CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW

Let me not be sad because I am born a woman

In this world; many saints suffer in this way.

JANABAI
(ca.1298-1350)¹

Gender inequality refers to the obvious or hidden disparity between individuals due to gender. Gender is constructed both socially through social interactions as well as biologically through chromosomes, brain structure, and hormonal differences. The dichotomous nature of gender leads to the creation of inequality that manifests in numerous dimensions of daily life. Also when distinctions are made between males and females and differential treatment is meted out to boys and girls then there is a gender inequality.²

Sociologically the word gender refers to the socio-cultural definition of man and woman, the way societies distinguish men and women and assign them social roles. The distinction between sex and gender was introduced to deal with the general tendency to attribute women's subordination to their anatomy. For ages it was believed that the different characteristics, roles and status accorded to women and men in

[1]
society are determined by sex, that they are natural and therefore not changeable. Gender is seen closely related to the roles and behavior assigned to women and men based on their sexual differences. As soon as a child is born families and society begin the process of gendering. The birth of the son is celebrated, the birth of a daughter filled with pain; sons are showered with love, respect, better food and proper health care. Boys are encouraged to be tough and outgoing; girls are encouraged to be homebound and shy. All these differences are gender differences and they are created by society. Gender inequality is therefore a form of inequality which is distinct from other forms of economic and social inequalities. It dwells not only outside the household but also centrally within it. It stems not only from pre-existing differences in economic endowments between women and men but also from pre-existing gendered social norms and social perceptions.³

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen in his essay,⁴ which is based on the text of his inauguration lecture for the Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University delivered on April 24, 2001, takes a “comprehensive and deeply concerned look at the "many faces of gender inequality."” He says, “it was more than a century ago, in 1870, that Queen Victoria wrote to Sir Theodore Martin complaining about "this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights'." The formidable empress certainly did not herself need
any protection that the acknowledgment of women's rights might offer. Even at the age of eighty, in 1899, she could write to A.J. Balfour, "We are not interested in the possibilities of defeat; they do not exist." That, however, is not the way most people's lives go - reduced and defeated as they frequently are by adversities. And within each community, nationality and class, the burden of hardship often falls disproportionately on women.”

The afflicted world in which we live is characterised by deeply unequal sharing of the burden of adversities between women and men. Gender inequality exists in most parts of the world, from Japan to Morocco, from Uzbekistan to the United States of America. Inequality between women and men can take very many different forms. Indeed, gender inequality is not one homogeneous phenomenon, but a collection of disparate and interlinked problems. He further illustrates with examples different kinds of gender disparity that exists between men and women.

(1) **Mortality inequality:** In some regions in the world, inequality between women and men directly involves matters of life and death, and takes the brutal form of unusually high mortality rates of women and a consequent preponderance of men in the total population, as opposed to the preponderance of women found in
societies with little or no gender bias in health care and nutrition. Mortality inequality has been observed extensively in North Africa and in Asia, including China and South Asia.

(2) **Natality inequality:** Given a preference for boys over girls that many male-dominated societies have, gender inequality can manifest itself in the form of the parents wanting the newborn to be a boy rather than a girl. There was a time when this could be no more than a wish (a daydream or a nightmare, depending on one's perspective), but with the availability of modern techniques to determine the gender of the foetus, sex-selective abortion has become common in many countries. It is particularly prevalent in East Asia, in China and South Korea in particular, but also in Singapore and Taiwan, and it is beginning to emerge as a statistically significant phenomenon in India and South Asia as well. This is high-tech sexism.

(3) **Basic facility inequality:** Even when demographic characteristics do not show much or any anti-female bias, there are other ways in which women can have less than a square deal. Afghanistan may be the only country in the world the government of which is keen on actively excluding girls from schooling (it combines this with other features of massive gender inequality), but there are many
countries in Asia and Africa, and also in Latin America, where
girls have far less opportunity of schooling than boys do. There are
other deficiencies in basic facilities available to women, varying
from encouragement to cultivate one's natural talents to fair
participation in rewarding social functions of the community.

(4) **Special opportunity inequality:** Even when there is relatively
little difference in basic facilities including schooling, the
opportunities of higher education may be far fewer for young
women than for young men. Indeed, gender bias in higher
education and professional training can be observed even in some
of the richest countries in the world, in Europe and North America.

Sometimes this type of division has been based on the superficially
innocuous idea that the respective "provinces" of men and women are just
different. This thesis has been championed in different forms over the
centuries, and has had much implicit as well as explicit following. It was
presented with particular directness more than a hundred years before
Queen Victoria's complaint about "woman's rights" by the Revd James
Fordyce in his Sermons to Young Women (1766), a book which, as Mary
Wollstonecraft noted in her A Vindication of the Rights of Women
(1792), had been "long made a part of woman's library." Fordyce warned
the young women, to whom his sermons were addressed, against "those
masculine women that would plead for your sharing any part of their province with us," identifying the province of men as including not only "war," but also "commerce, politics, exercises of strength and dexterity, abstract philosophy and all the abstruser sciences. Even though such clear-cut beliefs about the provinces of men and women are now rather rare, nevertheless the presence of extensive gender asymmetry can be seen in many areas of education, training and professional work even in Europe and North America.

(5) **Professional inequality:** In terms of employment as well as promotion in work and occupation, women often face greater handicap than men. A country like Japan may be quite egalitarian in matters of demography or basic facilities, and even, to a great extent, in higher education, and yet progress to elevated levels of employment and occupation seems to be much more problematic for women than for men.

In the English television series called "Yes, Minister," there is an episode where the Minister, full of reforming zeal, is trying to find out from the immovable permanent secretary, Sir Humphrey, how many women are in really senior positions in the British civil service. Sir Humphrey says that it is very difficult to give an exact number; it would require a lot of investigation. The Minister is still insistent, and wants to
know approximately how many women are there in these senior positions. To which Sir Humphrey finally replies, "Approximately, none."

(6) **Ownership inequality:** In many societies the ownership of property can also be very unequal. Even basic assets such as homes and land may be very asymmetrically shared. The absence of claims to property can not only reduce the voice of women, but also make it harder for women to enter and flourish in commercial, economic and even some social activities. This type of inequality has existed in most parts of the world, though there are also local variations. Even though traditional property rights have favoured men in the bulk of India, in what is now the State of Kerala, there has been, for a long time, matrilineal inheritance for an influential part of the community, namely the Nairs.

(7) **Household inequality:** There are, often enough, basic inequalities in gender relations within the family or the household, which can take many different forms. Even in cases in which there are no overt signs of anti-female bias in, say, survival or son-preference or education, or even in promotion to higher executive positions, the family arrangements can be quite unequal in terms of sharing the burden of housework and child care. It is, for example, quite common in many societies to take it for granted that while men
will naturally work outside the home, women could do it if and only if they could combine it with various inescapable and unequally shared household duties. This is sometimes called "division of labour," though women could be forgiven for seeing it as "accumulation of labour." The reach of this inequality includes not only unequal relations within the family, but also derivative inequalities in employment and recognition in the outside world. Also, the established fixity of this type of "division" or "accumulation" of labour can also have far-reaching effects on the knowledge and understanding of different types of work in professional circles.” Prof Sen recollects that when he, “first started working on gender inequality, in the 1970s, I remember being struck by the fact that the Handbook of Human Nutrition Requirement of the World Health Organisation (WHO), in presenting "calorie requirements" for different categories of people, chose to classify household work as "sedentary activity," requiring very little deployment of energy. I was, however, not able to determine precisely how this remarkable bit of information had been collected by the patrician leaders of society.”

While concluding his article, Prof. Sen argues for “the need to take a plural view of gender inequality, which can have many different faces. The prominent faces of gender injustice can vary from one region to another, and also from one period to the next.”

The effects of gender inequality, which can impoverish the lives of
men as well as women, can be more fully understood by taking detailed empirical note of specific forms of inequality that can be found in particular regions. Gender inequality hurts the interests not only of girls and grown-up women, but also of boys and men, through biological connections (such as childhood undernourishment and cardiovascular diseases at later ages) and also through societal connections (including in politics and in economic and social life).

To have an adequate appreciation of the far-reaching effects of disparities between women and men, we have to recognise the basic fact that gender inequality is not one affliction, but many, with varying reach on the lives of women and men, and of girls and boys. There is also the need to re-examine and closely scrutinise some lessons that we have tended to draw from past empirical works. There are no good reasons to abandon the understanding that the impact of women’s empowerment in enhancing the voice and influence of women does help to reduce gender inequality of many different kinds, and can also reduce the indirect penalties that men suffer from the subjugation of women.5

Apart from the above mentioned gender inequality or disparity that leads to age old subjugation of women, it is gender based violence that has far reaching impact on women’s right to equality. “Violence against women is a technical term used to collectively refer to violent acts that are primarily or exclusively committed against women. Similar to a hate crime, this type of violence targets a specific group with the victim's gender as a primary motive.
The United Nations General Assembly defines "violence against women" as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." The 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women noted that this violence could be perpetrated by assailants of either gender, family members and even the "State" itself. Some historians believe that the history of violence against women is tied to the history of women being viewed as property and a gender role assigned to be subservient to men and also other women.

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) states that "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, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men."\(^6\)

In one of its article\(^7\) on the website, United Nations Population Fund says "Gender based violence both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. It encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including sexual abuse of children, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, trafficking of women and girls
and several harmful traditional practices. Any one of these abuses can leave deep psychological scars, damage the health of women and girls in general, including their reproductive and sexual health, and in some instances, results in death.”

Violence against women has been called the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world. Around the world, as many as one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or abused in some other way - most often by someone she knows, including by her husband or another male family member; one woman in four has been abused during pregnancy.

Accordingly, the Vienna Human Rights Conference and the Fourth World Conference on Women gave priority to this issue, which jeopardizes women's lives, bodies, psychological integrity and freedom. Violence may have profound effects – direct and indirect – on a woman's reproductive health.

Gender-based violence also serves – by intention or effect – to perpetuate male power and control. It is sustained by a culture of silence and denial of the seriousness of the health consequences of abuse. In addition to the harm they exact on the individual level, these consequences also exact a social toll and place a heavy and unnecessary burden on health services.

UNFPA recognizes that violence against women is inextricably linked to gender-based inequalities. When women and girls are expected to be generally subservient, their behaviour in relation to their health,
including reproductive health, is negatively affected at all stages of the life cycle.

UNFPA has drawn a chart to show the different forms of violence that a woman may face at different stages of her life:

“Gender discrimination throughout a woman's life”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prenatal</td>
<td>Prenatal sex selection, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy (rape during war)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infancy</td>
<td>Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>Genital cutting; incest and sexual abuse; differential access to food, medical care, and education; child prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescence</td>
<td>Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproductive</td>
<td>Abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td>Abuse of widows, elder abuse (which affects mostly women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the focus of this research is limited only to gender inequality resulting from domestic violence, it will not be possible to elaborate all of the above mentioned phase wise violence against women. At the same time it may also be mentioned that none of the above mentioned phases can be passed off as unimportant. Infact every single phase is a separate topic that requires enough research work.

An interesting study\(^9\) by Tata Institute of Social Sciences in 2001 reports that “violence against women has been recognised as one of the eleven critical areas of concern by the Indian Government in its Country Report for the Forth World Conference on Women at Beijing, 1995. This is in sharp contrast to the situation two decades ago when violence did not even appear as a chapter in the 1975, ‘Status of Women in India’ report. Domestic violence has become a major cause of concern and debate at the international level since the late sixties and has gained greater momentum following the Battered Women’s Movement of the eighties. The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, 1993, and the 1975 Beijing Conference, raised this issue more stridently and highlighted the urgent need for systematic research and documentation of the multiple dimensions of domestic violence across countries and regions. This it was felt would provide a firm and reliable base for policy intervention.”
Taking a review of the responses, the study says “domestic violence is a universally pervasive problem. Besides physical injuries and psychological damage to the victims, it has an adverse impact on children who are regularly exposed to it. International bodies such as WHO have underlined the serious public health implications of domestic violence resulting in greater demands on general health care and emergency services. The economic costs for nations due to loss of women’s labour on account of injuries, depression and homicide linked to domestic violence are also compelling considerations requiring immediate social redress. Above all the inability of the State to ensure violence free existence for almost one half of the humanity is a rather sad commentary on the status of human rights of women. The social costs of gender directed violence has now come to be recognised by international agencies involved with women’s development, as serious enough to merit critical policy intervention.”

Despite the growing interest in gender studies there is a dearth of literature and research studies on domestic violence in India. This does not however imply that the Indian women’s home is any more safe and secure than those of their counterparts elsewhere in the world. The issue of domestic violence in India came into sharp focus in the 1980’s following the widespread coverage by the mass media of the growing
incidence of torture of brides, of dowry deaths and of localised popular protests against these heinous incidents. This is said to have triggered off a public chain reaction ....catalysed the formation of many new women’s organisations, alliances, and the ‘discovery’ of different forms of violence on women (Gandhi and Shah, 1993).

Today domestic violence is no longer invisible. Both the Government and the NGOs no longer harbour myths of safe and secure homes. Sustained campaigns against rape, bride burning, domestic violence, sexual harassment, degrading media portrayals and sati have all contributed to making violence against women, a political issue. The women’s movement and gender studies have between them provided insights that presently enable us to establish the interconnections of all these seemingly different kinds of violence and to perceive the unequal power relations that are manifest in all such violations. This is compounded by social sanctions which reduce women to subordination. The women’s movement in India has come around to realising that it had overlooked the closest and the most common form of violence in its enthusiasm to challenge the more visible, the more public and the more explicit of women’s oppressions.  

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 often the case, the abuse is effectively condoned by the tacit silence and passivity displayed by the State and the law enforcing machinery.

The global dimensions of this violence are alarming, as highlighted by studies on its incidence and prevalence. 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, including minority groups, indigenous and migrant women, refugee women and those in situation of armed conflict, women in institutions and detentions, women with disabilities, female children and elderly women.

This study 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 20 to 50 percent of women have
experienced physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner or
family member.

For the purpose of this study\textsuperscript{11}, the term domestic violence includes
violence against women and girls by an intimate partner, including a
cohabiting partner, and by other family members whether this violence
occurs within or beyond the confines of home. While recognising that
other forms of violence are equally worthy of attention, this study does
not cover the violence inflicted on women by strangers outside the home-
in public places such as streets, workplace 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 perpetrated by individuals who are not
related. In other words the term ‘domestic’ here refers to the type of
relationships involved rather than the place where the violent act occurs.

Women’s groups have for long pushed for 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
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 Elimination of Violence against Women. It is the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women, a ground breaking 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 violence 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 organisations.

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 it is a form of discrimination and inhibits a women’s ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on the basis of equality with men. It asks that governments
take this into consideration while reviewing their law and policies.

Under the new Optional Protocol to CEDAW, adopted by the UN General Assembly in October 1999, ratifying States recognize 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 on 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 this issue. 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 Peoples Right, including its Additional Protocol on Women’s Rights. ¹²

1. WHAT IS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE?

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. In any case, the need to develop specific operational definition 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 or such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

This definition refers to the gender-based roots of violence, recognising that “violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into subordinate position compared with men.” It broadens the definition of violence by including both physical and psychological harm done towards women, and it includes encompassing, but not limited to, three areas: violence occurring in the family, within the general community, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State.13
Definitions

One of the main challenges facing international researchers on violence against women is to develop clear operational definitions of different types of violence and tools for measuring violence that permit meaningful comparisons among diverse settings.

Researchers have used many criteria to define violence. A common method is to classify violence according to the type of act: for example, physical violence (e.g. slapping, hitting, kicking, and beating), sexual violence (e.g. forced intercourse and other forms of coerced sex), and emotional or psychological violence (e.g. intimidation and humiliation). Violence can also be defined by the relationship between the victim and perpetrator; for example, intimate partner violence, incest, sexual assault by a stranger, date rape or acquaintance rape.

In the World Report on violence and health\textsuperscript{14}, WHO adopted a typology that categorizes violence in three broad categories, according to those committing the violent act:

- Self-directed violence,
- Interpersonal violence,
- Collective violence.

These categories are each divided further to reflect specific types of
violence (Figure 2.1 given in the original study).

The term domestic violence is synonymous with family violence which envelopes elder abuse, child abuse, wife abuse and other forms of violence between family members. Violence between spouses is often defined as “Intimate Partner Violence”. IPV is also prevalent between partners who are not actually married.

The abuser and the abused can be in a live-in arrangement. Terms like wife battering, wife beating, wife abuse are regularly used in instances of domestic violence. In recent times words like “battering” and “battered” are less accepted because they do not cover other forms of violence which go beyond physical abuse. These other forms of abuse also have the potential to create severe mental and emotional disorders in individuals which can escalate into acts of suicide and self-damage.
In America, domestic violence is defined as a pattern of abusive behaviour in any relationship that is used by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another intimate partner”. This definition of domestic violence is considered complete by the Office on violence against women (O.V.W.) in the U.S.

In India, human relationships lead to domestic violence when one adult misuses his power to control another person’s life. Violence is primarily the establishment of fear and control in a relationship through physical and other forms of violence and abuse. The violence normally manifests as physical abuse, mental torture, sexual assault and threats. Violence can be more subtle, like degrading someone constantly, depriving them of money or confining them to the house. Emotional abuse and social ostracism can be as bad as physical abuse in terms of long term effects.

The Children and family court advisory and support service in Britain uses the term domestic violence to refer to a wide range of abusive and violent behavior in its “domestic violence policy”. It defines domestic violence as “patterns of behavior characterized by the misuse of power and control by one person over another who are or have been in an intimate relationship.” This is said to occur in all kinds of relationships ranging from same sex to mixed gender.
Domestic violence has very long term and serious repercussions on the lives of individuals, children, adults, families and communities. Domestic violence can be physical, metal, psychological or emotional. The latter encompasses intimidation, financial abuse, threats, damage to property etc.

Domestic violence manifests on all three levels namely-physical, emotional and mental. Physical violence can be direct like unwanted contact, marital rape and murder. Indirect physical violence can include actions like destroying objects, throwing things around the victimized person or harming pets and abusing dependents. Verbal threats, insults, and attacks also come under the slot of violence. Non verbal abuse can be done through facial expressions, body language, threatening gestures and sometimes by discounting another’s individuality and silent treatment. Psychological abuse can happen through the control of socio-economic matters and depriving the victim of money and resources. Social ostracism by preventing the abused to interact with friends and relatives is also a form of violence. Domestic abuse can also lead to spiritual violence in many instances by denying the victim the human right of evolution and dignity.15

Domestic violence is a term used to describe violence and abuse by family members or intimate partners such as a spouse, former spouse,
boyfriend or girlfriend, ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend, or date. Other terms used for domestic violence include the following:

- intimate partner abuse
- family violence
- child abuse
- battering
- courtship violence
- marital rape
- date rape
- stalking

Domestic violence can take many forms, but involves using intimidation and threats or violent behaviors to gain power and control over another person. Usually, the abusive person is a male, and women are often the victims; however, domestic violence occurs against males. Child abuse, elder abuse, and sibling abuse are also considered domestic violence.16

Measuring violence.

The WHO Study17 referred above “focused primarily on “domestic violence”, or violence by an intimate partner, experienced by women. Included in this were acts of physical, sexual and emotional abuse by a
current or former intimate male partner, whether cohabiting or not. In addition, it looked at controlling behaviours, including acts to constrain a woman’s mobility or her access to friends and relatives, extreme jealousy, etc. The Study also included physical and sexual violence against women, before and after 15 years of age, by perpetrators other than intimate partners. Definitions of each of these aspects of violence were operationalized in the study using a range of behaviour-specific questions related to each type of violence (Annex 4). The study did not attempt to document an exhaustive list of acts of violence, but instead asked a limited number of questions about specific acts that commonly occur in violent partnerships. This approach has been used widely in studies of partner violence in the United States and elsewhere, and has been shown to encourage greater disclosure of violence than approaches that require respondents to identify themselves as abused or battered. Given that the conceptualization of violence differs between individuals and communities, a fairly conservative definition of violence was used. Thus the prevalence estimated in this manner is more likely to underestimate rather than overestimate the true prevalence of violence.

Domestic violence is abuse that happens in a personal relationship. It can happen between past or current partners, spouses, or boyfriends and girlfriends. Domestic violence affects men and women of any ethnic
group, race, or religion; gay or straight; rich or poor; teen, adult, or elderly. But most of its victims are women. In fact, 1 in 4 women will be a victim at some point.

The abuser may use fear, bullying, and threats to gain power and control over the other person. He or she may act jealous, controlling, or possessive. These early signs of abuse may happen soon after the start of the relationship and might be hard to notice at first.

After the relationship becomes more serious, the abuse may get worse.

- The abuser may begin making threats, calling the other person names, and slamming doors or breaking dishes. This is a form of emotional abuse that is sometimes used to make the person feel bad or weak.

- Physical abuse that starts with a slap might lead to kicking, shoving, and choking over time.

- As a way to control the person, the abuser may make violent threats against the person’s children, other family members, or pets.

- Abusers may also control or withhold money to make the person feel weak and dependent. This is called financial abuse.

- Domestic violence also includes sexual abuse, such as forcing a
person to have sex against her will.

- Money troubles and problems with alcohol can make it more likely that abuse will happen.

Abuse is also common in teens who are dating. It often happens through controlling behaviors and jealousy.\(^\text{18}\)

Domestic violence (also referred to as intimate partner abuse) is a crime. It results from an imbalance of power and control over one's partner. Domestic violence is primarily committed by men against women but also occurs in same sex relationships and by women against men. All survivors are not physically battered or beaten. Abuse can include other forms of mistreatment and cruelty such as constant threatening, psychological/emotional, sexual, financial/material, spiritual and verbal abuse. In the event of a sexual assault within domestic situation the client has the same options as any other person who has a complaint of sexual assault. Gays, lesbians, transgender, immigrants and Native Americans may experience additional forms of abuse. Partner abuse happens to many women at all income and education levels, in all social classes, in all religions, racial and cultural groups.\(^\text{19}\)
II. UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER DYNAMICS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Although the concept of gender did not become current among feminist until the 1970s, the idea that it encapsulates –that differences between men and women are not wholly determined by biology-has a longer history. This was summed up by Simone de Beauvoir’s writings in the 1940s: ‘One is not born a woman but becomes one’. The contention that women are made rather than born has seen been central to the development of theories of gender. Another, and crucial, feature of feminist perspective is that gender is conceptualized as hierarchical: not dealing with a symmetrical difference between women and men but an asymmetrical unequal relationship.

A distinction between the sex we are born with and the gender that we acquire was made by Ann Oakley in the 1970s. She defined sex as the anatomical and physiological characteristics, which signify biological maleness and femaleness, and gender as socially constructed masculinity and feminity. Masculinity and feminity are defined not by biology but social, cultural and psychological attributes, which are acquired through becoming a man or a woman in a particular society at a particular time. The term gender was hence used to describe those characteristics of men and women, which are socially defined, in contrast to those which are
biologically determined (Oakley 1972). Whereas Oakley distinguished gender from biological sex, Rubin related gender to reproductive sexuality, encapsulating the two in the term ‘sex/gender system.’ According to Rubin, every society has ‘a sex/gender system – a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention’ (1975:165). These arrangements are culturally variable conventional ways of organizing human sexual relations, particularly through the structures of kinship and marriage. Gender itself is defined as ‘a socially imposed division of the sexes’ and is ‘a product of the social relations of sexuality.’ Thus, while sexually differentiated bodies can be seen as an important aspect of the human experience, Rubin makes an important suggestion that it is in the socially differentiated arrangements of gender that we must seek an explanation for the very different ways in which men and women experience the world. The social rules and practices through which gender relations are constructed constitute a highly selective interpretation of the human body and its full range of attributes; they privilege only those which are necessary for a specific, sexually based system of human reproduction.

**According to Coomaraswamy,**

Women are vulnerable to various forms of violent treatment for
several reasons, all based on gender: Because of being female, a woman is subject to rape, female circumcision/genital mutilation, female infanticide, and sex-related crimes. This reason relates to society’s construction of female sexuality and its role in social hierarchy. Because of her relationship to a man, a woman is vulnerable to domestic violence, dowry murder, sati. This reason relates to society’s concept of a woman as the property and dependant of a male protector, father, husband, son etc. Because of the social group to which she belongs, in times of war, riots, or ethnic, caste, or class violence, a woman may be raped and brutalized as a means of humiliating the community to which she belongs. This also relates to male perception of female sexuality and women as the property of men (Coomaraswamy 1992:50;)

Coomaraswamy’s statements make it evident that most of the violence from which woman suffer emanates from men. Patriarchal societies have created relationships in a manner that at times of crisis be it war or riots or caste/class violence a patriarchal conception of ‘honour’ is involved. It is this conception, which legitimizes men’s control over women’s bodies and sexuality.

Taking the argument further Heise et al. discuss the role of cultural values beliefs and norms in keeping women subordinated in society,
showing how these get deeply embedded in the social institutions as part of tradition and culture whereby men’s violence against women goes unchallenged. According to them,

Violence against women and girls includes physical, sexual, psychological and economic abuse. It is often known as gender based violence because it evolves in part from women’s subordinated status in society. Many cultures have beliefs, norms, and social institutions that legitimize and therefore perpetuate violence against women. The same acts that would be punished if directed at an employer, a neighbour, or an acquaintance often go unchallenged when men direct them at women, especially within the family (Heise et al. 1999:1).

Focusing on relations of gender/power Kelkar (1992) opines that,

Central to any analysis of gender violence are the issues of power and gender relations. Gender violence is embedded in the context of cultural, socio-economic, and political power relations. These relations, in which male power dominates, reduce women to economic and emotional dependency, the property of some male protector. Societies organized around gendered, hierarchical power relations give legitimacy to violence against women. In such societies gender violence takes shape not only as physical abuse,
but as emotional abuse through threats and reprisals, as exploitation, as discrimination, and other forms of control and coercion. While violence against women is part of the general violence inherent in all social structures of class, caste, religion, ethnicity etc. and in the way the state controls people and specificity of violence against women underlies aspects of structural violence and forms of control and coercion exercised through a hierarchical and patriarchal gender relationship in the family and society.

Kelkar’s perspective succeeds in relating gender violence to the larger context in which it occurs. However, the focus of her definition is extremely broad and encompasses the negative effect of all unequal gender relations in society for women, for instance, the comparative lack of access to socio-economic resources. The latter may be causally linked to physical, sexual or psychological violence against women, but when this lack of access is in itself termed gender violence it makes the definition of gender violence so all-embracing that one tends to lose focus.

The above definitions highlight that gender-based violence is an extremely complex phenomenon, deeply rooted in gender/power relations existing in different social institutions of society. Power dynamics
strongly influence or constrain women’s ability to exercise choices in their own lives, including choices that would enable them to resist abuse. Societal norms about gender relations often reinforce this lack of choice. The consequences of violence for women’s health and lives are also manifold. However, sexuality and self-identity and cultural beliefs that perpetuate women’s subordinated status whereby violence against her is legitimized also form an important aspect of gender violence.  

III. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE – A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

The first major recognition of women’s rights as human rights occurred in the 1970s when the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was drafted and adopted by a majority of member states of the UN. The CEDAW identifies measures to be taken to eliminate discrimination against women in a range of fields and requires States who have signed and ratified the Convention to report periodically to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. (Roberts Chapman 1990) The primary focus of the CEDAW however, was originally on political and economic discrimination and issues that emerged in the public spheres of women’s lives.

Feminist critiques of the human rights discourse have argued that by neglecting to acknowledge human rights abuses occurring in the
private sphere, such as domestic violence, rape and sexual abuse, the Convention only reinforced existing patriarchal structures and perpetuated a public/private dichotomy that further oppressed women, on an international level (Coomaraswamy 1994).21

At the international level, the issue of violence against women came onto the agenda in the context of women’s rights activism at the United Nations. The interaction between women’s advocacy around the world and United Nations initiatives over several decades has been a driving factor in achieving this attention. Some particular forms of violence against women, such as trafficking for forced prostitution, had been addressed before the founding of the United Nations. However, wider attention to violence against women emerged primarily in the context of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), as more women’s organizations became linked to the United Nations agenda through international and regional women’s conferences and through women in development initiatives. Their efforts acted as a catalyst in expanding the understanding of violence against women. They supported the development of international norms and standards and the creation of monitoring and reporting mechanisms.22

From 1975 to 1985 the Division for the Advancement of Women, a branch of the United Nations Secretariat specialising in issues concerning
the status of women, was responsible for arranging three World Conferences on Women in Mexico, Copenhagen and Nairobi. At none of these conferences was the issue of violence against women, in its many forms, addressed in any detail (Coomaraswamy 1994). It seems, as Charlesworth argues, that “…issues traditionally of concern to men are seen as general human concerns; ‘women’s concerns’ by contrast, are regarded as a distinct and limited category”. Early initiatives to address violence against women at the international level focused primarily on the family. The World Plan of Action for Women, adopted in 1975 at the World Conference of the International Women’s Year in Mexico City, drew attention to the need for education programmes and ways to resolve family conflict that ensured dignity, equality and security to each family member, but did not explicitly refer to violence. However, the parallel NGO Tribunal held in Mexico City and the International Tribunal on Crimes against Women in Brussels in 1976 highlighted many more forms of violence against women. The 1980 Copenhagen mid-decade Second World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women adopted a resolution on violence in the family. It referred to violence in the home in its final report and, in the context of health care, called for the development of programmes to eliminate violence against women and children and to protect women from physical and mental abuse. Violence against women was also addressed in the parallel NGO forum and several
Government delegations addressed this issue. This reflected its growing importance on the agendas of women’s movements at the national level. Women’s activism on violence against women increased in the early 1980s and the issue was more prominent at the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women recognized the prevalence of violence against women in various forms in everyday life in all societies and identified diverse manifestations of violence by calling attention to abused women in the home, women victims of trafficking and involuntary prostitution, women in detention and women in armed conflict. The link between violence against women and other issues on the United Nations agenda began to be drawn as such violence was identified as a major obstacle to achieving the objectives of the Decade for Women: equality, development and peace. The Forward-Looking Strategies called for preventive policies, legal measures, national machinery and comprehensive assistance to women victims of violence. They also acknowledged the need for public awareness of violence against women as a societal problem.

Parallel to the work on violence against women in the framework of the Decade for Women, United Nations bodies dealing with crime prevention and criminal justice increasingly addressed violence against
women, in particular domestic violence. Work in this sector demonstrated that it was a significantly underreported global phenomenon that was committed in different contexts and highlighted the need for appropriate laws and access to justice for women victims,
as well as effective implementation and enforcement of laws at the national level.24

It is only since the 1990s that any major advancement has been made towards having gender based violence mainstreamed into the global human rights agenda. In 1992, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women took what was arguably the most critical step towards having violence against women recognised as a human rights issue. In their 11th session, under General Recommendation 19, the Committee submitted that gender based violence, that is, violence directed against a woman because she is a woman, or which affects women disproportionately, constituted a form of gender discrimination and could therefore amount to a breach of specific provisions of the CEDAW, regardless of whether those provisions expressly mentioned violence. This decision was followed by a series of meetings, conferences and recommendations resulting, in 1993, in another major development - the proclamation by the UN General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.25 For the World Conference on
Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, women caucused and lobbied globally and regionally to redefine the contours of human rights law to include the experiences of women. They presented conference delegates with almost half a million signatures from 128 countries demanding that such violence be recognized as a violation of women’s human rights, and ran a global tribunal in which women’s testimonies, including cases of violence from around the world, were presented in a human rights framework. Evidence gathered by researchers of the pervasive nature and multiple forms of violence against women, together with advocacy campaigns, led to the recognition that violence against women was global, systemic and rooted in power imbalances and structural inequality between men and women. The identification of the link between violence against women and discrimination was key.

The work of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the treaty body established in 1982 to monitor implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, contributed significantly to the recognition of violence against women as a human rights issue. The Convention does not explicitly refer to violence against women, but the Committee has made clear that all forms of violence against women fall within the definition of discrimination against women as set out in the
Convention. The Committee regularly calls on States parties to adopt measures to address such violence. In its general recommendation No. 12 (1989), the Committee noted States’ obligation to protect women from violence under various articles of the Convention, and requested them to include information on the incidence of violence and the measures adopted to confront it in their periodic reports to the Committee. General recommendation No. 19 (1992) decisively established the link: it asserted unequivocally that violence against women constitutes a form of gender-based discrimination and that discrimination is a major cause of such violence. This analysis added the issue of violence against women to the terms of the Convention and the international legal norm of non-discrimination on the basis of sex and, thus, directly into the language, institutions and processes of human rights. The inquiry and individual complaints procedures under the Optional Protocol to the Convention, in force since 2000, allow the Committee to develop jurisprudence in this area (see sect. VI). The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 saw a coordinated global mobilization to reaffirm women’s rights as human rights. Women from all regions, from both Governments and NGOs, collaborated and organized to influence both regional and global preparatory processes for the Conference by campaigning to bring a gender perspective to the international human rights agenda and to increase the visibility of violations of women’s human rights. The Vienna
Declaration and Programme of Action included affirmation of the universality of women’s rights as human rights and a call for elimination of gender-based violence. The Vienna Conference also added significant momentum to the adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women15 by the General Assembly later that year.

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women states that 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”. It highlights the different sites of violence against women: violence in the family, violence in the community and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State. The Declaration is sensitive to the fact that particular groups of women are especially prone to be targeted for violence, including minority, indigenous and refugee women, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, girls, women with disabilities, older women and women in situations of armed conflict. The Declaration sets out a series of measures to be taken by States to prevent and eliminate such violence. It requires States to condemn violence against women and not invoke custom, tradition or religion to avoid their obligations to eliminate such violence.27
A further outcome of the Vienna conference was the appointment by the Commission on Human Rights in 1994 of a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. The Special Rapporteur was appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to seek and receive information on violence against women, its causes and consequences, to carry out field missions to various geographical regions in both an investigative and consultative capacity and to make recommendations for national, regional and international reform in relation to the elimination of violence against women (Coomaraswamy 1994). This mandate created an institutional mechanism for regular in-depth review and reporting on violence against women around the world. The work is conducted within the framework of the international human rights regime and includes recommendations on how to eliminate violence against women and its causes and remedy its consequences. Through analysis, recommendations and country visits, the Special Rapporteur has raised awareness of the causes and consequences of different forms of violence against women and has further elaborated an understanding of international standards in this area.

The 1995 World Conference for Women held in Beijing represented yet another milestone for the women’s human rights movement. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), developed in the
course of this conference, is now considered “...one of the most progressive ‘blue prints’ for achieving women’s equality” and sets out twelve critical areas of concern – one of these areas is identified as Violence Against Women and corresponding principles and strategic actions are set out to assist governments in addressing the issue (Halliday 2001, p.17).\textsuperscript{31} The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted by 189 countries at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, consolidated these gains by underlining that violence against women is both a violation of women’s human rights and an impediment to the full enjoyment by women of all human rights. The focus shifted to demanding State accountability for action to prevent and eliminate violence against women. The Beijing Platform for Action identified 12 critical areas of concern that require urgent action to achieve the goals of equality, development and peace; one of these areas was on violence against women. Such violence is also addressed in several other critical areas of concern.\textsuperscript{32} The progress of member States in implementing the BPFA was reviewed in 2000 during the Beijing+5 Conference in New York and an evaluation of its objectives conducted. The 2000 review resulted in the BPFA outcomes document, which contains additional measures for addressing violence against women.\textsuperscript{33} At the five-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action in 2000, States specified that violence against women and girls, whether occurring in public or private
life, is a human rights issue and highlighted State responsibility in addressing such violence. Governments were asked to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination and violence against women by any person, organization or enterprise and to treat all forms of violence against women and girls as criminal offences.

The recognition of gender-based violence as a form of gender discrimination thus provided a source of international legally-binding material dealing expressly with violence against women and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, together with the BPFA, provided both a benchmark from which international standards and norms might develop and a comprehensive set of strategies for achieving those objectives.

While recognition of violence against women as a human rights issue and the development of international legal mechanisms for addressing such human rights abuses represent a significant step forward, a number of challenges remain. Specifically, how can international human rights instruments and the treaty bodies established under them be made relevant to individual women when so many acts of violence were being perpetrated by private individuals independent of the State? In the past, a State could only be held responsible for acts committed on its behalf or through one or more of its agents (Halliday 2001). Feminist and
human rights scholars have approached this dilemma in a number of ways. Some have argued domestic and other forms of violence amounted to torture under international standards; others have suggested that systems of gender discrimination in society create an environment where violence against women is condoned (Lambert & Pickering 2001). For either of these arguments to hold any weight however, one must accept that the State has a duty to exercise due diligence in ensuring that the provisions of various international documents are upheld. Although still contentious, support for the concept can be found not only in the Conventions and Declarations themselves, but in regional human rights instruments, in recent judicial decisions, in recommendations made by UN Committees and Special Rapporteurs and in reports submitted by non-government organisations such as Amnesty International (Coomaraswamy 1994).

The first Special Rapporteur on violence against women described the violence against women movement as “perhaps the greatest success story of international mobilization around a specific human rights issue, leading to the articulation of international norms and standards and the formulation of international programmes and policies”. There are important consequences that flow from categorizing violence against women as a matter of human rights. Recognizing violence against women
as a violation of human rights clarifies the binding obligations on States to prevent, eradicate and punish such violence and their accountability if they fail to comply with these obligations. These obligations arise from the duty of States to take steps to respect, protect, promote and fulfil human rights. Claims on the State to take all appropriate measures to respond to violence against women thus move from the realm of discretion and become legal entitlements. The human rights framework provides access to a number of tools and mechanisms that have been developed to hold States accountable at the international and regional level. These include the human rights treaty bodies and international criminal tribunals, as well as the African, European and inter-American human rights systems (see sect. VI). Human rights provide a unifying set of norms that can be used to hold States accountable for adhering to their obligations, to monitor progress and to promote coordination and consistency. Addressing violence against women as a human rights issue empowers women, positioning them not as passive recipients of discretionary benefits but as active rights-holders. It also enhances the participation of other human rights advocates, including men and boys, who become stakeholders in addressing violence against women as part of building respect for all human rights. Recognizing violence against women as a human rights issue has also enabled human rights discourse and practice to become more inclusive by encompassing the experiences
of women. When women’s particular experiences remain invisible, they do not inform the understanding of human rights violations and remedies for them. Human rights norms therefore must take into account the particular circumstances of women in order to be fully universal. An integrated and inclusive human rights regime should take into account not only gender perspectives but also the wide variety of factors that shape and reinforce women’s, and men’s, experiences of discrimination and violence, including race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, disability, nationality, religion and culture. Understanding violence against women as a human rights concern does not preclude other approaches to preventing and eliminating violence, such as education, health, development and criminal justice efforts. Rather, addressing violence against women as a human rights issue encourages an indivisible, holistic and multisectoral response that adds a human rights dimension to work in all sectors. It calls for strengthening and accelerating initiatives in all areas to prevent and eliminate violence against women, including in the criminal justice, health, development, humanitarian, peacebuilding and security sectors.36

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women provides a concise summary of the meaning and standard applied to the concept of due diligence. The Preamble asserts that violence against

[47]
women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations in society and that its eradication therefore requires an analysis of not only violent acts but of the social conditions, institutions and norms which perpetuate them. Accordingly, a State party to the Declaration has a responsibility to not only refrain from engaging in or encouraging acts of violence against women but to actively intervene in and exercise due diligence in the prevention of such acts (Coomarasamy 1994; Amnesty International 2001). The concept of due diligence thus provides advocates for victims of domestic violence with a platform from which to argue that human rights abuses are being condoned and perpetuated by the State, through their complicity. What this means is that social justice and/or welfare issues can be reconceptualised as human rights issues, arguably providing a much stronger political and legal framework from which to work (Miller 1998).

To illustrate, evidence that crimes of violence against women are not being prosecuted proportionately may amount to unequal treatment before the law and thus breach specific provisions of international agreements. Alternatively, it may amount to discrimination and a State’s failure to remedy the situation could be viewed as a failure to actively intervene in preventing, or as condoning, discriminatory practices amounting to human rights violations under various treaties.
Similarly, failing to train legal/judicial officers in matters of domestic violence or to conduct adequate research and provide accessible services may all amount to a failure to exercise due diligence and thus a breach of international legal, moral or political obligations under a Convention, Declaration or Covenant (Coomaraswamy 1994).

It is an unfortunate legacy of the patriarchal structures upon which human rights law has been built, that issues pertaining primarily to women, such as domestic violence, continue to struggle for recognition within global human rights bodies and agendas. However, developments over the last few decades have provided women with the basic mechanisms through which their rights under various international instruments might be enforced. Much, however, remains to be done. Women who are multiply disadvantaged, such as indigenous women, migrant women, disabled women and older women have often been overlooked in the quest for ‘universal women’s’ human rights. Where their concerns have been addressed, the approach has often been to simply ‘add and stir’ (Stubbs & Tolmie 1995). Further, in order for human rights instruments to have any value, they must be utilised by those entitled to enforce them. Violence against women occurs in virtually every corner of the globe and its prevalence does not appear to be decreasing dramatically. As we move into the 21st century it is thus
more crucial than ever that dominant human rights discourses are challenged and a discourse acknowledging the diversity, equality and basic human rights of women and men from a diversity of backgrounds be achieved.37

**Facts about domestic violence:**

The Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) lists the following facts about domestic violence and women:

- About 5.3 million women are victimized by intimate partners annually.

- Approximately 31 percent of women responded in the National Violence Against Women Survey that they had been raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabitating partner, or date at some time in their life.

- More than 40 percent of women who are victims of violence report being injured.

- Increased frequency of violence toward a spouse is associated with increased risk of the violent spouse also being abusive to the child.

- There is a strong association between stalking and other forms of violence: 81 percent of women who were stalked by a current or former husband or partner were also physically assaulted by that
partner, and 31 percent were also sexually assaulted.

- Psychological consequences for victims of intimate partner violence can include depression, suicidal thoughts and attempts, lowered self-esteem, alcohol and other drug abuse, and post-traumatic stress disorder.  

---

2. Wikipedia The free encyclopedia.
3. Azad India Foundation website, copyright 2010 www.Azadindia.org
6. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
7. Ending Widespread Violence Against Women – UNFPA Website
9. Domestic Violence as a Public Issue A review of Responses by Nishi Mitra, Unit of Women’s Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, 2001
10. Ibid, Pg. 1.
12. Ibid Pg. 2-3.
13. Ibid Pg. 2.
15. www.domesticviolence.in

Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse Topic Paper: Human Rights and Domestic Violence by Zoe Craven, Research Assistant, Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse, Pg. 3.

In-depth study on all forms of violence against women: Report of the Secretary-General, General Assembly, United Nations, Sixty-first session, Item 60 (a) of the preliminary list, Advancement of women: advancement of women, 6 July 2006, Pg. 13.

Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse Topic Paper: Human Rights and Domestic Violence by Zoe Craven, Research Assistant, Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse, Pg. 3.


Op. Cit. xiii, Pg. 3-4.


Ibid, Pg. 16.

Op.Cit.xv, Pg. 4

Op.Cit. xviii, Pg. 16.


Op.Cit.xx, Pg. 16.

Op.Cit.xxi, Pg. 4.


Op.Cit.xxiii, Pg. 4-5.


Op.Cit.xxv, Pg. 5-7.

www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/uvahealth/adult_women/violence.cfm Last modified on: September 18, 2007