

different countries (Johnson and Sigler 2000; Presidencia de la Unión Europa 2002a, 2002b; Walby and Myhill 2001), although there are exceptions when a consistent definition has been used in a multicountry study (Garcia-Moreno et al 2003). There are several efforts to promote the development and use of a consistent set of indicators (Saltzman et al 1999; Presidencia de la Unión Europa 2002a; Theisen, Spoden, Verloo and Walby 2005).

There are at least five areas of significant divergences in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of violence against women or gender-based violence. These include: first, the range of perpetrators; second, the range of types of violence; third, the threshold at which it is considered violence and the measurement of its severity; fourth, the focus on prevalence or incidents; fifth, experiences over the whole lifetime or during the last year. Underlying the debates over these issues is a tension between prioritising a specialised focus on gender-based violence or the use of frameworks that facilitate the mainstreaming of violence against women into dominant perspectives and practices.

There is a choice between a narrow or wide range of perpetrators: first, a specific focus on intimate partner (including former partners) violence; second, the inclusion of all family and household members, thereby including violence between generations; third, any perpetrator; fourth, to confine the analysis to that against women, or to include children and men as potential victims. A focus on intimate partners provides a clear and specific focus, but if the full range of sexual violence and so-called honour crimes are to be included, then the restriction to intimate partners is too narrow. However, if all forms of inter-personal violence are included then there is a danger of losing the gender-based focus.

There is an issue as to the breadth of range of forms of violence that are included. The definition used by the UN in the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women was: 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 private life (United Nations 1993). This is potentially inclusive of many separately named forms of violence against women, including domestic violence, sexual assault, stalking, sexual harassment in the workplace, female genital mutilation, dowry deaths and so-called honour crimes. The breadth of this definition is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in that it enables the inclusion of the range of women s experiences of violence. It is a weakness in some contexts where this may be associated with a dilut It i oba dppddinwown inca-cn(la)Tjll2 (e-TiD(a)include in, p

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size, because of the lower proportion experiencing violence last year as compared with over a life-time, and thus entails a more expensive survey. This issue highlights the practical resource issues in the development of the methods by which data on violence against women is collected. While many countries have now conducted one-off surveys of the life-time prevalence of violence against women (Garcia-Moreno et al 2003; Krug et al 2002; Walby and Myhill 2004; Presidenci t;

annual survey. The UK experimented with this form (Walby and Allen 2004) and has now committed to regularly attaching a special module on domestic violence, sexual assault and st

There are ways of supplementing the sampling frame to include these populations, which could enhance future surveys. These include drawing up additional sampling frames based on lists of hostels, refuges, and other temporary accommodation that could be provided by those who fund and run such accommodation. In addition, the procedure for sampling the person in residential households could include all who are actually staying there, not merely those who are permanently resident. However, this is hard to achieve and no VAW survey has yet managed this.

Self-completion: Rapport or confidentiality?

Is rapport or confidentiality more conducive to disclosure of events that may be sensitive? On the one hand there is the possibility that face-to-face interviewing can build up more rapport and support disclosure of sensitive events, while on the other hand, confidentiality engendered by strategies such as self-completion by computer or by questionnaire may increase the likelihood of respondents divulging sensitive information. There has been much discussion as to whether there is a feminist methodology that is uniquely able to address gender issues (Harding 1986).

The BCS (Walby and Allen 2004) provides a unique opportunity to compare the impact of methods utilising possible rapport in face-to-face interviewing with the confidentiality of self-completion. There are two parts to the survey. In the first

form that is easily useable in relation to domestic violence. Here I explore the kind of data that is already collected, and how relatively small adjustments would make it more useful. While this data does not give a guide to the actual level of violence against women, it could provide a guide to services as to the extent to which and in what ways they are used by survivors, and be used to improve their service provision. One reason why it would be most unwise to treat such data as a guide to the actual level of violence is that if it were used as an indicator it might create a perverse incentive to minimise the amount of violence over time in order to suggest improvements. In addition to providing information needed to improve service provision, this data on service use provides a basis for estimating the cost of violence against women. The estimation of the cost of violence against women and other forms of crime is part of a process of integrating these policy domains into the mainstream (Brand and Price 2000; Miller, Cohen and Wiersema 1996; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control 2003; Waters et al 2004). While reasons of human rights, justice and relief of human suffering are sufficient grounds for the development of policies to reduce and eradicate violence against women, the estimation of its cost facilitates its inclusion and prioritisation within certain types of policy discourse. The examples below as to administrative sources of data are drawn from the UK and derive from a study of the cost of domestic violence (Walby 2004). The manner and extent to which parallel institutions in other countries collect this data will vary.

## Criminal Justice System

Two major types of statistics are collected by the Criminal Justice System: Recorded Crime statistics collected by the police; and

Yet most acts of violence against women are crimes. Most domestic violence is a type of violent crime in most countries. In the UK, there are several categories of violent crime, distinguished primarily by the level of physical injury. Common assault is violence that does not lead to any injury. There are two categories of wounding: other which involves minor injuries; and serious, which involves potentially oia oia oi o

provide much valuable quantitative information. The use of these two simple additional codes would enable the use of mainline criminal justice statistics to be used for the measurement of the extent to which violence against women was addressed by the criminal justice system.

# Civil Legal

The civil legal system is used by some women during their escape from domestic violence. There are two main ways in which it is used. First, there are, in some countries, specialised legal devices, such as injunctions, which enable a person suffering domestic violence to have their violent partner restrained and in some cases removed from the home. In the UK these are injunctions in tort to restrain harassment and also occupation orders (previously called ouster/exclusion orders) that may secure the removal of a violent partner from the home (Edwards 2001). Second

this requirement, they must therefore collect information on whether there are allegations of and evidence of domestic violence. However, this routinely collected information is not currently collated and placed in the public domain. It is an example of routine collection of data relevant to domestic violence by a state agency that could be made public (obviously on an anonymised basis).

## Health care

There are many ways in which health care workers already record the nature of the health problems presented by their patients. The BCS IPV (Walby and Allen 2004) found that most of the women who were subject to domestic violence were asked the cause of their injuries by their doctor and the majority (though by no means all) did disclose. Doctors usually record their diagnosis of the causes of the patient s health problem. However, this is currently ad hoc rather than systematic, at least in the UK. This information about domestic violence, though apparently collected from patients (at least in the UK), is not gathered together in any systematic manner.

The use of an additional code, noting whether the problem was the result of domestic violence would provide the basis of more systematic record keeping. Saltzman et al (1999) offer a procedure for routinely collecting information about domestic violence that is appropriate for a health care setting.

There is a current debate on the viability and ethics of universal screening for domestic violence within certain sections of the health care system. There is concern as to the ethics of routinely asking this question before support systems are fully in place to refer survivors for specialist help (Bewley et al 1997). For instance, the discussion of the issue of 'screening' by academics, doctors and Women's Aid at the seminar organised by the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists raised important practical issues. In particular, that screening would make a positive contribution only in the context of appropriately trained staff, time and resources to take appropriate action, back up support systems, and links to other agencies for specific referrals, that is, a broad range of policy innovation (Bewley et al, 1997). However, most women who have injuries from domestic violence are already asked this question, at least in the UK.

In the US there is a large literature about assessing the risk of domestic violence withi assu(a) To it is 00 TO (b) Tij 2500 TO (c) TIJ 10 TO

cross-classificaticii

Several public services already collect some information that pertains to domestic violence as a routine part of their everyday activities, though often this is not in a form that is easily useable in relation to domestic violence. However, relatively small additions to the data that is already collected would make it considerably more useful. For example, the cross-classification of data already collected on violent crime by whether or not it was domestic, would very considerably improve the usefulness of these administrative records for the evaluation and improvement of services to survivors of gender-based violence. While this data does not give a guide to the actual level of violence against women, it could provide a guide to services as to the extent to which and in what ways they are used by survivors, and be used to improve their service provision.

Many advances in the development of data on violence against women have been achieved in the last two decades. Many more are possible.

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## **Appendix**

This paper draws from experience in two research projects: first a national prevalence survey on inter-personal violence; second, a national estimate of the cost of domestic violence.

Walby, Sylvia and Jonathan Allen (2004) *Domestic Violence, Sexual Assault and Stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey.* Home Office Research Study 276. (London: Home Office).

I was responsible for devising a national prevalence survey on domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking in Britain, as Consultant to the Home Office British Crime Survey. The full report can be downloaded here.

http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/hors276.pdf

The following is the official summary of the main findings.

The 2001 British Crime Survey included a detailed self-completion questionnaire designed to ascertain:

the most accurate estimates of the extent and nature of domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking, Tj 21 0 TD(i)53Tj 11 0 TD( )T,

Injuries were often sustained as a result of domestic violence, especially among women. During the worst incident of domestic violence experienced in the last year, 46 per cent of women sustained a minor physical injury, 20 per cent a moderate physical injury, and six per cent severe injuries, while for 31 per cent it resulted in mental or emotional problems. Among men, 41 per cent sustained a minor physical injury, 14 per cent a moderate physical injury, one per cent severe injuries and nine per cent mental or emotional problems.

Among women who had been subject to serious sexual assault (that is rape and other forms of unwanted penetration of the body) since 16, for 52 per cent the worst incident led to depression or other emotional problems, attempted suicide by five per cent, and pregnancy for four per cent.

Domestic violence has a detrimental impact on employment. Among employed women who suffered domestic violence in the last year, 21 per cent took time off work and two per cent lost their jobs. Among men in this situation, six per cent took time off work and two per cent lost their jobs.

64% of women and 94% of men subject to domestic violence in the last year did not think that what had happened to them was a crime. However, two-thirds of women who had been victimised many times did think it was a crime. These women were also more likely to think that what had happened to them was 'domestic violence'.. There was a greater likelihood of applying the concepts of domestic violence and crime to the incident if injuries were sustained and the acts were severe and repeated.

Among women subject since 16 to an act that met the 1994 legal definition of rape, only 43 per cent thought of it as rape.

### Offenders and relationships

Most inter-personal violence, not only domestic violence, is from intimates rather than strangers.

The rapist was an intimate in 54 per cent of (worst) cases suffered since the age of 16, being a husband or partner in 45 per cent and former husband or partner in 9 per cent. A further 29 per cent of the rapists were known to the woman, while only 17 per cent were strangers. Only four per cent were cases of date rape.

Thirty seven per cent of cases of aggravated stalking (with violence additional to the

# Seeking help

Thirty-one per cent of female victims and 63 per cent of male victims had not told anyone other than the survey about the worst incident of domestic violence that they had suffered during the last year.

40 per cent of women told no one about their worst experience of rape suffered since the age of 16.

25 per cent of those women that were raped in their worst incident (since age 16) and classified it as such

# Walby, Sylvia (2004) *The Cost of Domestic Violence* (London: Department of Trade and Industry Women and Equality Unit).

The second research project was to estimate the cost of domestic violence in Britain, for the UK Women and Equality Unit. This required finding quantitative data on domestic violence in relation to each of the major agencies involved.

This is a link to download the full report:

http://www.womenandequalityunit.gov.uk/research/cost\_of\_dv\_Report\_sept04.pdf The following is an extract from the official summary e o

Social Services Housing Civil legal

- 2. Economic output losses, sustained by employers and employees;
- 3. Human and emotional costs, borne by the individual victim.

Both men and women are included in the estimates.

The costs are for one year for England and Wales, centred on 2001.

# Criminal Justice System

The cost of domestic violence to the criminal justice system (CJS) is around £1billion a year. This is nearly one-quarter of the CJS budget for violent crime. The largest single component is that of the police. Other components include: prosecution, courts, probation, prison, and legal aid.

### Health Care

The cost to the NHS for physical injuries is around £1.2 billion. This includes GPs and hospitals. Physical injuries account for most of the NHS costs, however, there is an important element of mental health care, estimated at an additional £176 million.

### Social Services

The cost is nearly a £.25 billion. This is overwhelmingly for children rather than for adults, especially those caught up in the co-occurrence of domestic violence and child abuse.

### Housing

Expenditure on emergency housing includes costs to Local Housing Authorities (and other social landlords) for housing those homeless because of domestic violence; housing benefit for such emergency housing; and, importantly, refuges. This amounts to £.16 billion.

## Civil Legal

Civil legal services cost over £.3 billion, about half of which is borne by legal aid and half by the individual. This includes both specialist legal actions such as injunctions to restrain or expel a violent partner, as well as actions consequent on the disentangling of marriages and relationships such as divorce and child custody.

Economic Output tplign2esfo((20)) T | 220050 | The property of the property of

Table S.1 Summary estimates of the cost of domestic violence

Type of cost	Cost
Criminal Justice System	1.017
Of which police	(.49)
Health care	1.396
Of which physical	(1.22)
Of which mental health	(.176)
Social services	.228
Emergency housing	.158
Civil legal	.312
All services	3.111

Other wounding

Threatened to kill

82,000