

TOO CLOSE TO HOME

Domestic Violence in the Americas

Andrew R. Morrison
and María Loreto Biehl
Editors

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

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Editors

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Preface

The problem of domestic violence in America did not appear overnight, and it will not disappear suddenly either. More than 20 years of actions undertaken with great effort, dedication and commitment have not been sufficient to eliminate the scourge. Nevertheless, women's groups in the region have succeeded in transforming it from a private issue, not discussed outside the home, into a serious public policy concern. It is clear that no one actor, be it the state, nongovernmental actors or multilateral financial institutions, is in a position to tackle this issue alone. A sustained and coordinated effort to control and prevent violence is necessary.

Several chapters of this book highlight the significant costs that domestic violence imposes on women who suffer abuse and on society as a whole. These sobering estimates should not cause paralysis or inaction; rather, they should galvanize our will to take concrete steps to address the problem. The authors in this volume provide guidance on how to begin, describing effective strategies to reduce levels of domestic violence and provide services to abused women. In addition, they identify gaps in current knowledge that need to be addressed in order to advance towards the eradication of violence.

Much work remains to be done. The immediate tasks ahead include improving research, providing services to victims, and protecting future generations.

Improving research. Researchers working on domestic violence come from a wide spectrum of disciplines, with varying terms and perspectives. More communication among the disciplines is needed. Sociologists must communicate with feminist scholars; economists must exchange information with public health specialists. More importantly, those who research domestic violence need to communicate with those who study social violence, since the two forms of violence are related, as are their solutions. Two research priorities merit attention. First, it is imperative to obtain reliable and comparable information in each country of the region about the prevalence of domestic violence, at both national and local levels. The question of domestic violence needs to be incorporated in countries' statistical systems, and information should be gathered on national and regional levels. Second, researchers need to identify best practices in prevention and treatment. These analyses should identify the relative strengths and weaknesses of different types of programs and include information on program costs. Finally, research must be disseminated so that policymakers and program designers in one country can benefit from lessons learned in other locations.

Providing quality services to women, men and children who are affected by domestic violence. Quality has many dimensions. It means at a minimum, for example, that a woman who has been abused does not suffer secondary victimization at the hands of those charged with helping her. It means that services are offered in a coordinated fashion, so that an individual need not navigate several different bureaucracies in order to obtain services. It means, of course, that the services are useful to those who receive them, and that the services not only offer treatment to those who have been abused but offer solutions so that future abuse can be avoided.

Protecting future generations from the scourge of domestic violence. In order to protect future generations, we must support preventive measures. Prevention programs targeted at young children can mitigate factors that might otherwise lead to increased risk for violent behavior and dysfunction in childhood and beyond. Educational and employment options for young women can help change inequality in gender relations. Changing cultural values that condone violence is perhaps the most difficult—but absolutely essential—task we confront. To this end, we must involve the media, including television, radio and the print media. Television and radio can be effective teachers of prosocial attitudes and have the potential to make a major contribution in violence reduction. The written press can contribute by denouncing cases of abuse in a responsible manner. In the end, however, much violence is learned not from the larger society, but from one's more immediate role models in the home. NGOs and governments, through "good parenting" programs, should help parents improve at their job: raising children to be nonviolent, ethical and productive citizens. Finally, screening programs should be put in place that can identify children who are being abused in their homes, so that appropriate actions can be taken. In sum, our efforts should be targeted at empowering men, women and children with tools they need to live violence-free lives.

The complexity of the problem is daunting, but there are good reasons for optimism. The first reason is that a wide variety of people, disciplines and organizations are working in a committed way to fight domestic violence. The second is that some novel programs are generating positive results and allowing men and women to break the cycle of violence. Finally, there is an emerging social consensus that domestic violence is everybody's business. The women of the region are no longer alone. Governments, NGOs and multilateral financial institutions are recognizing that domestic violence is not a private affair, but a public issue.

The IDB intends to use all available resources to help in this fight for less violent, more healthy and productive societies in the region. That commitment includes maintaining the dialogue with both government and nongovernmental or-

ganizations that work on the topic of domestic violence—a dialogue that began in the conference that inspired this book. We intend to work with partner organizations towards the design of strategic communications programs that will reduce the levels of domestic violence in the region. Together with governments and NGOs, we will undertake pilot anti-domestic violence projects. Finally, we should mainstream the issue of domestic violence in relevant IDB projects. Health and education sector projects, for example, should routinely contain activities designed to prevent domestic violence or offer treatment to abused women and children.

Women account for slightly more than half of the population in Latin America and the Caribbean, and it is a sad truth that a large proportion of these women suffer from domestic abuse. One thing is eminently clear: domestic violence is not just a woman's issue; it affects all of us. Together we must work to eradicate domestic violence from our countries.

Enrique V. Iglesias

President

Inter-American Development Bank

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Acknowledgments

This collection of readings had its genesis in the conference, “Domestic Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Costs, Policies and Programs,” held in October 1997. The Inter-American Development Bank organized the conference in collaboration with the Institute of Civil Society, ISIS International, the Inter-American Commission of Women of the Organization of American States, and the Pan American Health Organization. Our co-sponsors helped guide the Bank in a new area of commitment, fighting domestic violence and thus improving the lives of women in the Americas.

More than 400 participants attended the conference. Distinguished participants included First Lady of the United States Hillary Rodham Clinton, Swedish Minister of Equality Affairs Ulrica Messing, Deputy Prime Minister of Barbados Billie Miller, First Lady of Colombia Jacquín Strouss de Samper, former U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder, and Brigitte Camdessus, who produced a background paper for the conference.

The conference was organized by the Women in Development Unit of the IDB’s Sustainable Development Department, with the invaluable assistance of staff from External Relations, Interpretation, Protocol, Integration, Publications, Travel and Shipping, and Conferences. Special thanks go to the graphics department for their long work hours.

Nancy Morrison assisted in transforming the conference papers into a readable, edited volume. We owe her a large debt of gratitude for her impatience with professional jargon and her excellent writing. Our gratitude also goes to Eva Greene and Barbara Rietveld of the IDB Publications Office for their help in producing this book.

Women’s organizations around the hemisphere have brought the issue of domestic violence into the arena of public policy and prompted the IDB and other regional agencies to address it. To these organizations, we extend our heartfelt appreciation for their pathbreaking work.

Mayra Buvinić
Chief, Social Development Division

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Introduction

*The most dangerous place for a woman in Latin America
and the Caribbean may be her own home.*

Ulrica Messing, Swedish Minister for Equality Affairs

One of the world's most violent regions, at home and on the streets, is Latin America. The homicide rate—almost 30 murders per 100,000 people—is more than twice the world average. Domestic violence is also widespread. According to surveys in the region, almost half of all women suffer from psychological abuse, while one to two women in five experience physical violence.¹

Domestic and social violence are closely linked: children who experience or even witness abuse are more likely to behave violently as adults, in and outside the home. And violence carries a high cost: its multiple effects on the economy include loss of productivity or lost wages for victims of violence. In several countries, violence has discouraged foreign investment and reduced savings, thus reducing long-term growth prospects.

Domestic violence also affects the region's growth possibilities. Women who are victims of domestic violence earn much less than their nonabused peers, which amounts to an estimated regional wage loss of 1.6 to 2.0 percent of GDP. Children who witness their mothers being abused perform poorly in school, limiting both their future labor market possibilities and their ability to contribute to the region's socioeconomic development.

While the problems of domestic and social violence are difficult to solve, there are policies and programs that can reduce their incidence. The first policy decision must be whether to target programs at specific risk factors (such as abuse of alcohol), or to undertake more comprehensive interventions at the household and community levels. The next choice is between prevention and treatment programs. Prevention programs are generally more effective and cost-efficient. They can reduce the risk of violence, increase protection, and address a variety of determinants of crime and violence. Low-cost, high-productivity measures include programs to prevent child and spousal abuse violence; violence prevention curricula in elementary and secondary schools; alcohol and substance abuse prevention programs; and steps to make environments safer, such as gun control programs, street lighting, closed circuit television monitoring of public places, and community policing

¹ These terms are defined in Box 2.1 on page 36.

initiatives. Finally, the media can play a key role in curbing domestic and social violence. Well designed media campaigns help people change their attitudes and behavior, and can lead to an overall reduction in violence.

This book focuses on domestic violence against women and how it is linked to other forms of violence. Part I analyzes the prevalence of domestic violence against women in the region, the socioeconomic consequences of domestic violence (for women's health and labor), and causal links between violence in and outside the home. While personal losses from such violence are high, its total costs go far beyond the women involved and their families. Socioeconomic impacts include expenditures on the criminal justice system, shelters, medical care and social services such as counseling, education and prevention activities, and training costs for police, judicial and medical personnel, as well as productivity losses, absenteeism, and increased mortality and morbidity. The impact on gross domestic product from women's lower earnings alone is between 1.6 and 2.0 percent, according to estimates from Chile and Nicaragua (Chapter 3). Rafael Lozano Ascencio has calculated the burden of disease for women in Mexico City, using a measure called disability-adjusted life years (Chapter 4). Domestic violence is the third most important source of DALYs lost: after diabetes and childbirth-related conditions, but before traffic accidents or congenital abnormalities.

The tragedy of violence can be transmitted from one generation to the next, and domestic violence against women has a very damaging impact on children. Recent studies have shown that being abused as a child significantly increases the likelihood of delinquency, adult criminality and violent criminal behavior. Other research indicates that a child need not even be a victim of domestic violence; simply witnessing chronic abuse of women makes children more likely to become abusers as adults. Thus, social and domestic violence are intimately linked. Violence is largely a learned behavior, and if children are exposed to violent behavior at home, they are likely to imitate it. Chapters 1 and 3 briefly discuss the causal links between domestic and social violence.

One key issue is whether poverty is a cause of domestic violence. In Chapter 2, Efraín Gonzales de Olarte and Pilar Gavilano Llosa maintain that other factors are more important, including the man's age and employment status, whether the couple is married, and the length of their relationship. Poverty may be a factor that triggers or magnifies conflicts between partners. Some researchers suggest that domestic violence *seems* more prevalent in low-income households, because victims are more likely to report it to the police, or to medical personnel in emergency rooms, where they turn for assistance. By contrast, middle- and upper-income vic-

tims of abuse are better able to hide evidence of their abuse or less likely to report it, because of social norms. In fact, domestic violence is found at all levels of society. Physical violence, however, is more prevalent among the poor, while better-off women appear to suffer more psychological violence.

In all, domestic violence undermines progress toward human and economic development. New understanding of the problem is reflected in the wide range of responses at local, national, and international levels. Part II of this book highlights several very promising strategies.

In Monterrey, Mexico, a network of services has expanded to offer domestic violence victims assistance quickly and economically. Also in Mexico, men are meeting in groups to learn to overcome violent feelings and behavior toward women. In El Salvador, a hotline system has evolved to help that nation cope with a wave of violence. Brazil has established special police units to enable the police to offer female victims of violence greater understanding and expertise. In Costa Rica, the Supreme Court is spearheading steps to sensitize the judiciary to issues of gender-related violence. In London, Ontario, Canada, the public schools are forums for a formal education program to prevent violence. In Jamaica, a theater group dramatizes domestic violence issues to help men and women deal with the problem, and works with nonprofit groups to inform women of their rights and recourse should they suffer abuse.

Part III explores the role of the mass media. With their capacity to reach wide audiences, the mass media can either reinforce violent behavior, or encourage positive change. The media can alert communities to the problem of domestic violence, provide positive role models, change attitudes toward women within the family, and publicize strategies for addressing the problem. Elena M. Suárez and Charo Quesada explore these possibilities in Chapter 13. In Chapter 14, Patricia Poppe describes the advantages of strategic communication: a coherent, comprehensive approach to inform and educate society about ways to fight violence. Colombia's former First Lady, Jacquín Strouss de Samper, summarizes a survey of public attitudes toward television and violence in Colombia. She contends that viewers want television to play a more positive role in strengthening the family and fighting violence, including domestic violence (Chapter 15).

Ultimately, domestic violence must not be merely curbed, but eliminated. In Hillary Rodham Clinton's words, "We do not believe that domestic violence is 'simply cultural.' We believe it is simply criminal." This book offers insights and strategies that can help nations and people advance toward ending domestic violence.

The Conference on Domestic Violence

This book is based on the conference, "Domestic Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Costs, Policies and Programs," held in October 1997 at IDB headquarters in Washington, DC. Approximately 400 persons representing the majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries attended the event. The first day of the conference was devoted to an analysis of the socioeconomic costs imposed by domestic violence and a presentation of successful programs that address the problem. On that day, more than a dozen radio talk show hosts broadcast their shows live from IDB headquarters, targeting domestic violence against women and reaching 25 million listeners in the United States and Mexico. The second day focused on the role of the media, both as a contributor to the problem and as a potential partner in its solution.

Scholars, policymakers, representatives of international financial institutions and leaders of civil society organizations presented the results of their experience in combating domestic violence. Speakers at the conference included First Ladies Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States and Jacquin Strouss de Samper of Colombia, Barbadian Deputy Prime Minister Billie Miller, Swedish Minister of Equality Affairs Ulrica Messing, and former U.S. Congresswoman Pat Schroeder.

Four organizations played key roles in the conference and co-sponsored the event.

The *Institute for Civil Society*, a nonprofit, private foundation and research center based in Boston, Massachusetts, works to identify innovative approaches to address central issues for civil society, including institutional problems, cultural traditions and values. The Institute was instrumental in organizing the second day of the conference, focusing on mass media.

ISIS International, based in Santiago, Chile, is a nongovernmental organization that promotes the participation of women in development. ISIS provides channels of communication and services to women in developing countries related to health, leadership, advocacy, the acquisition of technical skills, and domestic violence.

The *Inter-American Commission of Women* (IACW) of the Organization of American States (OAS), one of the oldest institutions defending the rights of women, was created in 1928 to ensure that civil and political rights of women in the Americas would be recognized. Through its delegates in Latin American and Caribbean countries, the IACW has recognized and supported women's organizations working with governments and nongovernmental and community organizations.

The *Pan American Health Organization* (PAHO) is the regional office of the World Health Organization and was the first international organization to mobilize a significant amount of human and financial resources to confront the problem of violence against women in the hemisphere. In the last three years, PAHO has invested more than 7 million dollars in 16 countries in the region to create domestic violence prevention and treatment networks.

The conference provided a forum for governments, multilateral financial institutions and nongovernmental organizations to exchange ideas about promising approaches to eliminate domestic violence against women in the hemisphere.

PART I

**THE CONTEXT AND COSTS
OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**

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Violence in the Americas: A Framework for Action

Mayra Buvinić, Andrew R. Morrison, and Michael Shifter

An Overview of Violence

Even a cursory review of daily newspaper headlines and conversations throughout Latin America and the Caribbean reveals that the subject of violence is foremost on the minds of citizens. Few in the region have remained unaffected by what is widely recognized as a multidimensional, multifaceted problem; nearly everyone has a story to tell, often in graphic terms. Survey after survey consistently underscores the gravity and prevalence of the concern.

These public perceptions are borne out by data—partial and fragmentary as they may be. Evidence suggests that the region may be among the most violent in the world (World Bank 1997). The average homicide rate in 1990 of almost 30 homicides for every 100,000 people per year in Latin America and the Caribbean is more than double the world average (Murray and Lopez 1996). (For homicide rates by country, see Table 1.1.) In addition, over the past decade, homicide rates, particularly in many of the region's urban centers, have been on the rise.

Levels of domestic violence are also high in the region. Between 30 and 50 percent of adult women with partners are victims of psychological abuse each year, while 10 to 35 percent suffer physical violence, the majority of studies indicate. These results are quite consistent in the different countries of the region. (For information on rates of prevalence of domestic violence in selected countries of the region, see Table 1.2.)

Both domestic and social violence are moving to the forefront of the policy agendas of governments in the region, nongovernmental organizations, and multilateral financial institutions. In part this is due to high and in some cases increasing levels of violence. It is also due to the fact that violence is an issue that concerns

Table 1.1 Homicide Rates in Latin America and the Caribbean
(Per 100,000 population)

Country	Late 70's/early 80's	Late 80's/early 90's
Guatemala	—	150
El Salvador	—	150
Colombia	20.5	89.5
Jamaica	—	35.0 ⁽¹⁾
Brazil	11.5	19.7
Nicaragua	—	18.3 ⁽⁴⁾
Mexico	18.2	17.8
Venezuela	11.7	15.2
Trinidad & Tobago	2.1	12.6
Dominican Republic	—	11.9 ⁽⁴⁾
Peru	2.4	11.5 ⁽²⁾
Panama	2.1	10.9
Ecuador	6.4	10.3
United States	10.7	10.1
Honduras	—	9.4 ⁽⁴⁾
Argentina	3.9	4.8
Costa Rica	5.7	5.6 ⁽³⁾
Uruguay	2.6	4.4
Paraguay	5.1	4.0
Chile	2.6	3.0

Source: PAHO, Health Situation Analysis Program, 1997, cited by World Bank (1997).

(1) Police commissioner Francis Forbes, 1997 (based on 1996 data).

(2) Cobo et al.

(3) Security ministry, 1997 (1995 data).

(4) Britannica World Data 1996.

very diverse communities: human rights organizations, women's groups, public health advocates, and the international development community.

Both domestic violence and social violence are human rights issues. The ability to live a life free of fear of violence is a basic human right.¹ Violence is indeed a serious threat to public health, as the Pan American Health Organization has emphasized, for both these types of violence lead to increased morbidity and mortality.

Finally, domestic and social violence are serious obstacles to economic development. There is ample evidence that women who suffer from domestic violence are less productive in the workplace. Their lower productivity is a direct loss to national production, and it also has important multiplier effects: women who are less productive tend to earn lower incomes, and these lower incomes in turn imply

Table 1.2 Prevalence of Domestic Violence against Women in the Americas

Country/author of study	Sample type	Sample	Findings
Chile Larraín Heiremans, 1994	Representative random for Santiago	1,000 women, age 22 to 55, in relationship for 2 or more years	33.9% psychological 10.7% physical (severe violence) 15.5% physical (less severe)
Colombia (1990)	National random sample	3,272 urban women 2,118 rural women	33.9% psychological 20% physical 10% sexual
Costa Rica Quiróz and Barrantes, 1994	Representative for the San Jose metropolitan area	1,312 women	75% psychological 10% physical 6% have been confined to their home
Ecuador (1992)	Intentional sample of Quito barrio	200 low-income women	60% physical
Guatemala (1990)	Random sample in Sacatepequez	1,000 women	49% abused 74% of them by an intimate male partner
Haiti CHREPROF, 1996*	National representative sample	1,705 women	70% abused 36% of them by an intimate male partner
Paraguay CEDEP, CDC, USAID, 1996	National representative sample		9.4 % physical 31.1% psychological
México Granados Shiroma, 1995	Representative sample of 9 counties of Monterrey	1,086 women	45.2% abused 17.5% physical and sexual 15.6% physical and psychological
Canada (1993)	National representative	12,300 women over 18	25% physical
United States (1986)	National probability	2,143 married or cohabiting couples	28% physical

Source: Heise, Pitanguy and Germain 1994, unless otherwise noted.

*Centre Haïtien de recherches et d'actions pour la promotion féminine.

less consumption spending and a consequent lower level of aggregate demand. (The economic and social costs of domestic violence are analyzed in Chapter 3.)

Social violence also impedes economic development. At the microeconomic level, social violence reduces human capital formation by inducing some individuals to invest not in education, but in the development of criminal skills. It also dissuades some individuals from studying at night for fear of violent crime. At the macroeconomic level, it deters both foreign and domestic investment, which results in lower levels of output because workers have less capital with which to work. Violence may also reduce domestic savings if people have less confidence in a country's future growth prospects. If individuals do not save domestically, but rather put their savings abroad, there are less funds available for domestic entrepreneurs to finance investment in capital. In addition, both types of violence make claims on scarce societal resources—including expenditures on police, judicial systems and the provision of social services—that otherwise could be used for other purposes.

What triggers violence in Latin America and the Caribbean? What can be done to curb violence, both inside and outside the home? What can be learned from the region's experience with violence? To help answer these questions, this chapter classifies types of violence, identifies the principal contributing or risk factors, and charts some of the principal socioeconomic costs that result from violence. It also attempts to link policy recommendations for reducing violence to the factors that generate it; this epidemiological approach has successfully reduced violence in several cities in the Latin American and Caribbean region and could be fruitfully applied in other cities and countries. Finally, the chapter outlines broad priority areas for future action to reduce violence in the region.

Types of Violence and Their Interrelationships

The phenomenon of violence is highly complex and multifaceted. One of the most challenging tasks is to disaggregate different forms of violence and better understand their characteristics, causes and consequences. Violence can be categorized according to different variables: the individuals who suffer the violence (women, children, the elderly, the disabled, for example); the nature of the aggression (psychological, physical or sexual); the motive (whether political, racial, instrumental, emotional); and the relationship between the victim of violence and the person who commits it (relatives, friends, acquaintances, or strangers).

This chapter will discuss violence that occurs between people related to each other by blood, marriage or common law² (referred to as domestic violence), and

violence between individuals not so related (referred to as social violence). The former usually takes place within the confines of the household, while the latter usually happens in the street or public places, and is consequently more visible.

The most common characterizations of domestic violence have been made according to the type of violence and the identity of its victim or victims. Domestic violence can be physical, psychological or sexual. Physical violence, the most obvious type of domestic violence, includes slapping, shoving, choking, kicking, hitting, arm-twisting, intentionally inflicting burns, holding someone against their will, or cutting them with a knife or other object. In the context of domestic violence against women, psychological violence is more common than physical violence; it occurs when an individual is a victim of frequent insults, is threatened, has her personal belongings destroyed, or is subject to threats and yelling as a predominant means of resolving conflicts. Sexual violence occurs when a male household member (usually the partner) forces a woman to engage in sexual activities against her will, or sexually abuses a minor.

Domestic violence may also be characterized by the person who is the object of the violence. While men are occasionally victims of domestic violence, the most common victims are women and children. In this volume, the focus is on domestic violence against women.

Definitions of social violence often focus exclusively on physical force. The Centers for Disease Control, for example, defines violence as "the use or threat of use of physical force, with the intention of causing harm to others or oneself" (Centers for Disease Control 1989). While physical violence is the most important manifestation of social violence, psychological abuse (for example, bullying) is also important in its own right and as a frequent antecedent to physical violence.

Social violence can be categorized by geographic locale (urban versus rural violence), the motive of the violence (politically motivated versus nonpolitically motivated violence), or the existing legal code (criminal versus noncriminal violence). The last categorization, while perhaps appealing to those with a law enforcement focus, is not particularly useful in designing policies to curb social violence. First of all, the same violent act may be illegal in some countries and quite legal in others; domestic violence is a particularly important example. Second, there are frequently causal links between noncriminal violence and criminal violence. Children, for example, may begin to exhibit violent tendencies by mistreating or torturing animals. While not illegal in many countries, such behavior is a strong predictor of future interpersonal violence, and consequently should be addressed immediately with counseling and other appropriate measures.

The Women's Movement and the Issue of Violence against Women

Soledad Larraín

Raising awareness of gender violence in the region has been a difficult task. In the last two decades, the women's movement and other organizations have labored continuously on a problem affecting millions of women from the private to the public sphere. Through different organizations, the women's movement has played the main role in placing domestic violence on the political agenda.

At the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, new groups were established in the region to work on this issue, and various older groups included it in their programs. Examples include Woman's House in Colombia; the Ecuadoran Center for Women's Promotion and Action (CEPAM); the María Guare Foundation in Guayaquil; the Manuela Ramos Movement and the Flora Tristán Center for Peruvian Women in Peru; AVESA in Venezuela; Women's House in Chile; Women's Place in Argentina; CEPIA in Rio de Janeiro; and the National Front for Women's Rights (FENALIDM) and the Group to Combat Violence against Women (COVAC) in Mexico.

In 1981, participants at the First Meeting of Latin American Feminists (Bogota, Colombia) condemned sexual violence against women and declared November 25th International Day for Ending Violence Against Women. The meeting participants agreed that upon returning to their countries, they would organize public events to commemorate the day. Their determination led to marches that were later repeated by the broader women's movement and continue to this day.

At the Second Meeting of Latin American Feminists (Peru 1983), participants discussed the need to establish shelters for abused women and the importance of studying the problem. At the Third Meeting (Brazil 1995), a network to combat violence was established with Isis-Salud, an NGO based in Chile, to examine the problem of racism and to conduct research.

The Southern Cone Network to combat violence was created in Buenos Aires on November 25, 1989, and the Fifth Meeting of Latin American Feminists in 1990 established a Latin American network to combat domestic and sexual violence. With groups in each country, the network has helped to place the issue of violence on the political agenda and has influenced the passage of legislation, helped establish centers for assistance, and had a major impact on the mass media.

One distinction is useful in thinking about whether to pursue preventive or punitive actions to address violence: the distinction between instrumental and emotional violence. Instrumental violence is violence used as a means to obtain a different goal. Politically motivated and drug-related violence are classic examples of instrumental violence; these are activities in which violence is used, among other

things, to intimidate or ensure obedience.³ In the case of emotional violence, in contrast, the violent response is an end in itself. Domestic and social violence can be either instrumental or emotional.

The distinction between the two types of violence is important because rational offender models of violent criminal behavior, much favored by economists who study crime, cannot fully explain emotional violence. These models posit that potential criminals examine the expected benefits and expected costs of crime and decide to pursue criminal activities only if the expected benefits exceed the expected costs. Individuals who engage in emotional violence, however, do not carefully calculate the potential costs and benefits of violent behavior before engaging in it. As a consequence, standard punitive anti-crime measures—increasing the probability of being caught through increased police presence, increasing the probability of conviction if caught through improved detective work and judicial efficiency, or increasing the severity of the penalty if convicted of a violent offense—will not wholly deter individuals who engage in emotional violence. If one's goal is to reduce emotional violence, in which psychosocial and cultural variables tend to prevail over rational ones, prevention rather than apprehension and punishment should be pursued. Indeed, this chapter argues that prevention is the most efficient strategy to deal with most types of violence.

Relationship of Domestic and Social Violence

Decades of behavioral research demonstrate that domestic and social violence form part of an integrated whole, closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Since violence is largely learned, the first opportunity for learning to behave violently comes from within the home, from one's parents, siblings and other role models. Parental rewards for aggressive behavior, as well as parental mistreatment of children and violent parental role models, are some of the mechanisms by which children learn violence early in life (Bandura 1973; Berkowitz 1993).

Both children who are abused and those who observe chronic abuse have a greater propensity to behave violently—both inside and outside the home—than children without such experiences. There is substantial research suggesting that experiencing or observing chronic violence in the home may be the start of a life-long pattern of using violence to exert social control over others and to handle interpersonal conflict. As levels of violence in the family of origin increase, the likelihood that a child will grow to engage in abusive or violent behavior also increases (American Psychological Association 1993). Although children who are af-

affected by violence do not necessarily grow up to repeat the type of abuse they experienced, studies document a strong connection between victimization in childhood and later involvement in some form of interpersonal violence. Some authors believe that the strongest single predictor of an individual's risk of perpetrating violence is a history of having engaged in aggressive behavior as a child (Eron and Slaby 1994). Once a child exhibits violent tendencies, such behavior tends to persist over time and even be transmitted over generations (Huesmann et al. 1984; for Latin America, see Larraín 1994). Thus, the link between domestic and social violence is direct, although not immediate.

The transmission of violence from one generation to the next and from the home to the streets is a compelling reason to pursue policies to reduce domestic violence, even if one's ultimate goal is to reduce social violence. It is also a compelling reason to bridge the conceptual and programmatic gaps that exist between domestic and social violence—that is, to bring together the now separate worlds of those (mostly men) who study and treat social violence with those (mostly women) who combat domestic violence.

The causal relationship between increased social violence and subsequent increases in domestic violence is less well established empirically. One can, however, make a plausible argument that increased social violence generates more domestic violence by lowering inhibitions against the use of violence, by providing violent role models, and by subjecting individuals to additional stress, a situational trigger for violent behavior.

Factors That Contribute to Violence

There is no single factor that can adequately account for the high levels of violence in Latin America and the Caribbean. In discussing the factors that contribute to or inhibit violent behavior, it is useful to distinguish between factors operating at the individual, household, and community/society levels. It is also useful to take into account social and situational antecedents of violence—those features in the social and physical environment that promote or dissuade individuals from behaving violently.

Individual Factors

The evidence suggests that a cluster of key factors at the individual level can shed significant light on patterns of both social and domestic violence. These factors are the

following: gender and age; other biological/physiological factors; socioeconomic level; employment status; educational level; alcohol or drug use; and experience or witnessing of physical abuse. Each risk factor has its own marginal impact on the probability of an individual behaving violently. There is a greater propensity to engage in violence among young males, persons of relatively low socioeconomic level, the unemployed or underemployed, the poorly educated, or those who abuse alcohol or consume drugs. The risk of violent behavior is greater still if such a person has suffered from brain abnormalities or has a neurological dysfunction, both of which increase the risk of aggressive responses. In addition, consistent evidence supports the claim that, in both social and domestic violence, previous experience with chronic abuse as a child—including having witnessed abuse—exercises a significant effect on the likelihood of committing abuse as an adult (Huesmann et al. 1984; for Latin America, see Larraín 1994). The combination of neurological trauma and early experiences of mistreatment and neglect are powerful predictors of criminal behavior in adulthood.

Household Factors

Contributing factors at the household level are similarly relevant to a comprehensive analysis of social and domestic violence. The most central factors are degree of crowding, household per capita income, and dynamics and norms at the household level (especially whether the prevailing norms are more authoritarian than egalitarian or democratic). A cross-cultural study of 90 societies showed that societies with high levels of domestic violence were also societies with authoritarian household norms, where men are dominant, and where there is social acceptance of the use of physical violence (Levinson 1989). Feminist writers and activists have emphasized unequal gender relations as a central factor in explaining domestic violence against women. In the United States, for example, a national family violence survey in 1975 found that violence against wives was most likely to occur when wives were both economically and psychologically dependent on dominant husbands (Berkowitz 1993).

Gonzales and Gavilano, in Chapter 2, find that household poverty increases the likelihood of psychological and overall levels of violence, but not of physical and sexual violence. The finding that domestic violence against women is more likely to occur in poorer households (other factors being constant) suggests two possible explanations. The first is that poverty itself causes increased violence. The second is that poverty (or low socioeconomic level) is not itself a direct cause of violent behavior, but instead is associated with greater stress caused by uncertainty, precarious

economic conditions, and overcrowding. Stress, in turn, is more likely to result in violence for those people with a predisposition to behave aggressively (either because of nature or nurture) than for those without this predisposition. Frustration and stress, in other words, are situational triggers for violence (Berkowitz 1993).

Community and Societal Factors

Wider community and societal factors interact with both individual characteristics and household dynamics. The most salient of the wider societal factors include income inequality, media violence, post-war effects, weak institutional controls (particularly the frailty of police and judicial systems) and cultural norms.⁴ A well-known study of crime rates in the 125 largest U.S. metropolitan areas found that crime was more a function of the disparity of incomes than the proportion of poor people in the communities (Blau and Blau 1982). In recent years, while absolute levels of poverty have declined in a number of Latin American and Caribbean countries, inequality has tended to remain high. A recent cross-regional study carried out by the World Bank on the correlates of violence bears out the strength of the relationship between high income inequality and violent behavior (Fajnzylber 1997). More so than in the case of poverty, income inequality increases notions of deprivation and frustration, which can be powerful antecedents of violent behavior.

The underlying conditions of inequality in the region can become an even more serious contributing factor to social and domestic violence because of the impact of the media. The explosion and diffusion of various communication technologies, particularly television, throughout the hemisphere in the last decade have only heightened a keen sense of deprivation and skewed distribution of resources.

The media also influences the level of violence by providing often prized models of violent behavior that viewers learn and emulate; these, in turn, tend to simulate and fuel aggressive behavior. Repeated exposure to rewarded violence in the media is consistently associated with increased incidence of aggression, especially in children (Huesmann and Eron 1986). The violent media is a situational trigger for aggressive behavior. Other situational triggers include the easy availability of guns, as well as environmental conditions that facilitate crime such as the lack of privacy in homes and the absence of street lights.

Societies that have recently emerged from civil conflicts are particularly vulnerable to sustained outbreaks of violence. In post-war El Salvador or Guatemala, for example, the widespread availability of weapons and attenuation of inhibitions against the use of violence tend to exacerbate such already powerful contributing

factors to social and domestic violence as inequality, the negative role of the media, and high levels of poverty.

In addition, though it is hard to derive precise measures of institutional performance, it is clear that the effectiveness of police and judicial systems may be especially compromised in societies that have recently emerged from conflicts, which in turn influences the incentives and anticipated costs of engaging in violence. (This issue is addressed in the paper later in this volume on the use of a telephone hotline in El Salvador to deal with domestic violence.)

Culture is also an important determinant of behavior. Violence is woven into the cultural fabric of many societies and becomes a part of a set of norms that guide behavior and help shape group identities. Thus, for example, hitting children is often culturally accepted and frequently inculcates in these same children the belief that violence is an acceptable way of resolving conflicts. Gender stereotypes reinforce the notion of the "right" of a husband to control his partner's behavior, and such control may be exercised via the use of domestic violence. The existence of cultural determinants of violence has important implications for violence prevention and intervention programs. In particular, prevention initiatives that do not address cultural norms are at greater risk of not achieving their stated goals.

The existence of risk factors at different levels of aggregation does not imply a lack of interaction between factors at different levels. For example, at the individual level factors such as biological and physiological dysfunctions and experience with physical abuse can make an individual more predisposed to commit either social or domestic violence. Households and communities that have low income and high density levels are more likely to aggravate such a predisposition to violence by increasing frustration and stress levels. Conversely, high income and low density at these levels would diminish the likelihood that an individual's predispositions would lead to violent behavior. Frequently, particular situational stimuli trigger social or domestic violence, activating such individual factors as previous experience with physical abuse.

A prominent situational antecedent, aside from those already mentioned, is the overall crime rate. An increase in violent crime lowers the inhibitions against violent conduct (Fajnzylber 1997), both via a demonstration effect (criminals provide an example for those so inclined to emulate their behavior) and the erosion of social norms that regulate interpersonal relations.

Costs and Consequences

For analytical and illustrative purposes, the costs of domestic and social violence can be divided into four categories. (i) Direct costs capture the value of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence. (ii) Nonmonetary effects include pain and suffering. (iii) Economic multiplier effects encapsulate the impact on labor market participation and productivity of workers. (iv) Social multiplier effects capture the impact on interpersonal relations and the quality of life. (For a schematic representation of this framework, see Table 1.3).

Costs of Domestic Violence

(i) Direct costs capture the value of goods and services used in treating or preventing domestic violence. They include expenditures on medical treatment (emergency room care, hospitalization, care at clinic or doctor's office, dental care, and the costs of treatment for sexually transmitted diseases); psychological counseling; police services (police time spent on arrests and responding to calls); activities in the criminal justice system (prison and detention costs, as well as prosecution and other court costs); housing (shelters and transitional housing for abused women and their children); and social services (domestic violence prevention/education, job training, advocacy programs, and training for police, doctors and others).⁵

Unfortunately, no estimates exist for these types of costs for a Latin American or Caribbean country. However, estimates are available for Canada. Greaves (1995) estimates that violence against women (a broader category than domestic violence against women, since it includes violence against women that occurs outside the home) imposes an annual cost of \$684 million Canadian dollars on the criminal justice system and \$187 million on police. The cost of counseling and training in response to violence against women is estimated to be approximately \$294 million annually. Thus, the total direct costs exceed \$1 billion Canadian dollars per year.

(ii) Nonmonetary costs encapsulate health impacts that do not necessarily generate a demand for services from medical providers, such as increased morbidity, increased mortality through homicide and suicide, abuse of alcohol and drugs, and depressive disorders.⁶ If one calculates the impact on ill health of domestic violence, the results are sobering: the World Bank estimated that rape and domestic violence cause nine million disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) to be lost annually in the world, more than the total for all types of cancers affecting women, and more than double the total DALYs lost by women in motor vehicle accidents (World Bank 1993).

Table 1.3 The Socioeconomic Costs of Violence: A Typology

Direct costs: value of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence	• Medical • Police • Criminal justice system • Housing • Social services
Nonmonetary costs: pain and suffering*	• Increased morbidity • Increased mortality via homicide and suicide • Abuse of alcohol and drugs • Depressive disorders
Economic multiplier effects: macroeconomic, labor market, intergenerational productivity impacts	• Decreased labor market participation • Reduced productivity on the job • Lower earnings • Increased absenteeism • Intergenerational productivity impacts via grade repetition and lower educational attainment of children • Decreased investment and saving • Capital flight
Social multiplier effects: impact on interpersonal relations and quality of life	• Intergenerational transmission of violence • Reduced quality of life • Erosion of social capital • Reduced participation in democratic process

*Some of these will be partially reflected in medical costs. However, if individuals do not seek medical treatment, the health impacts are included in this category.

In Chapter 4, Lozano calculates the burden of disease for women in Mexico City. He finds domestic violence the third most important source of DALYs lost, after diabetes and complications from childbirth. Domestic violence is a more significant cause of lost DALYs than traffic accidents, congenital abnormalities, rheumatoid arthritis and osteoarthritis, cardiovascular diseases, cerebrovascular diseases, and pneumonia.

(iii) Economic multiplier effects of domestic violence include decreased female labor market participation, reduced productivity on the job, increased absenteeism, lower earnings and intergenerational productivity impacts. Unfortunately,

direct evidence for the first three impacts from Latin America and the Caribbean are not available, although there is convincing evidence on this score for the United States and Canada. For the United States, Stanley (1992) reports that 30 percent of abused women lost their jobs as a direct result of the abuse. The U.S. Department of Justice reports that 94 percent of abused women lost at least one work day per year as a result of the abuse suffered, and 50 percent of abused women lost as much as three days per month (Stanley 1992). In Canada, 34 percent of battered women and 11 percent of sexual assault victims indicated that they could not work the day after the assault. The value of lost earnings is estimated to exceed \$7 million Canadian dollars per year (Greaves 1995).

With respect to the impact of domestic violence on women's earning power, there is evidence of large differences in labor earnings between women who do and do not suffer severe physical violence (see Chapter 3). In Santiago, Chile, women who do not suffer severe physical violence earn an average of US\$385 per month, while women who face severe physical violence at home earn only \$150 dollars—less than half the amount earned by nonabused women. In Managua, Nicaragua, women who are not victims of severe physical violence earn an average of \$51 monthly, while women who are abused earn only \$29, a difference of 75 percent.

Due in large part to its effect on women's earnings, domestic violence has an important macroeconomic impact. In Chile, lost earnings for all women sum to over \$1.5 billion, more than 2 percent of Chilean 1996 GDP. In Nicaragua, lost earnings amounted to \$29.5 million, approximately 1.6 percent of 1996 GDP. It is worth emphasizing that these losses capture only the impact on women's earnings; they do not include effects on labor force participation or on absenteeism.

The last type of economic multiplier effects is the intergenerational impacts of domestic violence on children's economic future. Children who witness domestic abuse are more likely to have disciplinary problems in school and may also be more likely to repeat grades (see Chapter 3). This, of course, is nothing less than a direct impact on these children's human capital and their future ability to obtain adequate employment at a decent wage.

(iv) Social multiplier effects include the intergenerational transmission of violence from parents to children, erosion of social capital, reduced quality of life and reduced participation in democratic processes. There is strong evidence documenting the link between a man's witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child and later behaving violently against his wife. Research by Strauss et al. (1980) documented that the rate of spousal abuse was vastly higher for men who observed domestic violence in childhood compared to men who had not witnessed such violence. More

generally, Jaffe, Wilson and Wolfe (1989) found that children exposed to domestic violence have inappropriate views on the acceptability and utility of violence as a means to resolve conflicts. The connection between domestic violence, poor parenting, and future violent behavior outside the home has yet to be examined empirically in the Latin American and Caribbean region, but it would be very surprising were such a link not to emerge.

Nor are the effects on children limited to their reproducing violent behaviors as adults. Children who are victims of or who witness abuse are more likely to have behavioral problems while still children. In a study comparing 102 children living in battered women's shelters to 96 children from a control group, the children from the shelters were 2.5 times more likely to have serious behavioral and adjustment problems. In this same study, the level of physical violence in a family—measured by the Conflicts Tactics Scale—emerged as a significant predictor of both child social competence and behavioral problems (Wolfe et al. 1985).

Of particular importance is the erosion of social capital that occurs because of the isolation of women who suffer domestic violence. Domestic violence in many cases is instrumental in nature; that is, a man uses domestic violence as a means to an end—in this case, control of the woman and her contacts with the world outside the home. This simultaneously reduces a woman's quality of life and her ability to participate in activities outside the home, including activities that contribute to the consolidation of the region's democracies.

The Costs of Social Violence

The same framework used to identify the socioeconomic costs of domestic violence—distinguishing among direct costs, nonmonetary costs, and economic and social multiplier effects—can be applied to the analysis of social violence. To help quantify the impact of social violence, the Inter-American Development Bank contracted studies in six countries in the region (Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela). Some of the socioeconomic costs of social violence in those countries are described below.

(i) Direct costs. In Colombia, public spending on security and criminal justice was 5 percent of the country's GDP in 1996; private expenditures on security amounted to another 1.4 percent of GDP (CEDE-UNIANDES 1997:23–5).⁷ In El Salvador, expenditures on government institutions, legal costs, personal injuries and prevention activities represented over 6 percent of 1995 GDP (Cruz and Romano 1997:32). In Venezuela, public expenditures on security were approximately 2.6 percent of 1995 GDP

(IESA 1997:25–7). The data from Mexico and Peru are not strictly comparable, since they refer to Mexico City and Lima, respectively, rather than the nations as a whole. In Mexico City, expenditures on public and private security measures summed to \$181 million in 1995 (Fundación Mexicana para la Salud 1997); administration of justice and prisons accounted for an additional \$128 million and \$690 million, respectively. Public spending by the national government on police, courts and prisons for Lima was approximately 1 percent of metropolitan Lima's regional product in 1997, while private spending on security measures accounted for another 0.41 percent of regional product (Instituto Apoyo 1997:26–8).

(ii) Non-monetary costs. Five of the case studies calculated the disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) lost due to violence. In El Salvador, 178,000 DALYs were lost in 1995 because of violent death (Cruz and Romano 1997:30). The number was 60,792 in all of Peru (Instituto Apoyo 1997:16), 163,136 in Rio de Janeiro (ISER 1998:42), and 57,673 in Mexico City (Fundación Mexicana para la Salud 1997:14). In Caracas, disabilities were not included in the calculation (only death was); even so, 56,032 potential life years were lost in 1995 because of homicide (IESA 1997:31). One option for making these numbers comparable across countries is by calculating the monetary value of each life lost. However, given the imprecision in these estimates, we choose not to do so here. A more reasonable common denominator would be to compare DALYs lost because of violence with DALYs lost through other common causes. Unfortunately, DALYs lost to common diseases are not readily available for all countries. In Colombia, however, this comparison is revealing: between 18 and 27 percent of all DALYs lost from 1989–95 were due to homicide, which is far above the worldwide average of only 1.4 percent. In Colombia, DALYs lost due to homicide are three times greater than those due to infectious diseases, and two times greater than those caused by cardiovascular disease (CEDE-UNIANDÉS 1997:12–16).

(iii) Economic multiplier effects. The economic multiplier effects of social violence are many; unfortunately, they are also difficult to measure empirically. The most important impacts are on individuals' accumulation of human capital, on their ability to work, and on the aggregate levels of saving and investment.

In the IDB-sponsored studies, economic costs of violence were disaggregated into four categories: health impacts (expenditures on health services incurred as a result of violence); material losses (private and public expenditures on police, security systems, and judicial services); intangibles (amount that citizens would be willing to pay to live without violence); and transfers (value of goods lost in robberies, ransoms paid to kidnappers, and bribes paid as a result of extortion). The final cost

estimates were then expressed as a percentage of 1997 gross domestic product. The estimates ranged from a low of 5.1 percent in Peru to a high of 24.9 percent in El Salvador, with an average of 14.2 percent for the six countries. The detailed breakdown of these cost estimates is presented in Table 1.4.

The studies in the six countries also generated important information on the impact of violence on the formation of human capital and labor supply. In Colombia, 25 percent of individuals who formerly worked at night have ceased doing so because of concerns about personal safety (Cuellar 1997). In Venezuela, an identical percentage has limited their working hours due to violence; the estimated economic loss from these shortened working hours is \$207 million (IESA 1997:28–9). In Mexico City, the 34,000 recorded victims of violence in 1995 missed approximately one million days of productive work as a result of hospital and recovery time (Fundación Mexicana Para La Salud 1997). In Colombia, 13 percent of students who formerly studied at night have abandoned their studies because of safety concerns, a development that will have long-lasting impacts on Colombia's stock of human capital.

Several country studies (Colombia and El Salvador) assert that violence has significantly reduced investment and saving, but it is difficult to quantify this impact. The causal link, however, is clear: violence increases economic uncertainty. Since investment projects yield returns only over some period of time, individuals and companies are unsure that the returns will actually materialize. Specific sectors may be particularly hard-hit by violence; as is noted in a World Bank (1997) study, the stagnation of the tourist industry in some countries (Jamaica is often cited) can be attributed in part to the lack of new investment in hotels and other tourist infrastructure caused by increasing crime and violence.

Violence may result in the physical destruction of the investment asset, a reduction in consumer confidence and hence demand, or a shift in consumer demand toward products that more directly address their concerns about security.⁸ In the absence of attractive domestic saving and investment opportunities, violence may stimulate capital flight.

Only the country study of Colombia attempts to estimate the impact of violence on growth rates. It finds that the country's unusually high homicide rates resulted in lowering GDP by roughly 2 points a year (CEDE-UNIANDES 1997).

(iv) Social multiplier effects. The IDB-sponsored country studies produced little evidence on the social multiplier effects of social violence. In fact, only the Colombia study documents these concerns, citing the privatization of security functions, the loss of the state monopoly on the use of coercion as guerilla and paramili-

Table 1.4 Economic Costs of Social Violence in Six Latin American Countries
(As percentage of 1997 GDP)

Costs	Brazil	Colombia	El Salvador	México	Peru	Venezuela
Health losses	1.9	5.0	4.3	1.3	1.5	0.3
Material losses	3.6	8.4	5.1	4.9	2.0	9.0
Intangibles	3.4	6.9	11.5	3.3	1.0	2.2
Transfers	1.6	4.4	4.0	2.8	0.6	0.3
Total	10.5	24.7	24.9	12.3	5.1	11.8

Source: Juan Luís Londoño (1998), *Epidemiología económica de la violencia urbana*.

tary groups impose their own codes of justice, and the problem of youth gangs assuming security responsibilities in many poor urban neighborhoods (CEDE-UNIANDES 1997:23).

Other studies have documented the social multiplier effects of violence. Moser and Holland (1997) have noted how community-level violence often translates into widespread fear and the absence of fundamental norms of cooperation and communication. Such violence can have devastating effects on social capital.

The most far-reaching effects of social violence are not amenable to quantifiable measurement. One crucial impact is the intergenerational transmission of violence. If children and youth are taught by adults, by the media and by society at-large that violence is a means to a quick accumulation of wealth, it is not surprising if young people—especially young males—adopt violent conduct.⁹

For the region's human rights organizations, the phenomenon increasingly constitutes the most significant threat to fundamental liberties, the rule of law and democratic consolidation (Fruhling 1995; Instituto de Defensa Legal 1996; Gregori 1997). Democratic institutions face new demands and challenges created by collective insecurity that not only affect economic development but also raise serious doubts about their ability to deal effectively with crime. In some cases, democratic institutions have been penetrated by criminal organizations. As a result, the political impact of social violence is much greater within a regional context characterized by a weak democratic culture (Fruhling 1995). Structural violence, in which police forces and/or paramilitary groups become agents of violence perpetrated on certain groups, especially street children, both prejudices democracy and generates further violence.

In most countries of the region political dissidents can now express themselves openly and without fear, though the vast majority of citizens—particularly

the poor and disadvantaged—are too often unprotected from threats to their essential well-being. But all sectors of society, including middle classes and business communities, are deeply affected by, and suffer the consequences of, social violence.

Policy Responses

Policymakers concerned both about the large socioeconomic costs generated by domestic and social violence and the fact that increases in violence tend to escalate over time will want to take action to reduce levels of violence. Actions should be targeted at the various factors that contribute to the problem. Precisely because the phenomenon of violence is multicausal, a combination of actions at different levels—individual, household and community—is generally necessary. This should not preclude the possibility that policy responses targeted at specific risk factors (such as weapons exchange programs or campaigns against the abuse of alcohol) can by themselves prove effective; they are also far easier to implement successfully. Governments must carefully weigh the costs and benefits of integrated versus targeted programs. Unfortunately, there is little information available on program costs even from a simple accounting perspective to evaluate program options, to say nothing of knowledge of benefits generated by different types of programs.

In addition to the distinction between integrated and targeted programs, policy choices can be divided into preventive policies and what might be called treatment or remedial measures. Experts agree that preventive strategies are generally more cost-effective than treatment strategies. This is especially the case in situations marked by very high levels of violence, as currently prevail in much of Latin America and the Caribbean (Ratinoff 1997). Furthermore, since research has shown that violent behavior depends so significantly on the nature of biological endowments and social learning in the formative years, it is best to direct prevention activities to a very young target population. (For a systematic list of types of violence, contributing factors, policy responses and organizational actors, see Table 1.5.)

It is important to recognize that prevention and treatment are not either/or options; rather, they are located along a policy continuum. At the treatment end of the continuum are more conventional treatment policies that typically involve the police, courts and prison system. The explicit aim of these policies is to control the behavior of individuals who engage in violence (Fruhling 1997). Moving along the continuum, there are secondary preventive measures that are targeted at particularly high-risk groups, such as young males who have witnessed or been victims of

Table 1.5 Types of Violence, Contributing Factors, Policy Responses, and Organizational Actors

Types of violence	Contributing factors	Policy responses	Organizational actors
Domestic violence	<i>Individual level</i> Gender Biological/physiological factors • Physical abuse/exposure to abuse • Educational level • Employment status • Alcohol and/or drug use <i>Household level</i> • Per capita income level • Structure and composition (density) • Dynamics and norms (democratic/authoritarian)	<i>Preventive</i> Employment programs Integrated community services Education/communication • Formal educational sector • Informal community activities • Educational campaigns • Positive media Infrastructure and services Control drug/alcohol availability Police reform • Training • Community policing Judicial reform Legislative measures Regional/international instruments • Control weapons • Expanded health sector access <i>Treatment/ameliorative</i> Criminal justice sanctions • Increased imprisonment • Stronger sentences Psychological counseling Physical treatment	Municipal government National government • Ministries of health, justice, education, and labor Nongovernmental organizations • Social development groups • Human rights groups • Women's groups • Religious institutions Community associations/agencies Professional/business sector Universities Media Hospitals Police • Women's police stations • Community policing Courts Multilateral organizations
Social violence	<i>Community/societal level</i> • Poverty • Inequality • Crime rate • Cultural values • Media violence • Institutional controls • Police/judicial system • Alcohol/drugs • Social capital (norms and support) • Demographic density • Post-war effects (availability of weapons)		

violence; these measures attempt to modify behaviors that put these individuals at-risk to commit or be victimized by violence.

At the other end of the continuum are primary prevention policies that attempt to change attitudes, social norms and behavior in the general population; they often target more than one risk factor and attempt to influence the behavior of particular age groups or other classes of individuals, such as parents and young children. At the prevention end of the treatment-prevention continuum, another useful distinction is between prevention focused on the situational antecedents of violent behavior and prevention focused on the social determinants of violence. The first is focused on potential victims and seeks to reduce the likelihood that violent behavior will take place (by making violent crime more difficult, more risky, or less rewarding), while the second targets potential aggressors and seeks to reduce the probability of producing violent individuals (by emphasizing positive social learning interventions with young children and/or subgroups in the population at high risk of engaging in violent behavior).

To best illustrate what can be most effectively done to address violence, it is instructive to examine in some detail four common contributing factors and explore which policy responses make the most sense. The four were selected because they are fairly representative and prominent in the region, and because they highlight how sets of policy options can be brought to bear on different factors that contribute to violence. These factors are the learning of aggression, alcoholism and drug use, poverty and inequality, and availability of weapons.

Learning Aggression

Factors at different levels promote the learning of aggression. At the individual level, they include physical abuse and/or exposure to abuse and to aggressive models, as well as low educational attainment. At the societal level, they include the often negative role of the media and cultural values that accept and/or promote violence.

Because it is easier to prevent the learning of aggression in the first place than to promote its unlearning, preferred responses include promoting the social development of young children and high-risk groups, as well as the prevention of domestic violence. The educational system has the potential to modify cultural values that promote the utilization of violence. Curricular reform that eliminates sex-role stereotyping at schools (teaching about female contributions in history class, eliminating sex-role stereotypes in textbooks, and promoting girls' participation in sports) is an important step in achieving gender equity and in reducing violence, as is the promotion of civic values.

Educational resources directed to teaching nonaggression in schools can be very effective, especially in high-risk communities. Innovative educational programs that teach children nonviolent conflict resolution skills (such as the program in the primary and secondary schools in London, Canada described later in this book) have generated positive results. Schools are also an ideal vehicle for identifying children and families at “high risk” of violence and who can benefit from available services. Complementary investments include good parenting programs which can reinforce at home the lessons learned in schools and early childhood development interventions that give young children the nurturing and positive role models needed for healthy child development.

Informal community educational activities, which teach citizens about legal sanctions against violence, effective community-based prevention strategies, and social services available to victims of violence, are also appropriate. Nongovernmental organizations are important in undertaking these efforts, as are community associations of various kinds. Women’s groups might be particularly instrumental in carrying out informal educational activities to address domestic violence (see Chapter 12). Similar activities can be productively directed at men—the likely aggressors in such circumstances—as has taken place in the 1990s in Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Mexico. (For a description of the program in Mexico, see Chapter 8.) These programs have both a remedial component, teaching violent men to control violent behavior, and a preventive one, helping to delink the notions of masculinity and violence.

Mass-media educational campaigns represent a potentially effective response by providing nonviolent role models and by reinforcing nonviolent responses. Along these lines, the Inter-American Development Bank, in collaboration with governments and women’s groups throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, developed and distributed an educational video that seeks to raise awareness about the problem of domestic violence. Educational efforts can also involve the commercial media, encouraging them to produce and disseminate more positive images of interpersonal interactions (male-female and adult-child). Illustrations of nonviolent resolution of conflicts are helpful, especially in entertainment programming such as soap operas. The results of many studies carried out in the United States point to the role of more positive portrayals of women and of the nonviolent resolution of conflicts in reducing both domestic and social violence (PAHO 1996; Shifter 1997). The involvement of the media, including the commercial media, in violence prevention campaigns can help counteract the commercial media’s negative effect on the learning of aggression. (For a discussion of the role of the media, see Part III of this book.)

Alcohol and Drug Use

Alcohol and drug use is a well-established risk factor for social and domestic violence at both the individual and community/society levels. On the preventive side, a range of viable options can be considered. The mix of measures carried out in the DESEPAZ (Development, Security, and Peace) program in Cali, Colombia seems especially promising. The program employed an epidemiological approach by thoroughly documenting violent incidents, including information on alcohol levels and the precise location of the incidents. This information enabled the municipal administration to develop specific measures aimed at countering violent behavior. These measures include: adding street lighting; undertaking a range of measures to open a dialogue with gang leaders; and limiting the availability of alcohol by prohibiting its sale during certain time periods. The homicide rate in Cali dropped substantially after the implementation of these measures, demonstrating that municipal governments have tools at their disposal to reduce levels of social violence (Guerrero 1997). In addition, broad-based well-designed media campaigns targeted to youth and other specific groups can highlight the risks and reduce the attractiveness of alcohol and drug consumption.

As additional preventive measures, we need specific policies to address (albeit indirectly) the conditions that give rise to alcohol and drug use. Such policy options include employment programs targeted for the population at risk (World Bank 1997); integrated community services (such as slum upgrading, recreational facilities, or teen centers) to renew social capital and foster norms and support, especially for young people (Moser and Holland 1997); and other efforts to prevent the learning of aggressive behavior described above. The idea is to provide at-risk young males with alternatives that are incompatible with drug or alcohol abuse and violent behavior, including both paid work and sports. In this effort, apart from relevant municipal and national government agencies, the business sector and multilateral organizations can be helpful in supporting targeted employment programs.

Finally, to deal in a forward-looking, preventive way with the spreading use and distribution of drugs throughout the hemisphere, it is important to strengthen the capacity of such institutions as the police and the judicial systems to carry out their professional roles and functions. Many national governments in Latin America and the Caribbean, through their justice ministries, have already placed judicial and police reform high on their agendas. In response, the IDB is underwriting a number of institutional reform efforts in the region dealing with police and judicial reform (Jarquin and Carrillo 1997), while the World Bank is concentrating on judi-

cial reform. Legislative measures at the national level, together with the work of the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) of the Organization of American States and the United Nations' Vienna Convention, can help set up regional and international norms that can promote greater cooperation to confront collectively the drug problem.

Poverty and Inequality

High levels of poverty and inequality are among the most stubborn and intractable problems that contribute, directly or indirectly, to social and domestic violence in Latin America and the Caribbean. Policy responses are chiefly preventive and have a long-term time frame.

Data show that some progress, however, has been made in the region, at least in alleviating poverty in a number of countries (Lustig 1995). In this regard, sound macroeconomic measures, coupled with policies pursued by both private and public sectors, can be helpful in generating employment. Possessing a good and steady job should significantly reduce an individual's likelihood to engage in either social or domestic violence, especially in the absence of effective welfare systems. Jobs for women, in particular, can shift the balance of power in family relationships, perhaps serving as protection against violence in the home, or at least providing women with some degree of economic autonomy should they need to leave a dangerous relationship.

In addition, social investment funds, such as that implemented in Jamaica and a variety of other countries, can help replenish depleted social capital in a community. Programs might include support for the equipment and rehabilitation of sports facilities, teen centers, training centers, and conflict resolution activities (Moser 1996).

What at least preliminary studies reveal is that, particularly with respect to levels of inequality, greater access to education and health services may be a most effective, long-term remedy (Birdsall and Sabot 1994). Recent World Bank research found that education tends to have a delayed effect in reducing crime, which often materializes not when the young are being educated, but when they become adults (Fajnzylber 1997). Policymakers grappling with the problem of violence and thinking in the long term might consider a number of institutional reform measures, including allocating more resources to primary education, increasing the quality and salaries of teachers, and giving local schools greater autonomy in governing their own affairs (Puryear and Bruner 1995). These institutional reform measures

should seek to remove sex stereotypes in teaching and, more generally, ensure gender equity in access to quality instruction.

In addition, in response to high levels of inequality that tend to produce resentments and poor communication between communities and public sector representatives, practitioners might consider community policing. One interesting example is Viva Rio, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where a preventive strategy based on more effective relations between the city's police force and community residents has been developed (Sussenkind 1997; Fernandes 1997). Though results are preliminary and hard to confirm, in several areas of the city the program appears to be having the desired effect of reducing crime. Community policing constitutes a promising policy option that, by building confidence and giving community residents better, more effective protection, can in some ways reduce sharp inequalities in services—and address the consequences of such inequalities.

Availability of Weapons

Clearly, one of the major risk factors, particularly in social violence, is the availability of weapons. Weapons incite violence and aggravate violent episodes. In a number of cases their availability is the direct result of many years of war and internal conflict. The problem is perhaps most marked and pervasive in Central America, especially El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua—countries emerging from internal conflicts. In these countries, special programs have been carried out, with varying degrees of success, to control the availability of weapons. They have typically been conducted within the framework of political agreements of peace among former combatants, but it is important to sustain this effort beyond the peace process and devise incentives for residents to turn in their arms (Cruz and Romano 1997).

A promising effort in this regard is a program developed in Bogota, Colombia under the previous municipal administration, to buy back weapons in exchange for cash. This program illustrates the value of collaboration between the public sector and civil society (in this case, the Church) in implementing a successful campaign, as well as the importance of symbolic messages to change a culture of violence—such as melting guns into baby spoons.

National legislation, along with international agreements and instruments related to the control of small arms—like that proposed by Mexico and adopted at the OAS General Assembly in June 1997—can also be helpful in setting national and region-wide norms in an attempt to curb their availability. More effective and

responsible law enforcement activities, through a reformed and more professional police force, can also result in fewer available arms.

Next Steps

The anti-violence agenda in the region faces both research and practical challenges. As this paper has documented, violence has been the subject of substantial research from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Future research on violence in the region needs to be opportunistic and practical. The knowledge that has been generated in the past four to five decades in the industrial countries can be synthesized, transferred and utilized. New research on the causes of violence should be undertaken only to fill in key conceptual gaps, such as the relation between street violence and domestic violence, or between poverty, inequality and different forms of violence. Additional research is needed on three themes that will contribute directly to the design of anti-violence interventions: on magnitudes, costs, and evaluations of pilot interventions and "best practices."

Underrecording and underreporting of violence are serious problems, especially in the case of domestic violence. We need far more reliable and comparable statistics on the incidence and prevalence of violence than are now available, and the range of measures to establish the magnitude of violence must also be expanded.

Research on costs and consequences of violence, some of which is underway, combined with better data on magnitudes can serve to both justify and identify priority areas for intervention. But the critical, difficult, and to date largely missing component for the design of effective interventions is practical knowledge of what works. There is urgent need to investigate and document best practices, evaluate pilot projects in operation, and launch a range of pilot initiatives with strong evaluation components in a variety of sectors.

The greatest challenge is in the area of prevention. The emphasis in the region has been to combat violence with punitive action through the police and the courts, and to provide some treatment to the victims of violence. Prevention measures, of comparatively low cost and high potential returns, have been woefully lacking. There are only a handful of prevention programs, many of them in Colombia, which has taken the lead in investing in anti-violence action.

Prevention measures can reduce risk factors for violence, increase protective factors, and address either situational or social determinants of crime and violence. Situational measures can increase risks and reduce benefits of violent behaviors as well as minimize environmental stimuli for aggressive actions. Prevention can be

directed to the whole population (primary prevention) or can be targeted to high-risk groups such as children who have experienced abuse, unemployed youth or single parent households (secondary prevention). Prevention needs to be mindful of the conceptual links between domestic and street violence, and intervene as early as possible in individual lives.

Above all, policymakers must avoid false dichotomies: the choice is not between preventing crime by alleviating poverty and preventing crime with more police and prisons. Both views have kernels of truth in them, and governments need to vigorously pursue policies to combat poverty and to reform and modernize judicial and police systems. But both approaches are complex, long term, and expensive. Strong child abuse prevention programs in primary and secondary schools are among the more modest interventions with large dividends in terms of crime prevention. Other low-cost, high-productivity interventions include violence prevention curricula in elementary and secondary schools; alcohol and substance abuse prevention programs; and situational crime prevention measures, including gun control or exchange programs, street lighting and other public security measures, and restriction of alcohol sales during certain high-risk periods. Well-crafted and targeted media campaigns, including commercial media programming, can significantly help reinforce civic values, alter prevailing views of acceptable behavior between the genders, and aid in the prevention of domestic and social violence. Investments in early childhood development and in economic opportunities for the poor, both women and young males, are longer term, critical strategies both to prevent violence and promote economic growth strategies in the region. The multiple benefits of violence prevention on human well-being and human rights, as well as its positive impact on economic growth, place investments in these programs squarely within the agenda of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Endnotes

¹ The Inter-American Commission on Women of the Organization of American States (OAS) was instrumental in stressing the human rights dimension of domestic violence. The Belem Convention, which commits signatory governments to work toward the elimination of domestic violence, arose from the efforts of the OAS and many activists in the region.

² Violence between individuals who formerly belonged to the same household—especially between ex-spouses or ex-cohabitators—is also classified as domestic violence.

³ At the same time, sustained use of instrumental violence may lead to increased emotional violence, as individuals become accustomed to solving problems violently.

⁴ Three other societal factors—the overall crime rate, the amount of social capital, and cultural values about the use of violence—are likely important, but their impact is very difficult to quantify.

⁵ Some of these categories are taken from Laurence and Spalter-Roth (1996).

⁶ Care must be exercised here to avoid double counting. If an episode of morbidity generates a demand for medical services it is no longer considered a nonmonetary cost and should be included in the category “direct costs.”

⁷ Counting all expenditures on law enforcement and criminal justice systems as “direct costs of violence” will overstate the true direct costs, since some of these expenditures would exist even were there no violence. In addition, the very existence of law enforcement and criminal justice may prevent some (instrumental) violence.

⁸ In the study of metropolitan Lima, this effect was obvious: more than 800,000 residents had reduced their frequency of shopping as a direct result of violence.

⁹ In Colombia, young people aged 18 to 24 were asked in a survey: What groups do you think are doing well in Colombia? (A quién cree Ud. que le va bien en Colombia?) The (non-mutually exclusive) responses were as follows: politicians (41 percent); rich people (25 percent); opportunists/*vivos* (18 percent); dishonest people (17 percent); people with contacts (15 percent); lucky individuals (14 percent); those who work (13 percent); and those who study (13 percent). With study and work ranking last, it is no surprise that Colombian youth frequently resort to violence to achieve their goals. See Cuellar de Martínez (1997) for the full results from this survey.

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Does Poverty Cause Domestic Violence? Some Answers from Lima

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Domestic violence against women is a complex phenomenon involving many factors. Poverty appears to be an important factor, but how important is difficult to determine. Many studies suggest a correlation between domestic violence and the poverty levels of the population, while other analyses indicate that the phenomenon cuts across class lines without distinction. Some argue that the apparently greater incidence of violence among the poor is due to a bias in data-gathering methodology: higher-income groups of the population are better able to guard their privacy than poor sectors. According to this view, domestic violence is not more prevalent among the poor, just more obvious.

We hope to throw light on the issue through our study of the metropolitan area of Lima, Peru (referred to here as metropolitan Lima). Our research aimed to discover whether there is a correlation between poverty levels and levels of domestic violence in low- and middle-income sectors of metropolitan Lima. We examined three types of domestic violence: physical, psychological and sexual (see Box 2.1 for definitions). Specifically, we decided to look for correlations between the levels and types of violence suffered by women and the following variables: income; educational level; age; marital status; job status; unemployment; number of children; pregnancy; and access to basic services.

In addition, we explored the possible influence of other variables that operate outside the family in the broader social environment, and that may have some bearing on whether a man behaves violently toward his partner. We considered the following variables: the woman's access to support networks among relatives, friends or neighbors; membership or participation in community activities; presence of religious organizations in the community and family participation in them; levels of delinquency in the community; and proximity of state agents such as police officers or municipal watchmen.

Box 2.1 Defining Domestic Violence against Women

For the purposes of this study, domestic violence includes physical, psychological, and sexual violence. If a woman suffers at least one of these, and if the aggressive behavior comes from her partner, this woman is considered to be a victim of domestic violence. Although we distinguish between the three types, they cannot always be separated. A single act (rape, for example) may involve all three types of violence.

Physical violence includes any action that is intended to cause physical harm or pain to another person. Aggressors may inflict this harm with their bodies or with some object. Pushing, hair pulling, pinching, squeezing, twisting, slapping, punching, kicking, hitting with objects, knocking against the wall, burning, or attacking with blunt objects, sharp and cutting objects, or firearms are all forms of physical violence. Obviously some types are more harmful than others.

Psychological violence includes any action or omission intended to produce psychological damage or emotional pain to another person, including emotional anxiety, insecurity, disability, despair, guilt, frustration or failure, fear, humiliation, lack of freedom or independence and loss of self-esteem. Such behavior may take the form of destructive criticism; insults; emotional blackmail; mockery or ridicule; threats of abandonment or abuse; prohibition to go out to work or to have contact with other people; confinement to the home; surveillance; constant or frequent persecution; unreasonable restriction of access to and management of joint property; denial of food or rest; threats to take away custody of children or to harm them; destroying objects belonging to the person; or failing to provide for the basic needs of the family when such provision is possible.

Sexual violence or coercion includes any act in which a person who is in a position of power requires another person to perform sexual activities against that person's will, through the use of threats, blackmail or physical force. This includes not only coitus, but also oral or anal sex. Sexual violence may also include sexual exhibition in front of an unwilling person, touching or fondling a person against her will, forcing someone to look at pornographic material, requiring someone to touch the genitals, or forcing her to have sexual contact with a third party. Sexual violence may also include preventing a woman from using contraception, requiring her to become pregnant or have an abortion against her will, or knowingly exposing her to a sexually transmitted disease.

Poverty and Violence

Poverty may be analyzed in either absolute or relative terms. Absolute poverty is a situation in which an individual or a family does not have the minimum income or resources necessary to meet basic needs. Relative poverty is defined by comparison to an appropriate reference group and reveals the existence of socioeconomic

inequality. The relevant measure for relative poverty is to compare a family's living standards with the community lifestyle: that is, the average social level of the environment in which the family lives.

Both types of poverty may contribute to violence, but absolute poverty is considered the fundamental basis of family violence and violence against women in the household. Relative poverty, however, may play a complementary role in generating violence in the home, because families in this category are unable to attain the "standards of consumption," apart from food, that are considered necessary by society, and this failure can be a source of frustration.

Is there a positive correlation between poverty and the tendency toward conflict and violence? The common opinion that this is so is based on the idea that poverty produces frustrations that unleash violent behavior. Aggravating factors may be poor living conditions, including overcrowding; lack of basic services; absence of entertainment opportunities; high levels of consumption of alcoholic beverages; low levels of schooling; lack of jobs and of opportunities to improve living standards; and the burden of a large family. All these circumstances might predispose the members of poor and marginal families to violent behavior. One of the most prevalent kinds of domestic violence occurs between a husband, who is considered the provider, and a wife, who is considered the manager of the household. For the man, the cause of conflict may be a deficit in material provision for the home; for the woman, it may be her inability to manage the little they have, which is "never enough." From this standpoint, domestic violence is economic in origin.

Socioeconomic Sketch of Lima

We turned to Lima to test this theory. Metropolitan Lima, the largest city in Peru, has a population of 7 million. Women account for 51 percent of the population and comprise a little more than one-third of the economically active population. Lima is the most important economic region of Peru; it accounts for 45 percent of the gross domestic product and 55 percent of the national income, although it has only 29 percent of the country's population. It is also the region that has experienced the greatest economic growth in the mid-1990s. This economic growth has created two problems. On one hand, the city's population is growing at a rate of 3 percent a year, in part because the growing economy is attracting migrants from the rest of the country. On the other hand, income is concentrated in a small sector of the population, and poverty levels and violence are high.

Poverty

The percentage of Lima's population living below the poverty line tripled between 1986 and 1991; by 1991, almost half the city's population was living in poverty. By the mid-1990s, economic growth had improved the situation, but poverty remained high. Nearly two-fifths of metropolitan Lima's population lived below the poverty line in 1996, and nearly 5 percent were living in extreme poverty.

Moreover, income distribution was highly uneven. The top 10 percent of the population and the four poorest deciles accounted for about the same amount of total spending: 21 percent and 23 percent, respectively. Poverty is clearly a serious problem in the city, and is likely to contribute to situations of conflict and violence.

Violence

In addition to widespread poverty, Peru also experienced a period of sociopolitical terrorism that peaked in 1992. During much of the period, the two subversive groups concentrated much of their action in metropolitan Lima. Although sociopolitical violence has decreased since 1992, common violence has increased. In 1995, 53 percent of all crimes in the country were committed in Lima. That worked out to nearly 13 crimes for every 1,000 inhabitants, a rate twice as high as the average rate for the rest of the country.

As a result, people in the city have become accustomed to violence and now seem to accept it as part of daily life. It is not clear, however, whether this atmosphere of violence has changed the preexisting levels of domestic violence.

Violence against Women

Although not much information is available, it appears that complaints of domestic violence have been increasing in Lima. That could mean either an actual increase in abuse, or simply that more women are bringing formal complaints now that women's police stations have been created, in large part to deal with violence against women (see Chapter 9 for a description of women's police stations in Brazil).

At the neighborhood level, data on abused women who have filed complaints with the women's police reveal differences among districts. Abuse is more common in some districts than in others. When the number of abused women in each district is correlated with economic levels, it appears that the levels of abuse are lower in

wealthier districts.² However, the incidence of abuse is also lower in some poor districts, such as Villa el Salvador and Villa María del Triunfo, indicating that factors other than poverty might better explain the phenomenon of domestic violence.

Framework of the Study

In light of the conditions described above, we proposed the following six hypotheses:

1. Domestic abuse is contingent upon a number of variables and situations, including poverty. Poverty, however, is not necessarily the most important factor.

2. The basic causes of aggressiveness and violence within a household are not economic, although economic factors may aggravate the tensions of daily life and increase the likelihood of violent behavior. The economic causes may involve hardships, such as inability to satisfy basic needs, unemployment or job instability, and low income.

3. Other factors that may contribute to domestic abuse include the age of the man and the woman, the educational level of both partners, the number of children in the family, whether the woman is pregnant, and the marital status of the couple.

4. The immediate social environment (relatives and friends) is a factor of repression or social control that can either inhibit or unleash violent behavior.

5. The social environment within which the family lives, especially the social status of the neighborhood, is a factor of social standardization that can mold the way a couple behaves or appears to behave.

6. Domestic abuse will occur when there is a perverse combination of all these factors, and when social control and standardization are weak or permissive about violence.

Sample Demographics

To test these hypotheses, we first conducted a survey on the nature of domestic violence among a subsample of the 1996 National Living Standards Survey in Peru.³ The subsample included 359 women living in metropolitan Lima. These women were administered the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2) of Strauss et al. (1996), which contains 78 items or questions about the way in which conflict is handled by a couple, measured in terms of frequency of occurrence. The measures of frequency are: 1) once in the previous year; 2) twice in the previous year; 3) 3–5 times in the previous year; 4) 6–10 times in the previous year; 5) 11–20 times in the previous year; 6) not in the previous year, but had occurred prior to that; and 7) never oc-

curred. Based on these questions, five scales are created: negotiation (action taken to settle a disagreement via discussion), psychological aggression (acts or omissions designed to produce psychological harm or mental anguish), physical assault, sexual coercion (behavior that is intended to compel the partner to engage in undesired sexual acts) and injury (indicated by bone or tissue damage, a need for medical care, or pain that lasts a day or more).

The data on domestic violence from our survey were combined with socioeconomic data from the Living Standards Survey to produce a complete data set. In addition, we used secondary information to describe and analyze the context of the problem being studied. The women in the sample had been in a steady partnership (because they were married, in consensual union, or separated) for at least three months at the time of the survey interview. They were selected from the middle- and lower-income strata. Women in the five lowest-income deciles were put into the lower-income strata and made up two-thirds of the sample; women from the next four income deciles were put into the middle-income strata and made up the remaining third of the sample.

Most of the women and their partners were between 25 and 54 years of age. Nearly half had been to high school. Three-fourths of the couples were married, and nearly one-fourth were in a consensual union; fewer than 1 percent were separated. Lower-income couples were more likely to be in a consensual union than middle-income couples. Nearly half the women were in a relationship that had lasted at least 21 years. Almost all (97.5 percent) of the women said they were not involved in another relationship and nearly 92 percent said they knew their partner was not involved in another relationship.

Almost all of the women had children. Forty percent of the women had either one or two children with their current partner; 35 percent had three or four children; and 21 percent had more than four. Two-fifths of the women in the lower-income group had five to seven children, compared with 6.4 percent in the middle-income group. Only 7.8 percent of all women were pregnant at the time of the survey or had been in the preceding twelve months. Table 2.1 provides more detailed characteristics of the sample.

Two-fifths of the women were not working at the time of the interview. Only one third of their partners were employed at the time of the interview, although 86 percent had been employed in the previous year. In 85 percent of the cases, the woman's partner provided most of the family income; 12 percent of the women said they earned more than their partners.

Table 2.1 Distribution of Characteristics in the Sample Population
(In percent)

Level of analysis	Woman	Man	Household
A. Individual level			
Domestic violence (any type) against women			88.0
Psychological violence			84.4
Physical violence			30.9
Sexual coercion			48.5
Physical harm			13.1
Age 17-25	10.3	5.6	
Age 26-35	23.7	19.8	
Age 36-45	19.5	22.6	
Age 46-55	19.8	28.1	
Age > 55	26.7	24.0	
No education	3.9	0.6	
Primary education	34.0	25.3	
Secondary education	46.0	52.9	
Higher education	16.1	21.2	
Married	75.5		
No children	3.9		
1-2 children	40.4		
3-4 children	35.1		
More than 4 children	20.6		
Employed	42.3	33.3	
B. Household level			
Monthly household expenditure			
< 400 soles			1.1
401-800 soles			23.4
801-1200 soles			26.5
1201-2000 soles			36.5
> 2001 soles			12.5
Below poverty line			67.7
Own house			64.6
Possess potable water			81.9
Possess sewerage			86.1
Own color TV			66.9
Have support of relatives	7.8		
Have support of neighbors	6.1		
Have support of institutions (police, church)	1.5		
C. Neighborhood level			
Integrated into the community	17.1	12.2	
Perception of neighborhood security			
Tranquil	38.7		
Not very safe	42.9		
Dangerous	15.6		
Very dangerous	2.8		

Empirical Results of the Study

The sample survey revealed that the percentage of lower-income women who had suffered some type of domestic violence was higher than the percentage of women in the middle-income strata. Among the poor women, 85 percent said they had suffered psychological abuse in the previous year, 34 percent reported physical violence, 15 percent reported physical harm as a result of abuse, and 53 percent reported sexual coercion. The incidence of violence among the middle-class women, while high, was lower than among poor women: 81 percent said they had experienced psychological abuse in the previous year, 21 percent reported physical abuse, 13 percent said they had suffered physical harm as a result of abuse, and 38 percent reported sexual coercion. Table 2.2 presents the results of the survey.

In sum, the prevalence of violence is lower among middle-class than among poor women for all types of violence. Clearly, poverty seems to be an aggravating factor in all types of violence, especially physical violence and sexual coercion.

Other Factors

To test our general hypothesis that many factors contribute to domestic violence, we conducted a multilevel analysis that includes *individual-level factors* such as age, education, income level, marital status, employment status, number of children, and pregnancy; *household-level factors* such as relationships with relatives, friends, as well as household income; and *neighborhood- or community-level factors* such as perceived level of safety of the neighborhood.

We conducted the econometric analysis in two stages. In the first, we identified explanatory variables that are most useful in explaining violence. For this stage, we used ordinary least squares regression and the step-wise method. Once these variables had been selected, we used logistic regressions, in which we attempted to explain the presence or absence of violence in the households in the sample. (In other words, the dependent variable in a logistic regression takes the value of either zero or one, with one indicating the presence of domestic violence.) Separate logistic regression equations were estimated to explain psychological, physical and sexual violence. Table 2.3 presents the econometric results.

For *psychological violence*, several variables are statistically significant determinants of violence: male partner's employment status; whether the household lives in poverty; whether the woman is able to recount her problems to friends or family; and whether she is able to ask for help from these individuals. Employed men engage in psychological violence more frequently than unemployed men.

Table 2.2 Household Income and Domestic Violence against Women
(In percent)

Type of violence	Poor	Non-poor	Difference	Entire sample
Negotiation of conflicts	100	100	0	100
Psychological violence				
Less severe	83.8	79.4	4.4	83.3
Severe	63.4	50.0	13.4	60.7
Either type	85.2	80.9	4.3	84.4
Physical violence				
Less severe	33.3	19.1	14.2	30.4
Severe	13.0	7.4	5.6	11.7
Either type	33.8	20.6	13.2	30.9
Sexual coercion				
Less severe	51.4	36.8	14.6	47.4
Severe	13.4	4.4	9.0	11.1
Either type	52.8	38.2	14.6	48.5
Physical harm				
Less severe	14.4	7.4	7.0	12.8
Severe	5.1	1.5	3.6	4.7
Either type	14.8	7.4	7.4	13.1
Any type of violence	88.0	85.3	2.7	88.0

Women from poor households are more likely to be victims of psychological violence. Finally, women who are able to recount problems to friends or family or approach these individuals for help are more frequently victims of psychological violence. Perhaps this is because violence itself impels them to confide in others, or perhaps it is because contact outside the nuclear family angers the male partner and violence results—the direction of causality between a woman's social support network and the probability of her suffering abuse cannot be established solely on the basis of these results.

For *physical violence*, the same variables are statistically significant, with three important exceptions. First, household poverty is not a statistically significant determinant of physical violence. Second, married women are less likely to suffer physical violence than their cohabitating or separated peers. Third, neighborhood effects matter: the more peaceful the neighborhood, the less likely is domestic violence to occur in a household.

The determinants of *sexual violence* are somewhat different than those of either psychological or physical violence. Older men are less likely to commit sexual violence, and pregnant women are less likely to be victims of sexual abuse—fac-

Table 2.3 Determinants of Domestic Violence against Women
(Logistic regression)

Independent variable	Psychological violence	Physical violence	Sexual violence	Any type of violence
Individual level				
Age of woman	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Age of man	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Married	0.54 (0.41)	-0.55* (0.31)	-0.18 (0.31)	0.42 (0.46)
Number of children	-0.002 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.09)
Primary education (woman)	-0.08 (0.36)	0.24 (0.32)	-0.08 (0.29)	0.31 (0.41)
University education (woman)	0.27 (0.66)	0.65 (0.53)	-0.34 (0.49)	0.26 (0.81)
University education (man)	-0.16 (0.48)	-0.56 (0.47)	0.26 (0.40)	0.49 (0.57)
Higher, non-university education (man)	0.89 (0.8)	0.39 (0.51)	0.71 (0.50)	1.56 (1.07)
Man employed	1.40* (0.77)	1.06** (0.43)	0.51 (0.41)	1.97* (1.05)
Woman pregnant	7.64 (18.06)	-0.38 (0.47)	-0.99* (0.04)	7.33 (17.6)
Household level				
Poverty	0.56* (0.29)	0.20 (0.27)	0.61** (0.24)	0.55* (0.32)
Woman tells problems to relative or friend	1.42** (0.31)	1.32** (0.28)	1.35** (0.23)	1.82** (0.37)
Woman asks for help from relative or friend	1.65** (0.75)	0.53* (0.34)	0.54 (0.34)	1.29* (0.76)
Neighborhood level				
Peaceful neighborhood	0.04 (0.31)	-0.51* (0.27)	-0.34 (0.24)	0.06 (0.35)
Chi squared	217.00	133.79	71.73	262.2

** significant at 3 percent level

* significant at 10 percent level

Note: Numbers in table are regression coefficients, with standard deviations of coefficient estimates in parentheses. Marginal effects cannot be interpreted directly from the regression coefficients in logistic regressions.

tors which did not influence the likelihood of either psychological or physical abuse. Women who tell their problems to friends continue to suffer more violence. Lastly, women in poor households are at higher risk of being victims of sexual violence.

Finally, we ran a separate logistic regression to explain the presence of any type of violence against the woman, whether it be psychological, physical or sexual. The statistically significant determinants of overall violence are: the man's employment status, household poverty, recounting problems to friends or family, or approaching friends or family for help.

It is worth noting that the woman's age, the number of children in the household, the woman's educational level and the man's educational level never appear as statistically significant determinants of violence of any type in these logistic regressions.⁴

Conclusions

Taken together, our analyses show that the existence of violent relations is closely correlated with three factors: poverty, unemployment and the lack of a social support network.

Household poverty. Poverty does seem to matter as a factor that unleashes or magnifies conflicts between partners. For both psychological and sexual violence, poverty increases the probability that violence will take place. It does not seem to matter in the case of physical violence.⁵ Our macro-level findings reinforce this result: levels of domestic violence in Lima's wealthiest districts are significantly lower than the city's mean level, although underreporting may also be more severe in wealthy districts. Certain poor districts have levels of violence even lower than in Lima's richest neighborhoods, suggesting that factors other than poverty must be accounted for.

Male employment. Employed men inflict more physical and psychological violence on their partners than unemployed men. One explanation is that unemployed men are more dependent on female earnings, and hence less willing to risk alienating or even losing a partner by using psychological or physical violence.

Social support networks. Women who are able to recount problems to friends or family, and who are able to call upon friends or family for support, tend to suffer more violence of all types. As discussed above, it is difficult to interpret this result, since it is not clear if social support networks are used because of violence or if violence occurs because of the networks. Further research is needed in this area to address the issue of causality.

For particular kinds of violence, several other factors also appear to be important. The *age of the man* affects the probability that sexual violence occurs, but does not seem to be an important determinant of other types of violence. *Married women* are less likely to suffer physical violence than cohabiting or separated women, and *pregnant women* are less likely to suffer sexual violence. A *more peaceful neighborhood* reduces the likelihood of physical violence but does not affect other types of violence.

The results of our research show that poverty is an important factor contributing to violence, but it is far from the only factor. Violent relationships seem to be the result of a set of factors, that if combined in certain ways, precipitate the appearance of violent conduct.

Endnotes

¹ The authors wish to thank Instituto Cuanto S.A. for the use of its survey on domestic violence in metropolitan Lima and for information on living standards in Lima, and Pedro Llontop, for his collaboration and assistance.

² Underreporting may also be more severe in wealthy districts.

³ We interviewed 60.4 percent of the women surveyed in Lima by the National Living Standards Survey.

⁴ Other logistic regressions were run with only individual-level factors, and with only individual and household-level factors (excluding neighborhood effects). Results from these regressions are reported in the working paper “Pobreza y Violencia Doméstica contra la Mujer en Lima Metropolitana,” available from the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in Lima. By and large, the results of these regressions are consistent with the results presented above. One difference is that in the regressions with only individual-level variables, more educated men emerge as likely to engage in psychological violence.

⁵ In a regression with only individual-level factors and household poverty, women in poor households were more likely to suffer physical violence as well.

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Social and Economic Costs of Domestic Violence: Chile and Nicaragua

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Domestic violence has many costs, both to the women who suffer the abuse and to their societies. To begin with, the *health impacts* of domestic violence on abused women can be devastating. In addition to emotional anguish, abused women may suffer severe physical injury, mental illness, and increased incidence of suicide and homicide.² The *economic costs* to society of domestic violence are also large. They include the value of goods and services used in treating or preventing domestic violence, as well as the value of goods and services not produced when abuse leads to increased absenteeism, decreased productivity while on the job, and job loss.

The annual costs of medical treatment and lost worker productivity in the United States have been estimated at \$5 billion to \$10 billion (Gelles, cited in Meyer 1992).³ Not included in this estimate are costs associated with the increased use of the criminal justice system, increased homelessness and greater need for foster care, and increased drug and alcohol abuse.⁴ In Canada, costs to abused women, other people, and national, provincial and local governments were more than \$3.2 billion in 1993 (Greaves, Hankivsky and Kingston-Riechers 1995).

These studies may understate the social costs of domestic violence, because they do not capture its *impact on children* of abused women. Evidence suggests that domestic violence affects children in at least three important ways: their health; their educational performance; and their use of violent conduct in their own relationships. Even the unborn and newborns can be affected by domestic violence. In Mexico, for example, women who suffered domestic violence during pregnancy had three times more complications during delivery and delivered babies who weighed more than one-half kilo less than children of nonbattered women (Valdez and Sanín 1996). Valladares (1996) also finds a relationship between battering and low birth weight in Nicaragua.

One of the most insidious consequences of domestic violence is that it perpetuates *violence in society*, both inside and outside the home. (See definition of domestic violence, Box 3.1.) Ample evidence shows that violence is at least in large part a learned behavior (Huesmann 1987). Thus, boys who grow up witnessing domestic violence against women are more likely to be future abusers, while girls who witness domestic violence are more likely to be future victims. Witnessing domestic violence also teaches children that violence is an appropriate way to resolve disagreements, which is likely to lead to violent conduct outside the home, as well.

In sum, there is compelling evidence from developed nations that abused women suffer from worse health and poorer economic outcomes than their nonabused peers. Although quantitative data is less abundant in developing countries, evidence from crisis centers, police reports, and ethnographic research shows that domestic violence is a significant cause of injury and ill health (Heise, Pintanguy and Germain 1994:18).

To date, however, little work has been done in the developing world to place a monetary value on the economic and social costs of domestic violence. This paper is an attempt to do that for two countries in Latin America, Chile and Nicaragua. The paper concentrates on three areas where domestic violence appears to have enormous effects: women's labor force participation and earnings, utilization of health services, and children's educational attainment.

The countries were chosen in part because of their great dissimilarity. Chile's per capita income, at \$3,440 in 1996, is nearly seven times greater than Nicaragua's, at only \$481. Two-thirds of Chile's high-school-age children attended secondary school in the mid-1990s; fewer than two-fifths of Nicaragua's did (IDB 1997). Many other statistics could be mustered to demonstrate the obvious: Chile and Nicaragua are in very different stages of economic development.

We conducted sample surveys in Chile and Nicaragua to gather data on the prevalence of domestic violence on employment, wages, use of health services, and children's educational attainment. In both Managua and Santiago, a stratified random sample of the city's population was drawn. Because of both time and budget considerations, the sample sizes were modest: 378 women in Managua and 310 in Santiago. Administered only to women aged 15 to 49 who were currently living with a male partner or had done so within the last 12 months, the survey contained detailed questions about the woman, her partner and children, and other members of the household.⁵ The surveys were conducted in June and July 1997; each took approximately 45 to 60 minutes to administer.

Box 3.1 Definitions of Domestic Violence

Physical Violence

Researchers usually divide physical violence into two categories, moderate and severe. Moderate physical violence occurs when a woman's partner slaps her, twists her arm, holds her against her will, or shoves her. These actions must have occurred fewer than five times in the last year. If they occur more often, they fall into the next category.

Severe physical violence occurs when a woman suffers more than five acts of moderate physical violence in a year, or if her partner has kicked her, hit her, hit her with an object, burned her intentionally, cut her with a knife, or choked her; or if her partner's violent behavior causes her injuries such as body aches, broken bones, loss of consciousness, or any type of injury that requires medical attention.

The two definitions are not mutually exclusive: a woman can suffer both moderate and severe physical violence. Almost all women who suffer severe physical violence, however, also suffer moderate physical violence. This was true, for example, of 88 percent of the women in the Managua sample who suffered physical violence.

Psychological Violence

A woman suffers psychological violence when she is the victim of frequent insults, her partner threatens her or uses threats and yelling as his predominant means of resolving conflicts with her, or her partner destroys her personal belongings. Insults and threats must occur more than five times a year to be classified as psychological abuse.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is defined as any type of coercion to force a woman to have sex. Methods of coercion include threats, blackmail, and the use of physical violence. Blackmail occurs if the woman's partner threatens to have sex with someone else if she does not provide sexual satisfaction.

The surveys revealed that a large percentage of women in both samples had suffered abuse at the hands of their male partners. In the last year, 41 percent of women in Santiago and 53 percent of women in Managua suffered psychological, physical, or sexual violence.

In Managua, 28 percent of women suffered severe physical violence; another 30 percent were subject to less severe physical violence. The corresponding figures for Santiago were 12 percent and 22 percent. The most common form of domestic violence against women was psychological violence, which affected 46 percent of women in Managua and 33 percent in Santiago. Eighteen percent of women in Managua and 10 percent of women in Santiago were subjected to sexual violence.

Our analysis then attempted to determine whether and to what extent domestic violence affected the abused women's decision to work outside the home, the level of her earnings, her use of health services, and the educational performance of her children.

How Does Domestic Violence Affect Work?

Economic theory presents mixed views as to whether domestic violence is likely to reduce women's participation in the labor force (see Box 3.2 for discussion). Our findings were unable to remove the ambiguity. Abused women in Chile have a generally lower probability of working outside the home than nonabused women; in Nicaragua, the reverse is true.

Labor Force Participation: Evidence from Santiago

Women in Santiago who suffer from all types of domestic violence within the last 12 months are less likely to be working outside the home and earning income (Table 3.1). Only 32.4 percent of women who suffer severe physical violence work outside the home, compared with 36.8 percent of women who do not suffer severe physical violence. The largest gap in participation rates (6.7 percent) is between women who are psychologically abused and those who are not.

By imposing some simple assumptions and using data from CELADE (Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía) and our surveys, it is possible to calculate the earnings forgone by Chilean women who would have worked had they not been victims of domestic violence. Assume that the effect of domestic violence on women's working is the same at the national level as it is in Santiago. In 1995 there were 3.77 million women between the ages of 15 and 49 in Chile (CELADE 1997: 58). If none of them were subjected to any type of domestic violence, 38.8 percent of them would have chosen to work outside the home. Only 32.8 percent of the abused women worked outside the home, however. The difference amounts to more than 226,000 women. If we assume that these 226,000 women would have earned the average monthly income received by women who were not subject to domestic violence (187,876 pesos), the foregone income would amount to 510.3 billion pesos a year—approximately \$1.2 billion dollars at current exchange rates.⁶

The evidence reported in Table 3.1 can only be deemed suggestive, however, because of the small sample size that generates these means. Formal statistical tests do not allow us to reject the possibility that the percentage of women working is

Box 3.2 Economics of Women, Work, and Domestic Violence

Models of Participation

What factors determine a person's decision to work? In the traditional economic model, an individual elects to work if the market wage available exceeds the minimum amount he or she is willing to accept, what economists term the "reservation wage." The second model is based on theories about bargaining among family members to determine how household resources will be distributed.

Traditional Model. Domestic violence will affect women's participation in the labor force only if it affects the market wage they can command or their reservation wage. Violence in fact is likely to affect both, but in opposing directions. On the one hand, studies show that domestic violence lowers women's productivity in the workplace, both because of increased absenteeism and because of harassment from the male abuser in the workplace.²⁶ Because of her decreased effectiveness, an abused woman is likely to receive a lower wage, and is therefore less likely to participate in the labor market. On the other hand, domestic violence may severely erode a woman's self-esteem, which in turn may reduce the reservation wage and quality of working conditions she is willing to accept—making participation more likely.²⁷ Thus, in these traditional models of participation, the effect of domestic violence on women's participation is not clear.

Bargaining Models. The second model looks at distribution of household resources. In this model, resources are divided among household members on the basis of their bargaining power within the family. At least one author argues that the value a husband places on his wife's contribution to household welfare depends on whether she works outside the house.²⁸ Paid work outside the house results in a larger perceived contribution; home work is systematically undervalued. The larger a woman's perceived contribution, the stronger her bargaining position in decisions about distributing household resources. Bargaining power is also influenced by a woman's ability to survive economically if she leaves the relationship.

Bargaining models show a clear link between domestic violence and participation. To maximize his control over resources, a man may use domestic violence to restrict his wife's work outside the home and reduce her bargaining power in negotiating the distribution of resources.²⁹

In sum, traditional models are unable to predict whether women who suffer domestic violence will have higher or lower participation rates than women who do not suffer domestic violence. Bargaining models, conversely, make an unambiguous prediction: abused women will have significantly lower rates of participation than women who do not suffer abuse. Given this lack of consensus between the two models, only empirical analysis will help sort out the relationship between domestic violence and women's participation.

A Model of Earnings

The theoretical model for determining whether domestic violence affects the earnings of women working outside the home is straightforward. Because wages reward productivity and skills, domestic violence will reduce a woman's earnings if it affects her productivity on the job. Examples are increased absenteeism because of physical or mental injuries; harassment by the male partner in the workplace; or loss of self-esteem, lack of concentration, depression, and stress, all of which reduce the ability to work effectively.³⁰

Table 3.1 Domestic Violence and Work Outside the Home, 1997
(Percentage of women working)

Type of violence	Santiago		Managua	
	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>
Severe physical	32	37	31	31
Moderate physical	33	37	35	29
Psychological	32	38	38*	24*
Sexual	31	37	33*	30*
All types	33	39	37*	25*

*Indicates difference in means significant at 5 percent level between abused and nonabused women within a country.
Source: Authors' calculations, based on sample surveys.

equal for abused and nonabused women.⁷ The fact that all types of violence experienced within the last 12 months are associated with lower rates of paid work outside the home, however, is extremely suggestive.

Another way to examine the relationship between domestic violence and women's participation is by estimating formal models of the decision to work outside the home. These models are more fully described in Appendix 3A; here we note only that we used participation equations. The idea behind estimating a participation equation is to account for the standard factors that economists believe affect a woman's decision to work, and then to ascertain if the presence of domestic violence has any additional impact. The dependent variable in these regression equations indicates whether a woman works outside the home for pay. The explanatory variables include age, educational level, number of a woman's children under ten years of age present in the household, whether her male partner is self-employed, and the presence or absence of domestic violence against the woman.

The results from the estimations largely confirm the expected effects: older women and women with more of their own children living at home are less likely to work; and women who have some high school or university education and women who are married to self-employed men are more likely to work (although this last effect is less certain).⁸ Surprisingly, having received technical training makes a woman less likely to work, perhaps because of difficulty in obtaining a position in occupations that are not traditionally staffed by women. Finally, although the presence of domestic violence tends to reduce the likelihood that a woman will work, the effect is not statistically significant—confirming the results from the comparison of means reported above.

Labor Force Participation: Evidence from Managua

For some types of domestic violence against women in Managua, there is no statistically significant difference between the percentage of abused women who work outside the house and the percentage of nonabused women who work outside the house. In the case of psychological abuse, however, abused women are significantly more likely to work outside the home; 38 percent of women who suffer psychological abuse work outside the home, while only 24 percent of psychologically nonabused women do so (see Table 3.1).

As in Santiago, we estimated a formal model of the decision to work outside the home. The only important predictors of work status in Managua are a woman's age and years of schooling; younger, better-educated women are more likely to work outside the home. Once again, domestic violence does not seem to influence a woman's decision to seek paid work.

Earnings: Evidence from Santiago

The evidence on the relationship between domestic violence and women's labor participation may be ambiguous, but the evidence on domestic abuse and women's earnings is not; women who suffer from domestic violence have substantially lower earnings than women who are not abused. Table 3.2 shows monthly earnings for women in Santiago. Women who suffer sexual violence earn, on average, less than half as much as women who do not suffer sexual violence. Those who suffer severe physical violence earn less than 40 percent of women who do not, while victims of psychological violence earn half the amount earned by their nonabused peers. Women who suffer less severe physical violence come the closest to parity with their peers who do not suffer violence, but even they only earn 64 percent as much.⁹

Using these results and data from other sources, we estimate that employed women in Chile earned 650.1 billion pesos less because of domestic violence than they would have absent the violence.¹⁰ That worked out to approximately \$1.56 billion, or a little more than 2 percent of the Chilean gross domestic product (GDP) for 1996—an enormous loss.¹¹ The actual loss to Chilean GDP is much higher, of course, because multiplier effects mean that \$1 in earnings generates much more than \$1 in GDP.

Another way to examine the relationship between earnings and domestic violence is to conduct cross-tabulations between income classes and the presence of domestic violence (Table 3.3). We arbitrarily divided women into two income classes: high- and low-income earners. High-income individuals earn 100,000 or more pesos a

Table 3.2 Monthly Earnings for Women, Related to Type of Domestic Violence, 1997

Type of violence	Santiago (in pesos)		Managua (in cordobas)	
	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>
Severe physical	62,684*	160,455*	263*	459*
Moderate physical	103,176	161,207	331	452
Psychological	89,846*	178,328*	416	417
Sexual	50,357*	158,188*	241*	529*
All types	91,579*	187,876*	377	459

* Indicates that a z-test confirmed a statistically significant difference (at the 5 percent level) between the earnings of abused and of nonabused women within a country.

Note: The exchange rates were 416.8 pesos/US dollar and 9.05 cordobas/US dollar when surveys were conducted (July 1997).

Source: Authors' calculations, based on sample surveys.

month (approximately \$240). In Table 3.3, the numbers in parentheses are the number of women we would expect to find in a cell if domestic violence and income class were independent. Thus, we would expect 130 nonabused women to fall into the low-income category and 53 to be in the high-income category. In fact, a smaller number (120) are low income, while a greater-than-expected number (63) are high income. Conversely, among abused women, a larger number than expected are low income, and fewer are high income. A formal statistical test rejects the independence of the two variables.¹²

This analysis was repeated for different types of domestic violence (severe physical, less severe physical, psychological, and sexual), and the results were striking. In each and every case, income class and the presence of domestic violence were not independent; in every case, nonabused women were overrepresented in the high-income class, and abused women were overrepresented in the low-income class.¹³

A final way to examine the relationship between domestic violence and earnings is by estimating earnings equations. Earnings equations are regression equations with earnings (more precisely the logarithm of earnings) as the dependent variable and demographic and human capital variables as the explanatory variables. These variables include educational level, hours worked per month, receipt of employer-sponsored training, existence of a formal contract regulating working conditions and payment, location of workplace (inside or outside the home), and whether the woman is self-employed. We simply add variables that capture the presence of different types of domestic violence as explanatory variables.¹⁴

Table 3.3 Cross Tabulations on Domestic Violence Status and Women's Earnings

Earnings class (monthly)	No violence	With violence
<i>Santiago</i>		
Low (< 100,000 pesos)	120 (130)	101 (91)
High ($\geq$ 100,000 pesos)	63 (53)	26 (36)
<i>Managua</i>		
Low (< 1,000 cordobas)	157 (160)	181 (178)
High ($\geq$ 1,000 cordobas)	22 (19)	18 (21)

Source: Authors' calculations. See text for explanation.

The detailed results from the regression analysis are contained in Appendix 3B; here we discuss only the major conclusions. The explanatory variables in the earnings equations by and large have the expected effects. Both secondary and university studies lead to higher earnings, as does increasing the number of hours worked per month (although the magnitude of this latter effect is small—an additional five hours increases monthly earnings by only 2 percent). Having received in-firm training boosts earnings by 47 percent, while working in the home lowers earnings by 54 percent. Somewhat surprisingly, women who are self-employed or work without a contract have higher earnings (35 percent and 77 percent, respectively) than those who work for a firm or have a contract. This last result undoubtedly reflects the heterogeneity of working conditions in the informal sector.

Domestic violence is a significant determinant of women's earnings as well. Abused women in Santiago earn a third less than nonabused women. This estimated effect is less than that revealed in the comparisons of means reported earlier, confirming that other factors in addition to domestic violence are important determinants of earnings. Nonetheless, the size of the estimated impact of domestic violence on earnings, even after controlling for other important determinants of earnings, remains very large.

The earnings equation assumes that domestic violence affects earnings, but that earnings do not affect domestic violence. This may be problematic. If domestic violence is the result of struggles for power and control, increased earning power may protect a woman from being abused by her male partner. If this is the case, domestic violence is no longer an exogenous determinant of earnings; instead, domestic violence affects earnings, and earnings, in turn, influence domestic violence. This simultaneity can be incorporated in an empirical model of wage determination by using two-stage least squares to estimate two key relationships: an equa-

tion that identifies the determinants of earnings (identical in form to the earnings equation estimated above), and an equation that identifies the determinants of domestic violence (Appendix 3C).

The factors that increase the risk of a woman suffering domestic violence are well known. They include age, household income, and educational levels; alcohol or drug abuse by the male partner; rigidly defined gender roles in the household; social isolation of the woman, the family, or both; the presence of spousal abuse in the homes of either the husband or the wife when they were children; and male control of familial wealth (Heise 1997; Strauss et al. 1996). Using data from the survey, we estimated a probit equation of the determinants of domestic violence against women in Santiago (see Appendix 3C). Although the equation was able to successfully predict whether a woman would suffer domestic violence in 71 percent of the cases, very few individual explanatory variables were statistically significant determinants of domestic violence. In particular, the woman's earnings, the degree to which arguments are solved by negotiation, the level of household income, and whether the woman was physically abused as a child were not found to be determinants of domestic violence. The number of times a month the husband arrives home drunk increased the likelihood of abuse, as did the share of household income in the hands of the male, but both effects were significant only at the 15 percent level of confidence. The only factor that emerged as a strong determinant of domestic violence is whether the woman's father abused her mother.

The results from the earnings equation are very similar to those reported earlier, so we will not discuss them here.¹⁵ The key point to note is this: the evidence suggests that domestic violence is an important determinant of women's earnings, but that women's earnings are not an important determinant of the woman's probability of suffering abuse.¹⁶

Earnings: Evidence from Managua

The findings from Managua in large part confirm the results from Santiago: women who are victims of domestic violence have significantly lower earnings than women who are not abused (see Table 3.2). Victims of severe physical violence earn only 57 percent as much as those who do not suffer physical violence, while victims of sexual violence fare even worse, earning only 46 percent as much as their nonabused peers. Women who suffer less severe physical violence or psychological violence also earn less than nonabused women, but the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant.¹⁷

Using the same technique applied earlier for Chile, we calculate that in 1997 employed women in Nicaragua earned approximately 267 million cordobas less because of domestic violence. This amount was equivalent to approximately \$29.5 million, or 1.6 percent of the country's 1996 GDP, a considerable loss.¹⁸ Using cross tabulations, we compare the relationship of income class with domestic violence (see Table 3.3). If they are not related, we would expect 160 low-income women in our sample to be free from domestic violence. In fact, only 157 low-income women were. In contrast, we would expect 19 high-income women to be free from violence, but in fact 22 were. These results are similar to those for Chile in that low-income women are overrepresented among the victims of domestic violence, while high-income women are underrepresented. Although these results are suggestive, there is one important difference between the Nicaraguan and Chilean results: in the case of Nicaragua, a formal test cannot reject the hypothesis that income class and the presence of domestic violence are unrelated.¹⁹

Finally, we estimated earnings equations for women in the Managua sample to isolate the impact of domestic violence from other, possible confounding factors. The results are very similar to those for Santiago. Unsurprisingly, better-educated women earn higher incomes; an additional year of education increases earnings by 12 percent.²⁰ An additional year of experience in a firm adds between 2 and 3 percent to earnings, while working additional hours per month increases earnings slightly. Domestic violence lowers earnings precipitously: women who suffer domestic violence, after controlling for other factors that affect earnings, earn 46 percent less than women who do not suffer violence. This effect is robust and highly statistically significant (see Appendix 3B).

We also tested for simultaneity between earnings and domestic violence in Managua, and the findings were quite similar to those in Santiago: domestic violence is an important determinant of earnings, but earnings are not an important determinant of domestic violence (see Appendix 3C for detailed results of tests). In fact, once again the equation that attempts to predict which women will be victims of domestic violence and which women will not does not perform very well. Of the six exogenous variables in the equation, only two factors—whether a woman experienced physical abuse as a child and the number of times her male partner arrives home drunk each month—are statistically significant for her risk of experiencing violence.²¹

The explanatory variables in the earnings equation of the simultaneous equations system offer few surprises. Earnings increase sharply with each additional year of schooling, and each additional year of experience in the firm

raises earnings by about 3 percent. Working more hours per month raises earnings, but the effect is tiny. The selectivity correction remains important, reinforcing the need to account for the decision to work when estimating an earnings equation. Finally, the coefficient on domestic violence remains statistically significant: women who are victims of domestic violence earn 12 percent less than their nonabused peers.

How Does Domestic Violence Affect Health Care Usage?

Our survey collected detailed information on women's utilization of health care services in the past year, including data on the number of times a woman had a preventative medical checkup, visited a hospital or clinic because of an illness, consulted a specialist, was hospitalized, and was operated upon. Our interest, of course, is whether women who suffer from domestic violence use health services more intensively. Table 3.4 summarizes the results from Managua and Santiago, focusing on a representative subset of health services.

In Santiago, there is very little evidence that abused women make more intensive use of health care services. When no distinction is made between use of public or private health services, nonabused women are as likely to make use of health services as abused women; in fact, in the case of hospitalization, nonabused women are more likely to be hospitalized.²² The pattern for public health services is somewhat different. By and large nonabused and abused women continue to have similar patterns of health usage, but abused women are more likely to visit a clinic or hospital due to illness than nonabused women, and the difference in likelihood of hospitalization disappears.

In Managua, abused women are much more likely to make use of health services than nonabused women. Twelve percent of nonabused women were hospitalized during the past year—a surprisingly large percentage—but more than double that percent among abused women were hospitalized during the same period. Fifteen percent of abused women needed surgery, while only 7 percent of the nonabused women did. The differences between women suffering severe physical abuse and their nonabused peers are equally striking: 25 percent versus 15 percent visited a hospital or clinic because of illness, 28 percent versus 16 percent required hospitalization, and 18 percent versus 9 percent had surgery. In sum, abused women seem to use health services about twice as frequently as nonabused women. Obviously, these health services represent real resource costs to society of treating women who suffer from domestic violence.

Table 3.4 Probability of Women's Use of Selected Health Services, by Domestic Violence Status, 1997
(In percent)

	Santiago		Managua	
	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>	<i>Abused</i>	<i>Nonabused</i>
All providers				
<i>All types of violence</i>				
Visit to provider for illness	21	22	18	17
Hospitalization	6*	13*	26**	12**
Surgery	7	9	15**	7**
<i>Severe physical violence</i>				
Visit to provider for illness	29	35	25**	15**
Hospitalization	6	11	28**	16**
Surgery	6	9	18**	9**
Public providers				
<i>All types of violence</i>				
Visit to provider for illness	24*	12*	19	22
Hospitalization	3	7	21**	10**
Surgery	4	4	10*	4*
<i>Severe physical violence</i>				
Visit to provider for illness	26	16	22	20
Hospitalization	3	6	25*	12*
Surgery	6	4	14*	5*

*A z-test reveals a statistically significant difference at the 5 percent level between abused and nonabused women seeking health services.

**A z-test reveals a statistically significant difference at the 1 percent level.

Source: Authors' calculations, based on sample surveys.

A more sophisticated way to analyze the impact of domestic violence on health care usage is to estimate regression equations for each type of health care service. In each equation the dependent variable indicates whether a woman used that service in the past year. The advantage of this approach is that it allows us to control for factors other than domestic violence—such as pregnancy, age, education, and the presence of certain ailments—that affect a woman's use of health services. Thus, the effect of domestic violence can be isolated in a way that is not possible with the data shown in Table 3.4. With a few exceptions (dental procedures and laboratory exams), domestic violence does not affect health care usage in Santiago. For Nicaragua, the regression equations had severe econometric problems, so that method could not be used to confirm the results presented in Table 3.4.

How Does Domestic Violence Affect Children's Performance in School?

Domestic violence against women has many pernicious impacts on the children that witness the violence. One serious consequence is that it tends to convert male children into future perpetrators and female children into victims of domestic violence (Heise 1997). Researchers have documented that children who themselves are abused and neglected are at greater risk of becoming delinquent, criminal, or violent (Widom 1989), and it is likely that witnessing abuse has similar consequences. This study does not attempt to document this intergenerational transmission of violence, because we do not have the panel data necessary to do it carefully.²³ Instead, we focus on one contemporary impact of domestic violence on children: children's performance in school.

We have three measures of children's performance in school: whether a child has repeated a grade (and how many times he or she has done so); whether the parents have been notified that the child has had academic problems; and whether the parents have been notified that the child has had disciplinary problems.²⁴ One way to determine whether children of women suffering from domestic violence have more problems in school is to compare the means of the three performance variables between children from homes with domestic violence and those from homes without such violence. Table 3.5 contains these comparisons.

In Santiago, parents in homes with domestic violence are more likely to be notified that the child is having academic problems. The biggest difference in school performance is with regard to disciplinary problems. For all types of domestic violence, children from homes with violence are much more likely to have disciplinary problems in school (between 33 percent and 40 percent probability, compared with a 13 to 21 percent probability for children from homes without domestic violence). The differences in probabilities are highly statistically significant for three of the four types of violence analyzed. There is no evidence, however, that children from homes with domestic violence are more likely to repeat a grade; in fact, for all types of violence analyzed a child from a home plagued with violence is slightly less likely to repeat a grade, although the difference is never statistically significant.²⁵ In Managua, the academic performance of children from homes with domestic violence shows few significant differences from that of children from homes without domestic violence. The differences that do occur are not in the expected direction: parents of children in homes without any type of abuse are more likely to be called because of disciplinary problems, and children in homes without sexual violence are slightly

Table 3.5 School Failures Correlated with Domestic Violence, 1997
(Percentage of children who experience problems)

Educational outcome	Santiago		Managua	
	From homes with abuse	From homes without abuse	From homes with abuse	From homes without abuse
<i>All types of violence</i>				
Repeats grade	14	18	74	65
Academic problem	28	17	20	22
Disciplinary problem	33*	13*	1*	4*
<i>Severe physical violence</i>				
Repeats grade	17	16	69	73
Academic problem	33	20	19	21
Disciplinary problem	33	21	2	3
<i>Psychological violence</i>				
Repeats grade	13	19	74	67
Academic problem	27	18	21	20
Disciplinary problem	33*	16*	1	4
<i>Sexual violence</i>				
Repeats grade	15	17	60*	75*
Academic problem	35	20	22	20
Disciplinary problem	40*	20*	4	2

*Indicates that a z-test reveals a statistically significant difference (at the 5 percent level) between children from homes with domestic violence against women and those from homes without abuse.

Source: Authors' calculations, based on sample surveys.

more likely to repeat a grade than those in homes with sexual violence. In sum, the evidence for Nicaragua is inconclusive.

Another way to examine the impact of domestic violence is to estimate regression equations that specify the possible determinants of grade repetition, academic problems, and disciplinary problems. As in the probit equations for health care usage, this approach allows us to control for factors other than domestic violence (such as household income, parental educational levels, and the child's health) that might affect performance in school; we then are able to isolate the impact of domestic violence.

In the case of Santiago, the results of this analysis are broadly consistent with the analysis of means presented in Table 3.5. The main difference is that both severe physical violence and any type of violence affect academic performance—effects that were present in Table 3.5, but not statistically significant. In the case of Managua,

the regression equations confirm the findings shown in Table 3.5: domestic violence seems to have little impact on children's educational performance.

Conclusions

This study has shown that the costs to developing societies of domestic violence against women are significant. Using various statistical techniques to examine the social and economic costs of domestic violence in Chile and Nicaragua, we have found the following:

- Based on a sample survey of more than 300 women each in Managua and Santiago, we uncovered high levels of domestic violence. In Santiago, more than 40 percent of women suffered some type of domestic violence; in Managua, more than 52 percent suffered abuse.
- The evidence is mixed regarding the impact of domestic violence on the probability that a woman works outside the home. In Santiago, abused women were less likely to work outside the home; in Managua, they were more likely to do so.
- There is no such mixed evidence regarding earnings. Domestic violence has large effects on women's earnings in both Santiago and Managua. In Santiago, women who suffer severe physical violence earn only 39 percent as much as women who do not suffer this abuse; in Managua, the percentage is 57 percent. The costs to the two countries' economies are immense: all types of domestic violence reduce women's earnings by \$1.56 billion in Chile (more than 2 percent of 1996 GDP) and by \$29.5 million in Nicaragua (about 1.6 percent of 1996 GDP). These losses are just the first-round effects, because each dollar in lost earnings will lead to a further decline in GDP through multiplier effects.
- Although the evidence shows that domestic violence is an extremely important determinant of earnings, there is no evidence from either country supporting the converse: higher earnings do not seem to protect women from domestic violence, nor do lower earnings necessarily make a woman more vulnerable to abuse.
- The evidence for the impact of domestic violence on health care utilization by women is mixed. In Nicaragua, women who suffer domestic violence use health services about twice as frequently as nonabused women, but this effect was not present in Chile.

- Finally, there seems to be an important intergenerational transmission of the effects of domestic violence, at least in Santiago. Children in homes with domestic violence against women are significantly more likely to suffer disciplinary problems in school than children from homes without domestic violence. This effect was not present in Managua, however.

We should emphasize that this study has certainly not included all the social and economic costs of domestic violence. For example, we have not quantified the costs imposed on the judicial and police systems from domestic violence, the costs of providing counseling to abused women, or the costs of operating women's shelters. Although we have calculated lost earnings for working women, we have not calculated lost earnings due to the premature deaths of women who were killed by their male partners.

Even without including all these costs, the significant costs uncovered in this study lead us to an unavoidable conclusion: policies and programs to reduce the prevalence of domestic violence and to provide treatment to abused women should be a high priority for national, state, and municipal governments, international agencies, and nongovernmental organizations.

Appendix 3A. Econometric Models of Labor Force Participation

The econometric specification of labor force participation is based on a binary choice model by Berndt and others (1974):

$$(1) \quad \begin{aligned} W_i^* &= B' x_i + \varepsilon_i \\ W_{ri}^* &= G' z_i + u_i \end{aligned}$$

where W_i = log earnings of a woman (actual and potential); x_i = a set of variables that are determinants of earnings; B = a set of coefficients measuring the marginal impact of each of the variables on earnings; ε_i = a random disturbance term; W_{ri}^* = the reservation wage (unobserved for the researcher); z_i = a set of variables explaining the reservation wage; G = a set of coefficients measuring the marginal impact of each of the variables on earnings; and u_i = a random disturbance term. Both error terms are distributed normally.

As stated earlier, a woman decides to work if her potential earnings are higher than her reservation wage. Thus, a binary variable (y_i) can be constructed that will take the value 1 when a woman is currently working, or 0 when she is not. The variable y_i will be determined by the set of equations in (1) if $w_i > w_{ri}^*$, $y_i = 1$, and $w_i^* = w_i$ (that is, we only observe earnings for women whose actual earnings exceed their reservation wage); otherwise $y_i = 0$, where w_i = the observed log of earnings for women who work.

Theory and Empirical Estimates from Managua and Santiago

According to the previous specification, the variables in x_i and z_i affect the probability of participating in the labor market. We included measures of domestic violence in these sets of variables to evaluate empirically their impact on the probability that a woman participates in the labor market. In neither Managua nor Santiago was domestic violence a statistically significant determinant of whether women worked outside the home for pay. This and other variables with statistically insignificant coefficients were dropped from the participation equations reported below.

The participation equation for women correctly predicts labor participation (or nonparticipation) in 72.2 percent of the cases in Santiago and 70.6 percent of the cases in Managua. The chi-square statistic for the equation is highly statistically significant in both cities, indicating an overall good fit. In Santiago, the most important factors explaining the probability of a woman's working

Table 3A Results of Econometric Models of Labor Force Participation

Variable	Santiago	Managua
Age	-0.02 (1.51)	-0.11*** (6.14)
Age squared	0.0002 (0.63)	0.003*** (6.39)
High school attendance	0.67** (2.33)	—
University attendance	0.44* (1.69)	—
Technical institute attendance	-0.75*** (2.93)	—
Years of schooling	—	0.07*** (3.25)
Husband self-employed	0.31 (1.63)	-0.30 (1.50)
Number of woman's children under age 10 living at home	-0.28*** (3.04)	—
Log likelihood	-169.9	-160.9
Chi-square	61.1***	42.2***
Number of observations	306	269

*** significant at the 1 percent level

** significant at the 5 percent level

* significant at the 10 percent level

Note: T-statistics are in parentheses.

outside the home are education level and household demographics. In Managua, age and schooling levels are the statistically significant determinants of the decision to work outside the home. Number of children under age 10 in the household is not a significant determinant (unlike the case in Chile) and is consequently not included in the regression reported in Table 3A.

Appendix 3B. Econometric Estimates of Earnings Equations for Managua and Santiago

Because we observe earnings (w_i) only for women who choose to work, any earnings equation that does not take into account the choice of working may be biased. In other words, there may be some unobservable (at least to the data analyst) way that working women differ from the population of women as a whole. We employ Heckman's (1979) selection model of earnings, which incorporates a correction term in the earnings equation.

The earnings equation we estimate is:

$$W_i = B'X_i + \Theta \lambda_i + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\varepsilon_i \sim n(0, \sigma^2)$$

where W_i = log earnings of a woman; X_i = a set of variables that are determinants of earnings; B = a set of coefficients measuring the marginal impact of each of the variables on earnings; ε_i = a random disturbance term normally distributed; Θ = a parameter that depends on the variance of ε_i ; and λ_i = inverse mills ratio (correction term for selectivity).

A probit model for labor force participation (see Appendix 3A) is used to estimate λ . In a second stage, λ enters as an explanatory variable in the earnings equation, which is estimated using ordinary least squares. The significance of this selectivity correction as an explanatory variable of earnings is an empirical issue.

The selectivity correction term in the earnings equation was not significant in Santiago, indicating that working women, at least in measurable terms, do not differ substantially from the overall population of women. Because the selectivity correction was not significant, it is omitted from the earnings equation reported for Santiago in Table 3B. In the case of Managua, the selectivity correction was significant and is reported as an explanatory variable in Table 3B.

The coefficients measure the impact of each of the explanatory variables on the logarithm of earnings. They can be interpreted as the percentage increase (or decrease, if the sign is negative) in earnings attributable to a one-unit increase in the explanatory variable.

Table 3B Results of Estimated Earnings Equations

Variable	Santiago	Managua
Constant	10.72*** (36.29)	5.19*** (18.22)
Victim of domestic violence	-0.34** (2.11)	-0.46*** (3.01)
Selectivity correction	—	0.26* (1.75)
High school attendance	1.04*** (3.28)	—
University attendance	0.46** (2.02)	—
Technical school attendance	0.57** (2.15)	—
Years of schooling	—	0.12*** (7.35)
Hours worked per month	0.004*** (3.86)	0.002** (2.49)
Received training within firm	0.46** (2.23)	—
Covered by formal contract	-0.65 (1.64)	—
Works in the home	-0.51* (1.68)	-0.26 (1.56)
Self-employed	0.33* (1.73)	—
R ²	0.57	0.44
F	14.0***	15.01***
Number of observations	106	121

*** significant at the 1 percent level

** significant at the 5 percent level

* significant at the 10 percent level

Note: T-statistics are in parentheses.

Appendix 3C. Simultaneous Equations Models of Earnings and Violence

To explore in-depth the relationship between female earnings and domestic violence, we evaluated whether simultaneity exists between these two variables; that is, whether domestic violence affects earnings, while at the same time earnings affects domestic violence. In other words, the earnings-violence link found through our estimations of participation and earnings equations may be only part of the story. If women's earnings are an important determinant of domestic violence, models of earnings and labor force participation can underestimate the impact of violence on earnings through productivity losses. Reduced earnings, in turn, may expose women to more domestic violence because of reduced bargaining power within the home, which in turn would have further effects on productivity and earnings.

The results from the estimation of a simultaneous equations model for earnings and violence are reported below for the two samples. For the domestic violence equation we estimated a probit model (see Appendix 3A), because our measure of violence is a binary variable equal to 0 if a woman has not been victim of any type of violence, and equal to 1 otherwise. The earnings equation was estimated using an ordinary least squares regression. The simultaneous effect of one variable on the other is estimated employing instrumental variables for earnings and violence. These instrumental variables are the predicted values for earnings and violence estimated in two separate equations, using all the exogenous variables in the system as explanatory variables. For the Managua sample, a selectivity correction term was added, based on our results in the earnings equation reported in Appendix 3B.

Table 3C Results of Simultaneous Equations Models of Earnings and Violence

<i>Santiago</i>			
Earnings equation variables		Domestic violence equation variables	
Constant	10.81*** (26.24)	Constant	-1.83 (0.42)
High school attendance	0.84** (2.06)	Number of times a month husband arrives home drunk	0.26 (1.49)
University attendance	0.45* (1.88)	Share of household income in hands of male partner	0.09 (1.55)
Technical institute attendance	-0.50* (1.77)	Woman experienced physical abuse as child	-0.01 (0.49)
Hours worked per month	0.004*** (3.91)	Household arguments settled by negotiation	-0.002 (0.33)
Received training within firm	0.43** (2.02)	Woman's father physically abused her mother	0.95** (2.04)
Covered by formal contract	-0.48 (1.04)	Household income level	-0.0004 (1.18)
Works in the home	-0.51 (1.64)	Instrumental variable for woman's earnings	0.12 (0.34)
Self-employed	0.30 (1.49)		
Instrumental variable for domestic violence	-0.35 (1.26)		
R ²	0.54	Log likelihood	-57.35
F	12.02***	Chi-square	19.05***
Number of observations	101	Number of observations	101

*** significant at the 1 percent level

** significant at the 5 percent level

* significant at the 10 percent level

Note: T-statistics are in parentheses.

Table 3C Results of Simultaneous Equations Models of Earnings and Violence
(continued)

<i>Managua</i>			
Earnings equation variables		Domestic violence equation variables	
Constant	5.18*** (20.24)	Constant	- 0.38 (1.56)
Years of schooling	0.12*** (6.9)	Number of times a month husband arrives home drunk	0.25** (3.2)
Hours worked per month	0.0015* (1.97)	Share of household income in hands of male partner	0.04 (1.23)
Years of experience	0.03** (2.18)	Woman experienced physical abuse as child	- 0.04** (1.96)
Works in the home	- 0.21 (1.21)	Household arguments settled by negotiation	- 0.002 (0.24)

*** significant at the 1 percent level

** significant at the 5 percent level

* significant at the 10 percent level

Note: T-statistics are in parentheses.

Endnotes

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² Heise, Pitanguy, and Germain (1994:18). Abused women have significantly worse physical and mental health than nonabused women, according to studies in the United States and New Zealand (Koss, Koss, and Woodruff (1991) and Mullen et al. (1988), cited in Heise, Pitanguy, and Germain).

³ All dollars are US dollars unless otherwise specified.

⁴ See Laurence and Spalter-Roth (1996) for preliminary estimates of these and other costs associated with domestic violence.

⁵ A copy of the survey instrument is available upon request.

⁶ The exact calculation is: $3,772,347$ (women aged 15–49) $\times 0.06$ (difference in participation rates) $\times 187,876$ (monthly earnings of women not abused) $\times 12$ (months per year) = 510,288,094,780. The exchange rate at the end of July was 416.78 pesos/dollar (IMF International Financial Statistics, September 1997), which yields a dollar value of \$1,224,358,402.

⁷ Two types of statistical tests were conducted. Z-tests were performed to test for equality of means for the two subsamples (that is, the percentage of women who suffer domestic violence who work, versus the percentage of women who do not suffer domestic violence who work). For no type of domestic violence could we reject the null hypothesis of equality of means. Z-tests can be criticized because they require that the underlying distributions be normal. Thus, we also conducted nonparametric chi-square tests to determine whether the number of observations in each of the cells of the cross tabulations (between types of domestic violence and work status) departs from the values that would be expected if these two variables were independent. Once again, for no type of domestic violence can we reject the null hypothesis of independence.

⁸ The fact that younger women are more likely to work outside the home may pick up a cohort effect: young women are more likely to work outside the home in 1997 than they were in the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s. Older women will belong to these older cohorts, who have a lower probability of working outside the home.

⁹ Formal tests confirm the statistical significance of these earnings differences, emphatically rejecting the equality of means in all cases except for moderate physical violence. Women who suffer domestic violence do have significantly lower earnings than those who do not. The z-statistics testing the equality of means were 2.37 (any type of domestic violence), 2.70 (severe physical violence), 1.18 (moderate physical violence), 2.16 (psychological violence), and 3.21 (sexual violence).

¹⁰ This was calculated as follows: total employment in Chile in April 1997 (the most recent data available) was 5,257,500 persons (Banco Central de Chile 1997:1440), approximately 29 percent of whom were women (United Nations 1995: 143), yielding total female employment of 1,524,675. According to our estimates,

36.9 percent of working women in Santiago suffer domestic violence; if this percentage is the same for the entire country (a problematic assumption, since research in the United States has shown that domestic violence against women is more prevalent in urban areas), then 562,605 working women in the country suffer abuse. The difference in earnings between women who suffered domestic violence and those who did not is 96,297 pesos per month, or 1,155,564 pesos per year. Then 1,155,564 pesos multiplied by 562,605 women yields a total wage loss of 650,126,084,220 (650 billion pesos).

¹¹ Chilean GDP for 1996 was 29,644.5 billion pesos (Banco Central de Chile 1997: 1370).

¹² The chi-square test is used, and it rejects independence at the one percent level of statistical confidence.

¹³ Neither this approach nor the means comparisons reported above address the issue of causality. In other words, they do not tell us if women earn less because of domestic violence, or if they suffer domestic violence because they earn less. We have sketched above the reasons why the former may be true. The latter may occur because outside earnings improve a woman's bargaining power within the home, and reduce her economic dependence on her male partner. With this improved position vis-a-vis her husband, she is able to demand and receive better treatment. We use a statistical methodology below that allows us to disentangle the causal relationship between domestic violence and women's earnings.

¹⁴ When estimating an earnings equation, it is important to recognize that individuals who decide to work may have different characteristics than those who choose not to work. Since these characteristics may affect the return they receive on their human capital investment, unless these characteristics are accounted for, the estimated results may be seriously biased. (Accounting for these characteristics is termed "correcting for selection bias.") The Heckman selection correction was employed in all the earnings equations reported below. In the earnings equations for Santiago, the selection correction was never significant, and is not reported in the paper. For Managua, the selection correction was statistically significant, and is reported in the earnings equation results.

¹⁵ The coefficient on the instrumental variable for domestic violence in the earnings equation is not as highly statistically significant as in the simple earnings equation reported above. Its magnitude, however, is almost identical.

¹⁶ Separate earnings equations were estimated using scales that measure the severity of the different types of domestic violence (severe physical violence, less severe physical violence, psychological violence and sexual violence). All types had negative and highly significant impacts on earnings.

¹⁷ The insignificance is due to the high variance in income among the women in our sample. This, in turn, is typical of a labor market characterized by a large degree of income inequality.

¹⁸ This was calculated as follows: total employment in Nicaragua in 1995 (the most recent data available) was 1,459,000 (IDB 1997), of which approximately 30 percent were women (United Nations 1995:143), yielding total female employment of 437,700. According to our estimates, 62.1 percent of working women in Managua suffer domestic violence. If this percentage is the same for the entire country, then 271,812 working women in Nicaragua suffer abuse. The difference in earnings between women who suffered domestic violence and those who did not is 82 cordobas per month, or 984 cordobas per year. That annual amount multiplied by 271,812 women yields a total wage loss of 267,463,000 cordobas. The exchange rate in February 1997 (the most recent data available) was 9.05 cordobas per dollar, yielding a dollar loss of \$29,553,922. Nicaraguan GDP in 1996 was 17,126 million cordobas (Banco Central Nicaragua 1997).

¹⁹ The chi-square statistic is only 1.04, which is significant only at the 31 percent level. Note, however, that cross tabulations between sexual violence and income class rejected the independence assumption at the 7 percent level, while independence of severe physical violence and income class was rejected at the 11 percent level. The chi-square test cannot reject the independence of psychological violence and income class.

²⁰ The education variable in Nicaragua is better than the one in Chile. In Nicaragua, the variable is years of education completed. In Chile, it is a series of dummy variables that indicate whether a woman has attended primary school, secondary school or university.

²¹ And the former has a coefficient with an unexpected sign.

²² It is important to distinguish between all providers and public providers, since lower-income women are likely to use exclusively public providers.

²³ The significance of the variable (in the domestic violence equation) that measures whether a woman's father physically abused her mother provides indirect support for the hypothesis of intergenerational transmission.

²⁴ For each woman in the survey, we have data on the scholastic performance of one child. This child was chosen randomly from among all her children between the ages of 7 and 16, since there were neither sufficient time nor resources to enquire about all children in the household.

²⁵ Nonparametric chi-square tests are also conducted, and they confirm in each and every case the results of the parametric tests for differences in means.

²⁶ See Stets and Straus (1990), Stanley (1992), and U.S. Department of Justice (1994) on absenteeism; see Friedman and Couper (1987) on harassment.

²⁷ See Kornblit (1994:1184) and Strauss (1978) on self-esteem.

²⁸ Sen (1990).

²⁹ Fleck (1997) and Manian (1997) have constructed formal models of this process. One other implication of these models is important: even though a woman knows that it may engender violence, she may opt to work outside the home to gain more control over household resources and be able to provide better education and health care for her children. If she values the increase in material well-being more than decreased well-being occasioned by abuse, her decision is eminently rational.

³⁰ Preliminary evidence has shown how these factors tend to affect productivity, at least in the United States. See Shepard and Pence (1988), Stanley (1992), and U.S. Department of Justice (1994).

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The Health Impact of Domestic Violence: Mexico City

Rafael Lozano Ascencio¹

As crime and violence increase in modern society, it is imperative to develop epidemiological systems to monitor the health losses that arise from violent acts. Ascertaining the demographic profiles of victims and victimizers, the offenders' motives, and especially the associated risk factors could help break the cycle of violence and strengthen prevention efforts.²

So far, there have been few evaluations of the impact of violence on health. Most of these evaluations have relied on simple indicators such as death reports, crime reports, hospital records, and interviews with victims of various crimes. Unfortunately, almost all these evaluations or recording systems have looked at only one aspect of the problem—permanent injuries or deaths associated with violence, for example—and therefore offer an incomplete view of the health problems associated with violence. Recently some indicators have been developed to measure the effects, both fatal and nonfatal, of diseases and injury. Unlike the earlier indicators, these composite indicators use the same unit to assign values to a range of injuries and illnesses, from temporary illnesses or injuries to fatal diseases. (See Box 4.1 for a discussion of violence against women and the methodological complications of measuring it.)

The indicator used in this study—disability-adjusted life years, or DALYs—was designed by the World Bank, the World Health Organization, and Harvard University (World Bank 1993). It quantifies healthy years of life lost (YLL) due to premature mortality or disability. The YLL indicator, developed by Murray and López (Murray 1994; Murray and López 1994a,b; and Murray et al. 1994) is derived from several sources: the pioneering work of Dempsey (1947), one of the first to suggest that premature death should be measured in units of time lost; Chiang (1965) and Berg (1973), who separately proposed a combined measure of disease and early death; and Morrow (1984), who was the first to use a composite indicator to determine health priorities in a developing country.

Box 4.1 Violence against Women: Defining the Terms

The United Nations has defined "violence against women" as "any act of . . . 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 private life" (United Nations 1993). In evaluating how violence affects women's health and the health of their children, this definition leads to some methodological problems, however. Saucedo states that "using definitions and characterizing the problem have been the first obstacle to its proper study. . . . [T]his subject, like others related to particular aspects of social relations and cultural meanings, cannot be grasped using traditional public health tools . . . for which reason, in addition to epidemiological evaluations of violence against women, specific knowledge of cultural and social dimensions having to do with gender valuation is required" (Saucedo 1997).

A heavy cultural burden surrounds acts of violence in victims' homes, and because it is difficult to reconstruct this important dimension of the problem, Saucedo suggests that a better approach is to separate public acts of violence against women, from acts of violence occurring in the home. Public violence against women consists mainly of isolated acts perpetrated by strangers, such as sexual offenses, robberies, or dispute-resolution problems. Violence in the home tends to consist of recurring acts, perpetrated by persons known to the victim, and stemming from family or marital conflicts. Other authors recommend defining the term even more narrowly, as violence committed against one's partner.

This study used the UN's definition of violence against women, but also attempted to separate public from private violence, as Saucedo recommends. Where possible, the study paid particular attention to the effects of violence against women abused by their partners.

DALYs lost, expressed as units of time, have the advantage of offering a common measure of loss of health for all causes and at all ages. Thus a DALY lost due to violence inflicted on a child can be compared with a DALY lost due to homicide in an older adult, for example, or due to a psychiatric affliction in a young woman. DALYs are used principally to measure the health requirements in a specific population, evaluate the effectiveness of health interventions, and help determine research and medical care priorities. In our experience, estimations of DALYs also offer methodological benefits. They make it necessary to maximize use of the available data (and thus correct under-recording and misclassification of deaths); to systematize typically scattered information on disease and injuries (such as prevalence, case-fatality, and duration); and to adopt consensus techniques that improve the internal and external consistency of estimates among numerous groups of researchers and decisionmakers (Lozano et al. 1995).

One of the first studies to use lost DALYs to measure the effects of violence against women was based on earlier findings published by the World Bank and Harvard University (Heise et al. 1994). This study estimated that rape and domestic violence represented 5 percent of the disability-adjusted life years lost by women of reproductive age in developed countries, and 14 percent in developing countries. Unfortunately, the procedures used to arrive at these estimates were indirect, and a high percentage was attributed to the selected diseases, including intentional injuries (homicides and suicides), suggesting an overestimate. This shortcoming in no way detracts from this pioneering effort to assess the impact of violence on women's health.

New methodological possibilities for estimating losses associated with violence have recently emerged, using both direct procedures (evaluating DALYs lost due to illness or injury), and indirect methods that evaluate injury attributable to certain risk factors (hence more than one ailment must be evaluated). Through an IDB-financed study on the magnitude and costs of violence in six Latin American countries, better techniques were developed to estimate DALYs lost due to violence in general (IDB 1997). In addition, recently published techniques allow injuries attributable to certain risk factors—including violence against women—to be estimated more precisely (Murray and López 1997).

Before describing the consequences of violence on women's health, we should note that certain problems in the data sources affect the quality of the findings. First of all, data is scarce, and the secondary data available are biased. Not all women report violent acts inflicted on them. Moreover, only partial data are recorded, since minor injuries may not be recorded at all. Second, women may go to health services to seek attention for other problems, and problems associated with violence might go undetected by doctors or nurses untrained in violence detection. Third, the direct consequences of violence or physical injury may represent a minor part of the problem for some women, who may suffer more from the psychological and sexual scars left by abuse. Finally, no techniques have yet been developed to measure directly the loss of healthy life years attributable to these results of abuse. In the best cases, estimates are made indirectly for a range of psychological and sexual disorders, by calculating the share of the disorder that is attributable to violence against women.

Estimating the Disease Burden Associated with Violence against Women

To begin with, the burden of disease and injury is estimated using separate procedures for premature death and for disability. These partial results are then tallied on a spreadsheet to produce the final figures.

To estimate years lost due to early death (YLED), the total number of violence-related deaths must be used. After correcting for under-recording and misclassifications, the time lost due to early death is calculated by age group and for each cause selected. To quantify the losses associated with early death caused by intentional injuries, three sources of data for Mexico City were analyzed: vital statistics from 1990 to 1995, to analyze changes in the trend in homicides and suicides; death certificates of females who died from an intentional injury in 1995 in the Federal District; and files of autopsies of 1,242 females who came through the Federal District's forensic medicine service in 1996.

To quantify the physical, psychological, and sexual consequences of nonfatal intentional injuries, two sources of data were analyzed. The first was the medical records system of the Victims Services Center of the Federal District Attorney General's Office (*Centro de Atención a Víctimas (CAVI) de la Procuraduría de Justicia del Distrito Federal*) (460 physical examinations performed from December 1996 to June 1997). In addition, data from two surveys were used: the first included women who appeared at emergency rooms in four hospitals during January, February, and March 1997; the second included women who used the emergency room of one hospital in June and July 1997. A total of 274 surveys were conducted.

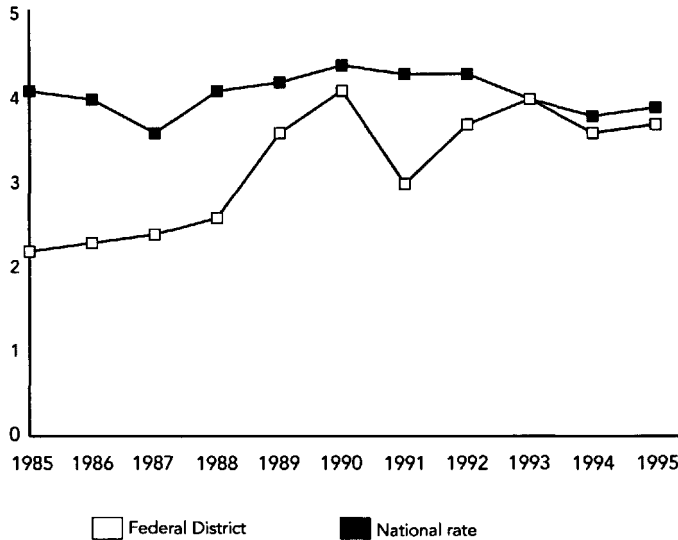
The percentage of these emergency room visits attributable to violence against women was reconstructed from a review of the specialized literature. From this, the relative risks between violent acts and selected diseases or injuries to health associated with them and the prevalence of exposure to violence were obtained. Care was taken to see that the prevalence figures used were consistent with the estimated incidence and mortality figures. Once the percentages attributable to violence were calculated, it was possible to obtain the DALYs associated with reproductive, psychological, or sexual problems.

Findings

Murder

According to the available data, female mortality due to homicide in Mexico in 1985–1995 remained stable at four murders per 100,000 females. In Mexico City, however, the murder rate for women doubled, from approximately two per 100,000 to a little more than four per 100,000 (see Figure 4.1).³ Although ample international evidence shows that a high percentage of women who die by homicide are killed by their partner, there is a paucity of documentation in the case of Mexico.

FIGURE 4.1
Female Mortality by Homicides in Mexico, 1985–1995
 (Rate per 100,000)



Source: INEGI/SSa, mortality tables, corrected by FUNSALUD (1997).

One possible remedy to this shortcoming is to examine the marital status of the victims. Of women murdered in Mexico during 1996, 40 percent were single, 49 percent had a partner, 3 percent were divorced, and 9 percent were widowed. Taking into account the number of women in each category, the risk of death by homicide is lower for married women than for those who are single, divorced, or widowed. Among women with partners, the murder rate is twice as high when the women is living in a common-law relationship than when she is married.

In Mexico City, an estimated 28 percent of the aggressors are spouses, 30 percent are family members or other known persons, and 42 percent are strangers. Deaths from assault are the most frequent, followed by marital problems, resolution of nonmarital conflicts, and sexual offenses. Homicides associated with robbery are most frequent for widows. Murders stemming from dispute-resolution problems are more frequent in divorced women and those who have partners than in the other categories (see Table 4.1 for details). As most studies show, female murder

Table 4.1 Mortality from Homicides against Women, by Marital Status: Mexico, 1995*(Rate per 100,000)*

Marital status	National	Federal District (D.F.)	D.F./national
Single	4.6	3.7	0.8
Married	3.0	2.4	0.9
Cohabiting	6.1	6.8	1.1
Divorced and separated	3.0	3.8	1.3
Widowed	5.3	5.2	1.0
TOTAL	4.0	4.1	1.0

victims are young. In Mexico City, the mean age of death is 25 years, although when newborn females who died from abandonment, assault and marital conflicts are left out of the statistics, the mean age of death rises to 32.

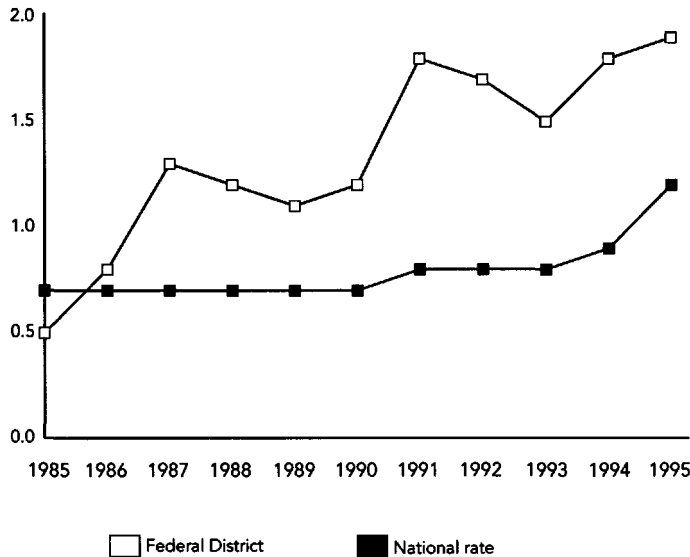
Suicide

Unlike homicide, the female suicide rate has been on the rise since the early 1990s at the national level, with a pronounced increase in the Federal District. In Mexico as a whole, the rate has risen by about 50 percent, to 1.2 suicides per 100,000 females; in the Federal District, it has increased fourfold, to almost 2 per 100,000 (see Figure 4.2).

In Mexico, the association between violence against women and suicide has not been documented. The risk of suicide is higher for single women and much higher for divorced women than it is for married women, a result that is consistent with findings elsewhere. Within the Federal District, the risk of suicide is greatest among women living with common-law partners and divorced women; for these women, the risk of death by suicide is three times greater than in the rest of Mexico (see Figure 4.3).

The most frequently documented motives for suicide are nervous disorders (including depression), family problems (not distinguished from marital problems), and problems with relationships. In 30 to 40 percent of the cases, the reason for the suicide is unknown. The average age of women who commit suicide in Mexico City is 34 years.

FIGURE 4.2
Mortality by Suicide among Women: Mexico, 1985–1995
(Rate per 100,000)



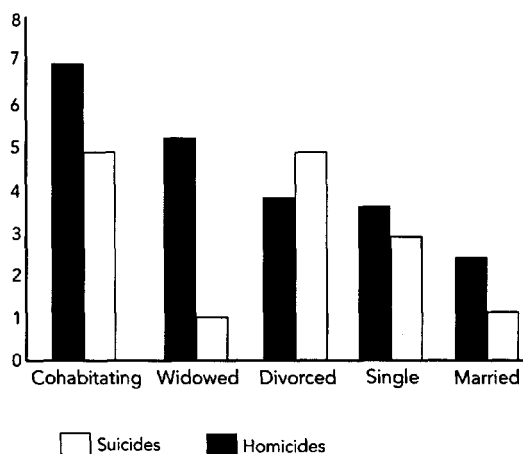
Source: INEGI/SSa, mortality tables, corrected by FUNSALUD (1997).

DALYs Lost Due to Physical Injury

In the Federal District, approximately 11,000 DALYs lost by women in 1995 were attributable to homicide or assault. Two-fifths of these (42 percent) were years lost to early death (YLED); 57 percent were due to years lived with disability (YLD). The distribution varies with the motive for the physical aggression. More years of disability were associated with women who were assaulted or who were victims of a sexual offense, while more years lost to early death were associated with women who were victims of spousal abuse. In part that was because injuries are most severe when women are assaulted or injured by a stranger, and in part because women who die as a result of marital problems tend to be young.

If the physical problems caused by violence against women are examined by themselves, assaults emerge as having the severest consequences for their health. That is because of the high frequency of assaults and the severity of their effects.

FIGURE 4.3
**Homicides and Suicides among Women
 by Marital Status: Mexico City, 1995**
(Rate per 100,000)



The most common consequences of assaults on women by persons known to them are bruises, superficial injuries, and facial fractures that heal fairly quickly. The injuries sustained by women who are attacked by strangers are more severe: trauma-related brain injury, skull fractures, bone fractures in lower and upper limbs, and face and neck wounds are more frequent and take longer to heal. Because of the study's design, it was not possible to identify women who were victims of both types of violence.

The type of physical injury stemming from violence against women is closely associated with the motive for the aggression. From the data analyzed, five of every ten women who sought treatment at the hospital emergency departments surveyed presented injuries stemming from marital disputes, two came because of assaults and problems encountered outside the home, and the rest came because of family and neighbor disputes.⁴ Overall, very few women (3.9 percent) required hospitalization for their injuries. But hospitalization figures for injuries caused by strangers outside the home were 9.3 percent, compared with 3.3 percent for injuries caused by a partner.

Injuries stemming from intrafamily violence are less severe but much more frequent than those that lead to hospitalization. Most are from kicking or hitting and

in very few cases blows with blunt objects, sharp instruments, and injuries caused by shoving and biting. In legal terms, most of these injuries are considered slight, as they take less than two weeks to heal. In accordance with the International Classification of Diseases, the most frequent physical injuries are contusions, superficial injury, and ecchymosis (bruises) on various parts of the body. The areas of the body most frequently injured are the face (55 percent), upper limbs (43 percent), and lower limbs (37 percent). About 20 percent of women presented injuries in three or more parts of the body (multiple injuries), 36 percent in two parts of the body, and the rest in only one place on the body. All of the data on injuries were used to construct an injury table to correlate the severity of injury to the motive for the attack and then to estimate the years lived with disability after having been subjected to violence.

The DALYs lost due to self-inflicted injuries or suicides were also analyzed. As was noted earlier, despite the increase in the death rate for suicides and possibly in the incidence of attempted suicide, Mexico City shows a relatively low burden associated with these causes. It is estimated that in 1995, approximately 3,500 DALYs were lost due to female suicide victims or attempted suicides, 77 percent of them from premature death and 23 percent from disability.

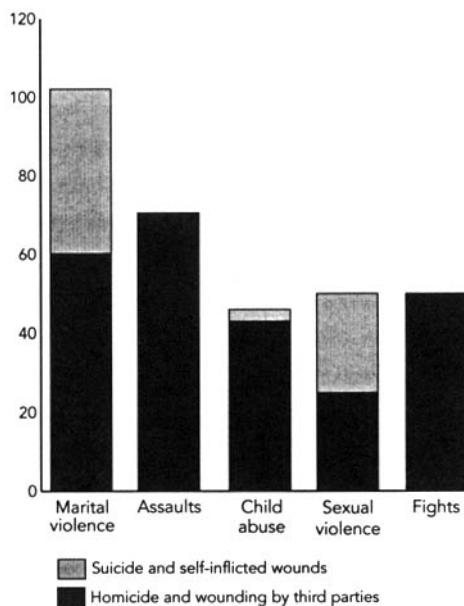
From the information sources used, it was possible to make only a rough estimate of the share of DALYs lost due to suicide associated with domestic violence. General analyses in Mexico have found family problems to be a leading cause of attempted suicide and problems with one's partner to be a leading cause in successful suicides (Terroba et al. 1986a). According to one study, 18 percent of the women who attempted suicide were married, whereas 43 percent of those who succeeded were married. In the first group of women, signs of deep depression were observed in 60 percent of the cases; 20 percent suffered from severe depression (Terroba et al. 1986b, 1987).

Data for Mexico City showed that 36 percent of female suicides were married, 13 percent were divorced or separated, and 51 percent were single. A check of judicial records confirmed that at least two out of three married women had marital problems before they took their own lives. Based on the foregoing, it was decided to ascribe 40 percent of suicides to marital violence, 25 percent to problems stemming from disputes and conflicts, 25 percent to sexual offenses, and 10 percent to adolescent victims of abuse.

Figure 4.4 presents DALYs lost due to physical injury in Mexico City, according to the type of violence. Partner violence is the most important single source of DALYs lost, in large part due to the contribution of suicide and self-inflicted wounds. Partner violence is followed in importance by assaults, abuse of girls, sexual abuse, and fights.

FIGURE 4.4

DALYs Lost Due to Intentional Injuries, by Type of Violence: Mexico City, 1994
(DALYs lost per 100,000 women)



DALYs Lost Due to Psychological and Reproductive Disorders

The analysis of DALYs lost due to nonphysical injuries (psychological and reproductive disorders) caused by violence against women is perhaps the most tentative. Although it may seem a simple question, in Mexico there have been very few efforts to document nonphysical injury caused by such violence.

Psychological Disorders

Sleep disturbances, anxiety, episodes of depression, and suicide attempts are examples of the psychological disorders that have been observed among women suffering from abuse (Walker 1984). Women subjected to violence also show psychological disorders associated with posttraumatic stress syndrome more frequently than do women without histories of violence (Woods and Campbell 1993).

Some studies have been done in Mexico on the incidence of psychological afflictions among women suffering from violence. One survey found that 35 percent of abused women stated that they suffered from depression, 28 percent from fears and anxiety, and less than 10 percent from alcoholism, drug addiction, and suicidal tendencies (Asociación Mexicana contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres, CAVI, 1996). According to CAVI records, during 1997, 29 percent of women injured by their partner reported digestive disorders; 54 percent, insomnia; 25 percent, nervous reactions; 54 percent, loss of appetite; and 70 percent, headaches or migraines. With the foregoing information, an index of psychological disorders was developed, classifying as severe the problems of women who presented at least four of the aforementioned disturbances, and mild when they presented one or two. The findings show that only one in five women presented no psychological disorders, and three in five had moderate to severe disorders. An analysis of sexual dysfunctions showed that 92 percent of abused women suffered from an inability to achieve orgasm or a decrease in libido, or both.

Damage to Reproductive Health

The association between violence and reproductive health is a relatively new area of study and so far has focused primarily on the effects of violence on pregnancy (Campbell et al. 1992). These studies have attempted to show that violence against pregnant women increases the risk of low birth weight in newborns (Parker et al. 1994); the risk of complications during pregnancy, delivery, and postpartum (McFarlane et al. 1996); and the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS (Schein and Bakketeig 1989).

A study in Mexico found that, of 110 women who sought treatment at the Cuernavaca public hospital, 33 percent had been victims of violent acts during their pregnancy. Compared with others who had not had this experience, these women were four times more likely to give birth to infants weighing less than 2,500 grams (about 5.5 pounds) and three times more likely to suffer complications during childbirth and the immediate postpartum period (Valdez and Sanin 1996). Internationally, the prevalence of violence during pregnancy varies depending on the method used to measure it. When information is obtained from questionnaires filled out by the women themselves, the prevalence is 7 percent; when interviewers are used, the prevalence rises to 30 percent.

According to data gathered in Mexico City for this study, the percentage of pregnant women with histories of violence was 6 percent, both for women who

came to emergency rooms seeking treatment for injuries and for those who made reports to CAVI. Although none of them showed blows in the abdominal region, one in five mentioned a threat of miscarriage.

Estimating Lost DALYs Due to Nonphysical Injuries

To estimate the lost DALYs from psychological and reproductive disorders attributable to violence, we devised a formula based on several assumptions regarding the average relative risk of a specific kind of violence causing a specific effect. We assumed first that the relative risk was constant across all age groups and that each risk is net of all other risks. We also assumed that the magnitude of association between the risk factor and the disease measured in terms of incidence or mortality was the same for the impact of the disease measured in terms of DALYs. Finally, we assumed that the prevalence of violence did not change between the time the data was obtained and the time the estimations were made. This assumption is most relevant in cases of diseases with a long latency period (such as depression), in which the current frequency of the disease is the result of repeated exposure to violence that has occurred over many years for some women.

Lost DALYs attributable to violence (DV) are estimated on the basis of the following formula:

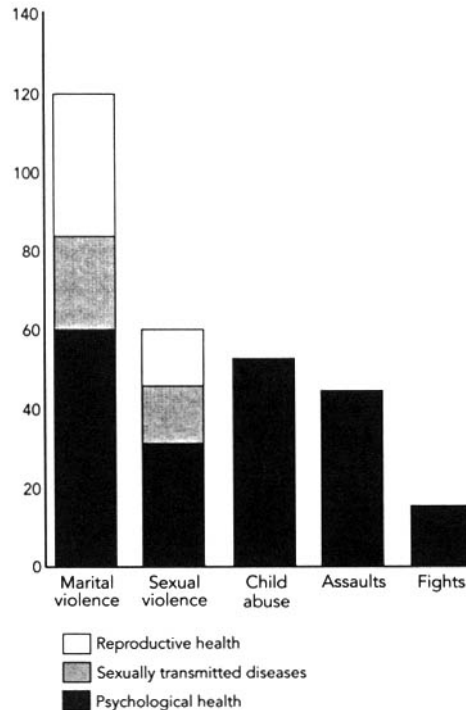
$$DV = \sum_{c=1}^n \sum_{e=15}^{60} DALY_{ce} ([PF_e(R_{fc}-1)/PF_e(R_{fc}-1) + 1])$$

where c represents a disease associated with violence; e is age group 5–14, 15–44, 45–59, 60 or over; $DALY_{ce}$ is the number of DALYs lost due to cause c in age group e ; PF_e is the prevalence of the risk factor in age group e ; and R_{fc} is the average relative risk associated with factor f in cause c .

The estimation showed that 12,700 lost DALYs due to nonphysical injuries were attributable to violence against women in Mexico City: of these, 31 percent are associated with reproductive problems, and 69 percent with psychological and neuropsychiatric disorders. In both cases, most of the DALYs attributable to violence were concentrated in women of childbearing age.

Figure 4.5 shows the DALYs lost due to nonphysical injuries from violence against women. The multiple effects of marital violence make it the leading cause of these lost DALYs. In fact, the risk of losing healthy life years because of effects indirectly related to marital violence is twice as high as it is for sexual violence, and

FIGURE 4.5
DALYs Lost from Nonphysical Causes, by Type
of Violence: Mexico City, 1994–1995
(DALYs lost per 100,000 women)



almost three times higher than for violence committed during assaults, in which only problems related with posttraumatic stress were observed.

Total DALYs Lost Due to Violence Against Women

In our view, the best way to portray the true scale of the impact of violence on women's health is to present the sum total of DALYs lost due to direct physical injury and DALYs lost due to other injuries stemming from various manifestations of the violence.

The sum total of DALYs lost in Mexico City in 1995 due to violence against women was 27,200; 53 percent stemmed from physical injury, and 47 percent from

FIGURE 4.6

DALYs Lost by Women, by Type of Violence: Mexico City, 1994–95
(DALYs lost per 100,000)

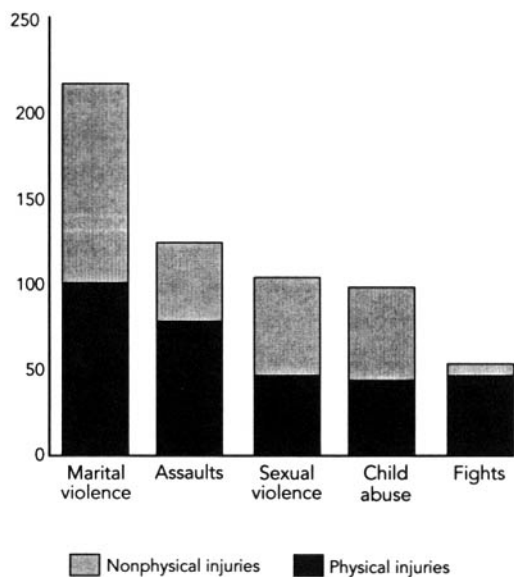
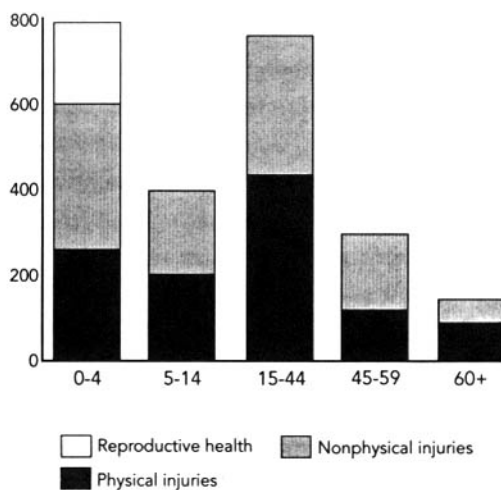


FIGURE 4.7

DALYs Lost by Women from Violence, by Age Cohort: Mexico City, 1994–95
(DALYs lost per 100,000)



nonphysical injury. The greatest loss is associated with marital violence, with 220 DALYs lost per 100,000 females, followed by violence from assault, at 121 per 100,000 (Figure 4.6). Nonphysical injury accounts for most of the difference. In the case of assaults and conflict-resolution disputes, the greatest loss comes from physical risks. In systematic violence against women, however, the burden (the extent of DALY loss) is expressed for the most part as nonphysical injury. A calculation of the magnitude of the burden associated with violence shows that the risk of losing one disability-adjusted life year due to marital violence is twice as high as for other causes.

Even more striking is the comparison of total lost years by age group and type of injury associated with violence. Figure 4.7 shows that according to rates of DALYs lost, girls from birth to age four suffer most. This result is a bit misleading, since many of their health problems (especially those associated with low birth weight) are the result of violence perpetrated against their mothers. If these "reproductive health" problems were not included, women aged 15 to 44 would have the highest rate of DALYs lost.

Changing Health Care Priorities

Because health services must set health care priorities, being able to establish the leading causes of illness and injury is of great assistance to decisionmakers. Sometimes, however, the indicator is not soundly selected, or health needs are not well organized or presented in order of importance. That phenomenon has been true for female victims of violence, as the following demonstrates.

Table 4.2 shows the leading causes of disability-adjusted life years lost for women in Mexico City. Illnesses and death associated with childbirth account for over 8 percent of DALYs lost, while diabetes accounts for just under 8 percent. Violence against women is the third most important source of DALYs for women in Mexico City, accounting for 5.6 percent of all DALYs lost. Of this 5.6 percent, 2.6 percent represents physical injuries due to homicide and violence by third parties (assaults, partner violence, child abuse, sexual violence and quarrels). Three percent is attributable to nonphysical injuries (psychological problems, such as post-traumatic stress syndrome, insomnia and severe headaches, as well as low birth weight of children born to mothers who suffer abuse) and suicide. Violence against women is a more important source of DALYs lost than congenital disorders, rheumatoid arthritis, heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, pneumonia, osteoarthritis, and motor vehicle accidents.

Table 4.2 Leading Causes of Lost DALYs for Women in Mexico City, 1994–95

Disease and injuries		Percent
1	Diabetes mellitus	8.1
2	Birth-related disorders	7.9
3	Violence against women	5.6
4	Congenital anomalies	5.5
5	Rheumatoid arthritis	5.1
6	Ischemic cardiopathy	5.1
7	Cerebrovascular disease	3.9
8	Pneumonia	3.2
9	Osteoarthritis	2.6
10	Motor vehicle accidents/occupants	2.2

Source: Author's calculations.

Conclusions

As this chapter shows, the impact of violence on women's health goes beyond any simple quantification of physical injury. The most important findings are the following:

- The burden associated with violence against women is significant: one in 18 disability-adjusted life years lost by women in Mexico City stems from such violence. In some age groups, this ratio is much higher. Notably, among women of childbearing age, one in seven disability-adjusted life years derives from violence. Among schoolgirls from five to fourteen years of age, one in six disability-adjusted life years lost are associated with this cause.
- Marital violence is the leading cause of lost DALYs: 37 percent of lost DALYs stem from this type of conflict. The underlying reasons for this are the many forms of violence that marital abuse takes, from homicide, suicide, wife battering, and self-inflicted injury, to neuropsychiatric and reproductive effects and sexually transmitted diseases, among others. Consequently, women of childbearing age are the age group with most DALYs lost per capita associated with violence.
- Another age group that shows significant DALYs lost are girls under five. Two effects are seen simultaneously in this age group: direct injury from violence such as child abuse and sexual abuse, and indirect repercus-

sions that began with gestation. The estimates in this study are very conservative: only evidence of effects associated with birth-related mortality and low birth weight was considered, although an association between low birth weight and repeated infections in the early years, possibly associated with violence during the mother's pregnancy, may also have an indirect effect on the health of female infants and young children.

- Evaluation of the magnitude of violence against women using composite indicators reveals the true scale of the problem. Violence against women ranks third in health needs priorities of all women of Mexico City, and first for females five to forty-four years of age.

Against this backdrop, there is not the least doubt that violence against women is causing problems at all levels of society. It is also evident that the issue of violence today is too complicated to be left solely in the hands of the authorities whose job it is to discourage and punish perpetrators: society as a whole must take measures. Although there is no single antidote, education will be fundamental to the cure. But to be successful, education must be considered not only as a means of instruction, but as a means of instilling values and principles. In the end, an education process that builds good citizens offers the best instrument for ensuring collective security.

Endnotes

¹ This study was coordinated by the author, with the participation of nutritionist Blanca Estela Lopez, Dr. Jose Luis Ortega, and nurse trainees Olivia Martínez and Estela Castro. Special thanks are owed to the Victims Services Center of the Federal District Attorney General's Office; Dr. José Ramon Fernandez, Director of the Federal District Forensic Medicine Service; and Dr. Carolina Salinas and Dr. Moses Reyes Tapia, for their support in the survey of Federal District Department hospitals. This study was prepared with assistance from the Mexican Health Foundation and the Center for Economics and Health. It is dedicated to the memory of Sergio Campos-Ortega who, when his son was kidnapped, paid with his own life.

² See Informe del Taller de Cali (1996).

³ Thus, the homicide rate in Mexico City is very similar to the national rate, although single women in Mexico City have homicide rates lower than the national average, while divorced and separated women in Mexico City have higher rates.

⁴ Here violence refers to violence inflicted by a man upon his wife or partner; that is, the man and woman need not be legally married for marital violence to occur.

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PART II

**BEST PRACTICES: SERVICES,
THE LEGAL/JUDICIAL RESPONSE
AND EDUCATION**

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Curbing Domestic Violence: Two Decades of Action

Soledad Larraín

Political and social violence has been an ever-present factor in Latin American and Caribbean countries. It is only in the last generation, however, that violence against women became a matter of public concern. This violence includes sexual aggression and rape, sexual harassment at work, abuse of women belonging to ethnic minorities, trafficking in women, prostitution, pornography, violence in the media, and physical, sexual and psychological abuse in the home by partners or spouses.

This chapter is concerned specifically with gender violence against women by a spouse or partner in the context of domestic relations. The objective is to systematize the various actions and strategies adopted by social agents in recent decades in Latin America and the Caribbean. Of course, it is difficult to sort out a host of activities undertaken by different agents in various spheres of influence. Moreover, the need for urgent action, combined with scant resources, often hinders the process of recording and disseminating useful experiences.

Section one discusses how the concept of violence has shifted from a psychopathological and individual view, to a social view of a multi-causal problem. Section two briefly summarizes the results of the main qualitative and quantitative studies conducted in the region. The third section describes programs implemented in the region, ranging from changes in the law to intersectoral and inter-institutional programs. The fourth section outlines priority actions for the future.

Definition of Domestic Violence and Evolution of Strategies

The various societies and countries in Latin America do not agree on how to define "violence." The differences are even greater when it comes to defining "domestic violence." The main difficulty is that tolerance and acceptance of violence vary from one individual to another, from one country to another, from one sociocul-

tural context to another. This makes it very hard to establish a common and universally accepted definition of domestic violence.

Existing definitions disagree with respect to which behavior and manifestations they consider to be violent. Some include only physical violence, while others extend to psychological aggression and severe neglect. Some consider a single episode to be sufficient for violence to exist, while others believe that the behavior has to be repeated.

Different definitions also stress different aspects of domestic violence. Some stress the impact of violence;¹ others stress the cultural values involved in violent behavior;² others describe the different types of aggression that occur in domestic violence.³

The issue of violence against women has recently been included on the agendas of many national governments and several international organizations. Women's groups of the region have been a prime force behind this. Another contributing factor has been international agreements urging the elimination of violence against women. A summary of the treatment of domestic violence in international forums is presented in Table 5.1.

Evolution from the idea of domestic violence to gender violence signifies a change in the conceptualization of violence against women and an understanding of the risk factors associated with gender violence. The view that violence against women is gender violence is based on the assumption that asymmetrical power relations between men and women are a relevant factor in the scale of seriousness of violence. "The difference between this kind of violence and other forms of aggression and coercion is that the risk or vulnerability factor is simply being female."⁴ Thus, strategies to combat domestic violence must be rethought.

Domestic Violence Research

"In Latin America and the Caribbean," writes a leading researcher, "women are vulnerable regardless of their social class or professional lives. . . . [T]hey share the concrete possibility of being the victims of violence. Discussion of aggression against women has been taboo . . . in particular, domestic violence has been condemned to social invisibility, the silence of the privacy of the home, and justified by cultural customs and traditions" (Rico 1992).

Research on domestic violence in Latin America and the Caribbean began in the 1980s, approximately a decade later than in the United States, Canada, and Europe. The early studies were primarily conducted by NGOs, with the central objec-

Table 5.1 Discussion of Domestic Violence at International Forums

First World Conference on Women, Mexico City, 1975. The issue of conflict within the family is mentioned.

UN General Assembly, 1979. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women is approved. Violence against women is dealt with only tangentially. No definition is given for gender violence.

Second World Conference on Women, Copenhagen, 1980. Equality, Development and Peace. Problems of battered women and domestic violence are discussed directly, and a resolution on "battered women and domestic violence" is adopted. These issues are later addressed by the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Division for the Advancement of Women, and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control.

ECLAC Fifth Regional Conference, 1991. A resolution on "women and violence" is adopted. Various documents mention gender violence as an obstacle to equitable development.

World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993. Violence against women is recognized as a human rights violation, and the final declaration includes a proposal to appoint a special rapporteur on violence against women.

UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, December 20, 1993. Recognizes the urgent need for universal application to women of the rights of all human beings, with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity, and dignity. Article 1 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 the arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." Article 2 lists categories of physical, sexual and psychological violence:

a. Violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

b. Violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;

c. Violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs.

Inter-American Convention on Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, Belém do Pará, June 9, 1994. Proposed by the OAS, it considers that "recognition of and full respect for all rights of women is an essential condition for their development as individuals and for the creation of a more just, united, and peaceful society." It further defines violence against women as "any act or conduct based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or the private sphere," and establishes that "The Party States condemn all forms of violence against women and agree to pursue, by all appropriate means and without delay, policies to prevent, punish and eradicate such violence. . . ."

Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995. Defines the phrase "violence against women" as used in the UN Declaration of December 20, 1993.

tive of drawing public attention to an issue that had been shrouded in silence. Later, as government programs were implemented, more systematic records were kept, chiefly of complaints made to the police, hospitals, or victim assistance centers.

In the 1990s, studies were conducted on the prevalence of violence in representative population samples. Some very recent studies have evaluated public policies, particularly the application of new legislation. Over 100 studies have been published to date, containing a wide variety of information from different countries that is often difficult to analyze and compare. This chapter classifies the research in two categories: descriptive studies, using information from health, justice, or assistance facilities; and studies of prevalence.

Descriptive Studies

In 1989-1990, Isis International inventoried existing research and government policies on domestic violence in 22 Latin American and Caribbean countries.⁵ Twenty studies based on quantitative data were found. Most were descriptive and systematized the information provided by women who had made complaints to the police or other institutions.

Qualitative research has been conducted as well, using in-depth interviews, life histories, content analysis and discussion groups. Although this type of research does not establish the frequency of violence in the population, it provides valuable background on the nature of violence. It describes forms of abuse, the most frequent responses to violence by women, the characteristics of the aggressors, and the prevailing culture in the different countries. In addition to illustrating specific aspects of the linkage between violence and health, it allows us to understand why some women are reluctant to file charges or have great difficulty in leaving violent relationships.

The main findings of these descriptive studies are the following:

- Women are at greatest risk in the home. Injuries, aggression, sexual abuse, and homicides are mainly perpetrated by the husband or partner in the context of a relationship.
- There has been a major increase in complaints, particularly in the last three years, which often coincides with the passage of specific legislation. An increase in the number of cases reported is also related to factors such as greater visibility of the issue, campaigns by women's and feminist organizations, and the opening of specialized centers.

- Studies conducted at centers offering assistance (not specifically for violence) detect high percentages of abused women, when women are questioned specifically about this subject. Since many institutions do not ask women such questions, however, there is probably significant under-reporting by these centers, particularly emergency health services.
- Women are at highest risk between the ages of 24 and 45, especially during pregnancy and the postpartum period.
- The most frequently detected forms of violence are psychological aggression and less severe physical violence. In general, when physical violence is serious or sexual abuse occurs, it is accompanied by psychological violence.
- Some studies describe financial abuse as a specific type of violence, in which the most frequent conduct is failing to support the children, controlling family money, throwing the woman out of the house, and refusing to let her have her belongings.
- The causes of violence mentioned by the victims are frequently related to control by their partners.

Prevalence Studies

Prevalence studies using representative population samples have begun in the last five years. They give an idea of the real dimensions of violence, overcoming the limitations of earlier studies that dealt only with victims who reported violence and did not extend to the entire universe of victims.

To date, prevalence studies have been published in Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Uruguay.⁶ Fifty-two percent of women in Managua experienced psychological, physical and/or sexual violence in the 12 months preceding the survey; in Santiago, the figure was over 40 percent, while it was 22.7 percent for women in Montevideo and Canelones in Uruguay. Thirty-five percent of the women in Costa Rica stated that they frequently experienced this type of aggression, while in Lima 88 percent of women suffered from some type of aggression by their partner. In Colombia, 20 percent of women were physically abused, while 33 percent were psychologically abused. Violence against women is clearly a serious problem that affects a large part of the female population, cutting across class lines and affecting the family group as a whole.

Most of the studies have been conducted in the capitals or large cities and are not representative of an entire country. Moreover, the diversity of instruments used to evaluate violence, and different criteria in selecting the samples, mean that the

results are not strictly comparable from country to country. Despite these limitations, prevalence studies are a relevant contribution to the design of public policies in the different countries. They have also demonstrated that it is feasible to obtain reliable data on the magnitude of a phenomenon as complex as domestic violence.

Programs to Combat Domestic Violence in the Americas

As recognition of the impact of gender violence has grown, so has the variety of approaches taken to combat the problem. A large number of factors influence those responses, such as the social and political context in which the issue is discussed; the strength and leadership of women's movements in various countries, including their professional resources and organization; and the capacity for dialogue between the state and civil society.

The large number of programs in different countries of the region cannot be described in this chapter. What follows is a survey of selected programs and policies in five areas: the legal response; the police response; services to assist female victims of domestic violence and their aggressors; training for professionals who deal with domestic violence; and prevention.

The Legal Response

Reaching a consensus on the concept of gender violence in general, and domestic violence in particular, has been difficult in Latin American and Caribbean countries. Individual rights have been counterpoised against the institution of the family, which is defined in most legislation as the basic unit of society.

Various countries have taken different stands on the issue as they have enacted legislation. Some have viewed violence as an attack on the individual human rights of family members. Others have deemed that the ultimate goal is to preserve family unity.

Before the passage of special laws on domestic violence, most Latin American countries shared a similar approach to its treatment. In criminal law, domestic violence was generally classified as physical injury, whether minor, intermediate, or serious. Threats were classified as misdemeanor offenses. In civil law, physical or verbal abuse became grounds for divorce or separation.

For several reasons, this treatment was unsatisfactory. First, it ignored the nature of the problem. Bringing criminal charges involved lengthy and complicated procedures, and such charges were difficult to prove. Furthermore, this ap-

proach permitted secondary victimization by the police or the courts; it failed to protect the victims; and it handed solution of the problem back to the family—often with increased risk to the woman.

In view of these considerations, legislation has been proposed that could solve some of the fundamental issues. To accomplish this, however, certain conceptual and practical difficulties need to be resolved.

First, it is necessary to determine the legal good to be protected: the family unit, or the physical, psychological and sexual integrity of the victim. Should the law protect women (statistically the most frequent victims) or refer to all legal and *de facto* family relationships? Second, which courts should be required to intervene? Should the problem be approached as a domestic conflict (and so dealt with in family courts) or an offense (and thus relegated to criminal courts)?

Third, it is important to determine how to establish victim protection agencies that can act rapidly, effectively and broadly. This is especially important because the aggressor has free access to the victim if they live under the same roof. Fourth, it must be determined how to sanction the aggressor, considering that frequently the victim wishes only to end the violence—not to end the relationship. Finally, it is necessary to establish a streamlined procedure to respond effectively to the victim's needs and avoid secondary victimization—that is, mistreatment of the woman by the system ostensibly designed to aid her.

These issues have been treated in a variety of ways in regional legislation (see Appendix Table 5A). Even after laws have been enacted, however, enforcement remains a concern. Protective measures are not always ordered quickly enough because magistrates wish to hear the “other” party, or the generally temporary measures may expire, leaving victims with no protection. These problems are compounded by many victims' ignorance of the law and the reluctance of magistrates to proceed on their own. The provisions for conciliation or mediation in many laws have been strongly criticized. A fundamental element for all negotiations is equity, but the relation between the abuser and the abused is essentially unequal and asymmetrical, and thus contrary to the principles of equity.

Moreover, sanctions—when they do not involve incarceration—are difficult for welfare or specialized treatment agencies to enforce because of their limited capacities. Appropriate mechanisms to monitor protective measures have not been found, nor have alternative punishments that do not involve incarceration or fines.

Despite these criticisms, the existence of specific laws in the field of domestic violence is a sign of progress, since the legislation sends to communities and members of the justice system a message that change is required. Improvements

will follow as more experience is gained and adjustments can be made to ensure that states can honor their commitments to eliminate domestic violence and afford tangible protection for human rights (see Chapter 10 on Costa Rica's efforts to enact legislation and train its judiciary).

The Police Response: Special Women's Units

Improved legislation by itself is insufficient if police are not responsive to abused women. Early studies found that women were frequently ignored or their complaints not acted upon. This problem was compounded by the fact that, during the 1980s, a number of countries in the region were governed by dictatorships in which the police were active agents of repression. A mistrust of women in general and of the victims of domestic violence in particular was common under these regimes.

Because victims usually contact the police before reaching the judicial system, the response of the police is crucial in enabling women to continue their cases and halt the violence. In view of the importance of that role, the women's movement began to promote special women's units, to be established and staffed with female officers who, it was hoped, would be more understanding of the victims.

The first and most significant effort along these lines was in Brazil, which set up the National Women's Rights Council in 1985. The Council advocated support for a national program to combat violence against women and for the establishment of integrated assistance centers for women at risk of domestic and sexual abuse. The first special women's unit was established in São Paulo in 1985. Similar units quickly spread to other parts of the country. (See Chapter 9 on the special unit in Rio.)

The special women's units work mainly with female victims, advising them on different aspects of criminal, civil, and labor law—and, in cases of legal separation, on the division of property, child custody, alimony, sexual education, and psychological counseling. To carry out their various functions, the special units have sections for investigation, counseling, protection, and response to rape.

Creation of these units was undoubtedly the best contribution to addressing the serious problem of violence against women in Brazil. A driving force behind their creation were volunteers in the so-called SOS-Mujer groups, which began to assist victims of abuse who did not receive acceptable treatment from ordinary police units. The evidence gathered by the SOS groups on the difficulties that women encountered in reporting violence was instrumental in establishing the specialized women's units.

The importance of the units is confirmed by data about their use. In Rio de Janeiro alone between 1991 and 1996, for instance, 43,929 cases of abuse were reported to the five units then in existence.⁷ These cases account for 42 percent of all reported instances of physical aggression against women in Rio (104,182 cases).

In Peru, the first special women's unit of the national police force was opened in Lima in 1988. Between 1993 and 1996, units were established in Arequipa, Piura, Chiclayo, Tacna, Puno, and Moquegua, and specialized sections were set up in the cities of Trujillo, Cusco, and Iquitos, the departments of Ica and Cajamarca, and a barrio of Lima, Villa El Salvador. In addition to receiving complaints, the units provide psychological counseling and legal and social services.

Other countries have added their own special women's units. Argentina and Uruguay launched their first units in 1988. The following year, a special Police Inspection Office for Family Protection opened in Cali, Colombia. Today, the country has close to 200 offices. Ecuador inaugurated its first women's unit in 1994. Today, Ecuador has two specialized units in Guayaquil, as well as units in Quito, Cuenca, Portoviejo, and Esmeraldas. Campaigns have been held in different Ecuadoran cities to draw attention to legal aspects of domestic violence and to create more specialized women's units.

The units frequently work in conjunction with NGOs that have experience with domestic violence cases, have credibility among women, and can provide legal advice, as well as social and psychological services. This is the case in Brazil, Peru and Ecuador, for example.

Despite some success, criticisms have been made about units' shortage of staff, inadequate infrastructure, and lack of social and psychological support teams. The units require training and mechanisms to provide emotional support for staff as they cope with the impact of working with abused women. Further research is needed to learn about the impact of the special units on the problem of domestic violence, but the ultimate success of the units will depend on obtaining sufficient resources and establishing a suitable system for referral and follow-up.

Services for Female Victims of Violence and Aggressors

Even before the passage of legislation on domestic violence in various Latin American and Caribbean countries, a significant number of programs for victim assistance and protection had been established and carried out by women's NGOs. The centers frequently provided help during crises, as well as legal advice and psychological support.

Today, numerous approaches exist. To accommodate the large number of programs and the variety of methods used, the discussion that follows groups them according to the type of services provided: 1) crisis services, including telephone hotlines and shelters and 2) psychological, social, medical and legal services, including group therapy, municipal programs, medical services and work with male abusers.

Crisis services

Telephone hotlines. Emergency telephone lines have been introduced in Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Uruguay. In addition to providing support for female victims of violence, they are frequently the first step in bringing charges against abusers. In Argentina, the hotline in Buenos Aires was a factor in demonstrating the size of the domestic violence problem in the capital. In the first half of 1997 alone, the hotline received 15,060 calls. In Chile, the Justice Ministry has established a telephone service that provides women with information about the steps a female victim of domestic violence can take to seek assistance. In El Salvador, the hotline covers 13 districts of San Salvador and has serviced over 22,000 callers in its two years of operation (see Chapter 7). In Uruguay, the Montevideo municipal government's telephone hotline for victims of violence involves a joint effort by women's NGOs and the members of the city's Women's Commission. The program is carried out under an agreement between the Municipality of Montevideo and the Fundación Plenario de Mujeres del Uruguay (PLEMUU).⁸ A limiting factor of hotlines, however, is that much of the population—particularly in rural areas—does not have access to telephones.

Shelters. Most shelters are the result of nongovernmental initiatives. The protection provided by the shelters in removing women and children from violent situations is crucial, but most offer more than protection—including support and training to enable women to become independent and self-sufficient so they will not have to return to violent situations. The region has not been unanimous in viewing shelters as a policy priority for protecting the victims of violence. In some countries, the relatively high cost of shelters, combined with a lack of financial resources, has made the provision of other victim services a higher priority.

Psychological, social and legal services

The first centers to assist victims of violence were established by women's organizations. These centers conducted research, designed models of attention and ar-

ticulated demands that governments establish specific policies for prevention and suitable treatment. Significant progress in designing working methodologies has been made in the last twenty years.

The gendered approach to the issue of violence taken by NGOs implies that interventions should provide assistance for specific episodes of violence, within a context of supporting changes in the lives of the victims. Work with women should consist mainly of an empowerment process to help them take responsibility for their own lives and personal security.

From this standpoint, treatment for abused women is not limited to halting the violence, but also seeks to help the women identify their problem as part of their subordinate condition in society. Thus, special emphasis is placed on participation in discussion groups that help women change different aspects of their lives, particularly the relationships that have led to violence. Most programs include legal, psychological, and social support provided in a coordinated and comprehensive manner.

Group therapy. The vast majority of victim support groups believe that group therapy is an important factor in surmounting abusive situations. Each member of the group can identify with peers who are experiencing the same problems. The group helps women break out of their isolation, which is the product of shame, self-recrimination, and fear. Through their own experiences and the experiences of others, the women become aware of their individual and collective resources. Group therapy is an important element in work with battered women, and offers them the possibility of reinforcing their achievements and speeding up the pace of personal change.

Municipal and provincial programs. As awareness of the problem of violence has grown, governments have intensified their search for an institutional response. In some countries, municipalities and provinces have established assistance centers, often copying models developed by NGOs. The centers take a comprehensive approach, forming part of an institutional network that provides referrals to other sectors (health, justice, police), as well as helping solve the social problems of victims, such as housing, jobs, and child care. Examples of municipal and provincial centers include the Abuse Victim Assistance Center in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the Center for Assistance and Prevention of Domestic Violence, in Santiago, Chile; and the Center for Assistance for Victims of Domestic Violence of the State of Mexico.

The government of the state of Rio de Janeiro established a women citizens program in 1996. Based on that program, the State Council for Women's Rights of Rio de Janeiro (CEDIM) prepared a Convention on Effective Citizenship for Women. The Convention aims to establish an alliance between the state and municipal gov-

ernments to enforce state laws on the equality of men and women. To combat violence against women, the Convention provides for the establishment of women's assistance centers that offer legal, psychological, and social help for women and families who are the victims of abuse.

In Costa Rica, the National Plan for Intra-Family Violence (Plan Nacional de Violencia Intrafamiliar, or PLANOFI) states that one of the strategies for implementing the plan is to establish municipal women's offices. Their purpose will be to "provide information, guidance, and assistance for women, with emphasis on domestic violence and information on rights."⁹

The initial evaluations of municipal centers are positive, since they provide a comprehensive response, allow for work in local networks, and facilitate prevention. (See Chapter 6 on building a network in Monterrey, Mexico.) In some countries, universities and governments have entered into agreements to establish centers for victims of abuse. The advantage of these centers is that they include research on the causes and consequences of violence, and they train future professionals in the area of domestic violence. A pioneer in this area was the Public Health School of the University of Buenos Aires, which established a project to assist battered women in 1985.

In Mexico, the Faculty of Psychology of the National School of Professional Studies (Escuela Nacional de Estudios Profesionales—ENEP at Acatlán) has an interdisciplinary program to assist abuse victims (see Chapter 6). Relations with the government have been good and a series of assistance centers have been opened in the state of Mexico. The most important aspect of this cooperation is that the program was designed to include research.

Medical services. The health system occupies a strategic position in identifying victims of violence and referring them to other institutions for help. "It is the only institution that probably interacts with all women at some stage in their lives" (Heise 1994). In the last five years, specific responses to domestic violence have begun to be designed by the health system in Latin America and the Caribbean. Yet the health sector's response to domestic violence has been insufficient, focusing almost exclusively on immediate care for injuries. Even with this narrow focus, coverage is incomplete and access to services is limited. Where large-scale programs have been implemented, assistance has been extended according to a traditional model that stresses individual therapy or medication. Preventive actions have been scarce and, in general, limited to isolated experiences. Finally, little attention has been paid to the theoretical developments and comprehensive intervention proposals designed over the last twenty years by women's groups and NGOs.

Work with violent men. Several factors are responsible for the emergence of treatment programs for violent men. These include interactional analyses of violence (working with both the victimizer and victim, not just the victim); the fact that many victims who participate in individual or group therapy remain with their partners but demand that they take responsibility for curbing their own violence; the rise in recent years of a new approach to the role of men in society that questions the machismo that prevails in the region; and the fact that legislation often includes the requirement that men participate in therapy, either as a prerequisite for participating in mediation or as an alternative sanction to criminal prosecution. Work with violent males aims at achieving a new balance of power between men and women “and a careful examination of gender stereotypes underlying the male systems of beliefs that legitimize violence toward women” (Corsi 1995).

Work with men who are violent toward women began in the region only in the 1990s. The first program was launched in 1991, in Argentina. In Mexico, the Men’s Collective for Equal Relations (CORIAC) offers discussion groups and workshops for male abusers (see Chapter 8). Costa Rica and Jamaica also have programs that target men to curb domestic violence. In Trinidad and Tobago, a program to teach skills in conflict resolution to male abusers who face restraining orders has been implemented.

Two group levels—beginner and advanced—are often used. In the first level, work is done in groups for varying lengths of time. To advance to the second level, a man must have stopped committing acts of violence and must express the need for change as his own decision. In the second level, men are given training in gender relations, impulse control, and nonviolent conflict resolution.

Three strategies are especially effective: (i) passage from an individual to a group approach; (ii) passage from therapy in a private space to an institutional space; and (iii) use of specific theoretical and technical models for dealing with violence (Corsi 1995). Most programs do not offer couple therapy unless both members of the couple have previously received individual therapy.

Training

The complexity of interventions in domestic violence makes specific education and training for professionals working in this area critical. This is particularly important since the subject has not been widely taught at universities and therefore few professionals working in the field have had any systematic training on violence. This lack of training often leads to new victimization, in which “false and often

victimizing responses in the form of inappropriate advice, risky therapy, or expert reports. . . are injurious to the victims" (Corsi 1997).

Training was initiated in the region in the 1980s. Early courses were intended to train community leaders and were provided by NGOs as part of their strategy to raise awareness and empower women. Later, the NGOs provided training for public employees—in particular, for police who later joined the special women's units. As national women's agencies developed, they began to train public employees, often with support from NGOs or universities.

In Costa Rica, PLANOSI provides for a process of theoretical and conceptual training for all individuals and institutions with responsibility for implementing the plan. It has designed a permanent education program as a learning tool to facilitate thinking about and dealing with the problem of domestic violence and sexual abuse outside the family.

Two postgraduate training programs are active in the region. In 1989, the Faculty of Psychology at the University of Buenos Aires established an interdisciplinary program in domestic violence. The general objective of the program is to promote specialization by researchers, teachers, and university professionals in the field of domestic violence. The program is interdisciplinary and is targeted to psychologists, social workers, anthropologists, physicians, and lawyers. It lasts for 512 hours—equivalent to 32 academic credits. Students are required to perform 64 hours of field work, 64 hours of in-house training, and 64 hours of research. Graduates obtain the diploma of specialist in domestic violence. To date, there have been about 300 graduates.¹⁰

Since 1994, the Department of Psychology of the University of Chile has offered a postgraduate program in domestic violence intervention strategies. Its objectives include systematic and comprehensive training for professionals, from the anthropological, psychological, social and legal standpoints. The program is targeted to psychologists, sociologists, social workers, anthropologists, journalists, occupational therapists, physicians, nurses, lawyers, teachers, and early childhood educators, and includes 100 hours of training.

Prevention

While action needs to be taken to reduce risk factors that produce violence, few resources are available for prevention activities and consequently relatively few actions have been undertaken. The principal tools used to date in prevention have been media campaigns, educational initiatives, and local prevention networks.

Many materials, booklets, posters, radio programs and television spots have been produced to teach the public how to recognize violent behavior, provide information on how to lodge complaints, and promote changes in relationships between couples. (See Part III on the role of the media.) These materials have raised awareness of the problem. However, few evaluations measure their impact on changes in power relations between men and women.

In Jamaica, for example, theater is used to educate an audience to fight gender violence (Chapter 12). Three groups have joined forces in Jamaica. The group called Sistern uses interactive workshops and street theater to encourage discussions about violence. The Women's Media Watch uses drama with young people. Teens in Action uses dramatization to promote critical thought in communities on sexuality, male-female relations, and rape (Population Education Research Group 1992, cited by Heise 1994).

A second line of preventive action centers on schools, and works to promote equality between the sexes and peaceful conflict resolution. A program in Canada, for example, works at both the elementary and secondary level; it includes elements of professional development for school staff and innovative curricular modules that teach nonviolence (Chapter 11). A third line of work is the establishment of local networks and community organizations to engage in violence prevention—although these networks usually offer services to victims as well (Chapter 6).

Conclusion

After more than 20 years of efforts to tackle the scourge of domestic violence, the results are contradictory. On the one hand, serious effort, dedication, and commitment have brought the problem to light and generated responses from all sides. However, the issue continues to be marginal, resources are insufficient, and laws are often not enforced.

Thus the question is, how can we continue to make progress? How can we ensure that actions lead to a real reduction in violence? How can we transform the issue from a marginal one into one of the priorities of public policy in the countries of the region?

Rico (1996b) suggests that policies to curb domestic violence in the region should be undertaken within the framework of a country's development, human rights and cultural policies. Combating violence should clearly be part of a country's development policy, because domestic violence has social, economic, and political consequences for society as a whole. It is necessary to stress this aspect and to dem-

onstrate the impact of violence on employment, health, and education of victims and their families. From a broader perspective, however, a development model that increases inequalities, contributes to poverty, deepens inequities, and limits public spending on social policies will have a negative impact on individuals and facilitate violent responses.

Policies to stamp out violence also should be a part of a country's human rights policy. It is necessary to recognize that "broad exercise of citizenship is severely restricted today to compliance with a series of social duties, and in order to exercise democracy in daily life it is necessary to consolidate a firm government policy to recognize the rights of all members of society. The sociopolitical context of domination and inequality in which domestic violence takes place must not be disregarded."¹¹

Finally, antiviolence policies should comprise an important element of cultural policy. Unfortunately, few steps have been taken to promote cultural change that questions hierarchical and authoritarian family structures or discriminatory institutions. Violence, however, cannot be overcome unless there are deep changes in social and family structure in our countries. In particular, an urgent task is to change societal perceptions of women and to teach creative solutions to conflictive situations, which are the source of all aggression.

The actions of civil society will be crucial in combating domestic violence, especially in light of the vicissitudes of public policy that result from political changes. Given the prevalence of the phenomenon in many countries, however, it can no longer remain the exclusive responsibility of NGOs. Government policies for comprehensive treatment should stress participation by the health sector, not only because domestic violence is in part a public health issue, but also because public health prevention and intervention methods have proven effective in dealing with the problem.

As governments begin to address the issue of domestic violence, they must be careful not to overload the already strained services of NGOs by referring victims to these organizations without a concomitant channeling of financial resources. While there are currently no government strategies to boost the funding of NGOs (Ellsberg 1996), such actions are potentially very effective, especially in an era of reductions in international aid.

Another problem area in government-NGO relations is the growing competition for funds between public agencies and NGOs. International agencies that previously funded the latter may channel their support to the former. This is a serious issue, since the capacity built up by people with a great deal of experience in this

area is being dismantled. Paradoxically, as laws are passed in many countries, the organizations that made them possible are disappearing and the resources needed for assistance are being reduced.

Whether efforts are undertaken by governments or NGOs, more emphasis should be placed on the prevention of domestic violence, in addition to treatment for its victims. To date, no consistent work has been done in the field of prevention. Efforts have been piecemeal and scattered, with little impact. Preventive measures should consider the cultural and socioeconomic realities in which humans develop. Prevention of child abuse, spousal abuse, school desertion, delinquency, and drug addiction will have important impacts in terms of reducing future levels of domestic violence. In addition, preventive policies should look at models for rearing children that will redefine gender socialization in future generations and provide nonviolent methods for resolving conflicts, while allowing for differences and appreciating diversity.

Programs that offer assistance to victims of domestic violence will continue to be important and should form an integral part of human rights and development policies. Comprehensive proposals are needed to provide women with the tools they need to establish equality and exercise their civic rights. Finally, more research should be carried out to gain a reliable idea of the extent of abuse in the region, using instruments that produce comparable data and can measure the progress of policies and their impact.

Table 5A Legislation on Domestic Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean**ARGENTINA**

Definition No. 24.417 Protection Against Family Violence (December 7, 1994). Any person who suffers injury or physical or psychological abuse at the hands of a member of the family group may report these actions. "Family group" is that arising out of marriage or consensual unions (Art. 1).

Jurisdiction Family judge (Art. 4)

Precautionary measures Unlimited. The law establishes procedures. May be requested by anyone who is a victim of domestic violence or a crime committed within the relationship of a couple. Some of the measures: provisional custody of minors to the petitioner. Order of mandatory departure from the conjugal home. Prohibition of harassment, persecution, molestation, or intervention in the custody of minors. Prohibition of entry into the place where the petitioner and minors in his/her custody are located. Order to pay support. Order to stop disposition of common property or that belonging to the victim or to annul transactions. Provisional measures concerning use of the parties' residence or common property.

Procedure Summary and urgent. Oral or written charges. Personal participation of the parties. Hearing of the parties and the Public Ministry within 48 hours. Judge may request and have experts conduct "diagnosis of family interaction" to determine physical and psychic injury to the victim, degree of danger, and the social and environmental setting. Impose precautionary measures without separate proceedings. Within 48 hours of the decree, the judge may call a mediation hearing, ordering the parties to attend. Crimes have established penalties restricting freedom. Violation of protective orders constitutes a crime and authorizes the police to make an arrest. Restriction of release on bond of those who have violated restrictive orders, of permission to leave the country or of parole of those convicted of this law.

BOLIVIA

Definition No. 1.674 Law Against Family or Domestic Violence (December 15, 1995). Aggression of any kind involving relations between couples of any type, formal or informal, whether living or having lived together, as well as those who have had children together, to produce injuries to the victim or his or her property

Jurisdiction Various officials may investigate charges and impose protective measures. National Police, Public Ministry, communal authorities, national officials of native peoples, judicial authority, family assistance brigades.

Precautionary measures Unlimited. Prohibition or limit of the aggressor's presence in the home. Authorization for the victim to leave the common residence. Arrange for the immediate surrender of personal effects. Prohibit or limit the presence of the accused from the place of study or work of the victim. Duration: may not exceed 60 days and specifically temporary.

Procedure Following complaint to the judicial authority, which may be oral or written, a hearing is scheduled within 24 hours. The parties must appear with all their evidence. At the hearing, the judge may order precautionary measures and must issue a sentence, which can be appealed.

Sanctions Compensation for injury to the victim. Arrest for up to four days. Community service.

Table 5A (continued)**CHILE**

Definition No. 19.325 Establishes norms of procedures and sanctions for acts of family violence (August 19, 1994). Any abuse that affects the physical or psychological health of any adult who is the relative, spouse, or cohabitant of the aggressor, or any minor or handicapped individual who is a relative, adopted, a ward, or collateral relative to the fourth degree, or who is in the care or a dependent of the family group living under the same roof. Anyone who carries out such actions, even if not living with the family group, will be punished as provided by Article 4 of this law.

Jurisdiction Judge of the civil bar unless the actions constituting family violence are crimes, in which case the judge of the criminal court is authorized to order precautionary measures.

Procedure Anyone with knowledge of the violent deed may bring charges. Initiated by oral or written charge or complaint. The complaint is presented to the carabineers, investigatory police, or directly to the court. Personal appearance may be made without attorney or judicial representative. At the request of the parties, the judge may order precautionary measures. The judge calls the parties to a hearing for reconciliation and discovery. The parties must attend with all available evidence. The judge establishes the bases for reconciliation. If reconciliation occurs, the proceedings end and there is agreement on means to guarantee the proper joint existence of the nuclear family and the physical and psychological integrity of the victim. If there is no reconciliation, discovery begins. There is no prohibition of witnesses who are relatives or dependents of the parties. The judge calls the parties to hear the sentence within three working days, and may order measures for better resolution.

Sanctions Required attendance at counseling or family orientation programs for no more than six months. Fine to the benefit of the community for the equivalent of one to 10 days of daily income. Imprisonment at any level. Application of the penalty should consider as aggravating circumstances any failure to obey precautionary measures that have been ordered. The law provides for the establishment of a special register, showing the action and punishment, of persons who have been convicted of family violence

COLOMBIA

Definition No. 294 Norms for Prevention, Relief, and Sanction of Family Violence (July 16, 1996). Anyone who physically, psychologically, or sexually abuses any nuclear family member.

Jurisdiction Family Judge

Precautionary measures Unlimited. Judges may order them immediately and permanently. Basis for sentencing. Removal of the aggressor, prohibition of visits; temporary protection and support; educational and therapeutic treatment; special protection for the victim.

Procedure Any person may request a precautionary or protective measure of any type within eight days of an occurrence of family violence. Upon receipt of the report, within four hours the judge may order protective measures warning the aggressor to stop the violence. Call for a reconciliation hearing and testimony; invitation to find a formula to resolve the conflict. Failure of the aggressor to appear constitutes acceptance of the plaintiff's charge. Dismissal. At the end of the hearing, judge issues the sentence, which may be appealed.

Sanctions Those indicated as permanent protective measures. Failure to comply is punished by fines and arrest in case of repetition. Deprivation of freedom if the violence constitutes a crime.

Table 5A Legislation on Domestic Violence (continued)**COSTA RICA**

Definition No. 7.586 Law against Domestic Violence (April 1996). Reference is made to violence against physical integrity, emotional health, personal development or psychological self-determination, behavior to obtain sexual contact for oneself or other parties, and that exercised against property, personal documents, or the inheritance of the victim. The law protects couples, whether of marriage or common law union, and those connected through kinship, affinity, or the relationship of guardianship, tutelage, or curatorship.

Jurisdiction Family court judge unless the action constitutes a crime, in which case it goes to criminal jurisdiction.

Precautionary measures Unlimited, including order of official entry and search, according to the code of criminal procedure, in cases of domestic violence. Confiscation of weapons of the alleged aggressor. Provisional suspension of guardianship, care, and education of the children by the aggressor. Attachment of the property of the alleged aggressor for up to three months. Order of economic compensation for injury. Issuance of an order for police protection. They may last for one to six months and may be requested by the victim or public or private institutions with programs for the protection of human rights and the family. They are supervised by domiciliary visits of social workers.

Procedure When the charges are brought, the judge convenes the parties within 72 hours and, at the hearing, orders protective measures. If there is an appeal, it should be resolved within 15 days but enforcement is not suspended. They are lifted if there is a reconciliation. If there is a bond, a final judgment that there be no repeated offenses by the aggressor. There are no sanctions other than those established for actions constituting crimes.

ECUADOR

Definition No. 839 Law against Violence to Women and the Family (November 14, 1995). Any action or omission constituting physical, psychological, or sexual abuse by a family member against the wife or other members of the nuclear family. There is no special type to which the Penal Code applies.

Jurisdiction Family Judge, *Comisariías* [police stations] for women and families police, provincial authorities, national police, municipal authorities, and criminal judges or courts.

Precautionary measures Limited, with reliance on the police. Removal of the aggressor from the household. Prohibition of access to the person's place of work or study. Return of the victim to the home, removal of the aggressor, protection of the children. Treatment for the family and orders of assistance for the victim. Avoidance of acts of intimidation by the aggressor or other parties against the victim and victim's family.

Procedure Any person may bring charges. Within eight days, judge calls the parties to a hearing of response and reconciliation. If there is no reconciliation, the case is opened for a discovery period of six days. At the end of the discovery period and upon receipt of the reports, the judge issues the sentence.

Sanctions Compensation to the victim. Replacement of property destroyed by the aggressor, replaced by community service if the aggressor lacks means.

Table 5A (continued)**EL SALVADOR**

Definition Prevention of Family Violence (November 1995). The violence to which the law refers may be physical, psychological, or sexual but in the last case, it only regulates behavior that is not characterized as a crime by the criminal laws. It is considered necessary to characterize violent acts because this characterization allows identification of means for adequate protection of victims.

Jurisdiction Judge of the Criminal Court

Precautionary measures The measures are not limited and are the same as those of Costa Rican law, except those concerning official entry and search and the confiscation of weapons of the alleged aggressor, which are not included. It adds the prohibition against consumption of alcohol or drugs by the violator, the requirement that the violator and victim attend counseling, and the payment to the victim of the expenses of moving, medical treatment, and therapy. Temporary measures, and the judge decides the duration.

Procedure Anticipates reconciliation.

Sanctions Failure to comply with protective measures constitutes a crime. Repeated offenses are also punished.

MEXICO

Definition Law of Assistance and Prevention of Family Violence, April 26, 1996. Establishes that the objective is to eradicate violence among family members related through kinship or civil affinal bonds of marriage, concubinage, or common law unions.

Jurisdiction The law is considered to be administrative, through amicable settlement, because it provides no sanctions against the aggressor.

Precautionary measures Unlimited. Aggressor prohibited from approaching the victim. Exclusion of the aggressor from the home.

Procedure No rules have been issued for special procedures; general rules are applied to all procedures.

NICARAGUA

Definition No. 230 Modification of the Penal Code (October 9, 1996). Acts of physical or psychological aggression committed against members of the family, considering these to be the spouse or companion in a stable union with children, the woman or man in his capacity as father or mother, alone or living together with the sons and daughters, and collateral relatives to the third degree of kinship or affinity (Art. 237 of the Penal Code).

Jurisdiction Judge of the Criminal Court

Precautionary measures Unlimited. Establishes protective measures such as prohibition of access by the accused to the home or place of work of the victim; return of the victim to the home; granting of medical, psychological, or psychiatric care to the victim and/or the accused; order of physical and psychosocial examination of minors involved in family violence; request of adequate guarantees by the accused for the injuries caused the victim; confiscation of weapons in the possession of the accused; temporary award of custody of the minors.

Procedure Criminal procedure augmented by the authority of the judge to decree protective measures.

Sanctions No alternatives are presented to those of the criminal system.

Table 5A Legislation on Domestic Violence (continued)**PERU**

Definition No. 26.260 Law on the Policy of the State and Society toward Family Violence (December 12, 1993). Acts of physical and psychological abuse between spouses, cohabitants, or coparents, and abuse committed against minors by their parents or guardians.

Jurisdiction The law authorizes, without distinction, various state agents to investigate these causes and impose sanctions. A civil judge (Art. 9 and 10) may adopt precautionary measures. A judge of the criminal court may intervene in cases of crime. A judge of minors is subject to the provisions of the Code of Children and Adolescents.

Precautionary measures Unlimited. Some measures: orders to remove the aggressor from the home. Admission of inventory to preserve property if the victim leaves the home.

Procedure *Comisarías* [police offices] for women or minors receive reports and conduct investigations. Recommendation for specialized personnel to hear complaints. Public Ministry: arrange couples mediation and order precautionary measures when deemed necessary.

Sanctions Crimes of homicide, injury, against honor, coercion, kidnapping, violation of sexual freedom, when these involve persons to which the law refers. Treatment of the aggressor when circumstances so indicate.

PUERTO RICO

Definition No. 54 For Prevention and Intervention in Domestic Violence (August 15, 1989). An ongoing pattern of behavior using physical force or psychological violence, intimidation, or persecution of a person by the spouse, former spouse, cohabitant, or coparent, causing physical injury to person, or property or causing serious emotional harm. (Art. 1.3k). Creation of new penal categories: crimes of abuse, aggravated abuse, abuse by threat, abuse by restriction of freedom, and spousal sexual aggression.

Jurisdiction Criminal court judge; for protective orders, any judge of the Court of First Instance of Puerto Rico, including district and superior court judges.

Precautionary measures Limited: Exclusion of the aggressor from entry into home or place of work or study of the victim. Establishment of temporary support. Child custody and visits.

Procedure For prosecution of crimes, ordinary proceedings. For protective orders procedure is flexible. May be requested orally or in writing on standard forms. Upon receipt of the request, within five working days the judge calls the parties to a hearing, but may also rule without summons or notification if legal requirements are met.

URUGUAY

Definition No. 16.707 Article 18 of the Law of Citizen Safety Modifies the Penal Code. July 12, 1995. Domestic Violence (Art. 321, Penal Code) One who, through repeated violence or threats, causes personal injuries to a person with whom s/he has had ties of affection or kinship.

Jurisdiction Judge of a Criminal Court

Procedure Crime subject to official prosecution through ordinary procedures.

Sanctions Penalty imposed is from 6 to 24 months of imprisonment. If the victim is a woman, a minor, physically handicapped, or psychologically diminished, who is a relative or cohabitant of the aggressor, penalty is increased by one third to one half.

Source: Prepared by Graciela Aracibia.

Endnotes

¹ Antony and Miller stress the impact of violence, defining it as an “act committed within the family, by one of its members, which seriously threatens the life, limb, psychological integrity, or freedom of another family member.”

² Astelarra stresses the cultural values involved in violent behavior, noting that violence “is the product of patriarchal traits in society and the family which generate a new gamut of conflicts when they clash with the values of equality and liberty.”

³ Mayer describes the different types of aggression involved in domestic violence, defining it as “abuse that occurs between members of the family, the couple, or between people who have lived together at some point in their lives. This abuse almost always takes place at home and consists of: (a) physical aggression, including minor and major assault; (b) sexual abuse; and (c) emotional abuse, which includes psychological degradation, verbal humiliation, continuing threats of abandonment, threats of physical aggression, economic blackmail, and reclusion in the home.”

⁴ Rico, N. “Violencia de género: Un problema de derechos humanos,” *Serie Mujer y Desarrollo* No. 16, ECLAC.

⁵ The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provided support for this project.

⁶ The sources for the prevalence data are:

Chile: Larraín 1994.

Colombia: PROFAMILIA 1990.

Costa Rica: Quiroz and Barrantes 1994.

Mexico: Granados Shiroma 1996.

Nicaragua: Ellsberg et al. 1996.

Peru: Gonzales and Gavilano (see Chapter 2).

Uruguay: Larraín 1997.

⁷ The data were provided by the Statistics Office of the Civil Police Force of the State of Rio de Janeiro (see Chapter 9).

⁸ Information on the agreement, figures on assistance, and working methods can be found in “Un telefono que da que hablar. 414177,” a publication of the Municipality of Montevideo and the PLEMUU Foundation, 1995.

⁹ Plan Nacional para la Atención y Prevención de la Violencia Intrafamiliar: Plan Operativo, 1996-1998. San José, Costa Rica.

¹⁰ The distribution of students by profession is 50 percent psychologists, 35 percent social workers, 10 percent lawyers, 2 percent physicians, and 3 percent other professions (anthropology, sociology, psychopedagogy). Ninety percent of graduates are women and 10 percent are men.

¹¹ This is a direct quote from the background paper prepared by Ana María San Juan.

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Building a Network to Assist Victims: Monterrey, Mexico

Marcela Granados Shiroma

This is a story about how several organizations, with different missions and structures, joined together to coordinate a network of comprehensive services for victims of domestic violence and their families. The story began in 1996 in metropolitan Monterrey in the state of Nuevo León, Mexico. A study by the State Population Council had revealed a grave social problem that demanded immediate attention. Out of 1,064 women selected at random from the female population 15 years old and older, nearly half (491, or 46.1 percent) answered yes to at least one question about whether they suffered psychological, physical, and/or sexual violence from a partner. Nearly four out of ten respondents (193, or 39.3 percent) stated that the degree of violence was high or very high. The age group most affected was between 30 and 34 years old; the group between 15 and 19 years of age followed.

Even before these data were published, the issue of domestic abuse had reached the public agenda. Several institutions that later joined the network were already organizing efforts to raise awareness about the problem. Some groups had already decided to cooperate, with very encouraging results.

The idea for a formal network of institutions to provide integrated services to the victims of domestic abuse and their families grew out of a seminar-workshop on the abuse of children. The workshop was organized by the Psychology Faculty of the Autonomous University of Nuevo León and the Mental Health Institute, a national institution affiliated with the Ministry of Education. Representatives from twelve institutions attending the event recognized that a coordinated approach could benefit users. They also realized that a network could maximize their limited financial and human resources, allowing them to serve more people effectively. The State Population Council in Nuevo León then invited several organizations to establish an inter-institutional team aimed at preventing and curbing domestic violence.¹ Although the Council does not provide direct assistance or service for the

victims of violence, it is closely involved in research on the issue and planning alternative solutions; it thus offers an appropriate venue for the consolidation of the network.

The team eventually put together a model for assisting victims of domestic violence. But first the participants had to work out the mission, strategies, and organization of the network itself.

Setting Up the Network

The twelve institutions that made up the working group on violence and health agreed to several important rules of procedure at their first meeting.²

- It was not a priority to identify an institution that would represent or lead the group.
- The group would not identify with any political stance or party.
- The team would not simply be the sum of its members, but rather the result of integrated action.
- To prepare the mission statement and forge common values, each institution would appoint two participants, a delegate and an alternate, to ensure continuity with regard to agreements, decisions, and commitments.
- A work plan would be prepared containing objectives, strategies, and lines of action. Areas for action would be identified on the basis of existing resources, and each institution would make known to the others its resources, programs, and work methods.

To determine the expectations for the network, each institution completed a questionnaire. That information was used to establish the team's mission and objectives and to pool information about structure, organization, services, programs, resources, assistance models, existing types of coordination, and geographic areas of influence.

Next, the team focused on the specific work each institution would do. In fact, some organizations were working on similar programs and encountering very similar problems. In some geographic areas of the city, their activities were duplicated and even triplicated. This awareness made it possible to strengthen some activities already under way, and to cover neglected areas. The group also reviewed legislation and legal documents, seeking guidance for establishing a legal frame of reference for the team. The team discovered that the Basic Public Administration Act of the State of Nuevo León, the State Health Act, and the Social Welfare Act all

Implementing a Network: Three Stages

Stage 1

Identify the situation of the participating institutions
 Devise a strategy to integrate the work group
 Formulate the mission statement, goals, general and specific objectives, strategies, and lines of action
 Present the different programs carried out by each institution
 Define the functions to be developed
 Identify existing resources
 Estimate response capacity
 Identify facilities and any necessary renovations
 Establish committees
 Identify personnel to be involved, depending on their functions, by level of assistance
 Devise a strategy to inform and sensitize the public
 Conduct an orientation and sensitization program for initial contact personnel
 Implement a continuing education program for personnel in the participating institutions
 Prepare a general information form to be used by the participating institutions
 Prepare a directory of institutions, giving name, address, telephone number, name of director and chiefs of services, services offered, hours of service and costs (if applicable)
 Prepare a referral and counter-referral card
 Prepare a plan to optimize resources

Stage 2

Prepare research agreements
 Train personnel from the institutions who will be team members
 Present projects to obtain funding for research, work, equipment, and services
 Identify other institutions that could join the team
 Provide assistance to victims of domestic violence and their families
 Refer cases among team members, using the referral and counter-referral cards
 Follow up cases and record results
 Analyze the data base
 Establish a degree program for studies in gender-based domestic violence

Stage 3

Continue training institutional and community personnel
 Train new personnel entering the program
 Evaluate coverage, costs, and impact regularly and systematically
 Adjust overall strategies and redesign intervention strategies if necessary

referred to meeting the needs for protection, well-being, and health of society in general, and the needs of vulnerable groups in particular.

One of the group's initial educational activities was to organize a professional development course to unify theoretical concepts and intervention criteria. To begin a public dialogue on domestic violence, public forums were held on its impact in Nuevo León, focusing on the family, the status of women, child development, and adolescence. All these forums were invoked by the State Population Council, in conjunction with other institutions such as the State System for Comprehensive Family Development (DIF) and the Ministry of Health. To inform the public of the problem, team members participated in radio and television programs and worked with the press to discuss issues related to domestic violence.

Like any other evolving group, the team has encountered challenges in the consolidation process. These led to better understanding of our strengths and weaknesses, allowing the team to respond more effectively.

Framework of Activities

The inter-institutional team defined itself as a group of professionals from different fields committed to preventing domestic violence, assisting and rehabilitating victims, and studying the phenomenon.

Mission

The team's mission is to work together to design an integrated system of general and individual actions to prevent domestic violence and to assist families at risk, as well as victims. More specifically, the team identified the needs of its target population as follows:

- Education to foster a culture of nonviolence
- Counseling and legal, medical, psychological, and psychiatric assistance
- Facilities offering temporary support for women and families, which are accessible to the families both geographically and financially
- Policies to prevent violence
- Codification of domestic violence as a criminal offense.

The Assistance Model

With these goals and framework in place, the network developed a model for assistance that met specific criteria: the team had to provide suitable and timely assistance to the victims of domestic abuse and their families, in line with available resources and the network's capacity to respond. Coverage had to reach a great many people, but the assistance provided had to be specific to an individual's particular situation. The program itself had to be identifiable and accessible to its users, and inexpensive to start up.

The assistance model has three levels of service. The *first level* is intended to identify victims of abuse and their families, sensitize them to the dynamics of abuse, provide counseling and medical diagnosis, if needed, and refer the victim and her family to the appropriate institutions for further treatment and assistance. This level of service is based on the existing health care system and includes clinics, health centers, community centers, outpatient and emergency clinics in hospitals, and community health care workers (health promoters, technicians, and assistants). Not only is the health care system in a strategic position to identify and refer people who are subject to violence, but it may be the only way to contact victims of abuse, especially those who are unwilling to report the abuse directly. The education sector, mediators, neighbors, and others might also intervene at this stage.

The *second level* includes institutions that provide specialized counseling for persons subject to violence and those suffering its consequences, such as children. Programs to assist aggressors are available, as are family and group therapy and workshops. Once a person or family members complete this level, they are sent to a health or community development center, which will monitor future developments.

At the *third level*, hospitals and specialized institutions provide specific management and treatment for cases of injury resulting from domestic violence, and also undertake interventions at the family level. When necessary, actions on any of the three levels may be carried out simultaneously with family members and/or other community agents.

After receiving treatment at the third level, the victims are channeled back to the second level to complete any treatment plans and are subsequently referred to the first level for monitoring.

At all three levels, sensitization and training programs are offered. The inter-institutional team also sponsors studies of the problem of domestic violence and of ways to identify those people who are victims or at risk of becoming victims. Educational programs to promote nonviolence are also part of the overall model.

Benefits of the Network and its Model

Even though the network has existed for only a short time, it has already demonstrated several benefits. First of all, it is a coordinated response to a real problem. The network structure does not restrict the setting of priorities or growth in the number of units and services, since it permits other entities and interventions to be included. The specific nature of the interventions makes it possible to provide service with a minimum of resources for a larger number of people. The model itself is dynamic and flexible, ensuring action and monitoring at each of its levels. And because it is coordinated through the network, coverage can be increased and efforts and resources combined to provide specific services with a better response capacity.

As a result of its initial successes, the network is pursuing several additional options for increasing and strengthening available services.

The College of Mexico will establish a continuing advisory program. Teachers and researchers from the College of Mexico will offer members of the inter-institutional team a professional development course on ways to counter domestic violence. The College of Mexico will also sponsor quarterly meetings with representatives from different service, research, and academic institutions at the national level.

The Autonomous University of Nuevo León, through the Department of Psychology, and the International Rotary Club will sign an agreement, under which the school will build and the Club will equip a clinical unit to assist victims of domestic violence. The Department of Psychology of the Autonomous University of Nuevo León and the College of Mexico will offer a degree for studies in domestic violence from a gender perspective.

Actions will be coordinated with the adolescent assistance program of the *State Under-Secretariat of Health*. In order to study the problems associated with domestic violence, meetings will be held with members of the state government. Opportunities to publicize the network's efforts to combat domestic violence will be sought in various mass media.

Lessons Learned

Throughout the process of establishing the network, we have shared experiences that broadened our vision of the problem, and helped identify our strengths and areas of opportunity. We have learned that domestic abuse afflicts all segments of society, and demands joint actions by different players in different scenarios. When

agencies work in isolation, unaware of other programs and actions, resources cannot be optimized, and much greater effort is required to meet the needs of victims. Without a service network, victims of domestic abuse go from one agency to another, seeking suitable responses to their needs. If victims cannot find help quickly, they often stop seeking assistance. Moreover, a failed attempt to find help can result in unnecessary expenses and reaffirm their role as victims, with negative consequences both for the women and for their families.

Endnotes

¹ The following organizations have formalized their participation in the network: the Government's General Secretariat, through the State Population Council and the Violence Victim Assistance Center (CAVIDE); the Ministry of Health, through the Mental Health Program and Reproductive Health Program; the Mental Health Institute; the Ministry of Education; the Comprehensive Family Development System (DIF), through DIF Nuevo Leon, DIF Monterrey, DIF Santa Catarina, DIF San Nicolas, and DIF San Pedro; and the Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon, through the Faculty of Psychology. The following institutions are also actively participating in the network: the State Human Rights Commission; the National Institute of Youth and Sports, through its program, Causa Joven; Pacific Alternatives; the University of Monterrey, through its Center for Family Research; the Psychiatric Unit of University Hospital; and the Crime Prevention Unit of the Public Safety Ministry.

² As a starting point, the team used a proposal for the establishment of a Working Group that was written by Irma Saucedo of the Interdisciplinary Women's Studies Program (Programa Interdisciplinario de Estudios de la Mujer) of the College of Mexico.

Using Hotlines to Deal with Domestic Violence: El Salvador

Enrique Valdez

In 1993, at the end of the civil war, El Salvador undertook a plan for national reconstruction. This plan calls for much more than physical reconstruction; it also requires the moral reconstruction of society. As part of that process, the current government has made it a priority to promote equal opportunity for all Salvadorans—especially equality between the sexes.

One example is the government initiative known as the Program to Strengthen the Family (*Programa de Saneamiento de la Relación Familiar*, or PSRF), coordinated by the Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women (*Instituto Salvadoreño para el Desarrollo de la Mujer*). The PSRF takes a multidisciplinary approach to domestic violence, offering comprehensive services to assist people who contact the “Friend of the Family” Hotline (*Teléfono Amigo de la Familia*). The hotline operates 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

The PSRF takes a holistic approach toward caring for Salvadoran families. The program provides family members with a comprehensive range of support services—emotional, psychological, social, medical, and legal. In this way, the PSRF endeavors to address and prevent domestic violence in all its forms. By coordinating our strategies and services, we have moved beyond the ad hoc approach that has so often failed to provide meaningful solutions for people’s problems. Our efforts encompass a broad range of goals, depending on the needs of victims.

Emotional support. The “Friend of the Family” Hotline deals with emergency situations. In a departure from traditional practice, callers are not expected to come to us. Instead, when someone calls for help, we dispatch a logistical team straight to the scene to provide the victim with immediate protection. The team arrives within five minutes. The team assesses the case using previously designed protocols, and individuals are referred to the appropriate institution if necessary.

Medical care. A network of public health centers provides any necessary medical care to the victim and her family.

Psychological and social services. Counseling and other services are provided to the victim and/or the abuser through several institutions.

Legal advice. Legal counseling is also available, in accordance with El Salvador's adoption of international conventions on the rights of the child, elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, the convention of Belém Do Pará, and the approval of the Family Code and the Law on the Prevention of Intra-Family Violence (*Ley de Prevención de la Violencia Intrafamiliar*). If the episode is classified as a misdemeanor (*falta*), the case is referred to the Attorney General's Office (*Procuradaria General de la Republica*), and reconciliation is attempted. If the woman decides not to pursue reconciliation, she may receive legal counseling on other options. If the episode is classified as a felony (*delito*), the case is referred to the public prosecutor's office (*Fiscalia General de la Republica*) for the appropriate legal action.

Inter-institutional coordination. An inter-institutional agreement has been signed that pledges support to the PSRF from important public sector institutions. The Supreme Court (*Corte Suprema de Justicia*) has pledged training for judges in both Family Courts and Peace Courts (*Tribunales de Familia* and *Tribunales de Paz*) in domestic violence. The Attorney General's Office provides dispute resolution and psychological counseling to victims and aggressors. The public prosecutor's office agrees to prosecute vigorously felony cases that reach it. The National Civil Police (*Policia Nacional Civil*) has offered a two-pronged strategy. Through their emergency 121 number, they are committed to ensuring that police arrive at the scene of domestic violence within five minutes. At the same time, the police, in coordination with the PSRF, have trained special units to handle domestic violence cases. These units arrive within 15 minutes and replace the rapid response team at the scene. Finally, the Salvadoran Institute for Child Protection (*Instituto Salvadoreño para la Protección al Menor*) will investigate the possibility of child abuse in cases when the police indicate a suspicion of such abuse.

During the two years it has been in operation, the hotline has been extended to cover the thirteen districts of San Salvador, and there are plans to extend it to the rest of the country. The program has already benefited more than 28,000 people directly and more than 98,000 people indirectly (see Table 7.1). Two-thirds of the cases handled have been classified as "emotional abuse," and nearly a quarter have involved "intrafamily physical violence." Sexual offenses accounted for about 3 percent of the cases, and child abuse for the remaining 6 percent.

Table 7.1 Cases Treated by the Better Families Program, 1995-1997

Year	Intrafamily violence	Sexual aggression	Child abuse counseling	Psychological	Total
1995	1,753	258	449	5,224	7,684
1996	2,172	299	596	6,031	9,098
1997	3,845	479	4334	3,452	12,110
Total	7,770	1,039	5,379	14,707	28,892

The program has taught us a great deal about key aspects of domestic violence, allowing us to enhance our inter-institutional response to calls for help and to provide a better service for our beneficiaries (of both sexes). Victims of domestic abuse are nearly always female, and the abuse usually occurs at home. Slightly more than half the victims are between the ages of twenty-five and forty, and about half are the primary breadwinners for the household. Most of the abusers are the woman's husband or companion; they are about the same age as the women, and they hold steady jobs. Fewer than half the abusers are under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of the violence.

The picture changes somewhat for incidents of sexual abuse. Most victims of sexual abuse are women, a majority under eighteen years of age. Most of these victims are acquainted with their abusers, who are typically close relatives. Alcohol and drug abuse are not generally factors in sexual abuse. This picture contradicts the preconception that sexual abuse happens in out-of-the-way places and occurs between strangers.

The public's growing willingness to report acts of violence testifies to the success of the hotline program. The program's primary achievements include the following:

The national system of safeguards against domestic violence is becoming stronger, marked by the enthusiasm and dedication of the various institutions involved. The program's activities have heightened the awareness of government officials at all levels, as well as civic leaders and nongovernmental organizations, to the problems of domestic violence.

A first-rate staff has been mobilized, and works in accordance with a consistent set of principles—thus maximizing use of the available resources. Because of the staff's exemplary professional and ethical behavior, the program has grown more through word of mouth than through formal advertising. A new computer information system helps the staff process cases expeditiously and analyze them effectively.

The hotline has been tied into the National Civil Police's emergency 121 system, which means that police and family counselors can be on the spot within three to five minutes. In addition, we have a well-equipped ambulance service. All police staff working on the emergency 121 system have had training in both theory and practice to enable them to deal effectively with situations of domestic violence.

Group therapy is provided for victims, abusers, and couples to prevent a recurrence of domestic violence. These efforts include house calls, as well as visits to communities and workplaces to raise public awareness and to detect and prevent domestic violence, sexual assault, and child abuse.

Last but not least, we take pride in contributing to the process of national reconciliation in El Salvador, by reaffirming the principle that "Peace in our society begins within the family."

Helping Men Overcome Violent Behavior toward Women

Francisco Cervantes Islas

CORIAC (the Men's Collective for Egalitarian Relationships) is a nonprofit civic organization in Mexico City that works with men who recognize themselves as violent. Through voluntary self-help groups, the men develop awareness about what makes them violent and learn strategies to help them curb their violent behavior.

The staff of CORIAC believe that violent and authoritarian attitudes can be redefined through a program of guided self-examination. This is a complex process, and not an easy one for the participants. Admitting to others that one has behaved violently toward one's wife and children and sharing thoughts and emotions about power, control, and violence can provoke defensive and defiant attitudes even in those men who are most disposed to self-examination and re-education.

Cultural beliefs about male superiority play an important role in power relationships between men and women. This view of male superiority does not arise simply from inherent traits of males among our species, but is due to a complex process of social learning. Masculinity in our culture is organized around *machismo*, which itself is linked to national, regional, class, and ethnic identities.

The basis for *machismo* has been an attitude of superiority over women in general and other men in particular; thus, when that superiority is challenged, a man may feel compelled to use violence to assert his identity as a man. Learning to avoid violent behavior, particularly toward one's wife, thus means redefining masculinity at a basic level. Each CORIAC participant must ask himself what it means to be a man, a husband, a father, and a "boss." This process involves questioning competition and the abuse of power, overcoming the lack of contact with emotions by finding nonviolent outlets for emotional expression, fostering positive recognition of vulnerability, promoting flexibility in sexual roles, and improving social and problem-solving skills.

The first step for each participant in a CORIAC self-help group is to examine whether he believes that he has greater privileges and fewer obligations than his partner. Each member must review what level of authority he thinks he has over those around him, examine the rationale he uses to attempt to justify his violence, and redefine his assumptions about his own worth. In this context, it is important that the participants' recognition of personal limitations and frailties not turn into a loss of self-worth.

This learning from self-examination is at the heart of CORIAC's re-education program for aggressive men. Through self-examination, participants are helped to understand their violence, to take responsibility for their actions, and to express their emotions through nonviolent forms of behavior. Often this process entails developing aspirations that are different from, and even opposed to, those that the men have assimilated throughout their lives and have had reinforced daily by social and cultural traditions.

Men tend to come to CORIAC during moments of crisis; some have also come at the urging of women's groups, or the attorney general's office. The men most likely to stay in the program are those who are convinced that they have a lot to gain from changing their violent behavior. Those who are unwilling to change are much less likely to stay in the program.

The CORIAC Model

CORIAC had its beginnings in August 1991 in San Francisco, California, at a program sponsored by MANALIVE, an international movement of men against male violence. Aided by trainers from that organization, several men began a period of self-training, which culminated in November 1992 with the establishment of CORIAC's immediate predecessor, the Programa de Reeduccion y Compromiso Responsable para el Hombre Violento.

The current program has been in place since February 1993. It includes three levels of re-education or individual work. Each level has sixteen sessions, with one two-hour session per week. More than 1,000 men have attended at least one session. Some financial support has been received from SEDESOL and Mexico City's Procuraduria de Justicia (Prosecutor's Office), as well as event-specific support from UNICEF, the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation and the Population Council. In addition, CORIAC charges each participant four dollars for each session he attends. Nonetheless, the overall financial situation of CORIAC is precarious, and thus only one of CORIAC's four employees works full time.

First Level

In the first level, each participant discovers how he has absorbed values and practices from the patriarchal culture and identifies how these lead to authoritarianism, domination, coercion, and violence in relationships.

In the reflection group (*grupo de reflexion*), the participants explore the myths and stereotypes of masculinity, expectations of authority, and the services expected from the female partner or spouse. Six elements, or constant factors, of violence are explored. In addition, sixteen topics are discussed that concern masculinity and gender violence, as well as the dynamic of familial violence itself; one topic is reviewed per session.

Each topic is treated in a way that facilitates analysis of each problem or subject from a more experiential perspective. There is a constant attempt to generate introspective processes that require more than reasoning. Examples of topics that come up for discussion are “not knowing how to relate without feeling dominant” or the “lack of ability to express any type of emotion in nondefensive and nonviolent ways.”

Second Level

In the second level, participants move toward deeper identification of their emotions. Men are encouraged to assume responsibility for what they feel and do. When they learn to express their emotions and needs with greater clarity, they foster attitudes that strengthen nonviolent methods of communication and conflict resolution. Thus, introspection regarding feelings is a vital way to relearn traditional masculinity.

During the sessions, each participant describes in detail some act of violence, and the facilitator helps him to identify what is happening to him. Once his emotions become clear, the participant is urged to look for ways to resolve his conflicts on the basis of more equitable and respectful relationships.

Third Level

At the third level, participants work on learning to share decisionmaking with a partner, negotiating on the basis of mutual satisfaction, developing greater emotional self-awareness, and consolidating strategies that seek greater equity with a partner. CORIAC hopes eventually to include another level that would train the participants themselves to duplicate the program, so that more self-help groups could be established.

Results

When someone first comes to CORIAC, he is interviewed about the problems he is having with his mate, and the program is explained to him. Although the majority of these men say that they want to stop their violent behavior and attend the sessions, fewer than half remain in the program for more than one session.

About one-third attend more than five sessions. These men at least begin to understand the root causes of their violent behavior. Two out of ten who start the sessions complete the first level. Those who stay for five months or longer and report great progress move on to the second level; an average of twelve men regularly attend those sessions.

During the five and a half years that we have been operating the self-help groups, an average of eight to twelve new men have entered the program monthly. We are currently working on two levels, and on average, twenty to twenty-five men attend each week. Additional funding is needed to replicate the program on a wider basis.

Obviously, reducing CORIAC's high drop-out rate is a big challenge. A first explanation for the high drop-out rate is that the program is very confrontational, both with respect to values and violent conduct. Our clients sometimes note that the program leaves them with a bitter taste of guilt that is both disturbing and painful—thus leaving men with the desire not to return. It is very difficult to renounce both the privileges and the values that our culture has given us.

A second explanation is that, in order to remain in the program, a man must be convinced of the necessity of changing the prior equilibrium that characterized his relation with his mate. If not, he will be unable to break the culturally mandated commands for men and women.

A third explanation for the high drop-out rate is that the CORIAC program does not work for those who are not capable of questioning their own authority. In the end, our approach does not convince such people, because they continue to believe that they "went overboard," but are not "bad." Even though they are in crisis, they may still be unwilling to admit that their worldview is not helping them resolve their conflicts. Nor is the crisis a guarantee that they will be able to overcome their denial mechanisms and lack of self-criticism.

CORIAC is currently evaluating its program using reports from a women's group that includes the companions of CORIAC participants. These reports indicate that although men are able to express what they want more clearly—although sometimes with some manipulation—women are concerned that men are still in-

capable of accepting women's decisions and way of thinking. Violence continues to be a concern—although physical violence is reduced.

Our experience shows that the CORIAC model can be successful for those men who stay in the program. Men who have reached the second level of training say that they now recognize their violent natures and have been able to reduce violent outbursts to near zero.

In some cases, the tension in the couple's relationship has not improved, and in a few cases, couples have split up. For the most part, however, men who have spent longer periods with the group report more intimate communication with their mates and children as a result.

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Dealing with Crimes against Women: Brazil

Martha Mesquita da Rocha

The struggle for meaningful enforcement of laws protecting women from domestic violence took a major step forward in Brazil in 1986 with the creation of a special crime unit specifically designed to deal with cases of abuse. In November 1985, the State of Rio de Janeiro created a new agency within the civil police where women could bring complaints of abuse by their husbands, companions, or strangers and receive appropriate help. As initially established, the regular police were to undertake any criminal investigations related to the abuse.

In July 1986, after police officers assigned to this agency were instrumental in identifying and arresting a taxi driver who had committed several rapes, a Special Unit to Attend to Women was opened in downtown Rio. Five more units were later set up in other sections of the state to work with regular police units to investigate and enforce laws protecting women from violence. These laws cover bodily injury, abandonment of disabled persons, abortion caused by a third party, mistreatment, illegal coercion, threats, kidnaping and illegal imprisonment, rape, sexual assault, and corruption of minors.

At the request of the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Institute for the Study of Religion (ISER) in 1993 was charged with reviewing the performance of the special units. To this end, ISER reviewed all the incidents of domestic abuse reported to the special units for downtown Rio and western Rio, (Duque de) Caxias and Nova Iguaçu during 1992.

The reviews provided interesting information about the characteristics of the population served by the special units. The typical victim of domestic violence is a woman who is abused by her husband or, less often, by her companion. This couple is typically poor and poorly educated. The woman who seeks out the special unit has already been assaulted several times, but does not wish to break up the relationship; she believes she must be loyal to her husband. Often, the woman resorts

to the special unit as a pressure tactic, a defense, or a bargaining ploy in the conjugal battle, after mediation by the family, neighbors, or community has proved ineffective. Our sense is that she is seeking a useful tool for renegotiating the domestic social pact. The man, on the other hand, believes that exercising domestic violence is a way of protecting his honor.

Other relevant characteristics of victims and abusers include the following:

- The dominant age cohort among the victims is 26–35 years.
- The offenders are between 26 and 45 years old.
- Among the victims, 48.6 percent are white, 38.5 percent are mixed race, and 12.9 percent are black. Two-fifths of the offenders are mixed race, two-fifths are white, and the remaining one-fifth is black.
- A considerable number of the women state that they are housewives.
- Only 2 percent of the offenders are classified as unpaid workers, and only 5.5 percent are unemployed.
- Nearly two-thirds of the victims had some schooling at the primary level; 17 percent had reached or completed the secondary level.

The ISER study uncovered a strong association between drunkenness or alcoholism and the incidence of assaults. In 30 percent of the cases, the victims report that the offender is alcoholic or was inebriated at the time of the aggression. Alcoholism or drunkenness was present in 85 percent of the cases in which prior incidents of assault were reported.

Finally, the ISER study found that most incidents take place on Monday, with Saturdays and Sundays coming in second. Slightly more than two-fifths of the reported incidents occurred during the day, between 8:00 am and 6:00 PM; another two-fifths occurred between 6:00 PM and midnight; and the remainder after midnight.

Since the special units were launched, the number of incidents reported to them has grown steadily, climbing from 3,631 in 1991 to 9,121 in 1996. Of these, the great majority (6,264) involved bodily injury; another 2,211 involved threats to women (see Table 9.1). The increased number of reports is seen not as a sign of increasing violence, but rather of heightened public attention to the problem. A growing number of women are reporting abuse, because they feel confident that the special units will give them the support and protection they need.

In 1995, the Chief of the Civil Police for Rio de Janeiro established a Permanent Commission to study and implement improvements in the special units, in-

Table 9.1 Incidents Reported to Special Units, 1991 and 1996

Crime	1991	1996
Bodily injury	2,685	6,264
Rape	82	228
Threat	—	2,211
Other crimes	864	418
Total	3,631	9,121

Source: Special Units to Attend to Women-DGPE/SERC, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

cluding establishing standard operating procedures. This Commission, with broad popular participation, reviewed the work of the special units and pointed out that the police offices were mainly serving poor housewives and children. Thus, the special units were making it possible for women with few other options to overcome shame and fear and to gain access to a basic element of citizenship: the right to safety, to life, and to physical and psychological integrity.

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Legislative and Judicial Reforms Regarding Domestic Violence: Costa Rica

Zarela Villanueva

A primary obligation of any judicial system is to respond to citizens' need for social justice. No judicial system should perpetuate societal imbalances. When other public institutions and nongovernmental organizations promote reform, judicial systems cannot remain as obstacles to change. Instead, they are obliged to provide equal treatment to those seeking protection of their rights. Recognizing the human rights of women and children is a step in this direction.

Since the 1970s, Costa Rica has adopted international standards on women's rights and enacted them into law. Initially, however, traditional attitudes about the roles of men and women and privacy of the family prevented adequate enforcement. Not only were police officers unwilling to intervene in domestic quarrels, but the judicial system was unwilling to prosecute men who abused their wives and children. The country passed legislation to overcome those difficulties. Even more importantly, the Supreme Court undertook a series of programs and workshops to train members of the judicial system. From justices to support personnel, they learned about the issues involved in domestic violence, and became sensitive to gender prejudice in their own attitudes and beliefs.

Women and the Legal System

Until 1990, the only legal protection against domestic abuse came in the penal code, under a section that set out penalties for injury or disability inflicted by one person on another. Attempts by women to seek protection from an abusive partner were frustrating. Often, the police were reluctant to intervene because family conflicts were traditionally considered to be private affairs to be settled without outside intervention. In the unlikely event that a man was prosecuted and convicted for assaulting his wife, the fine imposed was usually small or the prison sentence gen-

The Status of Women in Costa Rica

Since 1950, the life patterns of Costa Rican women have altered markedly. Demographic profiles have changed, particularly because the birth rate has fallen sharply. In the early 1990s, women had an average of three children, compared to an average of 6.7 in 1950. Despite the decline in the birth rate, 35 percent of the population is under age fifteen.

Marriage statistics have remained stable for more than two decades, while divorce has increased considerably in recent years. More than half the women who are older than fourteen are in some form of relationship with a man. Exact figures on the number of consensual unions are unavailable, but the number is considered to be high. Forty percent of all children are born outside marriage. One out of five families is headed by a woman.

The number of women in the labor market has grown strikingly in the last twenty years. Thirty percent of all women of working age work; two-fifths of those are domestic workers. Although Costa Rican women have high levels of education, they continue to have fewer employment opportunities than do men, and they earn less. Childcare and other services required by working women have not kept pace with the increase in the numbers of women in the workplace.

erally short or suspended. In either case, the man was returned rapidly to the family, perhaps more aggressive than before.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, the legislature in 1990 enacted Costa Rica's first law to refer explicitly to violence against women, the Law to Promote the Social Equality of Women. This law authorized the courts to order an abusive husband out of the home immediately and to continue to pay for the family's upkeep while the husband and wife tried to work out their differences. But this law too went unenforced, largely because many judges and police officers did not believe in ordering the owner of a house to leave his property.

Finally on March 25, 1996, Costa Rica enacted the Law against Domestic Violence, which enabled protective measures to be enforced without the need for a criminal or civil proceeding. Under this law, anyone who inflicts psychological, physical, or sexual violence on a relative or who squanders the household assets of that relative may face several consequences:

- The abuser may be ordered out of the common household and prohibited access to the household and to the victim's workplace.
- He may be prohibited temporarily from caring for, raising, and educating his minor children. If sexual abuse of the children has been alleged, he may also be prohibited from visiting those children.

- Any weapons he has may be seized.
- He may be ordered to pay for the family's food, for the victim's medical care, and for any property damage that might have resulted from the incident.

The law was immediately challenged as violating the due rights of the abuser, but the Constitutional Chamber upheld it. In its decision, the Chamber wrote:

Also at stake are the rights to life, health, and physical integrity of the members of the nuclear family, which are all guaranteed by the Constitution and by international human rights law. These rights are seriously compromised when a family member takes advantage of his physical strength or position of authority, to inflict physical, sexual, or psychological abuse on other family members, or to squander their household assets. As a concession to the maintenance of the family unit and the integrity of the family members, legislators considered it appropriate to provide the victims of domestic violence with an expeditious, appropriate proceeding, to ensure them immediate compliance with the constitutional principles mentioned. . . . Even if . . . no hearing is given to the alleged aggressor . . . the higher interest of protecting, without delay, the integrity of the injured person, should prevail.

During the first year the law was in effect, 7,219 legal actions involving domestic violence were reported.

The National Plan for Treating and Preventing Family Violence

Another major advance in the way Costa Rican society deals with domestic violence took place in 1994 with the formation of the National Plan to Treat and Prevent Intra-Family Violence. The plan was coordinated by the National Center for the Development of Women and the Family and promoted by the Office of the First Lady of Costa Rica. It was designed to develop an integrated system of services and actions to prevent domestic violence—and, when such violence does occur, to deal both with the victims and the offenders. The multidisciplinary plan involves several ministries, notably Justice, Public Safety, Health, Labor and Social Security, Housing, Information, and Culture, Youth, and Sports. It also involves other institutions and public offices, such as state universities, the Public Defender's Office, and nongovernmental organizations working in this field.

Although this program is less than four years old, it has already accomplished a great deal, including the following:

- Heightened public awareness of and sensitivity to the problem of family violence through a publicity campaign entitled “For a Life without Violence.”
- Strengthened legislation and protective mechanisms dealing with family violence.
- Creation and strengthening of services and programs for families affected by violence. These include the design of a comprehensive care model, which was implemented in two communities; the opening of nearly a dozen women’s offices; and extension of an existing network of shelters and a free emergency help line.
- Development of training, educational, and informational materials; training of more than 1,000 people in various institutions to recognize and deal with problems of family violence; and promotion of research initiatives.

Sensitivity Training within the Judiciary

The Costa Rican judiciary has also been at the forefront in providing sensitivity training programs for judicial personnel, from Supreme Court justices to public defenders and prosecutors to social workers and support personnel. These training programs and workshops focus on theories and dynamics of domestic violence. Their topics include the following: sex-gender theory, power relationships, and analyses of the patriarchal system; the dynamics of specific types of abuse, such as child abuse, rape, other physical violence, and psychological abuse; analyses 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 those programs, several important points have become clear:

- Dealing with domestic violence is fundamental to improving the quality of service offered by the judiciary and thus to furthering the modernization of the judiciary itself.
- The awareness and participation of high officials within the judiciary is necessary if plans and actions dealing with domestic violence are to be successfully promoted, implemented, and monitored. Moreover, the

effectiveness of these programs is ensured only if all members of the judiciary are aware of them.

- Training to sensitize judicial personnel to the problems of gender is fundamental both to improving and providing comprehensive service. Support and auxiliary personnel can intervene appropriately and provide solutions only if they are aware of the problem. Judges, both male and female, will hand down equitable verdicts only if they are sensitive to the dynamics involved in family violence.
- Law schools should include gender sensitivity courses in their programs, and such courses should be mandatory for anyone seeking to pursue a judicial career. Trainers should be of high quality and accorded appropriate prestige.
- Judicial programs relating to domestic violence must involve the entire judicial sector, including police, the forensic medical establishment, and public defenders and prosecutors. These programs must also be continually monitored and evaluated, so that quality is maintained and opportunities for improvement quickly spotted.
- Information about the steps required to access judicial services should be centralized and made available to the public by all public sector service providers.
- Detailed statistics must be compiled to evaluate the quality of law enforcement and to help in finding solutions to specific problems.
- Judicial units should be in contact with other institutions, both public and private, that are working on other aspects of the domestic violence problem.
- Judicial systems should seek available external resources, and devote some of their own resources to programs aimed at heightening awareness of and preventing domestic violence. International financial organizations should also contribute to this effort without delay.

It is evident that the people responsible for administering justice in Costa Rica have not yet been able to cast aside all of their prejudices and erroneous beliefs about domestic violence. A few years of committed work cannot overcome centuries of myths that foster and legitimize gender violence and protect the offender rather than the victim. A continuation of the work already begun, however, will lead to a greater understanding of reality and further enable those in the judiciary to achieve their goal: to deal with gender issues fairly and impartially, or, in other words, to do justice.

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A School-based Anti-violence Program: Canada

Peter Jaffe, Marlies Suderman, and Elaine Schieck

From 1991 to 1993, members of the Canadian Panel on Violence against Women traveled across Canada. They visited 139 communities and heard almost 4,000 presentations on the daily reality of violence against women in their homes, workplaces and on the streets. They learned that the nature and scope of the horror is matched only by the high level of tolerance for violence. Many individuals reported that their communities respond with silence and denial.

Panel members were seeking solutions to violence and a meaningful national action plan. Some three-quarters of the presentations to the Panel suggested that hope for a nonviolent future lay in the education system and the development of violence prevention programs. The challenge for school systems is how to respond to this suggestion. Can we afford to say that we are too busy, underfunded, and overwhelmed with existing social issues that cram an overcrowded curriculum? We believe that schools need to welcome this challenge and join with communities to end the violence.

Considering that three to five children in every classroom already witness violence at home, the need is urgent (Kincaid 1982).¹ In one representative locale (London, Ontario), 21 percent of female students in two high schools who were dating reported that they had experienced physical abuse in a dating relationship; 23 percent said they had experienced sexual abuse; and 57 percent said they had experienced verbal abuse (Suderman and Jaffe 1993).² Moreover, 45 percent of women over the age of eighteen have experienced at least one incident of abuse by a male partner, according to a 1993 Statistics Canada survey of Canadian women, using definitions of assault in the Criminal Code of Canada (Johnson 1996).

The following are measures schools can take to become part of the solution:

- Allow staff and students the freedom to discuss violence in a variety of forums. Special school assemblies, theater groups, films, and the testimony of abuse survivors are very important in breaking the silence.
- Recognize the crucial role of education and learning in examining violence in our society. Violence is a learned behavior that is condoned and even glorified by society through the media.
- Develop partnerships with the community, rather than having schools address the problems by themselves. This is not a social issue to be dumped on schools, but rather an issue that requires collaboration with police officers, lawyers, family doctors, nurses, social workers, mental health providers, and victims/survivors of violence.
- Understand that violence is an issue directly related to power and control in relationships and throughout society. Why are women, children, visible minorities, disabled persons, the elderly, gays, and lesbians most likely to be victims of violence? Why do men commit more than 90 percent of the violence? Violence is not a gender-neutral topic. Active participation of men is required to examine their role and responsibility in ending the violence.
- Institute school policies and protocols that respond to violence in an effective manner: one that no longer blames the victims and that holds perpetrators accountable for their behavior. Ensure that teachers are trained to deal with pupils who are witnessing violence at home.
- Ensure that employee assistance programs are responsive to teachers and other school personnel who are victims/survivors of violence.
- Involve parents and students as integral parts of all school programs.

Violence prevention needs to move from awareness sessions to become an integrated part of the curriculum, from the primary grades to the end of secondary school. Teachers across Canada already have found ways to integrate this topic throughout the curriculum into existing lesson plans. The problem lies in a lack of commitment and consistency in these approaches across all school boards.

This chapter focuses on one exemplary program of violence prevention through an initiative, based in London, Ontario, Canada, called A.S.A.P.: A School-based Anti-violence Program.

A Proactive Solution to Violence

Over the last ten years, preventative approaches to address the causes of violent behavior have been developed jointly by the London Family Court Clinic and area school boards. Recently, Health Canada's Family Violence Prevention Division asked the London Family Court Clinic to develop materials to help disseminate these programs to other parts of Canada. The result was the A.S.A.P. program launched in December 1993. The package includes a 277-page manual and a video that are designed to give every school board the tools and concepts to implement practical violence prevention programs at every grade level. Issues addressed include violence in intimate relationships; children who witness violence at home; bullying; dating violence; violence in media; the relationships between violence and sexism and racism; and ways to develop nonviolent school climates.

The program is designed to enable school boards, schools, and individual teachers to address issues at various levels. A school board can use the program to plan a comprehensive systemwide approach to violence prevention. Schools can use it as a guide to develop safe school climates, to organize in-service professional development, to implement schoolwide violence awareness events, and to develop community partnerships. Individual teachers can use it to integrate violence prevention materials into their course content. Finally, the manual provides teachers with guidelines for handling disclosures of witnessing violence.

The accompanying video was designed as a motivational tool for administrators and teachers to use in presenting the issue of violence prevention to school staffs. The video includes highlights of successful interventions, interviews with teachers, students, parents, trustees, and administrators. It also suggests ways to handle potential barriers, including resistance to violence prevention work.

The A.S.A.P. project was supported by funding from Health Canada. Previous support from the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Donner Canadian Foundation facilitated the initial development and implementation of the school-based programs. Support from the Richard Ivey Foundation enabled the preparation of a companion curricular resource document entitled *65 Friendly Lessons for Violence Prevention* (McLean 1993).

Why Focus on Violence against Women and Children?

As many educators are now aware, violence against women and children has been a long-standing societal problem, but previously hidden. This lack of public ac-

knowledge of violence against women in the home has been termed “the omitted reality” (Kincaid 1982).

Even less well known is the serious effect on children who witness such violence. In the majority of cases, children do witness the violence committed against their mothers, and this has major negative effects on them. In fact, children who witness violence have levels of emotional and behavioral disturbance similar to those of children who are themselves physically abused. These emotional and behavioral problems manifest themselves at school in a variety of ways. Some children become very withdrawn and have trouble focusing on their school work. Some children have symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, including flashbacks that intrude during the school day. Some children blame themselves for the violence and have very low self-esteem. Other children become very aggressive with peers and teachers. Extreme disrespect for female teachers occurs, especially in older boys who identify strongly with the abusive father. Thus the school achievement of children who witness violence at home is at risk, and other children and teachers may bear the brunt of these students’ behavioral adjustment problems (Jaffe et al. 1990).

An interesting example was publicized recently in media accounts of a thirteen-year-old boy expelled by a Toronto area school board. This boy was reported to have held a knife to the face of another student. It was also reported that he and his mother had moved twelve times in recent years to escape an abusive father and husband. In our clinical practices with young persons before the courts, we repeatedly see cases of this kind. Children and youth who are assaultive have a very high probability of having witnessed violence at home, been the victims of violence at home, or both. This clearly indicates the need to prevent violence through addressing the issues of woman and child abuse.

Who Needs to Become Involved in Violence Prevention?

To implement a program of violence prevention successfully in a school system, teachers, students, administrators, trustees, parents, the community, and survivors of abuse must all be involved. The A.S.A.P. manual outlines strategies to involve each of these groups. For example, when planning special violence awareness events for students, school committees of teachers and students are useful not only in adapting the event successfully to school needs, but also in involving and educating teachers and students about the issues. To involve parents, information for home and school meetings about violence prevention needs at the school is included, and an example of a

special resolution by an association of home and school groups is provided. These and many other practical implementation strategies for each group provide ways to raise awareness and to promote commitment to comprehensive programs.

The Role of Professional Development

An important tool for implementing violence prevention programs is education for teachers and administrators about issues of violence in relationships. The A.S.A.P. manual describes in detail how to hold professional development sessions on such topics as children who witness violence, wife assault, handling disclosures, bullying, and dating violence. An extensive resource section lists and reviews videos recommended for use in such sessions. Ways to employ community resources, such as speakers from women's shelters and other social agencies, are described, and suggested agendas for individual sessions or a series of sessions of professional development are provided. We have found it important to offer multiple opportunities for professional development, including presentations at school staff meetings prior to student violence awareness events, as well as more in-depth sessions at teacher professional development days.

Special Violence Awareness Events for Students

"Violence awareness" days or weeks serve to name and define violence for students and begin the process of violence prevention. Awareness events can sensitize students to different forms of violence and empower them to take actions in their personal lives and at school to contribute to ending violence. The issues of witnessing violence at home and peer violence are addressed at both the primary and secondary school levels. Verbal and emotional violence are defined, and the negative effects of violence are explored.

At the elementary school level, additional concerns including bullying and violence in toys and television are discussed. Alternatives to violence are presented, such as conflict resolution strategies and positive social skills.

At the secondary school level, important issues include dating violence, which most secondary students (and grades 7 and 8) find of great interest. Sex role stereotyping, sexual harassment, and violence in music, sports, movies, videos, and other forms of popular culture are also important. Comprehensive guides to planning events, locating video and theatrical resources, speakers, and training discussion group facilitators are provided (Suderman et al. 1995).

Fostering a Climate within Schools to Prevent Violence

Comprehensive violence prevention continues after special events. At both the elementary and secondary schools, development of a school code of nonviolent conduct and philosophy serves to involve students and teachers, and helps to highlight the need for violence prevention. A.S.A.P. provides an example of a code of conduct that includes specific references to sexual harassment and racism.

Another component of school climate is the handling of violent incidents in the schoolyard and the school. Incidents of verbal and physical violence must be dealt with effectively. Peer mediation programs, such as Peacekeepers and Conflict Busters, in which older elementary school children learn to employ nonviolent conflict resolution on the playground, contribute both to preventing violent incidents at school and to skill-building in conflict resolution for students and teacher advisors. Some secondary schools also employ peer mediation.

School climate is also affected by the school's approaches in the areas of sexism, gender equity, racism, and classroom management. Sexism, racism, and other forms of power imbalances for groups in society are the substrata that allow violence to take root and spread. A nonviolent school climate cannot exist in a sexist and racist atmosphere.

Areas of school practice such as different levels of support for boys' and girls' sports, lack of equality in school leadership positions, lack of inclusiveness of school tests, and quality of library resources are important to consider in this regard. In addition, educators must consider nonviolent strategies for classroom management. Once educators become more sensitive to the negative effects of verbal putdowns and other forms of verbal abuse, some may need assistance to adopt new strategies of classroom management. Many teachers have found conflict mediation training—originally designed to assist peer mediators—beneficial in improving their classroom style and classroom management.

Curriculum Development

Violence prevention can easily be integrated into existing curricula and subject matter without taking time away from essential academic learning. The A.S.A.P. manual gives extensive examples and resources for curriculum integration. One excellent example is the curricular resource document, *65 Friendly Lessons for Violence Prevention*. Topics covered include stereotyping, social skills, conflict resolution, and violence in society. Different lessons can fit into language skill development, health,

Evaluation of the A.S.A.P. Program

Currently, high school violence awareness events are the only type of violence prevention initiative that has been shown to be effective in empirical studies (Jaffe et al. 1992; Suderman and Jaffe 1993). These studies have found that student knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions improve measurably after violence awareness events like the ones described in the A.S.A.P. manual.

Two large-scale evaluations of awareness programs conducted in London, Ontario, schools have shown very encouraging results. The first study (Jaffe et al. 1992) evaluated a primary prevention program for wife assault and dating violence undertaken jointly by the Board of Education for the City of London, the London Family Court Clinic, and numerous community agency volunteers. The auditorium presentations varied somewhat from one school to another, depending on the input of school-based planning committees. Speakers from community agencies, videos on wife assault and the effects on teens who witness wife assault, plays by professional and student theater groups, and talks by a survivor of abuse were employed.

A random sample was selected from four high schools, and 737 students completed a 48-item questionnaire on violence in intimate relationships, designed to measure knowledge about wife assault, beliefs and attitudes about violence in marital and dating relationships, and behavioral intentions to intervene in dating violence situations. Questionnaires were administered one week prior to intervention, about one week after intervention, and, at two schools, also at six weeks after intervention.

Results indicated significant changes in the desired direction for female students on eleven items and no changes in the undesired direction, with stability of these positive changes at follow-up. Knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions all showed areas of positive change for females. Males showed significant change in the positive direction on eight items, including changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions. Males, however, showed change in the undesired direction on seven attitude items and one behavioral intention item, with the majority of these negative changes relating to attitudes about dating violence.

The survey also showed that more females than males were aware of violence in their own or a peer's dating relationships (60.5 percent of females, compared with 47.5 percent of males). These findings indicated that females may be more sensitive to issues of violence in relationships and more supportive of women's equality in intimate relationships. The results also indicated that females benefited more than males from the intervention. This study, together with reports of classroom facilitators, suggested that future directions for intervention might include adaptations to reduce male defensiveness and backlash. The study also showed that both student knowledge and attitudes can be positively affected by a relatively brief intervention.

A second evaluation of an awareness program for violence in intimate relationships was completed in two Ontario high schools (Suderman and Jaffe 1993). Taken together, the results from the 1,547 students who participated in this study showed positive results for the intervention for the male and female junior students (grades 9 and 10) and positive results for the female senior students (grades 11–13). Senior male students did not respond as positively. This may be because some older male students were already entrenched in violent dating patterns, and so the program caused them to feel defensive and resistant. Another explanation may be that the format used for the younger students was more effective for males than the format used for the older students.

family studies, and many other skill and subject areas. In the elementary school years, a popular curricular resource is Second Step, which deals specifically with conflict resolution and ways to manage anger (Committee for Children 1990).

Conclusion

Violence prevention programs in schools are a fundamental response to violence that will have a lasting, positive impact not only in the school environment, but in our society at large. With the publication of the A.S.A.P. program, school boards now have a way to implement violence prevention in an integrated and effective manner.

There is no quick fix to end violence against women and children and create a climate of zero tolerance of violence. School boards need to make a long-term commitment to address the issue in a systematic way that includes professional development and curriculum development.

Students, parents and community agencies are more than willing to become actively involved. In the long term, we can expect the same attitudes about violence as we now hold for drinking and driving, polluting the environment, and smoking. Our children and grandchildren deserve the dream of a violence-free society.

Endnotes

¹ The average classroom size is 30 children. Violence is defined as witnessing physical violence between parents or experiencing direct physical, sexual or emotional abuse at home.

² London, Ontario is a city of 320,000 situated in the southwest tip of the province of Ontario, approximately 200 kilometers west of Toronto and 200 kilometers east of Detroit, Michigan. The three largest employers are the local school board, a major hospital, and a university. London contains the head office of a number of large companies. The number of families and children living in poverty is close to the national average. From the researchers' experience, results of student surveys related to violence in relationships is representative of studies across Canada.

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An Informal Education Program to Prevent Domestic Violence: Jamaica

Margarette May Macauley

In 1996, the Association of Women's Organizations of Jamaica (AWOJA) looked at the continuing increase in domestic abuse and decided it was time for a change. Up to that point, AWOJA's public education programs had consisted of workshops and seminars on the incidence and causes of domestic violence, and legal reforms to offer women more protection. The programs consisted of speeches, followed by question-and-answer periods. Realizing that a dry presentation can obscure even the most interesting information, the association changed its approach altogether. Working with some of its member organizations, AWOJA produced a presentation based on videos and drama to help the audience recognize and identify with abusive relationships and to think about the types of behavior which can precipitate violence, as well as ways to defuse potentially violent episodes.

The Program

AWOJA's Legal Committee designed the content and presentation of the new workshops, together with three other women's groups: the Sistren Theatre Collective, Woman Inc., and Women's Media Watch (see box). The format and substantive content of workshops is fixed, but their language and style are tailored to the specific audience.

The sequence of events at each workshop is as follows. First, the workshop facilitator introduces the presenters and gives a short overview of the problem of domestic violence in Jamaica. Then a video entitled *Behind the Images* is shown. Created by Women's Media Watch, this video illustrates the subtle influence of the media on attitudes and values, and shows how this can lead to violence in the home. The central figures in the video are a woman and her husband, who measures her appearance and worth against media images of the ideal woman. The

AWOJA's Participating Organizations

The Association of Women's Organizations of Jamaica (AWOJA) is an umbrella organization for many groups which help women, including several that deal specifically with issues of domestic violence. The three member organizations which participate to produce the workshops on domestic violence are Women's Media Watch, the Sistren Theatre Collective and Woman Inc.

Women's Media Watch was formed in 1987 to counter the harmful stereotyping of women by the media. It believes that the portrayal of violent and aggressive sexual scenes in films and media coverage leads to subsequent violent sexual attacks by men against their wives and other women. It conducts workshops and publishes educational brochures to raise public awareness of the causes of sexual violence and seeks to improve the image of women portrayed by the media.

Sistren Theatre Collective is a grassroots organization of women employed in textile production. Its members perform live plays and skits in theater productions and workshops depicting various discriminatory practices against women, including portrayals of domestic violence.

Woman Inc., founded in 1984, provides counseling for abused women, their children, and their abuser (when he can be persuaded to participate). The only organization in Jamaica that provides shelter for the victims of domestic violence, it also offers educational workshops on domestic violence for police officers.

AWOJA is engaged in lobbying for new legislation and amendments to existing legislation to ensure gender equity. Its members consult with relevant government ministers and departments and testify on legislation to committees of Parliament. AWOJA also monitors the implementation of laws pertaining to women's rights, and its members frequently write and speak about the condition and status of women in society.

woman's failure to meet this "ideal" image feeds into a loss of self-worth for the woman, and abusiveness on the part of her husband. The video has no ending. Instead, the facilitator invites the audience to analyze the various scenes in the video and to comment on what they find acceptable, what is unacceptable, and what is understandable. In this way they are led to think about the causes of violence, its effects on both the victim and the abuser, and possible corrective measures that could be taken.

Next, actors from the Sistren Theatre Collective present a drama about a woman trapped in an abusive relationship. The skit shows her husband arriving home from work as she is preparing dinner. Her subservient attitude toward him fails to placate him, and his verbal abuse soon escalates into physical and sexual abuse. At the end of the skit, the audience is invited to ask questions of the actors and to suggest how they could have acted and reacted to produce a nonviolent outcome. Emphasis is placed on identifying the signs of impending violence and on ways to empower the woman to remove herself from the abusive relationship.

The final element of the workshop is a presentation by a member of AWOJA's Legal Committee, who reviews the provisions of the Domestic Violence Act and explains how to apply for protection under the act. This part of the presentation is not scripted. One presenter might simply discuss the law and its protections. Another might use the actions portrayed in the video and skit to illustrate legal implications of particular abuses and the relief applicable to them. Yet another may explain the law, then give examples of abusive conduct and ask the audience whether the law can be applied to those examples. Whatever the presenter's style, all the legal presentations are made in the simplest language possible so that audience members will understand the law and seek legal protections, if need be, with confidence.

Scope of the Workshops

AWOJA has held workshops for a range of audiences in Kingston, Montego Bay, Mandeville, and two rural communities. One audience included AWOJA members, trade unionists, and members of professional organizations and agencies that deal with domestic violence. However, high levels of unemployment, poverty, and domestic abuse have characterized other audiences. Sewing workers, workers from free trade zones, male and female high school students, and middle-class women active in volunteer service have all attended workshops.

After a workshop, participants complete a questionnaire. They are asked, among other things, whether they better understood domestic violence; felt empowered by the workshop; were made aware of social and legal services available to victims of domestic violence; and deemed the workshop an effective way of transmitting information about domestic violence. In all respects, the respondents found the workshop highly effective.

The Association would like to conduct the workshops in every community in Jamaica but, like many nongovernmental organizations, is hampered by lack of funds. Moreover, many AWOJA members are volunteers, and have limited time to devote to the program. AWOJA is committed, however, to adding as a collaborator the organization Fathers Inc., so that the workshops will effectively reach both men and women.

AWOJA also enlisted the aid of Miss Jamaica World, Michelle Moody, to be its spokesperson on domestic violence in schools at all levels. Miss Moody is a well-known celebrity throughout Jamaica, and AWOJA believes that she will be an effective messenger to youngsters. The hope is that children will be able to play a role in educating their parents and other family members about the destructiveness of domestic violence and the avenues of relief available to the victims.

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PART III

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

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CHAPTER 13

Communication as a Tool for Social Change

Elena M. Suárez and Charo Quesada

The fight against domestic violence can take advantage of the communication revolution occurring around the world. Radio, television, the Internet, and computers are drawing more and more people into the global communication network. Advances in technology are increasing the power of information and ideas to alter everyday behavior. Communication is influencing what people buy, how they vote, what they wish and strive for, and how they conduct their daily lives.

Scientific evidence over the last few decades has demonstrated the causal link between communication and behavior change. The issue is no longer whether communication can influence behavior, but how to effectively understand and use communication to do a better job (Tilson et al. 1997, preface).

Strategic Communication

How can communication tackle a complex social issue such as curbing domestic violence, which requires significant changes in attitudes, behavior, and community norms? A special kind of communications approach is needed: one that is strategic, sustained and integrated. Communication succeeds as a systematic planning and implementation process. Strategic communication is communication with a vision. It involves analysis, strategic design, market testing, production, monitoring, impact evaluation and planning for continuity and sustainability (Tilson et al. 1997, 27). It is based on clearly defined goals, strategies and measurable results. Communication rarely succeeds by accident.

Effective Communication through Audience Input

In the chapter that follows, Patricia Poppe explains that an effective communication strategy to combat domestic violence requires designing interventions that respond to the needs of the target audience and take local conditions into consideration.

Effective communication nowadays requires a broad approach. "Communication was originally conceptualized as a simple one-way transmission of messages from a source to a receiver with the intention of producing some effect" (Rogers 1973, cited in Tilson et al. 1997, 17). The intended effect was usually limited to making the receiver aware of some point of view, new product, or course of action. In the new conceptual framework of communication, "emphasis shifts to the process of information-sharing over time, to the ways in which participants interpret and understand that information, and to the dynamic process of feedback and adaptive behavior. In the process, there is convergence of both the ideas and behavior of the participants . . . effective communication begins with the audience, the client, or the consumer, and continues over time as a process of mutual adjustment and convergence" (Tilson et al. 1997, 17–18).

Identifying the Most Effective Channels of Communication

To address an issue as complex as domestic violence, a good communication strategy must employ multiple channels of communication. Poppe explains that communication can be divided into three broad channels: interpersonal, including family, friends, and service providers; group, including community organizations; and mass media, including print and broadcast (Chapter 14). Communication research has demonstrated that no one medium or channel is sufficient. This is especially true in the area of family planning, where much of the analysis in the last two decades on communication as a tool of social change has centered. A combination of appropriate media and other community activities can produce synergy, achieving more than each medium alone (Tilson et al. 1997, 73).

Bolivia's Reproductive Health Campaign is a case in point. Under the slogan, "Reproductive health is in your hands," the campaign has used all three channels. Interpersonal channels included in-clinic videos focusing on communication among women, husbands and health care providers; print materials and signs that identified clinics; and audiocassettes that were played on buses. Group channels included the production of audiocassettes to be played by transport union members in their vehicles and promotional materials given to youth leaders for use in educational

programs in schools and communities. Mass media channels included television and radio spots. All channels were linked by the powerful logo, *Las Manitas* (The Little Hands). Surveys taken after the campaign showed that the number of new users of family planning during the eight-month campaign increased by 8.7 percent (Tilson et al. 1997, 74). By the end of the campaign, an estimated 98 percent of the population recognized the logo and its message, a larger percentage than could identify their own national flag.

Entertainment can also be a powerful force for social change. It has been used for education purposes since the beginning of human history. Modern mass media can reach millions of people with popular radio and television shows that entertain and educate simultaneously.

Songs, dramas, serials, variety shows, and soap operas seize an audience's attention. Popular characters become role models for men and women, informing them about health-related and other social issues and helping them to make better choices. Celebrities make these productions even more appealing, while the mass media carry them to large audiences of all ages and both sexes. As the communication revolution proceeds, the reach and influence of television, video, and radio will continue to expand (Johns Hopkins University 1997).

A recent experience in Mexico illustrates the potential of entertainment programming. The television production firm Televisa introduced the problem of illiteracy in one of its soap operas. Twelve months later, the Mexican Ministry of Education calculated that 99,000 persons had enrolled in reading courses during that period.

"On a smaller scale, village-based entertainment that reaches only a few hundred people can carry important messages. Puppet shows, street theater, school dramas, video vans traveling to rural areas—all can bring valuable information to people who might not pay attention to or understand a formal lecture" (Tilson et al. 1997, 80).

Mass Media as a Socializing Agent

Mass media can spread awareness and knowledge, and it can certainly influence behavior. In Latin America, radio is the mass medium that reaches the most people—especially in remote geographical locations and in the poorest countries. Where available, television can have a powerful impact through its instant and repetitive visual images. However, television coverage, although expanding fast, is limited: shows are expensive and complicated to produce, and not everyone in Latin America

and the Caribbean has access to a television set. Print media, on the other hand, have a physical quality that television and radio lack. An article can be reviewed, passed on to others or cut out for further use. But readership of newspapers and magazines tends to be limited mainly to the capitals and major cities.

The role of media as an instrument of social change is more problematic when the messages transmitted are negative, confusing and even dangerous. An example of the problem is social violence, as portrayed and displayed in entertainment programs and in the news. The media turn to sensationalism—easier to manufacture and a much better sell—claiming to be responding to what the audience demands. This has a great impact on how some social issues—such as family, sex, and violence—are perceived and conceptualized by the public.

Jacquín Strouss de Samper confronts this problem in Chapter 15. She cites an in-depth survey of the impact of television on Colombians. According to the study, Colombians reject the excessive presence of violence on television, and want to see a proactive role for television that promotes harmony. Ms. Samper contends that programmers and producers have a responsibility to turn television into an instrument that can teach and promote values through entertainment.

The media can be a powerful ally in a national communications campaign that promotes behavioral change. If properly coached and guided by the campaign organizers, the media can serve as a unique tool to educate audiences about the most complex problems. But the first audience to be properly informed is the media itself.

A Success Story of Media Exposure

Just how pivotal the media can be is illustrated by a story that began with a single newspaper article. On March 12, 1997, the *New York Times* carried a front page story with the title, "Justice in Peru. Rape Victim is Pressed to Marry Attacker." As shocking as it might have been to U.S. readers, this title portrayed the reality for 15 Latin American countries whose penal codes exonerate a rapist if he offers to marry his victim—even if she rejects the offer, or the marriage does not take place. In fact, the headline failed to capture the true extent of discrimination against women victims of sexual assault in Peru's legal code. A 1991 amendment to the rape statute absolved all codefendants in a gang rape case, provided even *one* of them offered to marry the victim.

For months, women's organizations and a Peruvian congresswoman had been carrying out a campaign for a change in the law that would eliminate the rape-

marriage provisions altogether from the books. Immediately after the *New York Times* article reached Peru, the story created a media sensation, and the plight of many women who had been forced by social or family pressure to marry their violators began to be discussed in public forums in Peru and in the halls of the country's legislature. Local newspapers published editorials demanding justice, television programs began to debate the issue openly, and women's organizations discussed the situation on the morning radio talk shows.

Peruvian Congresswoman Beatriz Merino and other legislators who wanted the law changed also took advantage of the momentum. Representative Merino made guest TV appearances to express her views. Virginia Vargas, president of the women's organization Centro Flora Tristan, explained the role of media: "Special reports were aired from women who had been raped, and this helped enormously, because public opinion was driving the press and was also being steered by the press. Each one strengthened the other" (IDB 1997, 4). The talk led to action: eventually, the provision that automatically cleared rapists who married their victims was eliminated.

This case is an excellent example of the power of the mass media to bring about change. The mass media can shape an issue, subject it to public scrutiny, and publicize solutions for addressing the problem. It can move an issue from a private matter to the public domain.

Along these lines, the IDB, when hosting the conference upon which this book is based, invited a group of radio talk show hosts to broadcast their programs from the conference. As a result, the conference's message reached an audience of approximately 25 million listeners in the United States and Mexico.

Cost Effectiveness of Strategic Communication

Strategic communication will be utilized more by governments, institutions, and professionals when the full potential of mass media as an agent of social change is recognized as a necessary and cost-effective investment to tackle an important social problem. Mass media, despite the initial costs of production and the ongoing complexities of coverage, content, and control, usually reach a large audience at a relatively low cost per person when they are used strategically.

The Turkish multimedia campaign in family planning is a good example. This campaign relied heavily on television and incurred direct costs of slightly less than US\$232,000. Turkish television and radio donated an additional US\$2 million worth of prime air time. Projections from the findings of a representative sample

survey suggest that, within six months, the campaign had reached more than 6.5 million married women of reproductive age. The direct project cost amounted to four cents per woman reached (Tilson et al. 1997, 75–76).

Entertainment programs may be even more cost-effective. Free air time and publicity can amount to several times the original cost of such a project, while popular demand can keep hit songs and soap operas on the air for years. With careful planning, other activities also can defray some costs through royalties, and production of posters, T-shirts, and other collateral materials as well as ticket and merchandise sales (Johns Hopkins University 1997).

A good example of a cost-effective entertainment program that affected behavioral change is *Twende na Wakati*, a radio soap opera designed to promote family planning and HIV/AIDS prevention in Tanzania. The story dramatized the experiences of truck drivers who became infected with the HIV virus, as a consequence of sexual activities with multiple partners. This program had a large impact on listeners. Eighty-two percent reported undertaking some form of HIV/AIDS prevention; of these, 77 percent reduced their number of sexual partners, 16 percent began using condoms, and 6 percent stopped sharing razors and needles. The total cost of producing 204 episodes of the soap operas was \$346,333. With over four million listeners adopting HIV/AIDS prevention strategies as a result, the cost per adopter amounted to only 8 cents (Rogers 1998).

According to the Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs, modern communication technologies offer a cost-saving benefit for health and social programs. Well-designed projects can take on a life of their own, sustained by popular demand and commercial sponsors.

Conclusion

In sum, communication campaigns and the mass media can affect social change. But significant changes in attitudes, behavior and community norms require strategic, sustained and integrated approaches. National communication campaigns that are goal- and process-oriented, audience-focused, cost-effective, and employ multiple channels of communication, can effectively address social problems. Media professionals can collaborate with government and other social actors to prevent violence at home and in society. The chapters that follow suggest some promising avenues toward this end.

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Partnerships with the Media to Prevent Domestic Violence

Patricia Poppe

What we think, say, and do is influenced by what we see, hear, and read in the mass media. In particular, the media can be an effective way to inform society about progress in changing the relationships between couples and society at large. In the area of domestic violence, communication programs can help build new social norms, to reverse the attitude that such violence is somehow normal and to be tolerated by family members and society as a whole.

Studies and analysis of domestic violence have shown that one way to make this problem visible is to move it from the private sphere to the public sphere, shedding light on a reality that has been ignored. Communication can play a role in this effort and can also help position domestic violence as a social problem that merits the attention of political leaders and of people who live with violence.

Collaborative work with the media, particularly through drama such as television serials, is indispensable. The media has the potential to “model” norms and specific behavior among members of a target group, such as women living with violence, or aggressors who require negotiating skills to solve conflicts with their partners. Moreover, communication invites action, and informs women and men of where to seek guidance, where to find self-help groups, and who to call in an emergency. It can empower men and women alike to aspire to reverse the chronic patterns of violent behavior that many families endure.

To achieve these ends, we must find new areas of collaboration and forge closer ties with the media. What is needed is a coherent strategy, solid content, and continuity. That is what the agencies and specialized institutions concerned with domestic violence need to generate, in conjunction with the media.

In the past 15 years, we have learned how media can play an important role in the promotion and adoption of new behaviors relating to reproductive health in different parts of the world, particularly in Latin America. These lessons can be applied to the issue of domestic violence.

Johns Hopkins University CCP Health Campaigns

Through 15 years of experience with reproductive health programs, HIV-AIDS prevention, and women's issues, Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs (CCP) has learned much about media campaigns. In partnership with public and private media, the Center has helped launch several programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Peru, a five-episode television series, "Tiempo de Amar," was broadcast in evening prime time in 1998. In Bolivia, an opinion and discussion program, "Dialogo al Desnudo," completed its second season in the winter of 1997-98. In Mexico, the National Population Council has broadcast one spot, while the National Publicity Council has sponsored another, totally private initiative.

Lessons from Communication Programs

Lesson 1. Changing behavior is a slow process.

Changing attitudes and practices, particularly sexual behavior and family planning, is not a simple process with linear and immediate results. The adoption of new behavior is a slow process, marked by a rational component, but also strongly loaded with personal emotions, impressions, and values that directly influence individual decisions. Those of us who work on communication programs regularly find that the targets of our efforts do not necessarily change their health habits or behavior simply because they are told to do so by a relative or a health specialist. On the contrary, the adoption of a new practice—such as using condoms as protection against AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases or undergoing regular Pap tests—requires the confluence of a number of factors over time to ensure that it will become systematic.

Individuals go through a series of phases before adopting a definitive behavior. One may view this process of behavior change in five steps. The first step is **awareness** or critical understanding of the new health proposal. Exposure to a message is one aspect; remembering and understanding it is another—and a more difficult one. It is necessary to break through certain selective individual defenses and touch on a personal problem or a need that is felt.

The second step is the **formation of a favorable attitude** toward the new practice, ending with approval of it. This is marked by the search for our own opinions, or the opinions of those we respect. The intention to adopt a given behavior is influenced by several factors: attitudes toward the behavior in question; social pres-

sure, or norms that originate with peers; and the perception of personal capacity to effectively perform the behavior in question. Social norms play an especially important role. On many occasions, communication activities should make a special point of reaching people who are able to influence the attitudes of the individuals in a target group.

The third step is **deciding** to adopt a new behavior, such as seeing a physician, or having a prenatal checkup. The fourth is the permanent **adoption** of the new practice: not simply to decide or intend to act, but to act on the decision. The final stage is **reaffirmation** and consolidation, recognizing and valuing the advantages of the new behavior and promoting its adoption.

It is important to understand where particular target groups are situated in this process. Each stage requires different communication actions. We must design effective intervention strategies that respond to the needs of each target group. For example, in the case of domestic violence, a high percentage of women are probably in the first stage of learning, since they are unaware of legislation that protects them from abuse or aggression by their partners. Another group of women may feel that physical abuse is their partner's right, or that "women deserve the beatings they get." Such attitudes tend to perpetuate abuse and block progress toward changing their attitudes or taking action against abuse. A few women are probably aware of their rights, reject abuse, and feel that they are supported by their peers in rejecting aggressive behavior by their partners. Members of this last group have made progress toward definitive change, and are on the verge of altering their situation.

Lesson 2. An effective communication program can change behavior.

When communication programs link together theory, audience research, and evaluation and use the results to construct quality messages and content, the outcome is an effective communication strategy: one that can initiate change, speed up changes that are under way, or reinforce changes that have already taken place. Evaluation of programs directed by Johns Hopkins University has shown that in the area of reproductive health, communication is the *central process* that underlies changes in levels of knowledge of contraceptive methods; attitudes to family planning and the use of contraceptive methods; norms relating to ideal family size; and openness to new ideas, aspirations, and health habits. Evaluation has also demonstrated that the process of communication is one of the main vehicles for disseminating new knowledge and values, thus consolidating new social norms. (Examples of evaluation are given in the next section.)

Lesson 3. Understanding the audience is crucial in designing communication strategies.

Communication intervention is effective when it is based on what individuals and their reference groups think, feel, and need. Learning about this motivation is the keystone for a well-designed communication strategy. Communication activities should fully understand and reflect the target groups' values, perceptions, attitudes, and conduct so as to steer group members toward the desired behavior. This is achieved through audience studies based on a wide variety of techniques. Good profiles of the different groups ensure that communication programs really "touch" the individual and address his/her context. The process of research, ideally, should become a systematic dialogue with target groups.

Lesson 4. The use of multimedia increases the potential for change.

One of the most effective strategies to transmit educational content is the use of different channels, sources of information, genres, and innovative formats, such as entertainment programs. Guiding the series of actions and tying them together are some fundamental threads: the objective of the communication program or campaign, conceptual unity, repetition, and consistency of the message in its different forms.

Communication through mass media must be reinforced by interpersonal communication or community mobilization. When the interaction is positive and effective, change in behavior is the result of a "synergistic effect": the joint action of different channels, and not the isolated action of each of them.

Lesson 5. Forging partnerships with the media assures coverage of the message.

Partnership with the media has been a determining factor in success in a variety of productions, including musical hits with social messages, serial dramas, TV miniseries, television and radio magazines, and news broadcasts.

This collaboration with the media has taken different forms, ranging from coproductions with producers or television stations, to productions sponsored by companies for publicity purposes, to productions broadcast by television or radio or in the press, to production of inserts or segments in existing programs. These joint ventures reflect the wealth and variety of the communication system in each country.

To achieve a partnership with the media, several elements are critical. In-depth knowledge of how the media operate in the countries, including knowledge of

operating requirements and formats, is needed. The communication product should be positioned as an instrument for improving ratings, creating a hit and, above all, attracting large audiences. The aim should be to air the products in prime time, so quality must be maintained. Negotiations should be undertaken from the standpoint of an investor and, if possible, include a financial contribution. Finally, the private sector should be involved to help defray the costs of the communication program. Many companies have an interest in relating to young people's issues to expand their market position. For example, Fuentes y Fomento Intercontinentales, a private commercial record company, extended crucial support to the Tatiana & Johnny Project, a pregnancy prevention campaign through music. The program became a Number 1 hit in Mexico and Peru.

Evaluation of Media Programs on Reproductive Health

Communication influences individual behavior directly and indirectly, according to various evaluations of media programs conducted by Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs. The evaluations centered on programs regarding reproductive health in Africa, South America, and Central America. Three main aspects should be stressed: (1) communication has a clear impact; (2) communication processes need to be sustained over time; and (3) the communication strategy, the type of intervention, and the quality of the products have an influence on impact.

In Kenya, an evaluation of a campaign carried out in 1994 showed that exposure to different types of communication channels (radio, radio dramas, printed material, and talks by health promoters) was positively linked to the percentages of men and women who use modern family planning methods. The greater the exposure to different communication channels, the greater the use of modern methods. In Honduras, results were similar: remembering more messages led to greater use of methods.

The evaluations in Kenya and Honduras also showed that greater use was made of contraception when larger numbers of factors were associated with the stages in the process of change in behavior (defined as favorable attitudes to family planning, knowledge of methods, communication with the partner and friends, approval by the partner, and promotion or advocacy of family planning to others). The percentage of users of modern methods was only 2 percent when there were no factors linked to the stages in changing behavior. The figure rose to 60 percent when six factors were present.

Last, evaluation of the programs in Kenya and Honduras showed the capacity of communication to affect the factors for behavioral change. While just 12 percent of people not exposed to any communication channel in Kenya experienced between four and six factors in the process of behavioral change, 72 percent of those exposed to four communication channels experienced between four and six factors. In short, experience in Kenya and Honduras shows that communication acts directly as well as indirectly on behavior by influencing individuals to progress toward adopting the desired behavior.

Experience in the first national reproductive health campaign in Bolivia in 1994 once again demonstrated the linkage between communication and behavioral change. Statistics produced by the National Department of Health show that the campaign led to a 147 percent increase in the number of visits to reproductive health services, from 11,836 visits in 1993 to 29,226 in 1994. Greater exposure to the campaign led to greater awareness of preventive measures in different areas of reproductive health and a larger number of new users of family planning.

The campaign to promote vasectomies in Brazil conducted by ProPater in 1989 again showed that communication influences individual behavior. The campaign increased the number of vasectomies by 81 percent, and 51 percent of new visitors to ProPater establishments mentioned television as their source of referral.

Previous campaigns had increased demand for vasectomies, but to a lesser degree. The increase in vasectomies in 1983 was the result of a single report on television. In 1986, a communications campaign was launched that included only paid advertising in the larger newspapers and magazines. The intervention in 1989 used a multimedia approach, including television and radio spots, advertising in newspapers, and billboards in São Paulo. The largest increase in the number of vasectomies corresponded to this third intervention.

Finally, more complex analysis shows that communication has the single greatest impact on the use of family planning, when compared to variables such as age, education, number of children, socioeconomic status, and prior use of contraceptives.

Future Challenges for Programs to Prevent Domestic Violence

Challenge 1. Forge a long-term strategy based on consensus.

A long-term communication strategy is needed: a strategic approach that knows where it is going, how long it will take, how and where to target its intermediate actions, and how to incorporate different forces of society and opinions during its

course. It is unlikely that any single institution will have the financial and technical resources to implement communication strategies of this kind on the national level. Resources and actions by different institutions must be combined.

Such collaboration can be cost-efficient. By pooling resources for specific activities and related campaigns, institutions will be in a position to produce more and better communication actions. Cooperative work avoids the duplication of efforts and actions and saves money. Isolated communication efforts may have little impact or even a negative effect. Poorly coordinated communication interventions can erode the effectiveness of any national program.

One successful experience that deserves mention is Bolivia's national reproductive health program. Less than seven years ago, family planning institutions and activities were completely uncoordinated, and no strategic plan existed. Services maintained a very low profile to avoid clashes with opponents. Today, the country has a national reproductive health program organized in different committees: the strongest is the Committee for Information, Education and Communication (IEC), which brings together over 40 public and private organizations under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. To date, it has conducted at least three campaigns on air, with a demonstrable impact. By joining hands, the public sector and nongovernmental organizations have been able to establish one of the most innovative programs in Latin America. They have even been able to add the issue of reproductive health to the platforms of political parties, which publicly debated their policies on reproductive health on television and radio during the last presidential election.

Efforts to stop domestic violence can draw inspiration from this work. Strategies are needed to lobby elected officials, politicians, and decision makers, to position domestic violence as a social problem that must be solved—one that requires resources, programs, and changes in public awareness and behavior.

Programs to prevent domestic violence have one major advantage: the consensus they arouse among different groups. Unlike family planning, for example, there is no dispute regarding domestic violence. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, domestic violence was the issue that awakened the least controversy. This in itself is a major step in forging a long-term communication program. However such programs may encounter obstacles of a different nature. The task will be just as arduous because of sociocultural factors, gender and power relations, and individual behaviors that feed into this phenomenon, which cuts across class, social, ethnic, and educational lines.

Challenge 2. Move ahead with research to establish indicators of change.

One urgent task is to obtain information about the different profiles of women and men in the different phases of the process of behavioral change. What differences or similarities exist among women in various stages? What factors influence the process of behavioral change? How do social norms operate in family dynamics? How can we demolish an attitude that tolerates family violence? What can we learn from women who cross the barrier and report their husbands, out of desire to change their lives? Can they be used as models for women who suffer in silence? Who are the men who dare to seek help?

We need to learn about the sociocultural context that gives rise to and sustains domestic violence by men against women. We also need to learn about the myths and subjective norms that feed domestic violence, and determine which of them are central to the origin and exercise of violence. In short, we must identify indicators in individual and group behavior and in the immediate context if we are to design effective interventions and programs and evaluate their progress and impact.

Challenge 3. Target interventions to specific audiences.

One of the key principles in designing communication programs is segmentation of the target audience, which helps to target specific interventions to each segment. In the area of domestic violence, it is important to note that not all victims of domestic violence and not all aggressors belong to similar groups. Therefore, it is not sufficient to target aggressive males as a generic group. Instead, the target should be a very specific profile of aggressors who may require negotiating skills to solve conflicts with their partners.

This proposal combines science and art, and demonstrates that it is possible to change behavior and social norms even in contexts where it seemed impossible. The challenge lies in the fact that the relationship with the media must be continually recreated and broadened. The work of different public agencies, NGOs, and activists in the field of domestic violence will be to participate, with the media, in building a new approach to domestic violence that questions it, seeks to eradicate it and, above all, prevents it.

The Role of Television in Curbing Violence

Jacquin Strouss de Samper

Can we use television to help bring about peace? This question is of great interest throughout the world, and a matter of particular concern to Colombia, which is confronting a wave of violence related to drug trafficking and other forms of crime and terrorism. There is a clear need to conduct studies that will help us understand the role and responsibility of those who generate and perpetuate violence in society, and explore ways to bring about peace.

This chapter describes a study conducted in Colombia that zeroes in on the issue of domestic violence, and seeks to identify the relationship between domestic violence and the media. The particular focus is on television, because it plays such an important role in our daily lives.

Television has an advantage over other forms of expression, in that its relationship with the viewer and with society is so close. Its enormous power as a transmitter of norms, values, and patterns of behavior make it a socializing agent on par with parents and schools (Yussen and Santrock 1978). This influential role is based in part on the attraction television holds for the viewer through its compelling combination of sounds and images, and its capacity to simulate real life or create fantasy situations. Television also consumes large amounts of people's free time; viewers may even change their daily habits to be able to watch TV (Lievert, Sprafkin, and Davidson 1982).

Violence on television is a problem to the extent that it has harmful effects on the behavior, attitudes, values, or norms of viewers. The risk of harm is especially high in Latin America, where people tend to trust the media and distrust institutions; the media is a strong shaper of opinion. By contrast, viewers in Europe and the United States place more trust in the police, justice, and the armed forces, and are more skeptical about the media.

Governments throughout Latin America have carried out institutional campaigns to prevent domestic violence. Whether these efforts can compensate for the impact of television is unclear, however. It was such concerns that led to this research on television as a shaper of values and behavior in Colombia.

The Research Project

This research project was intended to probe viewers' attitudes toward the messages they receive every day, and to help readers and researchers understand television's impact. Are we passive observers of the content of television? Are we aware of the implications of television on our behavior, our attitudes, and our thoughts? Can we use television to promote peaceful behavior?

The study was conducted by the Centro Nacional de Consultoría in September 1997, and focused on the perceived performance of television as it relates to the problem of domestic violence. The study was divided into three parts. First, a record was made of the number of violent incidents on Colombia's two main television channels during the week of September 7–14, 1997. Next, a survey of 700 people was conducted. Participants were chosen on the basis of a random sample of fathers, mothers, and children,¹ and were distributed in proportion to the population in large cities, mid-sized cities, and small cities and rural areas.² Finally, three focus groups were convened to examine the results of the survey more closely.

Part 1. A Record of Violent Incidents

The first part of the study counted the number of violent scenes broadcast on the two main television channels in Colombia from Monday to Friday between 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. (Table 15.1).

The violent scenes detected by observers were grouped into two categories: physical aggression and psychological aggression. Physical aggression includes beatings, assassinations, sexual abuse, deprivation of liberty, riots, and war scenes. Psychological aggression includes psychological and emotional torture, emotional blackmail, verbal aggression, and lying.

To tabulate the results, the programs were classified by purpose and type, based on Colombia's National Television Commission's television programming classification.³ Programs were grouped together by similar type, such as documentaries, news broadcasts, serials, dramas, variety shows, game shows, musicals, magazines, sports, and entertainment events. This exercise made it possible to quantify the scenes of violence and to project the number of violent scenes seen by viewers in a day, a week, a month, and a year.

Soap operas (*telenovelas*) had the greatest number of violent scenes, averaging 315 scenes of violence per day. Entertainment programs, including cartoons and children's stories, contained about half as much violence: 176 scenes of violence per day. News broadcasts followed, with 83 scenes of violence per day.

Table 15.1 Number of Scenes of Physical and Psychological Violence on Television^a

Type of program	Hours per day	Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday		Total	
		Phy.	Psy.	Phy.	Psy.	Phy.	Psy.	Phy.	Psy.	Phy.	Psy.	Phy.	Psy.
Soap operas	6.0	59	91	155	290	29	126	107	250	51	416	401	1173
Entertainment ^b	2.5	119	91	69	44	63	60	175	43	99	118	525	356
Drama ^c	2.5	11	54	34	35	23	10	43	69	29	129	140	277
News	3.0	47	12	79	34	26	14	108	52	18	19	278	131
Total	14.0	236	248	337	403	141	210	433	414	197	682	1344	1957

^a Data records the violent incidents presented on Colombia's two main television channels, September 7-14, 1997.^b Variety shows, cartoons, etc.^c Dramatization of real-life experiences.

More scenes of psychological violence than of physical violence are broadcast each day of the week. The day with the largest number of violent scenes was Friday (with 879), followed by Thursday (847). Television broadcasts an average of 27 acts of aggression an hour, although some programs with large audiences, such as musicals and sports events, contain no violence whatsoever.

Serial Dramas

Soap operas (*telenovelas*) have an especially powerful impact. Not only are they the most violent form of programming, but no programs are more widely watched in Latin America. Moreover, the violence of characters in *telenovelas* is more subtle and closer to home, and for that reason, is able to penetrate the minds of viewers more easily. The following facts about *telenovelas* should be emphasized. The largest bloc of viewers is housewives, who counteract the monotony of daily life with sentimental human dramas. Viewers experience a kind of addiction to, or dependency on, serial dramas. If the story interests them, they watch every episode. The conflicts and twists of the plot maintain interest and suspense, thereby maintaining an audience. The characters with whom viewers identify become behavioral models. Viewers imitate them in similar real-life situations, thus reinforcing class stereotypes and notions such as the belief that health and money can be obtained overnight. And finally, the excitement produced by the melodrama or identification with the characters both facilitates changes in behavior and reinforces certain human and social values.

Entertainment Programs

Over 80 percent of entertainment programs and cartoons broadcast in Colombia are produced abroad. One of the most lucrative industries in existence, the cartoon industry, has been created on the pretext of "entertaining" children. It manufactures an ideology, a way of being, a way of relating to nature and humans for the consumption of children. Cartoons present stereotyped families. The parents are not real parents and sometimes are made to look foolish. The mother is generally absent. The family reality presented in cartoons is destructive of the normal relationship between parents and children. No importance is attached to authentic human values. What is really important is physical strength, the power of money, cunning, the effectiveness of weapons, and winning, regardless of how unrealistic it may seem.

Several behavioral studies have shown that children imitate the violence they see—although violent behavior can be inhibited if the consequences of that violence are also displayed, especially if the consequences are incurred by children's role models. Unfortunately, television almost never expresses disapproval of violence or shows its negative consequences.

Part 2. Survey and Focus Groups

Most of those surveyed believe that domestic violence is frequent, and have themselves seen or heard domestic violence among neighbors. Some other results of the survey are tabulated in Table 15.2.

The answers to the survey may be summarized as follows. The respondents have observed violence between spouses more frequently than violence by parents against children (2,3). Three out of four people surveyed believe that television stimulates domestic violence (4). Respondents believe that television exaggerates the role of violence in general (5).

The focus groups confirmed the perception that television encourages domestic violence, although respondents felt that it did not increase violent behavior in their own families. It should be noted that drug abuse research has shown that families without the problem felt they were prepared to cope with it, while families who had the problem felt unprepared to cope with it. Similarly, the perception that violence on television affects other people's behavior, but not our own, appears to be a kind of denial that one could suffer the same misfortunes as others.

Respondents uniformly believe that the family—and especially family harmony—are very important. People reject the excessive presence of violence and want to see a proactive role for television that promotes harmony. Here the media, and television in particular, have an opportunity to place greater emphasis on families and promote family harmony, which is something that people need and appreciate (6). In this regard, interviewees were also asked to mark, on a given list of behaviors, the three behaviors they considered most important for family harmony (7). The results are interesting, although not unexpected; the backbone of family harmony is harmony between the parents. Given the number of people that want television to improve its contribution to family harmony, television should give priority to showing communication between parents and between children and parents, particularly fathers.

Those interviewed ranked respect, understanding, and affection as the most important feelings for family harmony (8). However, the public believes that television's performance is negative in the areas of teaching respect, forgiveness,

Table 15.2 Selected Survey Questions and Answers*(Percent of respondents giving each answer)*

Question 1. From what you hear and know, would you say that domestic violence is very frequent, frequent, occasional or uncommon?

Very frequent 52; Frequent 33; Occasional 12; Uncommon 3.

Question 2. Do you know of cases of partner violence among relatives, friends or neighbors?

No 57; Yes 43.

Question 3. Do you know of cases of domestic violence against children among relatives, friends or neighbors?

No 63; Yes 37.

Question 4. Do you believe that television promotes domestic violence?

No 25; Yes 75.

Question 5. Comparing the violence in your neighborhood with the violence seen on television, would you say that you see more violence on television or in the neighborhood?

On television 84; In the neighborhood 8; Level of violence is the same on TV and in neighborhood 9.

Question 6. Do you believe that television does all it should to help families live a harmonious life?

No 82; Yes 16; Don't know/didn't respond 2.

Question 7. Which three things do you consider most important for family harmony?

Communication between father and mother 59; Communication from father to children 38; Helping each other 32; Talking about problems that arise 31; Communication from children to father 30; Communication between children and mother 26; Communication between siblings 26; Respecting the space and belongings of others 22; Having experiences that promote family unity 15; Praise for family members when they do something positive 9; Motivation of family members to use their potential 7.

Question 8. Which feelings do you consider most important for family harmony?

Respect 72; Understanding 33; Affection 33; Forgiveness 29; Friendship 25; Trust 25; Peace 25; Happiness 23; Tolerance 17; Faith 17; Acceptance 4; Compassion 2; Intuition 2.

Question 9. Of the following feelings, which three are most destructive for the family?

Mistrust 46; Selfishness 45; Envy 44; Anger 43; Hatred 39; Jealousy 29; Greed 25; Cruelty 14; Guilt 10.

Question 10. Which of the following institutions or places stimulate harmonious behavior in the family, rather than violence? [Shows percent that believe institution has positive effect minus percent that believe institution has negative effect]

Household environment +66; School environment +46; Teachers in schools +39; Radio +16; Newspapers -14; TV news programs -24; Movies in theaters -32; TV -42; Street environment -46.

confidence, peace, tolerance, acceptance, and compassion. If we wish to promote emotional education through television, the priorities perceived by the public are respect, forgiveness, and trust.

Respondents ranked negative feelings in the following order on the basis of their capacity to destroy families: mistrust, selfishness, envy, anger, hatred, jealousy, greed, cruelty, and guilt (9). The interviewees felt that television promoted these feelings rather than checking them—particularly cruelty, hatred, greed, jealousy, and selfishness.

Families and schools were perceived as performing positively (more people felt that they encourage harmony, and fewer felt that they stimulate violence). However, in the case of television, many more people felt that it encourages violence (10).

Most people interviewed felt that there was more violence on television than in their own lives (5). Most people do not believe that the government or television companies and producers are doing as much as they can to ensure that television contributes to family harmony. The message is clear: the public would like to see television teach harmony rather than hatred.

Some differences of perspective also emerge from the data. Wealthier respondents are more critical of the government and television companies than poorer respondents. Wealthier individuals are also more critical of television producers than the rest of the population.

While answers to most questions in the survey were homogeneous across cities of different sizes, those interviewed in mid-sized cities were the least aware of cases of parents abusing children and violence between spouses. Either inhabitants of medium-sized cities are refusing to face reality, or the social fabric is stronger in these cities.

Although respondents in all cities consider that there is more violence on TV than in real life, the perception was weaker among inhabitants of big cities. One explanation for this difference is that the social fabric in smaller cities permits greater control over the behavior of individuals, while residents of large cities are fairly indifferent because of the breakdown of close-knit society.

Conclusions

The public attaches great importance to the family and to family harmony, and believes that it can be built through good communication. Women have a key role as the upholders of family harmony.

People feel that television has educational potential and wish to see it targeted to helping them and their families progress. Families clearly see the importance of

respect, confidence, affection, forgiveness, and tolerance, and find that the last two qualities are often absent. In many families, excessive television viewing indicates a lack of interpersonal relations, the absence of critical thinking by parents, and a shortage of alternatives and spaces for recreation, education, and socialization.

The public wants television to teach respect, the quality it appreciates most highly, and tolerance, which it feels is most lacking. It wants television to avoid mistrust, cruelty, and hatred. As for the educational aspects of television, viewers believe that TV sends out a dual message that claims to teach certain values but actually promotes others.

Programmers and producers have a responsibility to turn television into an instrument that can teach and promote values through entertainment. But the public believes that television producers, companies, and the government are not doing as much as they could to develop television programming that promotes family harmony.

Proposals

The statistics for Colombia point to the importance of fostering a change in attitude about the use of television in our daily lives. The education system can carry out that task with both parents and children. Parents require training in good parenting skills and critical analysis of TV content. Children need to learn to see television as an ally of the school and of their own education. They must be taught what television is, how it is made, and what it is good for. Building a critical approach in young television viewers is crucial, by providing them with information on technological advances, and the language and discourse of television.

Educators should not seek to widen the gap between the school and television; schools should provide tools for directing and using television on behalf of the comprehensive and peaceful education of children. This objective implies an awareness on the part of broadcasters that goes beyond economic interests and is able to appreciate the benefits generated by a nonviolent public.

Governments, when addressing the use and management of television, should ensure that legislation is not limited to prohibitions, but extends to the organization of all aspects of television as a means of communication, education, socialization, and entertainment for ourselves and for future generations.

Television should become a medium that provides firm support for the pacification process, since its participation can help produce a country where tolerance, respect and harmony prevail. Understanding the influence of television on domestic violence can lead to mental health and peace in the next century.

Endnotes

¹ Fathers and mothers were older than 24, and children were between 12 and 24 years old.

² Large cities have more than 500,000 inhabitants; intermediate cities have between 50,000 and 500,000 inhabitants; and small cities have less than 50,000 inhabitants.

³ Articles 15 and 16 of the National Television Commission, 1987.

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Latin America is one of the world's most violent regions, at home and on the streets, with a homicide rate more than twice the world average. Domestic violence is also widespread and closely linked to societal violence: children who experience or witness chronic abuse are more likely to behave violently as adults. In *Too Close to Home*, international authorities ranging from psychologists and doctors to economists and communication experts offer insights and strategies on this serious public policy concern.

"Domestic violence is not just an assault against a citizen—it undermines democracy itself. Democracy thrives when neither law, nor tradition, nor intimidation, nor simple ignorance—nor the fear of physical pain at home—bars women from speaking their truth from their hearts in public or at home. This book, which makes a compelling case that domestic violence is a fundamental obstacle to economic development and democracy in the Americas, is essential reading."

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Nancy Birdsall, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

"We cannot call ourselves 'developed' as long as domestic violence remains in our countries. Domestic violence is a widespread scourge—although hidden—in many of our countries. It infringes upon the dignity of the family and assaults fundamental human rights, above all those of women and children. It is dramatically destructive, not only morally, but also because of its cultural, social and economic consequences. The studies in this book illustrate the characteristics and causes of the phenomenon, different forms of addressing it and the role of the media."

Patricio Aylwin, Former President of Chile



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