

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

COST TO THE NATION

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study is the product of contributions from many people. First and foremost I would like to thank CARE-Bangladesh who gave me an opportunity to undertake this important study, especially the CARE-Bangladesh COVAW team who provided me with their most sincere support and worked tirelessly throughout the entire process of data collection, field work and participation in developing the questionnaire. Team leader of COVAW, Dr. Julia Ahmed's keen interest on the topic and dedication to this work always encouraged me to put extra effort in getting this research done.

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Dr. Kaniz Siddique



Forward

We are very keen to share the findings of the study entitled *Domestic Violence Against Women: Cost to the Nation* with you. This report looks at how measuring the tangible cost of violence provides evidence of draining resources from families, communities and the state. On one hand, violence removes scarce resources that could otherwise be used in other important areas to improve the wellbeing of the poor families. On the other hand it also suggests such strains on scarce resources of poor families are likely to result in not addressing the survivors' needs fully. The study provides strong evidence to consider domestic violence as an issue that affects poverty, development and economic growth rather than just considering it as a women's issue only.

Reducing violence against women has been a focus for many actors including CARE for many years. However, when we look back at VAW incidence and prevalence statistics, the figures are disturbing. Whilst some progressive laws and policies against VAW like the Domestic Violence Act 2010 have been enacted recently, combating social norms that accept violence as one of the means to control women and perpetuate their subordinate position in society still presents challenges for all.

This is not the first study exploring the cost of VAW in Bangladesh, but it does provide a unique contribution to the topic, and we hope that it moves others to deepen the understanding by continuing to examine and research these issues. We hope those of you reading this will find ways to also contribute in order to continue to highlight violence against women and work with all of us committed to its eradication.

This report contributes to programming around VAW by:

- a) helping us to build a new understanding of why violence against women should be prevented;
- b) introducing an innovative policy analysis approach, by attaching a monetary figure we can better articulate and measure the cost implications of violence in society;
- c) bringing all key actors to a common platform for advocacy in coalition;
- d) showing achievable ways of implementing the *Domestic Violence Act 2010*.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank our local partners, concerned communities, and the Cost of Violence Against Women Initiative (COVAW) team for their efforts in translating the study findings into concrete actions. I would also like to thank the COVAW advisory committee for their insightful inputs to the study. Finally, our sincere gratitude to USAID for their generous support in conducting this study.

Only through commitment and combined action, can we stop violence against women in Bangladesh, and stopping violence requires that all of society understands that there is a cost to all rather than an action without consequence.

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Acronyms

AIDS	=	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BNWLA	=	Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association
CBOs	=	Community Based Organizations
COVAW	=	Cost of Violence against Women
DG	=	Directorate General
GDP	=	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	=	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MBBS	=	Bachelor of Medicine & Bachelor of Surgery
MOWCA	=	Ministry of Women & Children Affairs
OCC	=	One Stop Crisis Centre
NGOs	=	Non-government Organizations
UNFPA	=	United Nations Population Fund
VAW	=	Violence against Women
WHO	=	World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background:

Women's vulnerability is pervasive and endemic in Bangladesh, where an age-old patriarchal social structure is accompanied by extreme economic and social poverty. Male domination and the associated female subordination permeate all segments of society, irrespective of ethnicity, religion or socio-economic status. Practices of early marriage, dowry, polygamy and the domestic violence revolving around these practices are common. Many women are confined within the home and forbidden from entering the public sphere without an escort. Women who seek dissolution of marriage find weak legal and social protections and there are high levels of divorce and abandonment. Women's secondary status in society results in them falling into the trap of poverty or becoming economic and social liabilities to their families, further perpetuating the cycle of abuse and oppression.

In addition to being a human rights violation, domestic violence has many monetary costs at all levels of society. Individuals and family members have to pay medical bills, legal fees and relocation expenses. They also lose wages due to injuries and attending court. Communities, particularly rural villages, also incur expenses such as losing wages while trying to resolve the problems through mediation. Society and the state also bear the expense of providing victims with protective services and implementing programmes to curtail abuse. The state is also responsible for adjudicating and punishing the perpetrator.

There are also many intangible costs on multiple levels, like the weakening of the institution of family and a general feeling of distress within a community.

Despite their strong persuasiveness for influencing national plans & policies, few economic analyses on domestic violence have been conducted in developing countries, particularly in Bangladesh. The first known study in Bangladesh was conducted by Fahmida Khatun et al through the Centre for Policy Dialogue in 2010. This pioneering study found that the average victim of domestic violence spent Taka 18,917 on healthcare, shelter, criminal justice, legal services and social services, the equivalent of 2.86% of the GDP of Bangladesh. This study was limited to women who had the social capacity and physical mobility to obtain assistance from NGOs. In addition, over half of the participants came from the capital city, Dhaka. Another study on the cost of intimate partner violence is expected to be published soon by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies. To the best of our knowledge, this report presents the first study that accounts for the realities of a rural Bangladeshi woman at the individual, family, and macro levels. And, this study is first in the sense it has used the study findings in communication & campaign intervention for influencing national plans, policies, and implementation of VAW related laws.

Organization of this report:

This report is based on two separate studies of COVAW. The first is on the societal costs of domestic violence at the individual and family levels, which included a household survey. The second the national cost of Violence against Women to state and non-state actors.

Objectives and Limitations of studies:

The objectives of the first study on the cost of domestic violence at the individual and family levels are to: (i) develop a framework that could be used in any country to quantify the cost of domestic violence, and (ii) gather primary data to quantify the economic cost of domestic violence on the individual and family levels in Bangladesh.

The objective of the second study on the expenditures of government and non-government organizations is to quantify the expenditures on domestic violence at the macro level.

Limitations of the studies:

The first research study was an analysis of the cost of domestic violence at the individual and family levels. This study was limited to married women who experience domestic violence committed by a husband against his wife. It was conducted in three intervention sites of COVAW, CARE-Bangladesh namely Dinajpur, Shunamgonj and Tangail.

In the study that analyzed the cost of domestic violence on society, data was not obtained from the perpetrator but from the victim and her family. Experience has shown, however, that victims are quite knowledgeable about the expenditure of their husbands even after they have left the home.

The second research study identified the expenditures government and non-government organizations spent and allotted on combating and addressing issues pertaining to Violence against Women. Cost related information was collected from four directly relevant ministries including MOWCA, Social Welfare, Home & Health ministries. It was not possible to collect information on violence related activities from Ministry of Law & Parliamentary Affairs. An effort was made to calculate the cost of violence against women for the court system. However in the court system information are not kept separately related to violence against women. Information is available about of total number of case that are filled and how many of them were disposed. Therefore from secondary data sources data could not be obtained about the amount spent in the courts because the judiciary does not keep records on the number of cases that pertain to Violence against Women. A separate study needs to be undertaken to calculate court related costs to the government in relation to violence against women.

Data from the non-government organizations is also not complete because not all of the numerous grassroots organizations in Bangladesh could be identified, and not all of those that were identified were willing or able to provide their financial information.

A major challenge for both studies was trying to place a price tag on the numerous intangible social costs and physical/mental medical costs associated with domestic violence. Many were neither measurable nor comparable, and were thus excluded from the study. Assumption and conservative approach was used in calculation.

Despite the identified limitations, the 'Advisory Committee'¹ of the COVAW initiative expressed a strong opinion that this study is an acceptable and credible estimate of the magnitude of the

¹ COVAW is supported with a diverse high profile 12 member 'Advisory Committee' who are expert in GBV

national cost of Violence against Women and should be seen as an important component of social policy, and the findings can be used to reduce the social acceptability of violence.

Study Design:

To begin, a framework was developed that identified the social costs, intangible mental and physical health costs (meaning the costs besides going to the doctor, such as pain), time cost, and direct monetary costs domestic violence has on four main levels of society: individual, family, community and to the state. This framework can be used to quantify the cost of domestic violence in any society using primary and secondary data.

The first study, which calculates the cost of domestic violence at family and individual level required data to be obtained through a household survey. The household study was conducted in three rural districts in Bangladesh: Sunamganj, Dinajpur, and Tangail. The target sample size was 500 families, but 483 responses were included in the analysis because 17 of the surveys contained inconsistent results. The respondents were victims and family members of the victims. It is important to note that during data collection if a household reported that it did not engage in an activity, their response was recorded as zero and included in the calculation for the average cost of an activity. This serves to accurately reflect the cost to society at large, not just the victims who chose to use that service.

The second study served to obtain the expenditures government and non-government organizations spent and allotted on combating and addressing issues pertaining to Violence against Women. To identify the expenditure of Violence against Women by the state it was necessary to go

beyond the expenditure items published by the government in order to account for all the contributing ministries, directorates, departments, divisions and agencies. First, the institutional structure for addressing Violence against Women was identified, then the services provided by each institution were reviewed and only then were the expenditures obtained.

To identify the expenditures of non-government organizations, NGOs and CBOs that provided services or conducted advocacy pertaining to Violence against Women were identified and asked to provide their expenditures pertaining to Violence against Women. Because not all of the NGOs and CBOs in Bangladesh could be identified, or were willing to share their expenditures, the calculated value was increased by twenty percent to accurately reflect on the true expenditure.

Non-Cost Related Findings:

In addition to the costs of domestic violence, the primary survey also revealed information about the demographics of the survey participants and the impact domestic violence has had on their lives.

Most of the participants in the household survey were poor and without formal education. Over half of the women were married to men who worked in jobs that are considered low income (59%), which indicates that they come from poor households. Similarly, two-thirds of the victims were past the primary level and only three percent were with formal education beyond the secondary level.

The most prevalent form of violence experienced by the victim was physical violence, especially slapping, kicking, punching, hair pulling,

beating/hitting with hands/feet² (89.5%) and with an object (81.8%). Many women were also subjected to deprivation of food (67.8%), deprivation of maintenance (62.4%), insults (59.3%) and threats (49.6%). Almost all of the women surveyed experienced a physical injury as a result of the abuse (81.2%) and many required medical treatment (78.7%). Two-thirds of the women who required medical treatment sought assistance from MBBS doctor registered with the Bangladesh Medical & Dental Council, and another quarter went to a non-registered village doctor.

Dowry was the most common reason cited for the violence (24.4%), despite the practice being illegal in Bangladesh. The second most common cause of violence was personality conflicts with the in-laws (15.3%). This is not surprising considering that the husband's family typically has a sense of superiority over the wife and forces her into a submissive role. This practice reflects the male superiority in the patriarchal social structure that dominates Bangladesh.

The survey indicated that domestic violence is a major expense to the natal parents. Over eighty percent of the victims surveyed took shelter in the home of their parents or other relatives after the attack and in most instances the parents paid the direct costs associated with the domestic violence. Additionally, about a quarter of the victim's family members sustained an injury while attempting to protect their daughter from an attack.

Women who were victims of domestic violence were willing to speak out against it, because of the already established rapport with CARE-B

program. It provided referral linkage support to the victims to the existing service delivery facilities. Almost all (95.4%) of the victims lodged a complaint with a CBO or NGO and half filed a case in either district or family court (50.1%). In contrast, very few (7.5%) of the victims filed a case in the police station, which pose a question to probe further why people prefer to avoid the police after experiencing a violent crime. Future studies should examine the number of women who filed cases with Shalish.

Of the victims that filed cases in court, only 35.8% received monetary compensation. This indicates that the judicial system, especially the criminal justice system, needs to come forward providing adequate support or justice to victims.

The victims reported that 24.8 percent of the perpetrators went into hiding, 26.3 percent paid a criminal penalty and 4.1 percent served time in prison. This means that a significant portion of the perpetrators were sanctioned for committing domestic violence.

Results:

Direct monetary cost to the victim and her family: The total direct monetary cost to the victim and her family for our sample of 483 families in three districts in the year 2010 was Taka³ 57.8 lac, an average cost of Taka 11,976 per family per year.

One of the main expenditures was medical costs. An average of Taka 2,968 was spent per family treating the victim. In addition, an average of Taka 1,051 was spent per family on the medical cost of treating a family member of the victim who was injured while intervening in the domestic violence. This is a total of Taka 4,019 on direct medical costs in just one year.

² High occurrence of physical violence in the form of hitting by fists, kicking, chocking knocking also reported in Khatun, F., Jahan, F. and Yousuf, A.F. 2010. Missing Dynamics of Spousal Violence Discourse in Bangladesh: Measuring the Economic Costs. Dhaka: CPD Research Monograph 6; Naved, R.T., Azim S., Bhuiya, A. and Persson, L.A. 2006. "Physical Violence by Husbands: Magnitude, Disclosure and Help-seeking Behaviour of Women in Bangladesh" Social Science and Medicine, 62 (12): 2917-2929; and Jahan, R. 1994. Hidden Danger: Women and Family Violence in Bangladesh. Dhaka: Women for Women.

³ 1 US\$= 68 taka

Another significant expense was the cost of accessing justice. By far the largest expenditure was the cost of food and transportation to attend court (Taka 2,213 per family per year). This number is high because most victims need to travel a great distance. Additionally, adjudicating a case in family court costs an average of Taka 831 and in district court Taka 2,161 per family per year. In contrast, the average cost per family of organizing Shalish was Taka 1,096.

Direct monetary cost to the perpetrator and his family:

The total costs believed to be borne by the perpetrator's family were over 50 lac, an average of 10,384 per family per year. The greatest expense reported was paying a fine to the victim (7,987 per family). The average direct cost of relocation or hiding was 1,184. The average cost of Shalish was Taka 1,222.

Loss of Income to the victim and her family:

The 483 families in our survey forfeited over Taka 66 lac in wages in the year 2010, an average of 13,814 per family a year, as a result of suffering from a permanent injury that prevented them from working. The average daily income for the victim and her family was 155 Taka per day. In our survey, a total of 116 victims and 42 family members were not able to work for at least a year due to the injury sustained. The families also lost a total of Taka 99,366 in the year 2010 by attending court, an average of Taka 206 per family per year.

Loss of income to the perpetrator and his family:

Over Taka 11.7 lac was lost in income in the year 2010 due to the perpetrator losing the ability to work, an average of Taka 2,417 per

family per year. Time spent in prison took a much great toll on the income of the family (Taka 2,142 per family per year) than time spent in hiding (Taka 276 per family per year).

According to our calculations, the total national cost of Violence against Women is at least Taka 14,358 crore for the year 2010. This is about 2.05 percent of GDP for that year. This number was calculated based on, (i) the direct cost of Violence against Women to the victim and her family, (ii) the direct cost to the perpetrator and his family, and (iii) lost income to the victim and her family, and (iv) lost income to the perpetrator and his family

An estimate of the number of families that suffer from domestic violence had to be made in order to extrapolate the cost of domestic violence to all of Bangladesh. A conservative estimate of 25% of was adopted, which, with the current population, suggests that at least 7.25 million households in Bangladesh currently experience domestic violence.

Cost of Violence against Women to the State:

Five ministries were identified as providing services or undertaking activities pertaining to Violence against Women: (i) Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, (ii) Ministry of Social Welfare, (iii) Ministry of Health, (iv) Ministry of Home Affairs, and (v) Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliament any Affairs. Within each ministry there is a complex structure of directorates, departments, divisions and agencies that administer various services and projects.

It was found that the expenditure of the Government of Bangladesh for programmes and activities designed to combat Violence against Women for the FY2010 was Taka 137.24 crore. This is about 0.12 percent of total government budget for that year and about 0.02 percent of the estimated GDP.

Summary of Cost of VAW:

Societal Level	Taka (crore)	Percentage of total expenditure budget of the government	Percent of GDP
Individual and family	14,084.56	12.37%	2.08%
State	137.24	0.12%	0.02%
Non-state	150.00	0.16%	0.03%
Total	14,411.80	12.65%	2.13%

Cost of Violence to Non-State Organizations:

The NGOs and CBOs who were identified and willing to share their expenditures spent a total of Taka 125 crore on services and advocacy pertaining to Violence against Women. This number was increased by 20% to account for the NGOs and CBOs that were not identified or were not willing to share their expenditures. On the basis of this assumption, the total amount NGOs and CBOs spent on services and awareness raising pertaining to Violence against Women was approximately Taka 150 crore for the FY2010 (July 2009 to June 2010). This is about 0.16 percent of the total government budget for that year and about 0.03 percent of the GDP.

Conclusion:

The amount wasted on domestic violence is staggering. Imagine what families could have done with Taka 14,071 crore to secure food, educate their children and make long-term economic investments, or the social good that the state could have generated if it invested 137.24 crore into building roads, hospitals and schools. NGOs could also have used the 150 crore on other projects to alleviate suffering and promote development.

The conservative estimate of the cost of domestic violence clearly demonstrates that the cost of not valuing women is too great for society to bear without sacrificing necessary programmes and services. Domestic violence, and the associated gender inequalities, must be given the utmost priority in the development of a national agenda in order to protect the safety of our women, economy and nation.

CHAPTER

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Women's vulnerability is pervasive and endemic in Bangladesh where an age-old patriarchal social structure is accompanied by extreme economic and social poverty. Male domination and the associated female subordination permeate all segments of society, irrespective of ethnicity, religion or socio-economic status. Practices of early marriage, dowry, polygamy and the domestic violence revolving around these practices are common. Many women are confined within the home and forbidden from entering the public sphere without an escort. Women who seek dissolution of marriage find weak legal and social protections and there are high levels of divorce and abandonment. Women's secondary status in society results in them falling into the trap of poverty or becoming economic and social liabilities to their families, further perpetuating the cycle of abuse and oppression.

An international report published by the United Nations in 2000 ranked Bangladesh first in terms of prevalence of marital domestic violence. The report found that nearly half of the adult female population surveyed reported physical abuse at the hands of their husbands.¹ Similarly, a World Health Organization (WHO)

multiple country study on intimate partner domestic violence conducted in 2005, found that 53 percent of the women surveyed in Bangladesh had experienced at least one act of physical or sexual violence or both.² Worse still, a Naripokkho Pilot Study on Violence against Women found that 63 percent of the women admitted to Dhaka Medical Hospital sustained their injuries within the home.³ This finding is further supported by the fact that at least 60 percent of the VAW cases reported at Dhaka police stations occurred within the home.

Alarmingly, domestic violence and female subordination are not considered to be a problem by a substantial portion of men in Bangladesh. A 2003 study revealed that 65 percent of the men surveyed consider VAW necessary amid undesirable activities and justified under certain circumstances. In addition, about 38 percent did not clearly understand what constitutes physical violence and about 40 percent supported keeping women socially dormant and subordinate to men.⁴

¹ Farouk, S.A. 2005. Violence against women: A statistical overview, challenges in and gaps in data collection and methodology and approaches for overcoming them. Expert Group Meeting, UN Division for the Advancement of Women, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

² WHO. 2005. Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women, Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women's Responses. Geneva: World Health Organization.

³ Azim, S. 2000. Pilot Survey on Violence against Women in Bangladesh. Dhaka: Naripokkho.

⁴ UNFPA. 2003. Male Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women in Bangladesh. Dhaka: UNFPA.

Perhaps more concerning is that few women in Bangladesh realize that domestic violence and female subordination are violations of their human rights. A 2005 study found that 77 percent of female respondents believed that a husband had the right to beat his wife and another 73 percent stated that a wife should obey her husband by ignoring her own opinion.⁵

Even if victims of domestic violence are aware of their right to be free from abuse, they are often not able to call for help due to fear of social embarrassment, potential loss of the family's honour, shame and the economic realities of having nowhere else to go. Studies have found that women who challenge conventional norms around "appropriate behaviour" are less likely to feel safe in their communities.⁶ Even the judicial system provides little support and protection for women.

The secrecy and shame associated with marital domestic violence makes it difficult to truly quantify the number of women who are subjected to it. The figures presented here are appalling, but are likely to be a gross underestimate of reality. What we do know is that the rates of domestic violence (both reporting and incidents) in Bangladesh are on the rise,⁷ creating a grave need for a societal response.

Domestic violence against women should be broadly defined as a systemic pattern of abusive behaviours or torture that takes place against women by family members within the domain of the household.

Manifestations of domestic violence can be mental, physical, economic and sexual. Mental

torture can include restriction on movement, limitation of communication with the wife's parental home, stalking and threats. Physical torture can include hitting, kicking, hair pulling, biting, shoving, restraining and throwing objects. In some instances physical torture causes death or long-term disability. Economic torture can include forcing women to work long hours, garnishing their wages and depriving them of basic needs, such as food and medical attention. Sexual torture includes rape, molestation and subjecting women to incest.

Consequences of domestic violence against women are mainly mental anguish, physical injuries, death, disability, sexually transmitted infections and diseases (including HIV/AIDS), unwanted pregnancies, mental instability (that can lead to suicide) and personality changes.

Domestic violence is a global phenomenon: one out of every three women globally is believed to be a victim of domestic violence.⁸ Wives are most vulnerable to abuse, particularly those from poor families in rural areas. Unmarried sisters and daughters are also commonly subject to abuse. It is important to remember, however, that anyone can be a victim of domestic violence.

Domestic violence is usually inflicted by immediate family members, especially husbands, fathers, brothers, in-laws and second wives. Other members of the immediate and extended family may also be perpetrators. This makes marital domestic violence especially atrocious, because the attacker is the same person a victim would typically turn to for refuge and support.

Although the deep rooted socio-physiological causes of violence are complex, the causes

5 Begum, H.A. 2005. "Combating Domestic Violence through Changing Knowledge and Attitude of Males: An Experimental Study in Three Villages of Bangladesh" *Empowerment*, 12: 53-74.

6 World Bank. 2008. *Whispers to Voices – Gender Transformation in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Bangladesh Development Series.

7 Based on figures from the Bangladesh National Women's Lawyers Association, on file with author.

8 Heise, L., Ellsberg, M. and Gottemoeller, M. 1999. *Ending Violence against Women*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University School of Public Health, USA.

of domestic (and also public space) violence usually centre around establishing and perpetuating male dominance in a patriarchal social structure. Table 1.1 details the cultural, economic, legal and political factors that contribute to domestic violence against women. The list includes a diminished or depleted sense of a socially determined perception of masculinity, a male child preference, low levels of female legal literacy, acceptance of Violence against Women as a societal norm and conflicts pertaining to money, dowry, polygamy, property, distribution of household resources and the well-being of the family.

1.3 Legal Options for Women in Bangladesh who have been Victims of Domestic Violence

Women who are victims of domestic violence in Bangladesh may turn to traditional or formal means of dispute resolution. Traditional dispute resolution is typically mediation, known in Bengali as Shalish. It is the preferred method for conflict resolution in Bangladesh because it is faster, more familiar and less expensive than the formal courts. One drawback of Shalish is that the male social elite, who typically serve as the mediators, might not be aware of or sensitive to the needs of women, particularly those who have been victims of domestic abuse. Several NGOs are currently implementing programmes around the country to ensure that Shalish is conducted in accordance with the laws of Bangladesh and international human rights standards.

There are several pieces of legislation that were enacted to protect women and prevent abuse. The Dowry Prohibition Act went into effect in 1980, and was amended in 1982. The Act prohibits the giving or taking of any dowry in marriage. Dowry is defined as any

property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly as consideration for marriage, either before, at or after the time of marriage. Penalties for taking or receiving dowry include imprisonment for one to five years.

In 1985 Bangladesh established family courts through the Family Court Ordinance. The family courts are formal civil courts with exclusion jurisdiction to entrain, try, and dispose of any suit pertaining to dissolution of marriage, restitution of conjugal rights, dower, maintenance, and guardianship and custody of children. The court has the power to issue an interim order at any point in the proceedings. All criminal matters that arise before the court are referred to a criminal court.

Bangladesh has also had several versions of legislation aimed at addressing severe instances of VAW. The most recent is the Women and Child Anti-Oppression Act, 2000 (amended 2003). The Act establishes special tribunals in every district in Bangladesh with exclusive jurisdiction over all cases brought under it, including trafficking of women or children, torture with a corrosive substance, kidnapping, realizing ransom, rape, provoking suicide, sexual abuse, and torture for dowry. In addition to formidable criminal penalties, which can include death and life imprisonment, the court may also order a fine be paid to the state or directly to the victim. The court has the authority to place any woman or child in safe custody, and the Act specifies that prison may never be used in lieu of a safe home. The Act also mandates that the state provide maintenance costs for any child born of rape, but allows the state to recover the costs from the father. Hospitals are also required to notify the police of instances of Violence against Women and children. It should be noted that this Act is limited to incidents of domestic abuse that involve a corrosive

Table 1.1 : Factors that Perpetuate Domestic Violence Against Women

Cultural Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchal cultural definition of roles and responsibilities of men and women • Expectation of gender roles within male and female relationships • Belief in the inherent superiority of males • Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls • Notion of the family as the private sphere and under male control and dominance • Customs of marriage (dowry and polygamy) • Acceptability of violence as a means to resolve conflicts • Social expectations that women should make personal sacrifice for family and society
Economic Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women’s economic dependence on men • Limited access to cash and credit • Discriminatory laws regarding inheritance, property rights, use of communal lands and maintenance after divorce or widowhood • Limited access to employment in formal and informal sectors • Restricted access to education and training for women
Legal Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal legal status of women, either in law or practice • Insufficient laws for women regarding divorce, child custody, maintenance and inheritance • Weak legal definition of rape and domestic violence • Low level of legal literacy among women • Insensitive treatment of women and girls by the police and judiciary
Political Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under-representation of women in power, decision making, politics, the media, and legal and medical professions • Domestic violence treated as an accepted norm and not taken seriously • Notions of family being private and beyond the control of the state • Fear or loss of popularity if status-quo is challenged • Limited and weak organizations of women as a socio-political force • Limited participation of women in organised political system

substance or dowry demand. Other forms of domestic abuse are regularly dismissed from the special tribunal.

In 2010 Bangladesh passed the Domestic Violence (Protection & Prevention) Act in order to protect women and children from physical, sexual, economic and psychological abuse. The court is authorized to award a victim of domestic violence with just and reasonable monetary compensation for personal injury (including trauma and psychological damage), property damage and financial loss. Shelter homes must be made available to victims, and the Act specifies a woman may never be placed there without her consent. The court has the power to issue an interim protection order against the respondent while investigation is pending. If the respondent violates the interim order, he is subject to six months in prison, a fine not exceeding Taka 10,000 or both. The court may also grant temporary custody orders for the victim's children. All trials must be completed within 60 working days from the issuance of the notice to the respondent.

1.4 Cost of Domestic Violence

A rising trend in combating domestic violence is quantifying its costs to society. One may argue that a monetary value cannot be placed on VAW because it is a gross violation of fundamental human rights. These analyses are not intended to put a price tag on human suffering, but rather are to be used as an advocacy tool. In addition, the analysis can assist in assessing the costs and benefits of domestic violence intervention strategies and programmes implemented by the state or NGOs.⁹

The costs analyses that have been conducted to date have shown that the cost of domestic violence is astronomical. In 2001 the

⁹ Khatun 2010.

Australian Institute of Criminology estimated that 14.2 million AUD were spent on legal services, incarceration, victim compensation, lost earnings and the opportunity cost of lost time due to domestic violence. Even more alarming is the 5.8 billion USD dollar price tag the US Department of Health and Human Services put on medical services (including mental health services) and lost economic output due to domestic violence in 2003.¹⁰

Despite their strong persuasiveness for policy reform, few economic analyses on domestic violence have been conducted in developing countries, particularly in Bangladesh. The first and only known study in Bangladesh was conducted by Fahmida Khatun et al through the Centre for Policy Dialogue in 2010. This pioneering study found that the average victim of domestic violence spent Taka 18,917 on healthcare, shelter, criminal justice, legal services and social services, the equivalent of 2.86% of the GDP of Bangladesh. This study was limited to women who had the social capacity and physical mobility to obtain assistance from NGOs. In addition, over half of the participants came from the capital city, Dhaka. Another study on the cost of intimate partner violence is expected to be published soon by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies. To the best of our knowledge, this report presents the first study that accounts for the realities of a rural Bangladeshi woman at the individual, family, and macro levels.

1.5 Purpose of this report:

The purpose of the report is to disseminate the findings of two CARE-Bangladesh research studies on the cost of VAW to policy makers,

¹⁰ See Id.; Australian Institute of Criminology. 2002. Australian Crime – Facts and Figures 2002; Department of Health and Human Services. 2003. Costs of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the United States. USA: Centres for Disease Control and Prevention and National Centre for Injury Prevention and Control.

academics, students and development workers so they can be used as an advocacy tool for preventing domestic violence. More specifically, it is intended to influence further policy developments, such as the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act 2010, and assist at the operational level through informing preventative strategies and interventions.

This report is part of CARE Bangladesh's Cost of Violence against Women Initiative. The main objectives of the initiative are to:

- Analyze, examine and calculate economic and social costs of VAW taking place within the family in a systematic manner;
- Deepen communities understanding of the cost issues around VAW through engaging them in defining the study and generating the data;
- Build the capacity of the community to conduct analyses using participatory tools and methodologies to understand the issues they face, and design appropriate responses;
- Encourage men and boys to change inequitable gender norms that influence VAW through engagement in a behavioural change intervention initiative and demonstrating the cost VAW bears on individual, families, communities, and the country at large; and

- Enhance advocacy efforts undertaken in alliance with a range of stakeholders at the local and national level for prevention of domestic violence.

1.6 Organization of this report

This report is based on two separate studies of COVAW. The first is on the societal costs of domestic violence at the individual and family levels, which included a household survey. The second the national cost of Violence against Women to state and non-state actors. To present the findings of these studies, this report is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides the details of the design for both studies. Chapter 3 reveals the non-cost findings of the household survey on domestic violence. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 contain the cost analysis of the study findings. Chapter 4 features the results of the societal cost analysis, and focuses on the cost of domestic violence at the individual and family levels for the victims and the perpetrators. Chapter 5 and 6 presents the results of the study on the cost of VAW on the state and non-government organization level: Chapter 5 contains a cost analysis for the state and Chapter 6 for non-government organizations. The report concludes with a total cost analysis of domestic violence to Bangladesh using the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

STUDY DESIGN

This chapter details how the two studies were conducted. It begins with the objectives of the studies and then presents the framework on which both studies were based. The framework includes the costs that were identified and the sources of data that are recommended. The next section presents the methodology for the study on the cost of domestic violence on society, including a household survey to collect primary data. It is followed by the methodology for the study on the cost of VAW to the state and non-government organizations. The final section identifies the limitations of the studies that comprise this book.

2.1 Objectives of the Studies

The objectives of the first study on the cost of domestic violence at the individual and family levels are to: (i) develop a framework that could be used in any country to quantify the cost of domestic violence, and (ii) gather primary data to quantify the cost of domestic violence on the individual and family levels in Bangladesh.

The objective of the second study on the expenditures of government and non-government organizations is to quantify the expenditures on domestic violence at the macro level.

2.2 Framework

This section develops a framework that can be used to calculate the direct tangible costs of domestic violence to any society. This framework is then used to conduct the financial analysis of the cost of domestic violence against women presented in this book.

The framework is broken down into four categories of costs pertaining to domestic violence: social costs, intangible mental and physical health costs (meaning the costs besides medical attention, such as pain), time costs, and direct monetary costs. These costs are incurred at four levels: individual, family, community and macro (government and non-government). Several of the identified costs are applicable to multiple levels of society. The costs identified are summarized below and detailed in Table 2.1. In addition, Annex 1 contains a framework for calculations to quantify the identified costs.

At the individual level social costs are mainly in the form of personal humiliation, fear, stress related illness, deflated confidence and increased sense of physical and mental insecurity. Domestic violence is linked to school absence, which can lead to both dropping out and early marriage. The intangible mental and physical health costs are mainly in the form of pain, injury, stress related illness, disability, disease and death. The loss of time while

recovering from the violence and addressing the violence must also be accounted for, as well as the direct costs, such as relocating, medical bills and legal fees. Through the study we found that the perpetrator also incurs expenses, including needing to pay a fine, losing income while in jail/hiding and becoming injured himself.

At the family level social costs are typically in the form of an increased sense of physical and mental insecurity and tension within the families, which can lead to dissolution of marriage and suffering of the children. The intangible mental and physical health costs are mainly in the form of stress related illness amongst family members, particularly the victim’s family, but can also include a family member becoming injured while trying to intercede on the victim’s behalf. Time might need to be taken off of work to care for the victim, resolve the conflict or access justice.

The perpetrator’s family might also spend time protecting the perpetrator. Additionally, the family is likely to be responsible for their own direct costs plus the costs that perpetrator or victim incur and are unable to pay.

The costs are similar at the community and state level, typically an increased sense of insecurity and weakening of marriage, which can create social incoherence and instability, and result in increased crime. The society must also accommodate more people with physical disabilities. Time and direct costs are spent at both the community and macro levels trying to increase awareness of domestic violence to prevent future attacks. Differences do exist, however, as the community tends to devote time to traditional dispute resolution and the state puts time and resources into developing an infrastructure of support services, such as courts, police, hospitals and rehabilitation centres.

Table 2.1: Framework for Calculating Cost of Domestic Violence Against Women

	Social Costs	Intangible Physical/ Mental Health Cost	Time Cost	Direct Monetary Cost
1. Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humiliation, fear, negative impact on self-respect and decreased confidence; • Increased sense of physical and mental insecurity; • School absenteeism leading to dropouts and/or early marriage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pain, injury, stress related illness, disability, disease and death. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recovering from injury or disability; • Attending court or Shalish; • Perpetrator might spend time in hiding or in prison. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relocation and travel expenses; • Medical bills; • Legal costs (court or Shalish); • Bribes to police; • Fine for perpetrator.
2. Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased sense of physical and mental insecurity among women; • Tension in the family; • Dissolution of marriage; • Suffering of the children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stress related illness, particularly among the victim’s family; • Injury of family member that intervened in violence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care for the injured victim; • Attending court or Shalish; • Recovering from own injuries; • Protect/hide the perpetrator. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covering the costs the victim or perpetrator are unable to pay; • The cost of having the daughter back in the home; • Own medical bills.

	Social Costs	Intangible Physical/ Mental Health Cost	Time Cost	Direct Monetary Cost
3. Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased sense of physical and mental insecurity among women; Weakening of social institutions like marriage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased number of people with stress related injuries, physical injuries and disabilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resolving cases through traditional mediation Shalish; Organizing protection; Developing and implementing prevention campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cost of Shalish, organizing protection and developing & implementing prevention campaigns.
4. Macro (State and NGOs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased sense of physical and mental insecurity among women; Weakening of social institutions like marriage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased number of people with stress related injuries, physical injuries and disabilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organizing campaigns to prevent VAW; Developing & maintaining an institutional framework to address VAW. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fund the courts, police, hospitals and rehabilitation centres. Costs of campaigns to address VAW.

Sources of Data:

The most important factor in calculating costs of domestic violence is meaningful data on the costs identified above. For this study, primary data was collected from household questionnaires and secondary data from national sources and other research studies. Some assumptions were also necessary to estimate the loss of income associated with

physical injury. This is because a large number of women in Bangladesh do not work for wages. Their potential wage was thus assumed to be the equivalent of an unskilled worker on the local market. The table below specifies the means used to collect data for each variable. More detailed information on the primary survey is presented in the next section.

Table 2.2: Variables and Sources of Data

Variables	Source of data
i. Individual cost variables	
Total monetary costs	Calculated data
Per person average monetary cost (victim)	Calculated data
Total monetary costs	Calculated data
Sum of the time required for overcoming injury by every individual	Calculated data
Monetizing total time cost	Calculated data
Per person average monetized time cost	Calculated data
National monetized time cost	Calculated data
Total time cost	Primary survey data

Variables	Source of data
Total time cost	Primary survey data
Time required for overcoming injury by every individual	Primary survey data
Number of individuals	Primary survey data
Medical care in case of injury, disability and disease (victim)	Primary survey data
Transportation costs (victim)	Primary survey data
Number of individuals (victim)	Primary survey data
Number of individuals (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Average daily income	Primary survey data, assumption
Total number of victims nationwide	Secondary data, assumption
Total number of perpetrators nationwide	Secondary data, assumption
ii. Family level	
Total time cost	Calculated data
Total monetary costs (victims):	Calculated data
Per family average monetary cost	Calculated data
Total monetary costs (perpetrator)	Calculated data
Time required by victim for addressing violence	Primary survey data
Average daily income	Primary survey data, assumption
Cost of medical care for injury, disability and disease (victim)	Primary survey data
Transportation costs (victim)	Primary survey data
Rehabilitation costs	Primary survey data
Cost of filling case with the police	Primary survey data
Cost of informal dispute resolution	Primary survey data
Cost of litigation	Primary survey data
Number of families in survey	Primary survey data
Family resources lost (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Transportation costs (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Medical costs (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Cost of informal dispute resolution (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Cost of litigation (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Paying of bribe (perpetrator)	Primary survey data
Number of families nationwide	Secondary data, assumption
Total number of victim families nationwide	Secondary data, assumption
Total number of perpetrator families nationwide	Secondary data, assumption

iii. Community/society	
Total time cost	Calculated data
Time required for addressing violence in the community	Primary survey data
Average daily income	Primary survey data, assumption
Number of community initiatives	Primary survey data
Total number of communities nationwide	Calculated data
Cost of providing services to the victims at the community level	Primary survey data
iv. Macro (State and NGO) level	
Total time cost	Calculated data
Time required for addressing violence at the macro level	Secondary data
Total monetary costs	Secondary data

2.3 Methodology for Study I: Costs to Society at Individual and Family Levels

It was necessary to collect information and data from primary sources to capture the grassroots realities of domestic violence. A household survey was considered the best method to obtain the greatest amount of reliable data from victims and their families in rural areas.

There were two considerations taken into account when designing the household survey: i) domestic violence is often kept in the private sphere, resulting in many victims being reluctant to delineate their experiences to strangers and ii) the sample size needed to be sufficiently large to allow the national cost of domestic violence to be extrapolated from the survey findings.

To address the problem of finding participants for the study, the survey was conducted with women who had already developed relationships of trust with CARE-Bangladesh. The sample size target was set at 500 families who experienced domestic violence, which is sufficiently large to allow for the cost of violence to be extrapolated into a national

figure. A larger sample size was not possible due to the difficulties encountered trying to recruit families to participate in the study. The three areas chosen were: Sunamganj, Dinajpur, and Tangail. Only families known to experience domestic violence were selected.

Before undertaking the main survey, a team of two undertook pre-survey field studies to prepare the questionnaire. Visits were made to the three districts and an average of ten victims in each district were interviewed in the presence of other family members. A questionnaire was developed based on the findings of the initial field research. The questionnaires were then sent for field-testing, which included a day long discussion with the field-testing team to identify any unintended problems. The input of the research team was incorporated into the questionnaire and it was finalized for use in the study. After finalizing the questionnaire, the field surveyors received two days of training, where they were instructed on how to question the families in a sensitive manner.

Frequently during the field-testing the victims interviewed were found not to be aware of all of the details surrounding the domestic violence. For example, several did not know who paid for medical or other expenses, how many times they had gone to court or the police, or the names of the members of the local arbitration body. In these instances, family members were interviewed to ensure the information collected was as accurate as possible. The most common respondents were the victim herself (40%), her mother (22%) and her father (17%). Table 2.3 details who responded to the survey.

When conducting the survey, researchers recorded a zero when a respondent reported that an activity was not engaged in, such as going to court. This zero was included in the calculation of the average cost of the activity, which served to accurately portray the cost to society.

After conducting the analysis, seventeen questionnaires were excluded due to inconsistencies. Thus the results and analysis presented in this report is based on survey information of 483 households: 346 from Dinajpur, 63 from Sunamganj and 74 from Tangail.

Table 2.3: Survey Respondents

	Dinajpur	Sunamganj	Tangail	Total
Self	118	31	40	189
Mother	82	11	15	108
Father	76	3	2	81
Friend	28	10	11	49
Brother	27	5	3	35
Sister	15	2	3	20
Spouse	-	1	-	1
Total	346	63	74	483.0

Source: Household Survey 2010

2.4 Methodology for Study II: National Costs of VAW to State and Non-State Organizations

The second study identified the expenditures of the government and non-government organizations on addressing and combating VAW.

Government:

To identify the expenditures on VAW by the state it was necessary to go beyond the expenditure items published by the government in order to account for all of the actors, including multiple ministries, directorates, departments,

divisions and agencies. First, the institutional structure in place for addressing VAW were identified, then the services provided by each institution were reviewed and only then was the budget for each specific actor obtained. Interviews and consultations were also conducted with various actors, including the police and judiciary.

On the basis of the existing activities of each ministry, estimates were made of the government's expenditure on combating and addressing Violence against Women. The estimates were based on services and activities that had already transpired during FY2010.

Non-Government Organizations:

To begin the study, NGOs and CBOs that were involved with VAW were identified. CARE-Bangladesh provided a list of sixty-four organizations that were known to it as working on issues pertaining to Violence against Women, either through direct services or advocacy. Donor agencies were also contacted to identify more NGOs or CBOs and the author also added organizations known to her. Once this list was completed (81 organizations in total), the identified NGOs and CBOs were asked to provide their actual expenditures on all projects pertaining to VAW. The figure was then increased by twenty percent to account for i) the NGOs and CBOs that were not identified and ii) identified NGOs and CBOs that were either unwilling or unable to provide the requested financial information.

2.5 Limitations of the Studies

The studies presented in this book were unable to account for all costs of domestic violence on the individual, family, community and macro levels.

At the individual and family levels the household survey had to be limited to marital domestic violence because the magnitude of all violence experienced by women in Bangladesh exceeded the time and resources available to this project. Marital domestic violence was selected because it is particularly atrocious; the perpetrator is the same person the victim would naturally turn to for support and protection. Marital domestic violence is also one of the most prevalent forms of domestic violence, and is thus representative of the true cost of domestic violence in Bangladesh.

Another limitation is that no information was collected directly from the perpetrators.

Experience has shown victims are typically quite knowledgeable about the expenditures of their husbands, even after leaving the house, but a future study that collected information directly from the perpetrator would augment this study.

The study also required several assumptions to be made. All of the assumptions that were made, however, were conservative, and thus likely to be an underrepresentation of the true cost of domestic violence.

Data was only collected from three areas, but we believe that the three areas selected were representative of all of Bangladesh.

No data was collected at the community level. This information was intended to be collected through the household survey, but the participants were not aware of the costs incurred by their communities.

At the macro level, the expenditures on domestic violence could not be disaggregated from the total cost of VAW. Therefore, the expenditures presented are the total cost pertaining to VAW, not just the subset of domestic violence. Given that over half of the incidents of violence in Bangladesh are believed to occur in the home, the total VAW expenditure is a good approximation of the cost of domestic violence and is the most accurate information available until the government and non-government organizations make more specific data available. In addition, there are two exclusions from the data that need to be noted. One is the cost of the courts, which could not be included because the judiciary does not keep records on the number of cases that pertain to Violence against Women. The other is the expenditures from all the NGOs and CBOs in Bangladesh because there are too many grassroots organizations to identify all of the organizations and some of the NGOs and

CBOs that were identified were either unwilling or unable to share their expenditures.

A major challenge in the studies was trying to place a price tag on many intangible costs associated with domestic violence. Many were neither measurable nor comparable, and were thus excluded from the studies.

Despite the identified limitations, the 'Advisory Committee'¹ of the COVAW initiative expressed a strong opinion that these studies are an acceptable and credible estimate of the magnitude of the national cost of Violence against Women and should be used to guide future strategies.

¹ The Advisory Committee consists of 15 members. The members are prominent personalities who have been working in the areas of women's issues. The committee includes activists, lawyers, researchers and academics that have experience in the field of Violence against Women.

NON-COST RELATED FINDINGS

Although the focus of this study is calculating the cost of domestic violence, other information on various aspects of domestic violence was also collected during the course of the household survey. This information paints a vivid and realistic picture of our study population and the impact marital domestic violence has had on their lives and the lives of their families, husbands and in-laws. All of the information presented here is based on the entire sample size of 483 unless otherwise specified.

3.1 Educational Level of the Victims

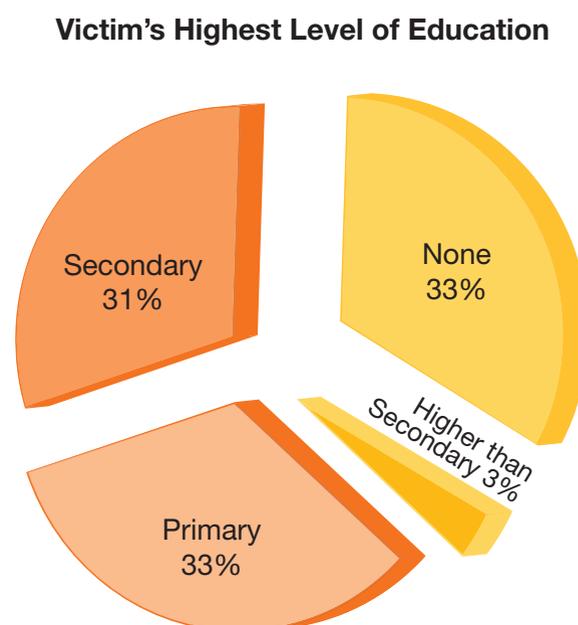
Two-thirds of the victims surveyed were not educated past the primary level and only 3.1% were educated beyond the secondary level. This is not surprising considering the cultural norm is to discourage girls from going to school. Table 3.1 & Figure 3.1 show the educational background of the victims of domestic violence.

Table 3.1: Education Level of the Victims

Level of Education	Total	Percent
No education	159	32.9%
Primary level	161	33.3%
Secondary	148	30.6%
Higher than Secondary	15	3.1%
Total	483	100.0%

Source: Household Survey 2010

Figure 3.1: Victim's Highest Level of Education



Source: Household Survey 2010

3.2 Primary Occupation of the Perpetrators of Violence

Most of the participants in our survey are believed to be poor. Over half (59%) of the victim's husbands, typically the primary wage-earner, are engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural labour activities and another 12.6% are engaged in small businesses or are self-employed. These are all low-income positions, which is not surprising considering that poverty is often a contributor to domestic

violence. Table 3.2 identifies the professions or occupations of the victims' husbands.

Table 3.2: Primary Occupation of the Perpetrators of Violence

Occupation	Number	Percent
Non-agricultural labour	170	35.2%
Agricultural labour	115	23.8%
Small business/self employed	61	12.6%
Van/rickshaw puller	58	12.0%
Carpenter/mechanic	15	3.1%
Driver	8	1.7%
Government service	7	1.4%
Unemployed	7	1.4%
Student	5	1.0%
Remittance earner	5	1.0%
Others service	32	6.6%
Total	483	100%

Source: Household Survey 2010

3.3 Types of Violence

The respondents were asked to identify all forms of abuse experienced by the victim. Multiple answers were allowed and frequently given. The most prevalent response was physical violence, especially slapping, kicking, punching, hair pulling, beating/hitting with hands/feet¹ (89.5%) and with an object (81.8%). Many women were also subjected to deprivation of food (67.8%), deprivation of maintenance (62.4%), insults (59.3%) and threats (49.6%).

Other forms of violence were not prevalent, including acid throwing, trafficking, denial of earned income, sexual violence and the use of a weapon. Table 3.3 lists the types of violence to which the female victims were subjected,

¹ High occurrence of physical violence in the form of hitting by fists, kicking, choking knocking also reported in Khatun 2010, Naved 2006 and Jahan 1994.

divided by whether the abuse was physical, psychological, sexual, or economic in nature.

Table 3.3: Types of Violence

Type of violence	% Experienced
Physical Violence	
Slapping, kicking, punching, hair pulling, beating/ hitting with hands/feet	89.5%
Beating/hitting with an object	81.8%
Choking	38.6%
Use of weapon against victim	7.2%
Burning	6.4%
Acid throwing	0.0%
Psychological Violence	
Insulting, demeaning	59.3%
Threatened to use force/ physical violence	49.6%
Abandonment	25.4%
Isolation/ Restricting mobility	20.2%
Sexual Violence	
Marital rape/ Sexual coercion	5.8%
Refusal to have sex	4.8%
Economic Violence	
Deprivation of food	67.8%
Deprivation of maintenance of the wife	62.4%
Demand for dowry	43.0%
Deprivation of maintenance of children	33.3%
Forced to earn	12.4%
Took away all the earnings	10.5%
Not allowing to earn	3.5%
Women trafficking	0.4%
Children trafficking	0.0%
Other	1.9%

Source: Household Survey 2010

3.4 Reasons for Violence

Dowry was the most common reason cited for violence (24.4%), which indicates that dowry is still demanded despite the fact that it is illegal in Bangladesh. This is not surprising considering that parents traditionally try to marry their daughters as early as possible in order to end their economic responsibility. It is not uncommon for poverty to prevent the bride's family from paying the full dowry price, resulting in the groom and his family inflicting physical and psychological torture on the bride in hopes of coercing the natal family to deliver the promised dowry payment.

The second most common cause of violence was personality conflicts with the in-laws (15.3%). The husband's family typically has a sense of superiority over the wife and force her to be submissive. This practice reflects the male superiority in the patriarchal social structure that dominates Bangladesh.

Provocation from other members of the family was also identified as a leading cause of domestic violence (14.2%). In many cases the wife experienced domestic violence as a consequence to "talking back" to her husband (10.6%). Another factor leading to violence was the husband taking a second wife (6.2%), which is a tacitly accepted social norm in Bangladesh. A law technically requires the first wife give written consent to a second marriage, but it is not strictly enforced. Table 3.4 reveals the frequency of response to various reasons for violence identified in the survey.

Table 3.4: Reasons for Violence

Reason for Violence	Percent
Dowry demand	24.4%
Personality conflicts with grandmother, mother and sister-in-laws	15.3%
Provocation from other family member	14.2%
Wife talking back	10.6%
Rude behaviour of husband	9.3%
Multiple marriages	6.2%
Husband having relation with other women	5.7%
Drug and alcohol addiction of husband	3.2%
Gambler husband asking for money	2.4%
Doubt about wife's character	1.9%
Wife not giving birth to male child	1.5%
Wife not being able to have children	1.2%
Sexual relation of the wife with other man	1.0%
Wife not being beautiful	0.8%
Other	2.4%

Source: Household Survey 2010

3.5 Extent of the Injuries Experienced by the Victim & Her Family

The physical violence victims endured was found to be quite severe. Almost all of the women surveyed experienced a physical injury as a result of the abuse (81.2%) and many required hospitalization (78.7%). Figure 3.2 represents this data graphically and table 3.5 numerically.

Figure 3.2: Severity of Injuries

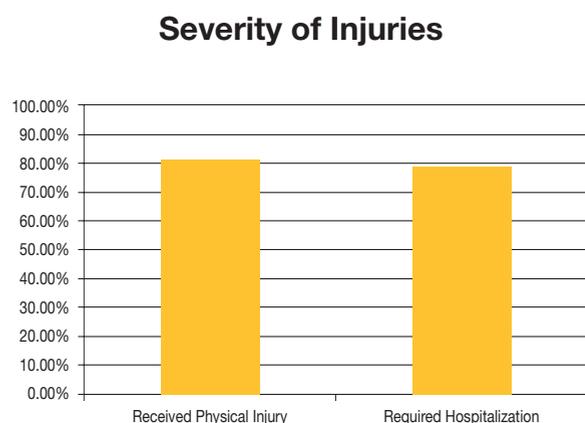


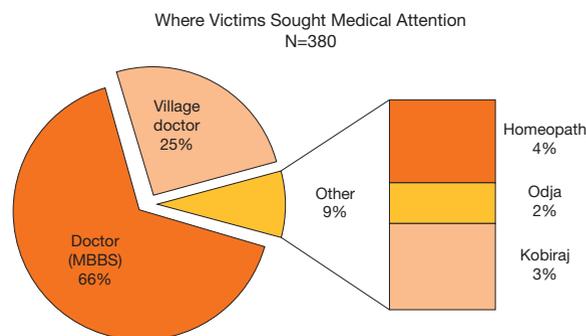
Table 3.5: Severity of Injuries

		Total	Percent
Endured physical injury at the time of domestic violence	Yes	392.0	81.2%
	No	91.0	18.8%
Received medical treatment after an incident of domestic violence	Yes	380.0	78.7%
	No	103.0	21.3%

3.6 Where Medical Treatment was Sought

Of the 380 victims who sought medical treatment, most went to doctors overseen by the Bangladesh Ministry of Health (MBBS) (66.1%) or to village doctors (25.4%). The high prevalence of doctors indicates that victims of violence were taken seriously and the families tried to provide the victims with the best possible care. This is significant because domestic violence was historically kept in the private sphere due to a strong stigma of social shame. Figure 3.3 and Table 3.6 details where medical treatment was sought.

Figure 3.3: Where Victims Sought Medical Attention



Source: Household Survey 2010

Table 3.6: Where Victims Sought Medical Attention

Treatment providers	Total	Percent
Doctor (MBBS)	251	66.1%
Village doctor	97	25.4%
Kobiraj (herbal doctor)	13	3.4%
Homeopath	13	3.4%
Odja (snake doctor)	6	1.7%
Total	380	100.0%

Source: Household Survey 2010

3.7 Complaints Filed by Victim

Women who were victims of domestic violence were willing to speak out against it, which indicates that the societal norms that dictated victims remain quiet might be fading. Almost all (95.4%) of the victims lodged a complaint with a CBO or NGO and half filed a case in either district or family court (50.1%). In contrast, very few (7.5%) of the victims filed a case in the police station, which indicates that people prefer to avoid the police after experiencing a violent crime. Future studies should examine the number of women who filed cases with Shalish.

Of the victims who filed cases in court, only 35.8% received monetary compensation. This indicates that the judicial system, especially the criminal justice system, might not be providing adequate support or justice to victims.

The above data is summarized in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Complaints Filed by Victims

	Yes	No
Was a complaint filed in a police station?	7.5%	92.5%
Was a complaint filed with a CBO or NGO?	95.4%	4.6%
Was a complaint filed with district or family court?	50.1%	49.9%
After filing in district or family court, was monetary compensation received?	35.8%	64.2%

Source: Household Survey 2010

3.8 Impact on the Victim’s Family

The survey indicated that the financial burden of domestic violence is mostly borne by the victim’s family. As Figure 3.4 indicates, the natal family almost always picks up the tab for treatment, transport to treatment, relocation, Shalish, family court and district court. It should be noted that the victim’s parents pay slightly less often for court costs than other expenses, this is due to the large number of NGOs that provide free legal assistance to victims in court (21.1% of the total victims received free legal assistance from NGOs in family court and 6.3% in district court.

The burden to the natal family extended beyond needing to pay for the direct cost of the attack. Eighty-six percent of the victims surveyed took shelter in the home of their

parents or other relatives after the attack,² requiring that the parent again pay for the daughter’s maintenance. Additionally, about a quarter of the victim’s family members sustained an injury while attempting to protect their daughter from an attack.

Figure 3.4: Who Pays Direct Expenses of Domestic Violence?



Source: Household Survey 2010

3.9 Consequences to the Perpetrator

Table 3.8 and Figure 3.5 show the consequences the perpetrator experienced, as reported by the victim’s family. It was found that 24.8 percent of the perpetrators went into hiding, 26.3 percent paid a fine (imposed by Shalish, family court or district court) and 4.1 percent served time in prison. The payment of the fine and loss of income, through being in hiding or prison, also takes a financial toll on the perpetrator’s family who are likely relying on this money for their own subsistence.

² It is not clear why 14.1 percent of the victims did not leave their in-law’s house. It could be explained by either the situations not deteriorating to the point where the victim felt strongly to leave the house, the situation being resolved within the family of community, or the victim not possessing the economic or social resources to leave the house.

Figure 3.5: Consequences to Perpetrator

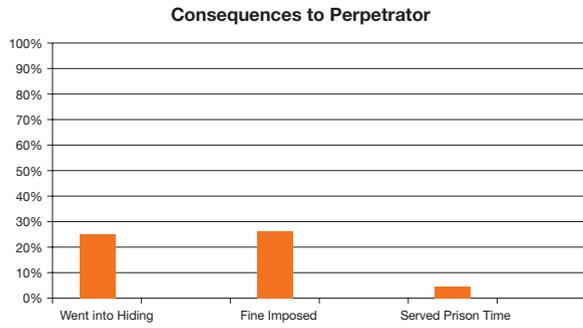


Table 3.8: Consequences to the Perpetrator

	Yes	No
Was a financial fine imposed on the perpetrator?	26.3%	73.7%
Did the perpetrator go into hiding?	24.8%	65.2%
Did the perpetrator spend time in prison?	4.1%	95.9%

Source: Household Survey 2010

THE COST OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AT THE INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY LEVELS

This chapter calculates the cost of domestic violence on victims, perpetrators and their families based on data obtained from the household survey. It begins by examining the direct costs of violence to the victim and her family, such as medical and legal costs. It also calculates the direct costs to the perpetrator and his family, such as the cost of displacement and fines. The calculation then expands to include the lost opportunity costs, in the form of lost income, for both the victims and perpetrators (and their families). The chapter concludes by extrapolating the national cost of domestic violence on the individual and family levels from the quantified direct and opportunity costs. All of the costs are only what the families spent in the year 2010.

4.1 Direct Monetary Cost to the Victims and Their Families

This section identifies the direct monetary cost related to the victims and members of the victims' families, and disaggregates the costs associated with attending both district and family courts.

Data:

The cost of seven separate factors were used to calculate the direct cost of marital domestic violence on victims and members of their families: i) relocation; ii) medical treatment for the victim, both long and short term; iii) medical treatment for a member of the victim's family who received an injury while intervening in the violence, both long and short term; iv) arranging a Shalish; v) adjudicating a case in family court, including court fees and purchasing forms; vi) adjudicating a case in district court, also including court fees and purchasing forms and vii) the cost of travelling to family or district court, such as transportation and food. The cost of food and travel to both district and family court was disaggregated to emphasize the considerable strain it puts on a victim's family. Table 4.1 contains the data used to calculate the total cost of violence on the victim and her family.

The costs associated with adjudicating cases in the family and district courts are further disaggregated and presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3, respectively. The total cost related to adjudicate a case in family court is composed

of two components: i) payment or bribe made to police for filling the case and ii) advocate fees and other court related costs. The total cost of adjudicating a case in district court is comprised of five components: i) police bribes at station; ii) police bribes at district court; iii) advocate fee; iv) court fee and v) other expenses related to district court. There are more components for district court than family court because there are simply more expenses; unlike district court, a person going to family court would not start with a complaint at the police station and does not need to pay a court fee.

Results:

The total expense for our sample size of 483 families for three districts in the year 2010 was Taka 57.8 lac, an average cost of Taka 11,976 per family per year.

One of the main expenditures was medical costs. An average of Taka 2,968 was spent per family treating the victim. In addition, an average of Taka 1,051 was spent per family treating a family member of the victim who was injured while intervening in the domestic violence. This means families spend an average of Taka 4,019 on direct medical costs in just one year.

Another significant expense was the cost of accessing justice. The largest expenditure was the cost of food and transportation to attend court (Taka 2,213 per family). This number is high because most families live a great distance from court; travelling can often take a day and require several forms of transportation, including ferries, rickshaws and buses. In addition to this expense, a case in family court costs Taka 831 per family per year and district court 2,161 per family per year. In contrast, a victim’s family spends an average of only 1,096 organizing Shalish per family per year, which does not necessitate travel and typically resolves within a year.

It is worth noting that no one paid a bribe to the police at the Sunamganj district court. This indicates that bribes were not required for police cooperation in this court.

4.2 Direct Monetary Cost to the Perpetrators and Their Families

Marital domestic violence is also an expense for the perpetrator and his family. To learn more about this expense, the victim and her family were asked what costs the perpetrator and his family incurred as a result of the violence.

Table 4.1: Direct Monetary Cost to the Victim and Family

(in Taka)

	Relocate	Victim’s medical treatment	Family member’s medical treatment	Organize Shalish	Food and transport to attend court	Case in Family Court*	Case in District Court**	Total
Dinajpur	52,329	7,53,344	14,625	5,93,560	6,45,195	2,18,450	5,43,375	28,20,878
Sunamganj	3,35,780	4,52,660	4,37,280	1,92,100	4,20,200	1,82,300	3,80,820	24,01,140
Tangail	20,780	2,27,661	55,500	1,35,082	3,500	500	1,19,502	5,62,525
Total	4,08,889	14,33,665	5,07,405	9,20,742	10,68,895	4,01,250	10,43,697	57,84,543
Avg.	847	2,968	1,051	1,906	2,213	831	2,161	11,976

Source: Household Survey 2010

Data:

Total costs to the perpetrator's family consist of three main components: (i) the cost of going into hiding to avoid criminal or social sanctions, which necessitates transportation, food and lodging; (ii) arranging Shalish and (iii) a monetary penalty paid to the victim.

4.3 Loss of Income of the Victims and Their Families

In addition to out-of-pocket expenses associated with domestic violence, there are also opportunity costs. For this study, opportunity costs are measured in the form of income lost as a result of dealing with domestic violence.

Table 4.2: Total Cost Related to Family Court**(in Taka)*

	Police bribe at court	Advocate & court costs/fees	Total
Dinajpur	96,400	122,050	218,450
Sunamganj	58,600	123,700	182,300
Tangail	500	00	500
Total	155,500	245,750	401,250
Average	322	509	831

*Source: Household Survey 2010***Table 4.3: Total Cost Related to District Court*****(in Taka)*

	Police bribe at station	Police bribe at court	Advocate fee	Court fee	Other expenses	Total
Dinajpur	32,750	7,000	4,28,075	48,550	27,000	5,43,375
Sunamganj	8,800	0	3,24,020	27,000	21,000	3,80,820
Tangail	42,802	1,700	4,000	40,300	30,700	1,19,502
Total	84,352	8,700	7,56,095	1,15,850	78,700	10,43,697
Average	175	18	1,565	240	163	2,161

*Source: Household Survey 2010***Results:**

The total cost believed to be borne by the perpetrator's family was over 50 lac, an average of 10,384 per family per year. The greatest expense reported was paying a fine to the victim (7,987 per family). The average direct cost of relocation or hiding was 1,184. The average cost of Shalish was Taka 1,222. These results are summarized in Table 4.4.

Data:

This section calculates the income lost due to (i) permanent physical injury to the victim or her family member; (ii) attending family court and (iii) attending district court. To calculate the wages lost in a year, the average salary (as found by the household survey) per district was multiplied by the number of people in the district who experienced a permanent physical injury that prevented them from engaging in

Table 4.4: Costs to Perpetrator and Family*(in Taka)*

	Displacement/ Relocation	Organize Shalish	Fine	Total
Dinajpur	21,300	4,09,800	28,83,400	33,14,500
Sunamganj	5,27,150	1,51,300	4,90,400	11,68,850
Tangail	23,440	29,060	4,79,700	5,32,200
Total	5,71,890	5,90,160	38,53,500	50,15,550
Average	1,184	1,222	7,978	10,384

Source: Household Survey 2010

work. This number was then multiplied by 250, an estimate of the average number of days a person works in a year. To calculate the cost of court, the average daily salary of each district was multiplied by the number of days people in that district lost to attend court that year. It is important to note that not all women were engaged in employment and in these instances their salary was considered to be the same as an unskilled worker in the labour market.

Results:

The families in our survey forfeited Taka 66,72,000 in wages during the year 2010, an

average of 13,831 per family a year, as a result of suffering from a permanent injury that prevented them from working. In our survey, a total of 116 victims and 42 family members were not able to work for at least a year due to the injury they sustained. The average daily income for the victim and her family was 155 Taka per day. Table 4.5 contains this information in more detail.

The families also lost a total of Taka 99,366 by attending court, an average of 206 Taka per family per year. Table 4.6 contains this information in more detail.

Table 4.5: Income Loss: Permanent Physical Injury

Area	Average daily income	No. of victims unable to work due to perm. injury	Income lost in a year to victim	# of victims' family members unable to work due to perm. injury	Income lost in a year to victim's family	Total Income loss in a year
Dinajpur	146	32	11,68,000	5	1,82,500	13,50,500
Sunamganj	206	39	20,08,500	17	8,75,500	28,84,000
Tangail	150	45	16,87,500	20	7,50,000	24,37,500
Total		116	48,64,000	42	18,08,000	66,72,000

Source: Household Survey 2010

Table 4.6: Income Loss: Adjudicating Cases in Formal Court

Area	Average daily income	Number of work days lost to family court	Income lost to family court	Number of work days lost to district court	Income lost to district court	Total income lost to court
Dinajpur	146	135	19,710	125	18,250	37,960
Sunamganj	206	45	9,270	31	6,386	15,656
Tangail	150	253	37,950	52	7,800	45,750
Total		433	66,930	208	32,436	99,366

Source: Household Survey 2010

4.4 Loss of Income of the Perpetrators and Their Families

Like victims and their families, perpetrators and their families also lose wages due to domestic violence. This section serves to calculate the extent of lost wages to the perpetrator and his family.

Data:

Perpetrators can lose income due to spending time (i) in hiding or (ii) in prison. These two components were used to calculate the total reduction of income due to lost wages by the perpetrator. Their families are also adversely affected by this expense because they are likely to rely on the perpetrator's income for their subsistence.

To calculate the lost income associated with time spent in hiding, the days in hiding were multiplied by the average daily salary for the perpetrators in each district. To calculate the lost income associated with spending time in jail, the total amount of time spent in jail for the year of all perpetrators was added and expressed in terms of years. This number was then multiplied by the average salary for each district. This number was then multiplied by 250, the number of working days that an average person is assumed to have in a year.

Results:

Over Taka 11 lac was lost in income due to the perpetrator losing the ability to work in the year 2010, an average of 2,417 per family. Time spent in prison took a much greater toll on the perpetrator's income (Taka 10,43,000) than time spent in hiding (Taka 1,34,268). The data is presented in Table 4.7.

4.5: Estimation of the National Cost of Violence at the Individual and Family Levels

The calculations of the cost of marital domestic violence on the individual and family levels calculated in this chapter can be further used to extrapolate the cost of domestic violence at the national level.

A series of assumptions were required to extrapolate the national cost of domestic violence from our existing figures:

1. Bangladesh has a population of 145 million or 14.5 crore¹
2. The average family size in Bangladesh is five

¹ General Economic Division, Planning Commission for the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. 2008. Moving Ahead: National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction II (FY 2009-2011). Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Table 4.7: Loss of Income to Perpetrator and Family

Area	Average income of perpetrator	Days in hiding	Years in jail	Loss of income due to hiding	Loss of income due to jail	Total income loss of
Dinajpur	161	305	8	49,105	3,22,000	3,71,105
Sunamganj	340	230	6	78,200	5,10,000	5,88,200
Tangail	211	33	4	6,963	2,11,000	2,17,963
Total		568	18	1,34,268	10,43,000	11,77,268

Source: Household Survey 2010

3. Marital domestic violence has occurred once in at least twenty-five percent of all families in Bangladesh.²

Based on these assumptions it was concluded that there are 29 million families in Bangladesh, 7.25 million of whom have experienced at least one incident of domestic violence.

Data:

By adding the information that we have obtained through the course of the chapter, we are able to calculate the cost of domestic violence in Bangladesh on the individual and family level. Our calculations were done in three sections, specified as Sections A, B and C in Table 4.8.

Section A calculates the direct cost of domestic violence by taking the sum of the direct cost to the victim and her family (Section 4.1) and the direct cost to the perpetrator and his family (Section 4.2). To obtain the family average this number must be divided by 966; 483 families representing the victim and 483 families representing the perpetrator. The cost per family can then be used to extrapolate the national cost by multiplying by 7.25 million, the estimate of the number of families that have experienced domestic violence. Through

dividing this by the GDP (6,86,730 crore),³ the percentage of the GDP spent on the direct cost of violence is obtained. The same process was conducted in Section B to determine the lost income related to domestic violence, but the information used is the lost income of the victim and her family (Section 4.3) and the perpetrator and his family (Section 4.4). Section C combines section A and B to determine the total cost of domestic violence to the nation at the individual and family levels.

Results:

As Section A of Table 6.1 reveals, the average family who experience domestic violence in Bangladesh spent Taka 11,180 on direct costs in the year 2010. Multiplying this average by the number of families believed to suffer from domestic violence reveals that at least Taka 8,105 crore was spent on just the direct cost of marital domestic violence, the equivalent of 1.18% of the GDP.

Part B reveals that the average income lost per family due to domestic violence was Taka 8,228 making the total for Bangladesh Taka 5,966 crore. This is the equivalent of 0.87% of the GDP.

² See Naved 2006: Some studies have found that as many as 41% of women have experience domestic violence.

³ 2009 figure from the Bangladesh Ministry of Finance

Combining the direct costs with lost income at the individual and family levels reveals that a total of Taka 14,071 crore was wasted on domestic violence in Bangladesh in the year 2010, the equivalent of 2.05% of the GDP.

Table 4.8: Calculation of National Costs of Violence

Section A: Direct Costs of Domestic Violence at Individual and Family Levels	
Medical cost to the victims and families	19,41,070
Legal (formal and informal) costs to the victims and families	34,34,584
Other costs to the victims and families	4,08,889
Total cost to the perpetrators and the families	50,15,550
Total direct cost	1,08,00,093
Total average cost per family	11,180

Cost to the nation (in crore Taka)	8,105
Percent of GDP	1.18%

Section B: Lost Income Due to Domestic Violence at Individual and Family Level

Income loss to the victims and families	67,71,366
Income loss to the perpetrators and families	11,77,268
Total income loss	79,48,634
Total average loss of income	8,228
Loss on income to the Nation (in crore Taka)	5,966
Percent of GDP	0.87%

Section C: Total Cost of Domestic Violence at Individual and Family Level

Total Cost (in crore Taka)	14,071
Percent of GDP	2.05%

COST OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN TO THE STATE

Many of the female victims of domestic violence are poor and with out formal education, leaving them few means to finance services such as medical care, legal services, relocation, shelter and food. As we noted in Chapter 3, the parental family usually pays these expenses, but the state has also established a social safety net for the victims whose natal families are either unwilling or unable to provide financial assistance. The state also organizes awareness raising activities in order to deter future acts of Violence against Women. This chapter quantifies the amount the state spends on Violence against Women and uses it as a proxy for the expenditures on domestic violence because disaggregated expenditures were not available.

To identify the expenditures on Violence against Women by the state it was necessary to go beyond the expenditure items published by the government to account for the specific actors in a complex framework. Five ministries were identified as providing services or undertaking activities pertaining to Violence against Women: (i) Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, (ii) Ministry of Social Welfare, (iii) Ministry of Health, (iv)

Ministry of Home Affairs and (v) Ministry of Law and Justice. Within these ministries there are several directorates, departments divisions and agencies that are also providing services and support pertaining to VAW. A summarised version of the estimated expenditure of the government is presented in Table 5.1 and a detailed version in Table 5.2. Table 5.3 lists the major projects on VAW that are currently being conducted by each ministry.

From the data obtained, it was estimated that the expenditure of the Government of Bangladesh programmes and activities designed to combat Violence against Women for the FY2010 was Taka 137.24 crore. This is about 0.12 percent of total government budget for that year and about 0.02 percent of the estimated GDP. Of this, 107.74 crore was in the recurrent budget and 29.50 in the development budget.

It should be noted that there is no data on the judicial costs of VAW because the judiciary does not keep data that specifies which cases pertain to VAW. A separate study should be undertaken to calculate court related costs to the government in relation to Violence against Women.

Table 5.1: Estimates of the Government Expenditure on VAW*(in crore Taka)*

Ministry/Division	Department/ Agency	Budget FY 2010-11	
		Recurrent	Development
A. Women and Children Affairs	1. Secretariat	1.85	5.85
	2. Department of Women Affairs	16.70	16.89
B. Social Welfare	3. Department of Social Services	12.05	2.00
C. Home	4. Secretariat	0.75	
	5. Police Department	47.35	
D. Health	6. Directorate General of Health	28.04	
E. Ministry of Law and Justice and Parliamentary Affairs	7. Legislative Drafting and Parliamentary Affairs Division	1.00	4.76
	Sub-total :	107.74	29.50
	Total Budget :		137.24

Table 5.2: Detailed Cost Estimate of the Government Expenditure on VAW*(in crore Taka)*

Ministry/ Division	Department/ Agency	Types of Services Provided to Address VAW	Assumptions Made to Calculate Expenditure	Budget FY 2010-11	
A. Women and Children Affairs	Secretariat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevent violence against women and children; Provide legal, financial and other policy supports; Enact and enforce relevant laws, rules and regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MoWCA has established a cell to coordinate issues pertaining to combating VAW, which is headed by a joint Secretary and includes two Deputy Secretaries and four Sr. Assistant Secretaries. A quarter of the total recurrent budget of the Secretariats is on this issue; One related development project is being implemented by the Ministry 	1.85	5.85
	Department of Women Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implement different programmes to prevent violence against women and children; Provide legal aid, medical, financial and other services; Provide shelter to victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> District and Upazila offices extends legal supports through locally constituted committees Six cells have been established in six divisional cities that provide legal services to the victims; Six shelter home are currently in operation in six divisional cities; 30% of total recurring budget is used to combat VAW; One related development project is being implemented by the Department 	16.25	16.89

Ministry/ Division	Department/ Agency	Types of Services Provided to Address VAW	Assumptions Made to Calculate Expenditure	Budget FY 2010-11	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One Stop Crisis Centres (OCC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Six OCCs are currently operational; Each OCC consisting of 13 persons (Doctor-2, Police-3, Nurse-3, Computer Operator-1, Cleaner-2, Lawyer-1, Counsellor-1); Department of Women Affairs is paying salaries/fees for 5 persons in each OCC (Computer Operator-1, Cleaner-2, Lawyer-1, Counsellor-1) 	0.45	
B. Social Welfare	Department of Social Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rehabilitation programme for female survivors of acid violence at the Upazila level; Support services programme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10% of total recurring budget of Upazila Offices under the Department of Social Services are used to combat VAW; One related development project is being implemented by the Department 	12.05	2.00
C. Home	Secretariat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy and capacity development support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One related development project is being implemented by the Ministry 	0.75	
	Police Department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One Stop Crisis Centres (OCC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Six OCCs are currently operational; Each OCC consisting of 13 persons (Doctor-2, Police-3, Nurse-3, Computer Operator-1, Cleaner-2, Lawyer-1, Counsellor-1); Police Department is paying salaries/fees for 3 police personnel working with the OCC 	0.35	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enforcement services through police stations across the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victim support unit at the thana level for physically injured and mentally unstable women; General services under existing laws; 0.2% of total recurring budget of Metropolitan and District Police is considered to be used in this purpose 	41.00	
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One related development project is being implemented by the Department 	6.00
D. Health	Directorate General of Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One Stop Crisis Centres (OCC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Six OCCs are currently operational; Each OCC consisting of 13 persons (Doctor-2, Police-3, Nurse-3, Computer Operator-1, Cleaner-2, Lawyer-1, Counsellor-1); DG Health is paying salaries/ for 2 Doctors & 3 Nurses working with the OCC 	0.90	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of medical services at all health facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Specialized hospitals, medical colleges, hospitals, district sadar hospitals and upazila health complex provides medical and counselling services to the victims of domestic violence; 2.0% of total recurring budget of above mentioned hospitals is considered to be used for this purpose 	27.14	

Ministry/ Division	Department/ Agency	Types of Services Provided to Address VAW	Assumptions Made to Calculate Expenditure	Budget FY 2010-11	
E. Ministry of Law and Justice and Parliamentary Affairs	Legislative Drafting and Parliamentary Affairs Division	• Judicial Administration	• Ensuring justice for the victim of domestic violence through disposal of court cases		
		• Providing occasional legal service	• Drafting of legislation and rules • 5.00% of total recurring budget of this division is considered to be used for this purpose	1.00	
			• One related development project is being implemented by the Ministry		4.76
	Sub-total :		Sub-total :	107.74	29.50
	Total Budget :		Total Budget :	137.24	

Table 5.3: Projects Related to VAW

Ministry	Projects Related to Violence against Women
Women and Children Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-sectoral programmed to prevent VAW (2nd phase) • Create physical facilities in five divisional cities to prevent VAW
Social Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support services for socially disabled women and girls
Home Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building initiative for law enforcement agencies to prevent gender based violence and promote reproductive health and rights • Construction of a DNA laboratory
Law and Justice and Parliamentary Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting access to justice and human rights in Bangladesh

COST OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN TO NON-STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to the costs that individual, families, communities and the state bear to address domestic violence, a large number of NGOs and CBOs also devote considerable time and resources to the cause. As with government expenditures, only expenditures relating to the total cost of VAW could be located. Again, this figure is used as a proxy for the amount spent on domestic violence.

NGOs and CBOs tend to be involved in two main activities pertaining to Violence against Women: (i) delivering services and support to women who experience violence and (ii) carrying out advocacy work and awareness raising campaigns to decrease the incidence of VAW.

Services provided by NGOs and CBOs tend to include immediate emergency support, temporary and permanent shelters, rehabilitation of the victims of violence in the families and society, psycho-social care support, solidarity and confidence building support, legal services, medical services, mitigation activities, participating in alternative dispute resolution or Shalish,

finding information and record keeping. These organizations also conduct critical research on violence at the grassroots level.

NGOs and CBOs that work on awareness tend to devote their time and resources to social mobilizations against VAW, anti-violence campaign, creating anti-violence social networks, holding group meetings with the leaders of the community, increasing vigilance against VAW in the community; publishing documents, posters and banners against VAW; and undertaking research activities to better understand the social dynamics of VAW.

A total of 81 NGOs and CBOs that worked on issues pertaining to Violence against Women were identified for this analysis. The larger organizations included: Action Aid, BLAST, BRAC, CARE-Bangladesh, Concern Worldwide, Hitaishi Bangladesh, Manusher Jonno,¹ Mohila

¹ Manusher Jonno Foundation provides funds for 18 organizations. These are Banchte Shekha, Polli Sree, BSEHR, Uddog, Fareea Lara Foundation, Jagorani Sangstha, Concerned Women for Family Development, Acid Survivors Foundation, Bangladesh National Women Lawyer's Association, Society for Voluntary Activities, Naripokkho, Usha, Mohidevb Jobo Somaj Kallayan Somity, Mukti Nari-o-Shisu Unnayan Sangstha, POPI, Anirban Samaj Unnayan Sangstha and Ain-o-Shalish Kendra.

Parishad, Oxfam, the Royal Dutch Embassy² and Steps Towards Development.

The NGOs and CBOs that provided their expenditures spent a total of Taka 125 crore on services and advocacy pertaining to Violence against Women. This number was then increased by twenty percent to reflect the number of NGOs and CBOs that were either not identified or did not submit data for the study. Therefore, the total amount NGOs and CBOs spend on services and awareness raising pertaining to Violence against Women is about Taka 150 crore for the FY2010. This number is about 0.16 percent of the total government budget for that year and about 0.03 percent of the GDP.

Conclusion: The Total Cost of Domestic Violence Against Women in Bangladesh

Through adding all of the costs identified in our studies, we are able to extrapolate the total cost of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. This includes the amount of marital domestic violence at the individual and family levels (Chapter 4) the expenditure on Violence against Women by the government

(Chapter 5) and non-state actors (Chapter 6). According to our calculations, the total national cost of domestic violence against women is at least Taka 14,358 crore. This is about 12.54 percent of the government expenditure for FY2010 and 2.10 percent of GDP. Table 7.1 provides the calculation in more detail.

The resource wasted on domestic violence is staggering. Imagine what families could have done with Taka 14,071 crore to secure food, educate their children and make long-term economic investments, or the social good that the state could have generated if it invested 137.24 crore into building roads, hospitals and schools. NGOs could also have used the 150 crore on other projects that alleviate suffering and promote development.

The data indicates that the major burden of the cost of domestic violence in Bangladesh falls on individuals and families. This is even more pronounced when we consider that the costs calculated at the state and non-state levels are over inclusive. This indicates that the government, NGOs and CBOs should put additional resources into offering protective services for women and working to prevent domestic violence.

Table 7.1: Total National Costs of Domestic Violence Against Women

Societal Level	Taka (in crore)	Percentage of total expenditure budget of the government	Percent of GDP
Individual and family*	14,071	12.26%	2.05%
State**	137	0.12%	0.02%
Non-state**	150	0.16%	0.03%
Total	14,358	12.54%	2.10%

* Based on marital domestic violence

** Based on the total cost of VAW

² The Royal Dutch Embassy supports Steps Towards Development, Acid Survivors Foundation, Rangpur Dinajpur Rural Services and Gender-Responsive Community Policing in Bangladesh.

The conservative estimate of the cost of domestic violence clearly demonstrates that the cost of not valuing women is too great for society to bear without sacrificing necessary programmes and services. Domestic violence, and the associated gender inequalities, must be given the utmost priority in the development of a national agenda in order to protect the safety of our women, economy and nation.

This study is seen as a first step to provide an indicative estimate of cost of VAW for informing decisions. 2.05 % of GDP is almost equal to the total government expenditure for the health and the nutrition sector. The majority of this expenditure is from family incomes, competing with needs for food, education etc

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CALCULATION FRAMEWORK

Below are the calculations used for quantifying the various factors of domestic violence.

Costs at the Individual Level:

Monetized Time Costs (Victims)	
Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required for (recovering from injury + relocating + travelling to court + accessing justice)
Total monetized time cost	Total time cost * average daily income
Average monetized time cost	Total monetized time cost/number of individuals
National monetized time cost	Average cost of time per person * total number of victims nationwide

Monetized Time Costs (Perpetrators)	
Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required for (recovering from injury + relocating + travelling to court + accessing justice + in hiding/prison)
Total monetized time cost	Total time cost * average daily income
Average monetized time cost	Total monetized time cost/number of individuals
National monetized time cost	Average cost of time per person * total number of perpetrators nationwide

Monetary Costs (Victims)	
Item	Calculation
Total monetary cost	Sum of costs of (medical care + legal expenses + travel costs)
Average monetary cost	Total monetary costs/number of individuals
National monetary cost	Average monetary cost per person * total number of victims nationwide

Monetary Costs (Perpetrator)	
Item	Calculation
Total monetary cost	Sum of costs of (medical care + legal expenses + travel expenses+ fines)
Average monetary cost	Total monetary costs/number of individuals
National monetary cost	Average monetary cost per person *total number of perpetrators nationwide

National Cost of Violence at the Individual Level

Item	Calculation
National cost of violence at the individual level	National monetized time cost (victim) + National monetized time cost (perpetrator) + National monetary cost (victim) + National monetary cost (perpetrator)

Costs at the Family Level:

Monetized Time Costs (Victims)

Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required to (address violence + recover from injuries + care for victim)
Total monetized time cost	Total time cost * average daily income
Average monetized time cost	Total monetized time cost/number of families
National monetized time cost	Average cost of time per family * total number of victim families nationwide

Monetized Time Costs (Perpetrators)

Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required to (address violence + recover from injuries)
Total monetized time cost	Total time cost * average daily income
Average monetized time cost	Total monetized time cost/number of families
National monetized time cost	Average cost of time per family * total number of perpetrators families nationwide

Monetary Costs (Victims)

Item	Calculation
Total monetary cost	Sum of (bills paid for the victim + extra costs having daughter back in the home + own medical expenses)
Average monetary cost	Total monetary costs/number of families
National monetary cost	Average monetary cost per family * total number of victim families nationwide

Monetary Costs (Perpetrator)

Item	Calculation
Total monetary cost	Sum of bills paid for the perpetrator
Average monetary cost	Total monetary costs/number of families
National monetary cost	Average monetary cost per family * total number of perpetrator families nationwide

National Cost of Violence at the Family Level

Item	Calculation
National cost of violence at the family level	National monetized time cost (victim) + National monetized time cost (perpetrator) + National monetary cost (victim) + National monetary cost (perpetrator)

Costs at the Community Level:

Monetized Time Costs	
Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required to address violence in the community (Organize Shalish + organize protection for victim + address post violence issues)
Total monetized time cost	Total time cost * average daily income
Average monetized time cost per community (village)	Total monetized time costs/number of communities surveyed
National monetized time cost	Average monetized time cost per community (village) *total number of communities nationwide

Monetary Costs	
Item	Calculation
Total monetary cost	Sum of cost of (organizing protection to prevent VAW + addressing post violence issues + organizing Shalish)
Average monetary cost	Total monetary costs /number of communities (villages)
National monetary cost	Average monetary cost per community (village) * total number of communities (villages) nationwide

National Cost of Violence at the Community Level	
Item	Calculation
National cost of violence at the community level	National monetized time cost at the community level+ National monetary costs at the community level

Costs at the Macro (State and NGO) Level:

Monetized Time Costs	
Item	Calculation
Total time cost	Sum of time required for addressing violence at the macro (state and NGO) level
Monetized total time cost	Total time cost * monthly income (in practice this calculation will be made on the basis of the number of people involved in VAW at the state level and their average salary)

Monetary Costs	
Item	Calculation
Total/National monetary cost	Sum of cost of (building various institutions, infrastructure and service delivery to prevent, protect and rehabilitate victims of VAW by the government and various NGOs, particularly police, court, hospitals and rehabilitations centres)

National Cost of Violence at the Macro (State and NGO) Level	
Item	Calculation
National cost of violence at the macro (state and NGO) level	National monetized time cost at the macro level+ National monetary costs at the macro level

Total National Cost of Violence:

Total National Cost of Violence	
Item	Calculation
Total national cost of violence	National cost of violence at the individual level + National cost of violence at the family level + National cost of violence at the community level + National cost of violence at the macro (state and NGOs) level