in history class, eliminating sex-stereotypes in textbooks, promoting girls' participation in sports) are important steps in achieving gender equality.

A more fundamental problem – that of girls' enrolment in schools – has to be addressed by governments alongside cur-

Women's Access to Health Services

Access to health services is a critical constraint to medical examinations. In Pakistan, for example, the two major cities of Karachi and Lahore have only one medico-legal centre where examinations for evidence of sexual assault are carried out. The complex logistics of city travel, among other constraints, make it hard for women to access these services. In Moscow, there is only one centre that opens from 9 am to 2 pm, limiting women's access. Elsewhere, rural victims of violence may have to travel for days to reach a centre. Moreover, in many countries abused and violated women are uncomfortable with male doctors. These are generally the same countries with extreme shortages of female doctors.

riculum reform. In South Asia, the Middle East and Africa, for example, girls' enrolment in primary schools is well below that of boys, a phenomenon that perpetuates female subordination.

International organizations

International organizations such as the United Nations, its bodies and specialized agencies, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank have placed the issue of violence against women on their agendas. Their programmes articulate the links between human rights, health, and women's participation in political and economic arenas within the larger context of violence against women as a development issue. These organizations can play a critical role by using their expertise and credibility to garner support for eliminating violence against women. By advocating with national governments, and by supporting programmes run by both government and non-governmental organizations, these organizations are already working at many levels to prevent and reduce domestic violence in different regions of the world.

The following examples outline some initiatives led by these inter-governmental organizations.

Availability of Weapons

One of the major risks linked to social and domestic violence is the availability of weapons. With the increase of civil conflicts after the end of the Cold War, and the availability of easy drug money in many countries, small arms have become more accessible.

The role of firearms in the murder of women can be illustrated by data from the USA, where a woman is 2.5 times more likely to be shot by her male intimate partner than she is to be shot, stabbed, bludgeoned, or killed in any other way by a stranger.⁶³

Firearms can also be used for less lethal purposes – to coerce a woman into sex, for example, and intimidate and control her.

- UNICEF works with different partners to address domestic violence in many countries. Examples include: facilitating creation of Bolivia's National Plan for the Prevention of and Eradication of Violence Against Women (1994) and the adoption of Law 1674 against Family or Domestic Violence (1995); work with the National Jordanian Television to develop TV spots on violence against women; and support for the development of an active movement against gender-based violence in Afghanistan and other countries in South Asia.⁶⁴
- The United Nations regional campaigns, coordinated by UNIFEM, to eliminate violence against women have spurred new partnerships between a number of UN agencies (including UNICEF), governments, national and regional NGOs, and community-based groups and media organizations since 1998.⁶⁵
- WHO is coordinating a multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence, which aims to develop methodologies to measure violence against women and its health consequences cross-culturally in six countries.⁶⁶
- The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) are collaborating to pilot a coordinated, multi-sectoral response to violence against women in Latin America.⁶⁷
- The Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence against Women, established at UNIFEM in 1996 by a UN General Assembly resolution, has supported innovative projects around the world that address all forms of gender-based violence.⁶⁸

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THE INNOCENTI DIGESTS

The UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, in Florence, Italy, was established in 1988 to strengthen the research capability of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and to support its advocacy for children worldwide. The Centre (formally known as the International Child Development Centre) helps to identify and research current and future areas of UNICEF's work. Its prime objectives are to improve international understanding of issues relating to children's rights and to help facilitate the full implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in both industrialized and developing countries.

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