

The costs of domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia*

A costing exercise for 2006

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The United Nations provisionally refers to the country as "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". For simplicity, herein after, the country is referred to as "R. Macedonia".

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Abbreviations

CIMD	Chief Inspector for Minors' Delinquency
DEB	Daily Events Book
DV	Domestic Violence
DVAW	Domestic Violence against Women
ER	Emergency Room
EU	European Union
FL	Family Law
GP	General Practitioner
IG	Intervention Group
LSP	Law on Social Protection
MDI	Minors' Delinquency Inspector
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MKD	Macedonian Denars
MLSP	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NSDP	National Social-Democratic Party
OCRCC	Officer in Charge of Receiving Citizens' Complaints
PPO	Public Prosecution Office
RM.	Republic of Macedonia
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SWC	Social Work Centre
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
VAW	Violence against Women

EUR/MKD exchange rate used in the study is 61.6 MKD = 1 EUR

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Executive Summary

Domestic violence against women (DVAW) is a widespread problem all over the world. It cuts across social classes, race, religion, and education level and it occurs in both developing countries as well as in those that are well developed. It is generally considered as a human rights issue, but it is also regarded as a health and economic issue.

The first known efforts to estimate the economic costs of domestic violence against women started in the late 1980s when, after proving that DVAW is a direct violation of fundamental human rights with a serious negative impact on women's health, women's advocates arrived at the idea of trying to estimate the cost of that violence - to the individuals and to the society as a whole. Adding the economic perspective of the problem provided a new, quite powerful, angle from which to view the legal, health and other consequences of VAW and to advocate for action to be taken.

As stated in the UNIFEM publication *Not a Minute More: Ending Violence Against Women*: "There can be no question that violence against women must be addressed primarily as a human rights violation, but measuring its costs is a powerful refutation of governments' arguments that ending violence is not a pressing issue."

The problem of domestic violence against women has been a subject of several projects and studies in R. Macedonia; however, none of them tried to measure the financial costs of that violence, such as costs for providing medical treatment, maintaining shelters or refuges, absence from work, time spent by the police, courts and justice system on tackling the problem and money spent by donors on direct services to victims, awareness campaigns, etc.

The present violence costing exercise represents the first attempt to estimate the cost of domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia¹. It is aimed neither to improve the violence costing methodology nor to provide an exact calculation of the money spent on tackling DVAW issue in the country. It is rather aimed at presenting a preliminary estimation using existing methods, emphasizing the existence and approximate dimension of the costs.

The present study provides the idea and the model for estimating the costs of DVAW as well as the type of information needed for the estimation. It covers costs incurred by government as well as costs incurred by non-governmental organizations offering services and costs to the women victims of DV and those who assist them.

The project implementation faced a variety of data limitations. As a secondary output, the project thus provided valuable information on the existing data gaps and highlighted the need for serious improvements in gathering and proceeding with statistical information on the issue.

The present violence costing exercise estimated that the costs of DVAW in 2006 in the criminal, justice and social system as well as in the non-governmental sector were between 26,360,181 MKD and 34,424,994 MKD². The estimation for the criminal justice and social system covers staff costs, the costs for vehicle fuel and depreciation as well as some basic administrative costs such as communications, printing, copying, etc. The estimation for the non-governmental sector covers the costs for direct services provided to victims, awareness campaigns, training and policy making.

The largest is the share of the costs incurred within the NGO sector (10,986,487 MKD), followed by the social system (8,105,439 - 11,681,212 MKD), police (4,852,335 - 7,699,225 MKD), courts (2,182,190 - 3,575,670) and the prosecution (253,730 - 482,400).

It is important to emphasize that the costs estimated within the present study are just the tip of the iceberg. The estimation is quite conservative since it doesn't include the

¹ It was made within the UNIFEM supported project: *Measuring the cost of domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia*.

² 425,183 EUR and 553,711 EUR

costs arising within the healthcare sector, the costs to the *Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs* for monitoring and policy making, the costs borne by the victims themselves as well as a wide range of costs that were not measurable, or where there was no information available for their estimation such as time and resources spent for victims who visited the institutions but didn't lay an official complaint, time and resources spent while delivering defendants to court, court room maintenance, costs per appealed cases, etc.

The study also estimated that **the costs of full institutional response, which would be incurred if all women who suffered from domestic violence - according to the limited data available - sought and received help, would be between 15,309,619,744 MKD and 18,489,835,645 MKD³ depending on the time spent per case.** This amount again does not include the healthcare costs per victim and is between 581 and 537 times higher than the estimated current budget spending for tackling the problem. **The silent suffering of the victims and not reporting the violence "saved" the government and NGO sector budgets between 15,283,259,563 MKD and 18,455,410,651 MKD⁴, but this saving occurred at the expense of the health, well-being and safety of large numbers of women.**

The brief overview of the local legislation showed that the legal foundations for combating domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia have been laid. Domestic violence is already addressed by the *Criminal Code*, the *Family Law* and the social protection system. Now, it is important that the legal provisions are effectively applied into practice by developing detailed functioning procedures and allocating sufficient funds for their implementation.

The study showed that DV is not only a grave violation of women's human rights but it is also costly. The vast majority of these costs cannot be put in monetary terms and are borne by the victims, which makes them "hidden" from society and the state. The direct costs that the state has to bear are not so high at the moment, mostly due to the fact that many victims do not report to or seek help from the state services, or when they do, the support provided is inadequate. Police statistics show that, over recent years, the reporting of domestic violence has increased. Nevertheless, female victims still face numerous obstacles to 'breaking the silence'.

Irrespective of the extent to which domestic violence is reported, the state has the responsibility to put in place the necessary institutional and support structures, backed by proper funding, to encourage and allow women to fully claim their rights to live free from domestic violence and to receive quality support. The government should also prioritize investing in measures aimed at the **prevention** of domestic violence, including efforts to build gender-sensitive and non-violent curricula in educational institutions. The costs of such prevention measures are not included in the calculations in this report. However, greater expenditure on prevention should result in a decrease in the incidence of DVAW, and thus reduce the costs associated with the services included in the cost estimations in this report.

The study also points to other areas where the institutional response to domestic violence should be strengthened. It recommends a coordinated and multi-disciplinary approach towards addressing the problem, improving DVAW-related statistics, conducting violence costing studies periodically in order to have benchmark information for preparing appropriate budget support, and overall more transparent public budgets, allowing the public to see the amount and priorities of funding the protection against domestic violence.

³ 248,532,788 EUR – 300,159,670 EUR

⁴ 248,104,863 EUR – 299,600,822 EUR

Introduction

Domestic violence against women (DVAW) is a widespread problem all over the world. It cuts across social classes, race, religion, and education level and it occurs in both developing countries as well as those that are well developed. It is generally considered as a human rights issue, but it is also regarded as a health and economic issue.

The first known efforts to estimate the economic costs of domestic violence against women started in the late 1980s when, after proving that DVAW is a direct violation of fundamental human rights with a serious negative impact on women's health, women's advocates arrived at the idea of trying to estimate the cost of that violence - to the individuals and to the society as a whole. Adding the economic perspective of the problem provided a new, quite powerful, angle from which to view the legal, health and other consequences of VAW and to advocate for action to be taken.

As stated in the UNIFEM publication *Not a Minute More: Ending Violence Against Women*: "There can be no question that violence against women must be addressed primarily as a human rights violation, but measuring its costs is a powerful refutation of governments' arguments that ending violence is not a pressing issue. As one advocate put it "The public costs of private pain make it everyone's business."⁵

The problem of domestic violence against women has been a subject of several projects and studies in R. Macedonia; however, none of them tried to measure the financial costs of that violence, such as costs for providing medical treatment, maintaining shelters or refuges, absence from work, time spent by the police, courts and justice system on tackling the problem and money spent by donors on direct services to victims, awareness campaigns, etc.

The present report contains the results of the first attempt to estimate the costs of domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia⁶. The research methodology and data analyses were prepared by the Economic Policy Research Institute in Skopje; and the field information was collected by two of the most active women NGOs in Macedonia - the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in the Republic of Macedonia - ESE and Association of Citizens Akcija Zdruzenska.

The present violence costing exercise is aimed neither to improve the violence costing methodology nor to provide an exact calculation of the money spent on tackling DVAW issues in the country. It is rather aimed at presenting a preliminary estimation using existing methods, emphasizing the existence and approximate dimension of the costs. Further much deeper research and analyses in all observed systems are needed in order to prepare a more realistic estimation.

The present study provides the idea and the model for estimating the costs of DVAW as well as the type of information needed for the estimation. It covers costs incurred by government as well as costs incurred by non-governmental organizations offering services and costs to the women victims of DVAW and those who assist them.

The project implementation faced a variety of data limitations. As a secondary output, the project thus provided valuable information on the existing data gaps and highlighted the need for serious improvements in gathering and proceeding with statistical information on the issue.

⁵ http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=7, p. 67

⁶ It was made within the UNIFEM supported project: *Measuring the cost of domestic violence against women in R. Macedonia*.

The study could be useful as reference guide for the costs spent and costs needed for better budgeting on the subject as well as a reference guide for victims regarding the DVAW procedures in the country at present.

The report is organized in seven chapters aimed at presenting the estimation of a set of costs of domestic violence against women in Macedonia in the year 2006 and to highlight the existence of a whole range of costs that are not measurable.

Chapter one presents the definitions and methodological issues concerning the study. Chapter two presents the methodological challenges and data limitations. Chapter three is designed to present the legal and policy environment in which the violence occurs and the legal options for institutional response to the problem. Chapter four contains a description of the procedures and an estimation of a set of costs made within the social and criminal and justice system to tackle the DVAW problem in 2006. Besides the state, there are other agents bearing the costs of domestic violence against women and these are the victims themselves, their families, friends, employers as well as the non-governmental organizations financed by public or private donors. Chapter five presents the costs of these agents. Chapter six contains a summary of the estimation results. Our conclusions and recommendations based on the study findings are presented in Chapter seven.

The present report contains three Annexes. *Annex 1* presents the overview of the worldwide experience in costing DVAW which we found very useful and worthy to be included in the report. *Annex 2* contains the help seeking and institutional response maps for the police, prosecution, court, social and healthcare systems. *Annex 3* presents the estimations made within the study.

I. Study methodology and definitions

I.1. Definitions

I.1.1. Definition of domestic violence against women

The *UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* defines violence against women as:

*Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.*⁷

Article 2 of the Declaration adds a definition of *family* violence against women:

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

There is no unified legal definition of domestic violence in R. Macedonia for the time being. In fact, at present there are two legal definitions coexisting in the Macedonian legal space - one is provided by the *Family Law* and other by the *Criminal Code*.⁸

According to the *Family Law*:

⁷ *UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, art. 1

⁸ It is expected that soon, after the new amendments of the *Family Law*, there will be only one definition of domestic violence in R.M and that would be the definition given by the *Criminal Code*. The *Family Law* amendments had been prepared already in June 2007 but haven't entered the Parliament yet.

Domestic violence involves the conduct of a family member who inflicts physical injuries by force, intimidation and threats, emotional or sexual abuse, and materially, sexually and labour-wise takes advantage of another member of the family.

The law has specified that the actions quoted above are perceived as domestic violence when they are exercised: by and over the current or former marital or extramarital partner or other kind of partner living or had been living in a family-like community or having a common child; between brothers and sisters, half-brothers and half-sisters; over a child; over the older family members; over disabled family members.⁹

According to the Macedonian *Criminal Code* domestic violence is perceived as:

*Maltreatment, rude insulting, endangering security, bodily injuring, sexual or other physical or psychological violence that induces a sense of insecurity, threat or fear toward a marital partner, parents or children or other persons that live in marriage or in extramarital couple or household, as well as toward ex-marital partner or persons that have child or are in very close personal relationships.*¹⁰

All family members regardless of their sex and age could become a victim of domestic violence, which is mainly (but not only) perpetrated by men. The scope of the present study however was limited to *measuring the costs of male violence against women within a present or former family or intimate partner relationship.*

Therefore for the purposes of our study we defined domestic violence against women as:

Physical, psychological and sexual violence perpetrated by men against women both in a present or former family or intimate partner relationship.

I.1.2. Definition of costs

For the purposes of the present study we defined two types of costs - *direct* and *indirect* costs.

- ***Direct costs*** are the actual money expenditures for goods and services used in dealing (treating or preventing) with domestic violence;
- ***Indirect costs*** are the value of goods and services lost because of domestic violence.¹¹

I.2. Methodology description

The overview of worldwide experience in costing violence against women showed the existence of a variety of methodologies, however not one of them being perfect. In all cases some of the costs remain omitted or underestimated due to various reasons, including insufficient or unreliable official (and unofficial) data or inability to monetize such intangible costs as fear, pain and suffering.¹² However, despite methodological challenges and shortcomings, trying to measure the cost of domestic violence against women is a worthy exercise showing the existence, the scope and the economic consequences of the problem.

The methodology developed for the purposes of the present study represents a combination of methods and approaches already used in previous worldwide violence costing studies, simultaneously taking into account the legal environment and the existing data limitations particular to the country.

The present violence costing exercise is not aimed at methodological improvements, but it could still be a helpful example, emphasizing the existing challenges and providing ideas for possible solutions.

⁹ *Family Law*, art. 99

¹⁰ *Criminal Code*, art. 122 (19)

¹¹ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, p. 9

¹² For more details see *Annex 1 – The worldwide experience in costing VAW*

Scope of study

The study made an attempt to **measure a set of direct costs and to identify the indirect costs of male violence against women perpetrated within a present or former family or intimate partner relationship.**

Costs measured

The study tried to measure a set of direct costs, at the same time taking into account who is the cost bearer - the state budget, the victim and her household/family or other society player (for example NGOs).

Direct costs comprise the costs for:

- Social services - Social Work Centres and NGOs' services, including sheltering counselling, legal advice, etc; help lines for victim of domestic violence, awareness campaigns.
- Criminal and justice sector - police time for dealing with cases of domestic violence - accepting complaints, responding to calls, making arrests, paper-work while proceeding the case, etc.; prosecution; criminal court; civil court, etc.

Costs identified

There are lots of costs (as direct as indirect) that could be identified but are difficult to be monetized, measured or extrapolated. Including the entirely speculative estimation of some of those costs in the total costs estimation could jeopardize the whole costing exercise. Despite the fact that we can't measure them, the existence of those costs should not be neglected. This is the reason why we tried to list them and to provide supportive illustrative estimations, where it was possible.

Study logistics

The study was conducted in three stages:

- Stage I - Desk research;
- Stage II - Data collection (field work);
- Stage III - Data analysis.

Stage I - Desk research – Within the desk research stage an overview of the DVAW related policies and legislation and an overview of the worldwide violence costing studies were prepared. Both overviews helped to develop appropriate violence costing methodology conforming to the local legal environment.

Stage II - Data collection (field work)

The data was collected from:

1. Official statistical and budget information sources;
2. Uniform questionnaires to institutions in charge of tackling domestic violence issues as well as to NGOs and donors organizations working on the problem, for gathering general information such as budgets, services, number of victims that had been registered, etc.
3. In-depth interviews with public servants (social workers, police officers, prosecutors, judges), physicians (psychologists, dentists, gynaecologists, etc.) and NGO representatives aimed at drawing a clearer picture of the procedures and the costs associated with them, trying to fill in the existing information gaps;
4. Interviews with 50 victims - aimed at finding out which institutions they approached , what was the procedure inside the institutions, what services they used, how often,

what costs did they pay as a result of the violence, what problems and costs they faced, etc.

Stage III - Data analyses

Step 1 - Help seeking behaviour and institutional response maps

After gathering the information from all sources we prepared help seeking behaviour and institutional response maps for the different sectors and victims' cases.

Step 2 - Costs estimation

The costs of DVAW for the social protection and criminal and justice system were estimated based on the costs associated to the steps described in the help seeking behaviour and institutional response maps and case maps. The total costs for the year 2006 were estimated multiplying the costs per case by the number of officially registered cases. We made a conservative estimation of the actual costs made for tackling reported cases. The costs of domestic violence in the case of full access to services by all victims would be much higher than that.

The violence costing illustration for the victims' sample is based on the information from the in-depth interviews. Our preliminary idea was to include them as well as the costs for healthcare services in the set of costs measured for the year. However, the fundamental lack of statistics in the health sector and the non-representativeness of the victims sample didn't allow us to make serious estimation and extrapolation. Any experiment in that area could jeopardise the whole estimation exercise which is the reason why we chose to make illustrative examples instead of a yearly estimation extrapolated to the whole population. Again, this means that our overall cost estimations err on the low side.

Step 3 - Other estimations and comparisons

By using the information from the help seeking behaviour and institutional response maps we tried to estimate the costs per ideal case of full state response. Multiplying the costs per ideal case by the national prevalence rate (including hidden numbers) could show what the real dimension of the problem is. Since there is no an 'average' case of violence we made estimations for 3 ideal case scenarios:

- light case (mainly psychological violence; SWC intervention, no police, prosecution and court involvement);
- moderate case (light bodily injuries; police, SWC and civil court intervention, no prosecution involved);
- complex case (grave bodily injuries; police, SWC, prosecution and criminal court involvement)

II. Methodological challenges and limitations

Despite the constant improvement of the applied methodologies, all violence costing studies continue to face one substantial problem - the lack of data for many costs and the uncertainty of the data available in respect of both costs and prevalence of domestic violence.

Like all worldwide violence costing studies, the present violence costing exercise faced many methodological problems and data limitations.

Due to the lack of consistent data collection systems in R. Macedonia, the **data availability and reliability** represent a basic problem for all kinds of research in the country and the domestic violence against women is not an exception here.

The lack of data regarding the number of female victims of domestic violence visiting health institutions as well as the kind of treatment received by them there makes it impossible to estimate the health services' costs related to domestic violence against women. Although we know the common injuries, we can't say how many of the victims (officially registered and/or hidden) had received a certain type of injuries, how many of them visited health institutions in search of help and, most importantly, how often did they do that.

The institutions making any records on domestic violence make them only for opened cases. This is the reason for the absence of information about the number of victims that had only approached the institutions without proceeding further, i.e. who had just made an enquiry and departed, being too afraid to put their names on a sheet of paper.

Since the court archives are not yet fully computerized the data for domestic violence related cases is hard, practically impossible, to access. The data for domestic violence related cases must be manually extracted by the already overloaded court administration, making it impossible to obtain information from all courts, which would have enabled a more reliable estimation of the budget spent by courts in 2006 on domestic violence related cases.

Another serious limitation that the study faced is the **reliability of the data available**. Being gathered by different institutions the data provides inconsistent figures for the number of victims. Some victims visit all institutions responsible for tackling the problem; others visit only one and exist in its records only, but are absent from the statistics of the other institutions. Some victims visit the institutions once; some do it repeatedly within the year. Institutions seldom (some of them never) indicate whether it is a repeat visit or not. As already discussed above, some institutions (for example health institutions) do not keep any records on the domestic violence related cases (neither the reported nor the hidden violence); others keep records only on the opened files, but not on the number of victims that had approached the institution without further developments.

One of the basic challenges while estimating costs is the time period. Many of the costs do not happen within a period of exactly one year. The costs borne by victims, for example, are for the whole period of violence, and violence often happens over prolonged periods. The victims are not really able to recall the costs year by year. Estimating the costs per case-year is a possible solution of the problem but it is applicable for cases only a few years old. In our victims sample we have cases lasting more than 20, 30 and even 40 years. The victims do not recall the costs for the whole period and if we divide the total costs reported by them by the number of years we will receive one highly distorted figure which will present very small, and far from real, case-year costs. This is the reason why we were not able to estimate the victims' costs of violence per case-year. Instead of that we made a conservative estimation of the costs borne by the whole sample for a longer period of time.

There is no unified system of data collection and, in most institutions, the cases are registered by type of law violation, taking into account the gender of the perpetrator without taking into account the gender of the victim. Extracting the data for women victims is very difficult in such circumstances especially in the institutions in which the archives are not yet computerized.

III. Brief overview of the legislation, government policies and budget allocations related to domestic violence against women in Republic of Macedonia

Although there is an absence of systematic monitoring and regular statistics on the issue of DVAW, the existence of such violence in Republic of Macedonia is not a "public" secret anymore. The data from occasional studies done by local NGOs and quoted by official institutions is disturbing. A survey made by the *Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and*

Equality of Women of Republic of Macedonia – ESE showed that in 2006 - 56.4% of the women respondents were victims of psychological, 17.7% of physical and 10.6% of sexual violence¹³.

One of the first attempts to make a comprehensive study of domestic violence against women in R.M. was made in 1996-1997 by the *Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights*¹⁴, who made an overview of the legislation and collected case evidences of VAW including the institutions' response to them.

According to that report published in 1998:

"... domestic violence is not a common subject of public discussion in Macedonia. Those people who work directly with victims of domestic violence report that the problem is widespread and that it affects all ethnic groups and classes of people. Doctors, lawyers, social workers, judges and other women in the community reported many cases of brutal attacks on women by their husbands or intimate partners.

The state has not established mechanisms to encourage the reporting of incidents of domestic violence to government authorities. In addition, strong social pressures keep the problem of domestic violence within the family. The lack of shelters and other social services provides little incentive for women to discuss their problems publicly."

The Minnesota Advocates team ascertained the following main problems:

1. Despite the fact that the domestic violence against women is a serious and pervasive problem in R. Macedonia, the Macedonian legislation does not specifically address it neither as a crime nor as a social problem;
2. Since the Government is not recognizing the problem it is not responding to it - neither by helping or providing proper services to the victims nor by prosecuting the perpetrators;
3. Since the events within the family, including the violence, are perceived as a "private family matter" not one of the state institutions is keeping any statistics on the issue.

That was the situation ascertained in 1996-1997. What is the situation today? What has been changed during the past 10 years? Is the domestic violence against women already better addressed by the Macedonian legislation, Government strategies, programs, action plans and budget?

III.1. The place of domestic VAW in the Macedonian legislation

Macedonian Constitution

It is already commonly accepted that domestic VAW is a direct violation of women's human rights. Since the *Constitution* is the supreme law of the democracy that stipulates the citizens' rights and obligations, it is a good idea to start the legislative overview from there.

According to the Macedonian *Constitution* the human right to life and the right to physical and moral dignity are irrevocable. Any form of torture, inhuman or humiliating conduct or punishment, is prohibited.¹⁵ The citizens of R.M. are equal in their freedoms and rights, regardless of their sex, race, colour of skin, national and social origin, political and religious

¹³ Violeta Chaheva, Jasminka Frscik, Stojan Mishev, *Life in Shadow*, ESE, Skopje 2007, quoted by: <http://skopje.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/FeSU1a4ph0tPYEcQik95XQ/HRPCountryReport06onMacedoniaMKD.pdf>. The study sample is representative for the country. It includes 1,432 adult women from rural and urban areas all over the country (2 per mill of the total female adult population). The sample includes women from Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Serbian and other ethnic groups living in Macedonia.

¹⁴ *Domestic Violence in Macedonia*, Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, September 1998, USA: <http://www.mnadvocates.org/sites/608a3887-dd53-4796-8904-997a0131ca54/uploads/macedonia.PDF>

¹⁵ Articles 10 and 11 of the Macedonian *Constitution*

beliefs, property and social status¹⁶. In addition to that, the *Constitution* obliges the state to particularly protect mothers, children and minors.¹⁷

Having in mind the UN definition of VAW it could be concluded that, although not explicitly mentioned as a term in the text, the Macedonian *Constitution* still categorically prohibits violence against women, meaning that any violation of that prohibition is a direct violation of the *Constitution*, which everybody is obliged to respect.

As a supreme law the *Constitution* stipulates and legally guarantees the rights of citizens. However, transforming those paper rights to real-life rights demands the development of certain additional legislation, institutional procedures and capacity.

A search in the electronic database of the Macedonian *Official Gazette* shows that the word "violence" and specifically the word group "domestic violence" are present in the following laws, regulations and documents:

Declaration for Combating Violence against Women, Including Domestic Violence

Family Law

Law on Police

Criminal Code

Law on Social Protection

Rules for the Requirements and Standards for Establishing and Running a Social Protection Institution - Centre for Victims of Domestic Violence; Official Gazette N 33/19.03.2007.

Rules for the way of execution and monitoring the execution of the measures for protection of the family and the victims of domestic violence prescribed by the SWC and for the way of monitoring the measures issued by the court

Program for Social Protection in R.M. in 2005

Program for Social Protection in R.M. in 2006

Program for Social Protection in R.M. in 2007

Program for Social Protection in R.M. in 2008

What we have found there?

Declaration for Combating Violence against Women, Including Domestic Violence

The *Declaration for Combating Violence against Women, Including Domestic Violence* was adopted by the Macedonian Parliament on 24 November 2006. It is of great importance, not because it provides any practical solutions to the problem, but because it publicly condemns violence against women and declares the official commitment of the supreme decision making body in the country to support the battle against domestic VAW in R. Macedonia.

With that declaration the Macedonian Parliament joined the pan-European campaign of the Council of Europe for combating violence against women and declared that it would be dedicated to a number of actions, including raising public awareness on VAW and undertaking preventive actions. The last point of the Declaration states:

8. Securing the necessary finances from the budget for realization of the activities aimed at combating violence against women, including domestic violence.¹⁸

¹⁶ Article 9 of the Macedonian *Constitution*

¹⁷ Article 42 of the Macedonian *Constitution*

¹⁸ http://www.coe.int/t/pace/campaign/stopviolence/CountryFilesPace_En/docsjoints/Declaration_Fyrom_06_En.asp

The last point shows some recognition that laws and policies cannot be effective unless the necessary resources are allocated for their implementation. However, recognizing the need will be useless if it is not followed by real action, i.e. actual allocation of necessary budget funds.

The declaration expresses the willingness of the Parliament to support the fight against violence against women, but only time will show if that willingness will lead to real-life actions or, as in many other cases, it will remain on paper only. In fact, the unpleasant truth is that events so far do not confirm the declared dedication. Point 8 of the declaration says that the Macedonian Parliament will be dedicated to securing the necessary budget funds for combating violence against women, including domestic violence. However, only five months after that declaration, the *Parliament* voted against a proposal made by several MPs that 10% of the income from the special tax on games of chance should go to a fund for financing the fight against domestic violence.¹⁹ Of the 67 MPs taking part in the session only 18 voted in favour. There were 3 abstentions and the remaining 46 MPs voted against. What is most discouraging here is the fact that 41 of the MPs who voted against and the 3 that abstained were part of the 73 that voted "for" the declaration five months before.

The fact that the declaration came only as a response to an EU campaign is also not very encouraging. However, no matter what motives led to the adoption of the declaration, in any event all future advocacy campaigns related to domestic VAW in R. M. could call on it.

Family Law (FL)

Article one of the *Family Law* says that the law regulates: marriage and family; relations within the marriage and family; certain types of special protection of the family; *deteriorated relations and violence within the marriage and family*; adoption, custody and alimony as well as the court procedures for settling marital and family disputes.

The law was adopted in December 1992 but deteriorated relations and violence within the marriage and family became subject to the law only in June 2004, as a result of the tremendous advocacy efforts made by the women's organizations in R.M. and especially by the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women of Republic of Macedonia – ESE and Association of Citizens Akcija Združenska.

Family Law defines family as a community of parents and children and other relatives living in a common household.

According to the *Family Law* provisions the family and marital relations shall be established on the principles of equality, mutual respect, mutual financial support and minors' protection.

Article 36 explicitly prohibits any kind of violence between family members, regardless of their age and sex. Furthermore, article 4 explicitly obliges the state to protect the marriage and family from deteriorated relations and violence.

From June 2004 the *Family Law* already contains a whole chapter regulating domestic violence issues. It defines what is violence in marriage and family (hereinafter: "domestic violence"), what is a victim of domestic violence, domestic violence perpetrator and the procedures for state response in case of domestic violence.

According to the *Family Law*, domestic violence involves the conduct of a family member who inflicts: physical injuries by force, intimidation and threats, emotional or sexual abuse, and materially, sexually and labour-wise takes advantage of another member of the family.

The law however further specifies that the actions quoted above are perceived as domestic violence when they are exercised:

- by and over the current or former marital or extramarital partner or other kind of partner living or had been living in a family-like community or having a common child;

¹⁹ Stenographic notes from the 036 plenary session of the Macedonian Parliament, held on 24 April 2007.

- between brothers and sisters, half-brothers and half-sisters;
- over a child;
- over older family members;
- over disabled family members.²⁰

All family members, regardless of their age and sex could be perceived as a victim of domestic violence if such violence had been exercised over them.

The law also defines who could be perceived as perpetrator of domestic violence. Besides the already specified current or former marital or extramarital partners, or other kind of partners living or previously living in a family-like community or having a common child, perpetrators of domestic violence could be also relatives to the 4th degree of blood relation and to the 2nd degree of legal relation of those partners.²¹

The *Family Law* entitles and obliges the Social Work Centres²² (SWC) to deal with cases of domestic violence. The law also obliges all officials and legal entities which have taken any actions related to domestic violence to submit immediately, or at the latest within 48, hours all collected documentation (file, notes, testimony, medical evidences, etc.) to the relevant SWC. For not complying with that provision the penalties vary from 5,000 MKD to 200,000 MKD²³ (depending on the legal status of the law offender). However, in that case, it is not clear how violation of the law will be revealed and which are the officials and legal entities obliged to report - doctors, police, social workers, teachers or someone else?

Any time, when a case of domestic violence has been reported or ascertained, a SWC is obliged to intervene by applying some of the following protective measures:

- sheltering the victims for a period of 6 months or up to 1 year;
- providing for appropriate healthcare;
- providing for appropriate psycho-social intervention and treatment;
- suggesting appropriate counselling office;
- assuring the continuation of school attendance for children;
- reporting the case to the prosecution office;
- providing for all kinds of legal support and representation²⁴;
- initiating a case in the court;
- if necessary, requesting the court to prescribe a temporary protective measure;
- other appropriate measures for fighting the problem.

Upon the SWC's request for prescribing temporary measures for protection from domestic violence, the court can issue an order which forbids to the offender to threaten to commit domestic violence; to harass, disturb, phone, contact or in any other way communicate with a family member, either directly or indirectly; a restraint order, involving the home, school, workplace, or any other designated place regularly visited by another family member; an order

²⁰ *Family Law*, art. 99

²¹ *Family Law*, art. 100

²² The Social Work Centres are public entities established under the *Law on Social Protection*. Currently there are 27 municipal SWC in R.M., functioning on the territory of one or more municipalities. 58 social workers from those centres were specially trained how to respond in cases of domestic violence.

²³ From 81 EUR to 3 257 EUR

²⁴ That particular measure was attacked by the law profession before the *Constitutional Court* with the argument that the SWC cannot have the right of providing legal advices and representation without being part of the bar association. With Decision N 58/2005-0-0 from 04/27/2005 the *Constitutional Court* declined to start a case.

for moving away from home, regardless of the ownership, until the relevant court renders a final decision; an order which prohibits the possession of guns or any other weapons, or seizes them; an order to return the items necessary for meeting the daily needs of the family; an order to support the family financially, etc.

The temporary measures for protection could not last more than a year. If the domestic violence continues after that one year, the SWC could request continuation of some of the measures prescribed by the court. The monitoring of temporary measures enforcement shall be done by the SWC.

Before the last changes in the law, experts were commenting that additional clarification and fine-tuning of the *Family Law* provisions were needed, especially in respect of the entities responsible for the implementation of the temporary measures.²⁵ As a result of the advocacy efforts of NGOs the *FL* was amended again in March 2006. The newly added provisions now specify the institutions responsible for the execution of the temporary measures. The obligations are divided among the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the relevant Counselling Offices, the Ministry of Health, and the institutions responsible for executing the laws related to the measures covering financial and property issues.

According to the last *FL* changes the Minister of Labour and Social Policy shall prescribe the rules for executing, and monitoring the execution of, the measures prescribed by SWC or courts.²⁶

Based on the lessons learned from practical implementation of the law, MLSP in co-operation with leading Macedonian women NGOs is preparing changes in the *Family Law* aimed at providing better protection for the victims of domestic violence.

Law on Police, Criminal Code and Law on Social Protection

Although explicitly forbidden by the *Constitution* and the *Family Law*, domestic violence against women is still present in real life. The state should invest in preventing violence happening, but it is still unrealistic to expect that the problem will be completely eradicated. Therefore the state must be ready to respond to violence by: stopping it at the moment it occurs, prosecuting the perpetrators and helping the victims.

Law on Police

According to the *Law on Police*, if a person is caught at the time of conducting an offence against a law with elements of violence the police could arrest him²⁷ without a pre-signed court order. Since domestic violence is already a legal offence, even a crime, that gives the police the right to intervene at the moment when the violence is happening and to take the perpetrator away for 12 hours.²⁸ That provision however could be only useful if someone (e.g. the victim, a neighbour or other family member) calls the police when the violence is being perpetrated.

²⁵ http://www.stopvaw.org/Domestic_violence-legal_regulation.html

²⁶ *Rules for the way of execution and monitoring the execution of the measures for protection of the family and the victims of domestic violence prescribed by the SWC and for the way of monitoring the measures issued by the court* (Sluzhben vesnik na RM, Issue 103/24.08.2007). The rules were developed in cooperation between the MLSP, the Association of Citizens Akcija Zdruzenska-Skopje and the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in the Republic of Macedonia - ESE, as part of the UNIFEM supported project *Establishing Unified and Positive Practices in Combating Domestic violence in Macedonia*.

²⁷ Here and after, while talking about the perpetrator we will use the pronoun "he", because in most of the cases the perpetrators of domestic violence are men. It doesn't mean that the domestic violence legislation does not apply equally to female perpetrators as well.

²⁸ *Law on Police*, art. 47 and art. 50

For the rest of the cases the police officials receive and register the victims' complaints at the police station.²⁹

It is important to mention that the law obliges police offices to keep records on reported criminal and legal offences as well as on the affected victims, i.e. the reported cases of domestic violence as well as their victims are in those records as well.

With the aim to make future police officers prepared to respond to cases of domestic violence the Police Academy in Skopje developed a curriculum on the subject consisting of 6 hours theoretical instruction and 4 hours practical exercises.³⁰

Criminal Code

Before the code amendments in March 2004, the *Criminal Code* said nothing specific about domestic violence, more precisely - the term *domestic violence* was not mentioned at all. Art. 386 was still defining "violence" but in general terms only³¹.

Before the 2004 amendments domestic violence could be prosecuted on the basis of articles 130, 131 and 386 of the *Criminal Code*, which define respectively bodily injury, grave bodily injury and violence. While prosecution for bodily injury was undertaken upon a private suit, grave injuries were prosecuted by the Public Prosecutor. Psychological domestic violence could be eventually prosecuted only on the base of article 386.

Even before the 2004 amendments R. Macedonia was recognizing rape within marriage as a criminal offense. It was addressed by the section "Crimes against the Freedom of Sexes and Sex Morality" (articles 187- 195) of the *Criminal Code*. However, cases of marital rape were prosecuted only by private complaint.

From March 2004 the *Criminal Code* now defines what domestic violence is and takes it into account while defining the different types of crime.

According to the Macedonian *Criminal Code* domestic violence is perceived as - *maltreatment, rude insulting, endangering security, bodily injuring, sexual or other physical or psychological violence that induces a sense of insecurity, threat or fear toward a marital partner, parents or children or other persons that live in marriage or in extramarital couple or household, as well as toward ex-marital partner or persons that have child or are in very close personal relations.*

The definition of domestic violence suggests that the *Criminal Code* already addresses not only physical but also psychological domestic violence. The overview of the code however showed that there is not yet an article explicitly prosecuting domestic violence if it is not accompanied with some physical injuries or combined with other crimes such as coercion and unlawful arrest, torture and endangering security, sexual attack upon a child or mediation in conducting prostitution. In fact, psychological domestic violence continues not to be addressed except within the *corpus delicti* of the article 386 of the code.

From March 2004 the *Criminal Code* now recognizes light bodily injuries, grave bodily injuries and a murder as a result of domestic violence; coercion and unlawful arrest combined with domestic violence; torture and endangering security during domestic violence; sexual attack upon a child during domestic violence; mediation in conducting prostitution combined with domestic violence. Domestic violence is also already included in article 125 - Momentary murder. The article says that "A person, who takes the life of another momentarily, brought into a state of strong irritation without his/her own fault, by an attack or with heavy insult or

²⁹ *Law on Police*, art. 63

³⁰ http://www.policeacademy.edu.mk/inside_page1.aspx?SectionID=76

³¹ Article 386 (1) A person who mistreats, roughly insults, endangers the safety of, or performs rough violence upon another, and with this causes a feeling of insecurity, threat or fear among the public, shall be punished with imprisonment of three months to three years.

(2) If the crime was committed in a group of two or more persons, or the violence was committed upon several citizens, or the offender injured bodily another, he shall be punished with imprisonment of six months to five years.

as a result of domestic violence from the murdered person, shall be punished with imprisonment of one to five years.”

From March 2004 all bodily injuries caused as a result of domestic violence are now prosecuted upon a proposal made by a relevant institution in cases where the victim insists on charges.

The situation here seems improved a lot, at least on paper. The introduction of domestic violence as a separate offence has been an important step in criminal legislation reform. The legislation is already in place but it still has to be popularized and properly implemented.

Law on Social Protection (LSP)

The *Law on Social Protection* was adopted in 1997 and has been changed six times so far. The victims of domestic violence were first explicitly mentioned in the law in September 2004 and received special rights of social protection and help³². The law amendments made then gave the victims of domestic violence the rights of counselling and sheltering³³.

LSP defines what a daily centre for victims of domestic violence (shelter) is and how it could be founded - as an independent public or private institution for social protection, or as a division of an already existing social protection institution or other legal entity. Victims of domestic violence have the right to stay in a shelter for a maximum of twelve months (actually six months, that could be extended to one year maximum).

The specific rules and standards for opening and maintaining a shelter, i.e. the requirements regarding premises, equipment and staff, are prescribed by the Minister of Labour and Social Policy.³⁴

According to the LSP provisions, social protection institutions are obliged to keep records about the social protection users as well as to maintain documentation regarding the expert work done within the institution. That provision could be helpful for creating reliable statistics about the victims of domestic violence that have visited the shelters, the type of help they have received, etc. It could also be helpful for estimating the cost of dealing with the consequences of domestic VAW within the social protection institutions. The social protection institutions providing sheltering should submit quarterly reports to MLSP.

For not fulfilling the obligations to keep records and submit quarterly reports the social protection providers will be fined with serious fines.³⁵

The method of keeping records shall be prescribed by the *Minister of Labour and Social Policy*. A check in the *Official Gazette* database showed that such prescriptions do not exist yet. In fact, there is a regulation about the subject with a similar name, which however is from 1982 and is issued on the basis of the old law, meaning that although not explicitly designated as “invalid” it is not in force any more.

LSP also defines the statute of the SWC.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy in cooperation with the Association of Citizens Akcija Zdruzenska and the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R. Macedonia - ESE is currently preparing changes in the law aimed at providing better protection of the victims of domestic violence³⁶.

³² *Law for amending the Law on Social Protection* (Official Gazette N 65/29.09.2004)

³³ Art. 19 of the *Law on Social Protection* (Official Gazette N 21/20.02.2006)

³⁴ *Rules for the Requirements and Standards for Establishing and Running a Social Protection Institution - Centre for Victims of Domestic Violence*; Official Gazette N 33/19.03.2007

³⁵ 3,000 EUR – 5,000 EUR for legal entities and 800 EUR – 1,000 EUR for physical persons providing social protection services.

³⁶ The changes are prepared within the UNIFEM supported project *Establishing Unified and Positive Practices in Combating Domestic violence in Macedonia*.

The *Program for social protection* represents the annual plan of the Government regarding social protection in the country. It refers to domestic violence mainly in relation to the planned legislative changes and as a part of the program for social protection within institutions, which is the program to which the shelters belong.

Draft Law for Protection from Domestic Violence

In February 2006 Ivan Anastasovski, an MP from NSDP, submitted to the Parliament a *Draft Law for Protection from Domestic Violence*. The draft law was discussed in the 124th plenary session of the Parliament but was rejected with 5 votes "for", 3 "abstentions" and 47 votes "against". There was no interest in a discussion and even the MP proposing the draft was not there to introduce it and support it.

The draft was proposing the *Family Law* chapter *Deteriorated relations and violence within the marriage and family* to be abrogated and replaced by a separate law for better and broader coverage of the problem.

Recently, the *Club of Women Parliamentarians* has undertaken initiative around the preparation of a new *Law on Domestic Violence*.

Some of the ideas incorporated in the text of the suggested *2006 Draft Law for Protection from Domestic Violence* could be used for improving the already existing legislation or for a potential new law.

III.2. Government strategies and action plans for combating domestic VAW

We found several government documents addressing violence against women, including domestic violence.

The first one is the *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy for 2007-2009*.

For 2007 the Ministry was planning to prepare a *National Program for Protection from Domestic Violence*, implementation of which is left for 2008 and 2009³⁷. Under the general *Social Protection Program* a *Program for Social Protection of the Victims of Domestic Violence* shall be defined³⁸.

According to the same MLSP Strategic Plan the following results had been achieved or expected to be achieved in 2006 regarding domestic violence:

- 2 new shelters for victims of domestic violence had been opened - in Kumanovo and Strumitsa;
- the national SOS phone line for victims of domestic violence had been opened³⁹;
- the second round of the multi-sectoral training for work with victims of domestic violence had been organized where 84 governmental and non-governmental professionals from different areas were trained how to respond to domestic violence cases;
- two national campaigns against domestic violence had been organized;
- a draft protocol had been prepared for the social protection institutions for acting in cases of domestic violence;
- a new shelter for victims of domestic violence was expected to be opened in Ohrid;
- continued inter-sectoral cooperation;

³⁷ The program (strategy) is already prepared and was recently adopted by the Macedonian Government.

³⁸ The *Program for Social Protection in R.M. in 2008* does not say anything about that though. The *Program for Social Protection of the Victims of Domestic Violence* is not defined yet.

³⁹ The SOS phone line for victims of domestic violence has been functioning since 1994. It was opened and maintained by the *Organisation of Women of the City of Skopje*. Since 2005 the SOS line is co-financed by the state budget.

- continued training of the SWC staff for responding to cases of domestic violence - 30 staff members trained (May/June 2006);
- changes in the *Family Law*, especially in the field of domestic violence, had been made;
- a memorandum regarding the project "Introducing unified and positive practices for fighting domestic violence" had been signed with UNIFEM (February 2006);
- conducted activities toward developing procedures for requesting, prescribing, enforcing and monitoring the enforcement of the temporary protective measures (April/June 2006);
- conducted activities toward standardizing the direct services provided to the victims of domestic violence (May/June 2006);
- multi-sectoral training of trainers had been provided (November 2006).

The results reported by the Ministry are impressive and show that the Government is already taking steps toward introducing more effective system for responding to the problem of domestic violence against women in R.M.

According to the *Justification of the budget 2007* among the MLSP priorities for the year 2007 is opening an office for provision of information to the victims of domestic violence.

The *Program for Preventive Healthcare Protection in R.M for 2007* provides for education of the primary healthcare staff to respond to domestic violence - protocols for victims of domestic violence. The education shall be organized in co-operation with the MLSP.

One of the objectives of the *National Action Plan for Gender Equality 2007-2012*⁴⁰ is to eliminate all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence. The plan contains a chapter devoted to women and violence and provides for a range of activities related to improving statistical data and information flow on the problem; strengthening public awareness and education; advancement and effective enforcement of legislation and institutional cooperation; elimination of domestic violence. For elimination of DVAW the *National Action Plan for Gender Equality* provides for the following activities:

- Implementing scientific research about the phenomenology of domestic violence;
- Implementing continuous campaigns for raising awareness about the problem;
- Implementing continuous educational activities with the police, social workers and medical personnel regarding treatment of domestic violence;
- Monitoring the implementation of legal provisions about domestic violence for the purpose of their further improvement;
- Introducing a unified system for collecting and analyzing data about cases of domestic violence;
- Preparing and implementing programmes/strategies for combating domestic violence.

Taking into account these provisions a *National Strategy for Protection from Domestic Violence* had been prepared and recently adopted⁴¹. Its general goal is the reduction of domestic violence and improving the quality of protection with systematic measures in the areas of prevention, intervention and education, follow-up and inter-sector coordination. The strategy has 8 specific goals:

Goal 1: Establishment and development of a multi-sectoral co-coordinative approach for protection of victims of domestic violence;

Goal 2: Prevention of domestic violence through educational process;

⁴⁰ <http://www.mtsp.gov.mk/WBStorage/Files/NPARR-finalen%20dokument.pdf>

⁴¹ *National Strategy for Protection from Domestic Violence 2008 - 2011*

Goal 3: Education of professional structures;

Goal 4: Improvement of the system for protection of the victims of domestic violence;

Goal 5: Improvement of the civil protection system;

Goal 6: Improvement of the criminal protection system;

Goal 7: Introducing a system of documenting and reporting on cases on DV by all relevant institutions;

Goal 8: Establishment of mechanisms for implementation of the strategy.

The *National Strategy for Protection from Domestic Violence*⁴² is the basic strategic document in Macedonia, aimed at identifying the strategic directions and priorities for elimination and prevention of this type of violence and identification of the institutions responsible for their implementation. Its preparation is based on a multi-disciplinary (participation of all relevant entities) and multi-dimensional (defining all areas/issues concerning domestic violence) approach. It is a joint effort of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Education as well as number of international and local NGOs working in the field of domestic violence.

In addition to the *National Strategy*, a three year action plan for its implementation is under preparation. Based on this three year plan, separate annual *Operative Plans*, determining the activities and the scope for their implementation on local and national levels, will be prepared.

Following the needs for monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the *National Strategy* and by that, increasing the efficiency in the reduction and prevention of DV in the country, the *Strategy* provides for the establishment of a national coordinative body.

The budget of the strategy is 9,000,000 MKD⁴³.

III.3. Budget financing of the fight against domestic VAW

Having legislation in place is just a step toward tackling a problem. Without proper financing and effective implementation the legislation remains nothing but state hypocrisy.

What does the state budget says about the financing of the fight against domestic VAW?

The budget data does not say a lot. It shows that the domestic violence related activities are financed explicitly only through the social protection budget. In fact, the Government allocates funds only for financing the inter-municipal Social Work Centres and the shelters for the homeless and victims of domestic violence.

The table below shows the funds allocated for those purposes in 2006 and 2007.

⁴² The strategy preparation was initiated and coordinated by the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women of RM. – ESE. Its preparation is based on the previously conducted research for the scope and the types of violence against women in R.M. in 2006 and the analysis of the official statistics of the institutional response. The conduction of the research and the process of preparation of the *National strategy* are financially supported by the Institute for Sustainable Communities (ISC), through the USAID funds.

⁴³ 146,103 EUR

Table 1 - Funds allocated for fighting DVAW in 2006 and 2007

	2006 MKD	% of the total social protection budget	2007 MKD	% of the total social protection budget
SWCs	199,565,000	1.1%	226,933,000	1.2%
Staff remuneration	163,565,000		176,714,000	
Goods and Services	35,000,000		49,219,000	
Transfers to NGOs	1,000,000		1,000,000	
Shelters for homeless and for victims of domestic violence	3,500,000	0.0%	14,009,000	0.1%
Goods and Services	3,500,000		5,009,000	
Social benefits			9,000,000	
Total amount allocated for domestic violence related activities	203,065,000	1.2%	240,942,000	1.3%

Source: Budget of R.M. for 2006 and 2007

The amount allocated for financing the SWCs covers the entire work of the centres. There is not information how much of that amount is for work on domestic VAW issues.

According to the justification of budget 2007, 0.2% of the special tax collected on games of chance shall go to a fund for financing the fight with domestic violence. However, there is no information yet how much that amount is and in which way it would be or is already being spent.

This is what the official figures say so far. It is definitely not enough for any kind of budget analyses. There are certainly other budget funds spent on tackling domestic violence issues (within the police, court and justice and healthcare system) but in the absence of gender focused budgeting and data collecting it is difficult to separate those budget expenditures from the total amount spent by the state institutions.

III.4. Brief conclusions

The brief overview of the legislation shows that the legal foundations for combating domestic VAW in R. Macedonia have been laid. Domestic violence is already addressed by the *Criminal Code*, the *Family Law* and the social protection system. Now the legal provisions have to be effectively applied into practice by developing detailed functioning procedures and allocating sufficient funds for their implementation.

The implementation of the recently adopted *National Strategy for Protection from Domestic Violence* should make the efforts made by all relevant entities more focused and better coordinated, which should enhance their efficiency, thus achieving better results in the targeted areas.

IV. Institutional response and estimation of costs in criminal, justice and social system. Funds spent in the non-governmental sector.

The overview of the legislation and the field work done within the present project show that in a case of domestic violence the victim approaches one or several of the following sources for help:

- health care institution;
- police;

- social work centre;
- court and justice system (prosecution and court);
- NGOs;
- SOS line;
- Relatives and friends.

In the present costing exercise we will try to estimate how much the domestic violence against women costs to the governmental and non-governmental agents dealing with the problem as well as to the victims themselves. Due to the number of data limitations described in Chapter two **we are not able to estimate ALL the costs that domestic violence against women causes for all players involved in the issue.** The present state of data availability permits the estimation only of a set of costs for certain players and the identification of a range of costs that are not feasible to be measured now. For example we succeeded in estimating the approximate costs for the time spent by the public officials in dealing with DVAW cases but we were not successful in estimating all administrative costs associated with these cases.

All this makes our estimation rather conservative and we feel obliged to emphasize that - **the costs estimated within the present study are just the tip of the iceberg.**

IV.1. Costs of DVAW within the police system

The estimation of the costs for dealing with DVAW within the police system is based on the procedure followed in such cases and the average time and resources spent on it. The in-depth interviews conducted with police officers involved in DVAW cases helped us to prepare the institutional response map for the police system and to estimate the resources associated to every step from the map.

The police deal with DVAW cases in two directions:

1. Direct response to reported violence;
- and/or
2. Enforcing and monitoring the implementation of 5 out of the 11 temporary measures for protection from domestic violence provided for by art. 104 of the *Family Law*.⁴⁴

Police procedure for direct response to reported violence

Although drafted a long time ago, the formal protocol for police action in a case of DVAW is not officially adopted yet. However, having no officially enacted protocol doesn't mean that there are no internal rules for proceeding in such cases. The in-depth interviews conducted with police officers dealing with DVAW cases helped us to draw a general picture of the procedure and to describe it step by step.

The police response in a case of DVAW differs depending on the way of being informed about the domestic violence occurrence and the extent of complexity of the case (e.g. with or without grave bodily injuries, broken family property, aggressive and/or armed perpetrator, etc).

Regarding the way of getting information we have three basic variants here:

- A. Receiving a phone report of DVAW;
- B. Witnessing the violence or being informed by citizen while patrolling;
- C. Receiving the victim herself at the police station.

⁴⁴ Issued by the court upon a proposal of the SWCs

A. Receiving a phone report of DVAW

In case of receiving a phone call reporting domestic violence, the police officer on duty is obliged to enter in the daily events book the name of the person that is reporting the violence, the name of the victim if it is possible, the address as well as the kind of problem s/he is reporting – maltreatment, persecution, physical assault, etc.

After registering the complaint the officer on duty sends the intervention group (or the patrolling officers if they are closer to the scene) to check the problem on the spot and to assess what further measures should be taken. The police officer involved in that first step is one only (the duty officer) and s/he spends 5 to 10 minutes on getting the information needed and making an entry in the daily events book.

The first and most important thing, after the Intervention Group (IG) reaches the address, is to ensure the victim's security – to arrest the perpetrator if it is necessary, if he is armed to call for back up, if the victim is gravely injured to call for ambulance.

Then, the IG officers should have a talk with the perpetrator if he is there, with the victim herself if she is able to talk and with some witnesses if necessary, trying to find out what had happened. If the perpetrator is aggressive he would be taken for an interview at the police station and a test for alcohol would be made. The test is made at the nearest hospital, polyclinic or lab and is paid by the police budget.

The talk on the spot or in the police station usually takes between 15 minutes and half an hour if the perpetrator is in a calm condition or more than one hour if he is aggressive, drunk or drugged.

The main goal of the spot check is to ascertain the situation and to decide what further measures to be taken:

1. to arrest the perpetrator if he is drunk or drugged, or is in any other way endangering the victim and her children or other family members;
2. to direct the victim to the SWC for further help;
3. to call an ambulance if the victim or other family member is gravely injured;
4. to call the minors' delinquency inspectors if necessary, i.e. if there will be further charges;
5. to call the forensic officers to view the crime scene and to collect the evidence.

Usually 2 police officers go for an on the spot check. In a case of absence of grave bodily injuries to the victim or damaged property, and in a case where the perpetrator is absent or has already calmed down, the on the scene assessment takes between 15 and 30 minutes.

In a case where the victim is gravely or fatally injured the place becomes a crime scene and the need arises for additional teams to be present. In such cases the forensic officers should come to make an assessment of the scene and collect evidence – taking photos, collecting objects, samples, etc. The Minors' Delinquency Inspectors (MDI) are also called to the spot⁴⁵ and the number of people there becomes 6 (2 IG officers, 2 forensic officers and 2 Minors' Delinquency Inspectors). They all spend between 30 minutes and 2 hours there depending on the difficulty of the case. If the case is complicated, requiring special knowledge and assessment, additional experts would be invited to come and then the people on the spot become 7 or 8 and the time spent there becomes approximately 3 - 4 hours.

If the perpetrator is armed the intervention group must call for back up. The back up should consist of 3 police officers if the perpetrator is armed with a bladed weapon and more than 3 if he has a firearm.

⁴⁵ MDIs work on domestic violence cases whatever the age of those involved.

If the perpetrator is missing from the scene the police officers name him as a wanted person, meaning that other patrolling police officers will also spend time on that case. But we can't estimate how many and how much time.

After all the work at the scene is done, one of the IG police officers prepares a report of the situation ascertained and the measures applied in response to that call. That report should be submitted to the duty officer at the police station, who is obliged to enter the police response (i.e. the measures applied) in the daily events book. Writing the report takes the IG officer about 20 minutes and the duty officer takes another 10 minutes to enter the police response in the daily events book.

Meanwhile the forensic inspector is processing the evidences and makes the forensics report, which takes him/her between 2 and 4 hours, depending on the case complexity.

MDIs also have work to do after the scene visit. They have to inform the SWC about the case (if there is a need, to place the victim in a shelter or to provide her with additional legal or medical help), as well as to prepare a *Criminal Charge* if there is a crime perpetrated and described by *Criminal Code* provisions. Sometimes there are additional interviews with the perpetrator and the victim and they come to the police station many times before the case is closed by the court.

B. Witnessing the violence or being informed by citizen while patrolling

In a case of witnessing the violence or being informed about violence while patrolling, the procedure is the same as after receiving a call. The patrolling officers inform the duty officer about the situation and s/he sends them to check on the spot.

C. Receiving the victim herself at the police station

In a case where the victim had come in person to the police station the duty officer sends her directly to the officer in charge of receiving citizens' complaints⁴⁶ (OCRCC). The OCRCC conducts an exchange of information with the victim, trying to find out what has happened and to explain to her what measures could be taken, what are her rights to receive help from the SWCs as well as the possibility of laying a complaint against the perpetrator. That preliminary consultation takes the officer in charge of receiving citizens' complaints between 15 and 30 minutes depending on whether the victim comes for the first time or if her case is already well known within the police station and she is well aware of the procedure and also her rights.

After explaining her rights the OCRCC prepares a *Report for Received Complaint* where s/he enters the same data for the victim as the data taken by the duty officers upon receiving a call reporting DVAW, i.e. the victim's full name and address as well as the kind of problem she is reporting – maltreatment, persecution, assault, etc. That report is later submitted to the duty officer who enters it in the daily events book. The officer spends about 20 – 30 minutes on writing the report and the duty officer spends another 5 – 10 minutes on entering the report in the daily events book, including what measures had been taken regarding the case – consultation, redirecting to SWC or MDIs, etc. During the in-depth interview however, the OCRCC shared with us that, in many cases, the victim refuses to lay an official complaint or lays just a complaint without a request for any further charges against the perpetrator, and after a half hour talk she leaves the station. Whether the victim lays an official complaint or not, the OCRCC has to prepare his internal report to the duty officer, explaining the case and the police response to the problem.

If the victim had decided to lay an official complaint with request to proceed further with the case, she has to meet the MDIs. There are not MDIs at every police station. Thus sometimes the OCRCC must send the victim to another police station to meet the MDIs, which creates additional transportation costs for her. The inspectors should have a talk with the victim, then with the perpetrator, then with the SWC to send the woman there for further help, to collect

⁴⁶ This is the so called in Macedonia – "lice za prihvat", this is a very free translation of that police officer position.

evidence if it is necessary, and to prepare a *Criminal Charge* if they ascertain a crime according to the *Criminal Code* provisions. The inspectors spend between 5 and 8 hours per case, depending on the case complexity. In some cases the time spent is much more than 8 hours since the victims continue to come many times, until the case is closed by the court, with requests for different kind of assistance or help (e.g. to retrieve her personal belongings from home, to see her children, etc.). The MDIs said that every visit takes at least 30 minutes. However we are not able to include that time in the total estimation since we have no information in how many cases and how often these additional visits happen.

In a serious and complicated criminal case the Chief Inspector for Minors' Delinquency (CIMD) from the Ministry of Internal Affairs intervenes as well. S/he has the role of coordinator and intermediary link between the MDIs and the institutions involved in the process, including SWCs and NGOs providing services to victims such as legal advice, sheltering, etc.

When the CIMD is involved, it takes about 5-15 minutes to accept the call from the police station and to write the basic data about the person that had reported the violence, the victim, the perpetrator and what the case is about. After receiving that information the CIMD spends about 30 minutes in discussing with the MDIs at the spot how to proceed with the case. If the case is very complex, the CIMD visits the scene and the police station where s/he attends the interrogation of the perpetrator, the talks with the witnesses and with the victim. Here s/he spends between 30 and 60 minutes. The paper work after that takes the CIMD between 40 and 90 minutes, even more depending on the case.

Every Friday the CIMD organizes weekly meetings with the regional MDIs, where the most complicated cases are discussed. These weekly meetings are attended by at least 5-6 MDIs and last more than 2 hours. Of course the meetings cover not only DVAW cases but all other MDIs activities – minors' delinquency, child abuse, etc.

The police procedure for direct response on DVAW cases differs depending on the state of complexity of the case, the state of victim's injuries and the perpetrator's behaviour. Map 1 in Annex 2 represents a simplified picture of that procedure.

Using the information from the map the Table 2 was prepared. Table 2 describes the procedure step by step and presents a rough estimation of the time and human resources spent on it.

Table 2 - Police procedure in case of DVAW – major steps, time and other resources spent

	Step description	No of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time to get to the scene and back (min)	Time spent on the scene or at the police station (min)	Time spent on evidences proceeding and paper work	Total time spent by all police officers (min) ((b X (d+e))+f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Receiving a phone call reporting DVAW	1	Duty officer			5-10	5-10
2.	A check on the spot - not complex case – calm perpetrator, talk with him on the spot	2	IG officer IG officer	30-60 30-60	15-30 15-30	20	110-200
3.	A check on the spot - not complex case – aggressive perpetrator, taking him to the police station	2	IG officer IG officer	30-60 30-60	30-60 30-60	20	140-260

4.	A check on the spot – complex case, missing or calm perpetrator, talk with him on the spot or at the police station.	6	IG officer IG officer Forensic officer Forensic officer MDI MDI	30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60	30-120 30-120 30-120 30-120 30-120 30-120	20 120-240 120-180	620-1.520
5.	A check on the spot – very complex case, missing or calm perpetrator, talk with him on the spot or at the police station.	8	IG officer IG officer Forensic officer Forensic officer Expert MDI MDI CIMD	30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60	60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 45-90	20 120-240 120-240 120-180 40-90	1.125-3.020
6.	A check on the spot – very complex case, aggressive and armed perpetrator (armed with blade weapon)	11	IG officer IG officer Back up officer Back up officer Back up officer Forensic officer Forensic officer Expert MDI MDI CIMD	30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60	60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 45-90	20 120-240 120-240 120-180 40-90	1.395-3.920
7.	A check on the spot – very complex case, aggressive and armed perpetrator (armed with firearm)	13	IG officer IG officer Back up officer Back up officer Back up officer Back up officer Back up officer Forensic officer Forensic officer Expert MDI MDI CIMD	30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60 30-60	60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 60-240 45-90	20 120-240 120-240 120-180 40-90	1.575-4.520
8.	Testing the perpetrator for alcohol at the nearest lab	2	Police officer Police officer	15-30 15-30	10-20 10-20		50-100
9.	Contacting the SWC for provision of further help to the victim, sending the victim to SWC	1	MDI			30-60	30-60
10.	Receiving the victim at the police station	1	Duty officer			5	5
11.	Explanatory talk with the victim	1	OCRCC		15-30		15-30
12.	Preparing the report for received complaint	1	OCRCC			20-30	20-30
13.	Entering the police response to the case in the daily events book	1	Duty officer			5-10	5-10

Police response in a case of violation of temporary measures for protection from DVAV

According to the *Family Law* provisions the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) is responsible for enforcing and monitoring the implementation of 5 out of the 11 temporary measures for

protection from domestic violence issued by the court upon a SWC’s proposal, namely a court order:

1. prohibiting the offender to threaten to commit domestic violence;
2. prohibiting the offender to harass, disturb, phone, contact or in any other way communicate with a family member, either directly or indirectly;
3. a restraint order, involving the home, school, working place, or any other designated place regularly visited by another family member;
4. for moving out of the house, regardless of the property ownership, until the relevant court renders a final decision;
5. prohibiting the possession of guns or any other weapons and, if it is necessary, to seize those possessed.⁴⁷

The police are obliged to intervene every time a breach of these orders is reported, and the procedure for that intervention looks very similar to the procedure described above for direct response to reported domestic violence.

Procedure for response in a case of court order violation

In a case of the breach of a court order the victim reports the violation at the police office. The duty officer sends her to the OCRCC and s/he informs the MDI who had proposed the measure. They conduct a 20 – 30 minutes informative talk with the victim and then 20 – 30 minutes talk with the perpetrator. After ascertaining the situation, the MDI prepares a report on the case and informs, in writing, the SWC and the court about the violation. The paperwork takes him/her about 60 – 90 minutes. The OCRCC spends about 20-30 minutes on writing his/her report to the duty officer that must be entered in the daily events book.

Map 2 in Annex 2 represents a simplified picture of the procedure and the table below shows the procedure step by step, including a rough estimation of the time and human resources spent on it.

Table 3 – Police response in case of court order violation

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time spent at the police station (min)	Time spent on paper work	Total time spent by all police officers (min) ((b X (d+e))
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1.	Receiving a report of court order violation	1	Duty officer		5	5
2.	Talk with the victim and the perpetrator in the police station	2	1 OCRCC 1 MDI	40-60 40-60		160-230
3.	Preparing the report of received complaint	1	OCRCC		20-30	20-30
4.	Entering the police response to the case in the daily events book	1	Duty officer		5-10	5-10
5	Preparing the report for the SWC and the court	1	MDI		60-90	60-90

Procedure for court order execution

The police office is also involved in executing the court order for removing the perpetrator from the house, regardless of the property ownership, until the relevant court renders a final decision.

⁴⁷ Article 281-a from the *Family Law*

The procedure is simple and the prices for police services here are clear. They are based on the *Decision for defining the police assistance fees* from 2000. Table 4 shows the procedure step by step including the time and human resources spent on implementing it.

Table 4 - Procedure for court order execution

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time to get to the scene and back (min)	Time spent on the scene or at the police station (min)	Time spent on paper work	Total time spent by all police officers (min) ((b X (d+e))+f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Receiving and acquainting with the court order	1	Chief of the Police Assistance Department		5-10		5-10
2.	Sending a request to the police station in the region where the perpetrator lives	1	Police Officer	30-60			30-60
3.	Requesting the perpetrator to attend for a discussion at the Department for Police Assistance	1	Police Officer		10-20		10-20
4.	A discussion with the perpetrator in the presence of his lawyer and a social worker from the SWC	2	Chief of the Police Assistance Department 1 MDI		30-60		30-60
5	If the perpetrator has voluntarily moved from the house he just informs the police at the meeting, if not then the order has to be executed	4	Police officers	30-60	120-180	20	170-260

This is a rough estimation of the costs per average case. Sometimes cases are much more complicated involving calling an ambulance, breaking the door, changing locks, etc.

Assumptions made and data used for the estimation:

a) The price of police officers' labour per hour was estimated using the statistical information for the average salary in public administration and defence system for 2006 (28,087 MKD per month and 3 MKD per minute). In fact, the salary per hour in public administration and defence system for 2006 is equal to the price per hour for police assistance defined in the *Decision for defining the police assistance fees*;

b) The estimation of the costs for vehicle fuel plus depreciation is based on the price per kilometre fixed in the *Decision for defining the police assistance fees* (60 MKD per kilometre);

c) We can't be certain about the distance between the police station and the place of DVAW occurrence. The data shows that most of the registered DVAW cases had happened in Skopje. The distance there within one police station region is from 1 to 60 km. in both directions. For the estimation we use an approximate distance of 10 km in both directions;

d) For the purposes of estimation we assume that the general administrative costs related to proceeding with DVAW cases are about 100 MKD (paper, printing, copying, opening a file, etc.). The costs for processing the evidence are estimated at 900 MKD, based on in-depth interviews with forensic officers (these are the costs for a simple case without blood, DNA, tissues tests, etc.);

e) We assume 1 hour of phone calls (between CIMD and MDIs, SWCs, etc) which, using the Macedonian Telecommunication prices, amounts 71 MKD;

f) The number of cases was provided by the statistical data gathered and processed in the department for analyses - *Analitika* within MIA;

Costs estimation

In Table 5 we tried to estimate the costs per kind of case, using the information from Table 2, 3 and 4. Besides the human resources, there are also material resources spent on visiting the scene, collecting and processing evidence, phone calls, printing, copying, etc.

Table 5 Rough estimation of the resources spent by type of case

	Case description	No. of police officers involved	Time spent by all police officers (min)	Labour costs (c) X average salary per hour in MKD	Other resources MKD	Total costs in MKD (d + e)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1	DVAW without grave bodily injuries – reported by phone – laying a complaint and no further charges – not complex case	3	120-220	360-660	700	1.060-1.360
2	DVAW without grave bodily injuries – reported by victim herself at the police station - laying a complaint and no further charges - not complex case	2	45-75	135-225	200	335-425
3	DVAW without grave bodily injuries – reported by phone – further charges - not complex case	4	300 -580	900-1.740	971	1.871-2.711
4	DVAW without grave bodily injuries – reported by victim herself at the police station - further charges – not complex case	3	225-435	675-1.305	371	1.046-1.676
5	DVAW with grave bodily injuries – reported by phone – further charges – complex case	7	630-1.540	1.890-4.620	3.171	5.061-7.791
6	DVAW with grave or fatal bodily injuries– reported by phone – further charges – very complex case	8	1.500-3.055	4.500-9.165	4.571	9.071-13.736
7	DVAW with grave or fatal bodily injuries and dangerous perpetrator armed with bladed weapon – reported by phone – very complex case	10	1.770-3.955	5.310-11.865	5.171	10.481-17.036
8	DVAW with grave or fatal bodily injuries and dangerous perpetrator armed with firearm – reported by phone – very complex case	11	1.860-4.255	5.580-12.765	5.171	10.751-17.936
9	Test for alcohol	2	50-100	150-300	490-540	640-840

10	Violation of measure for protection from DV	3	250-365	750-1.095	371	1.121-1.466
11	Execution of measure for protection from DV – moving the perpetrator out of the house	7	245-410	735-1.230	1.500	1.875-2.730

In fact Table 5 shows how much the different types of cases approximately cost to the police budget if all rules are followed. The costs differ substantially depending on the particular case. If appropriate data was available the costs would be easily estimated by multiplying the costs per case by the number of that type of cases.

According to the data announced on the MIA website, in 2006 there were 3,846 registered cases of domestic violence in the country – 316 criminal cases, 965 misdemeanours and 2,565 complaints. In 73% of the cases the victim is female.

For the purposes of our study we asked the MIA department for statistics and analyses – *Analitika* to provide us with information regarding: the number and type of cases in which the victim is wife, former-wife or female extra-marital partner, i.e. the cases in which a woman is the victim of domestic violence; in how many of these cases the perpetrator was drunk, drugged or armed; how many of these cases were reported by phone and how many in person at the police station; in how many of the cases there were bodily injuries and what kind of injuries they were – light or grave; in how many cases additional forensic experts visited the scene; how often an ambulance was called to help victims; how many measures for protection from domestic violence were enforced and how many violations of such measures were reported.

Unfortunately, the requested data was not provided to us on time. Therefore, in order to be able to make our costs estimation for the police system we made the following basic assumptions, based on the data received by the SWCs as well as on our knowledge on gender behaviour in the Western Balkans region⁴⁸:

a) we assume that 95% of the cases with victim being former marital partner refer to a female partner;

b) we assume that in 100% of the cases of domestic violence over extramarital partner the victim is female;

Based on the above assumptions we estimated that 45% (1,737) of the registered cases of domestic violence in 2006 were against wife, former wife or extramarital partner - 198 criminal cases, 407 misdemeanours and 1,171 complaints.

Since we were not able to get information telling us how many of the cases that ended with complaint involved bodily injuries to the victim or in how many of the criminal cases or misdemeanours there were serious or grave bodily injuries, we assume that:

- a) in 100% of the cases that had ended with a complaint (1,171) there were at least light bodily injuries – the assumption is based on the information gathered by the in-depth interviews with victims and the general observation that the victims in Macedonia usually report the violence to the police only if it is accompanied by physical injuries;
- b) in 100% of the criminal cases (198) there were serious and grave bodily injuries of the victim;
- c) in 58% of the misdemeanours (236) there were grave bodily injuries and in the remaining 42% (171) there were light or no bodily injuries at all – that assumption is

⁴⁸ According to the data gathered by the SWCs only 5% of the registered victims of domestic violence are men. Within the local society it is a shame a man to lay a complaint of domestic violence from a woman.

based on the data that in 58% of the misdemeanours the perpetrator had used physical force;

- d) 50% of the complaints (585) and misdemeanours with light bodily injuries (171) were reported by the victim herself at the police station. The rest of the complaints (586), the misdemeanours with grave bodily injuries (236) and the criminal cases with grave bodily injuries (198) were reported by phone;
- e) in 22% of the criminal cases (44), 32% of the cases of misdemeanours (130) and 54% of the cases of complaints (632) the perpetrator had been using alcohol or drugs – the assumption is based on the proportion of drunk or drugged perpetrators by type of DV case gathered by the official MIA data;
- f) in 23% of the criminal cases (46), 19% of the cases of misdemeanours (77) and 24% of the cases of complaints (281) the perpetrator suffers mental disorder – the assumption is based on the proportion of mentally disordered perpetrators by type of DV case gathered by the official MIA data;
- g) in 100% of the cases with perpetrator having mental disorder (404) and in 5 criminal cases (an attempted murder and four cases of threatening with dangerous weapon during a fight or row) the perpetrator was armed and dangerous, therefore additional police forces were called to the spot;
- h) in 100% of the criminal cases (198) and in 58% of the misdemeanours (236) the forensic team was called to the spot to collect evidence;
- i) according to the data gathered by the SWCs, in 2006 the SWCs proposed 13 measures for taking the perpetrator away from the house. Since we have no information on how many of those measures were approved by the court, we assume that about 80% of them were issued by the court and executed by the police (10 measures) – the assumption is based on the information gathered by the in-depth interviews with police officers and social workers during the field work;
- j) the MIA data is not specific about the number of violations of measures for protection from domestic violence issued by courts. We assume that they are recorded in the police statistics and are part of the data for either the complaints or misdemeanours.

Based on these data and assumptions, **we estimate that the costs for dealing with DVAW problems within the police system in 2006 were at least between 4,852,335 MKD and 7,699,225 MKD⁴⁹**. The amount represents between 2.3% and 3.6% of the police budget for 2006. **We expect the costs for 2007 to be much higher due to the increased (almost doubled) number of cases (2,069)**. We assume that the increased number of cases does not necessarily mean increased domestic violence, but that at least part of it is due to an increased reporting rate. It seems that victims are becoming more and more aware of their rights and feel encouraged to report the violence and to seek help from the institutions.

The estimation is rather conservative due to the inability to separate and calculate a range of direct and indirect costs such as – all administrative costs associated with the case, the total time spent by the inspectors while assisting the victim further before the case is closed by the court, the time and resources spent dealing with victims who didn't lay an official complaint, the time and resources spent while delivering defendants in court, etc.

The estimation covers the staff costs, the costs for vehicle fuel and depreciation as well as some basic administrative costs such as communications, printing, copying, etc.

The present chapter presents a model for estimating the cost of DVAW in the police system. It could be useful for further estimation if appropriate data becomes available. The costs

⁴⁹ 78 772 EUR – 124 987 EUR

estimated by our study and especially the model could be also used for the preparation of gender based police budgets containing a special program addressing DVAW or for preparing the budget of the *National Strategy for Fighting Against DV*.

IV.2. Costs of DVAW within the public prosecution office

After the last changes in *Criminal Code* in 2006, all crimes involving domestic violence are prosecuted upon a request made by a relevant institution. If the police investigation ascertains a *Criminal Code* violation, the MDIs prepare a *Criminal Charge* and the case is sent to the Public Prosecution Office (PPO).

The *Criminal Charge* arrives at the PPO reception department where a PPO employee enters it in the register. It takes her/him about 5-10 minutes. After reception the charge goes to the prosecutor's or deputy prosecutor's office, where the prosecutor decides in which archive the case should be entered. It takes him/her 5-10 minutes to read and decide. After the prosecutor's office the case goes to the archives, where it gets recorded in the appropriate register. It takes the archives employee 5-10 minutes. Then the case goes to the prosecutor who will work on it. S/he reviews it for 10 – 20 minutes and registers it in her/his files register.

The prosecutor needs about 30 – 60 minutes to prepare the indictment. Then the file goes out of his/her register and goes back to the archives, where the archive employee enters it as processed case. It takes her/him about 5-10 minutes. After that the case should be registered as an outgoing case and sent by courier to the relevant court. The registration takes between 5-10 minutes, and the courier needs 1 – 2 hours to deliver it to the court.

This is the procedure in general and it is valid for the cases appealed in court as well. Most of the cases are for bodily injuries and they do not require so much documentation. More time is spent on the cases when the attached documentation is not complete, i.e. missing testimonies, or reports from the relevant institutions (SWCs, police, healthcare institutions, etc). The missing documentation should be collected by the prosecutor.

The prosecutors say that, more often than not, a lot of time is lost by the postponement of court hearings. Sometimes there are more than 7 postponements and then there is a one year period between the opening and closing of the case in court. Almost 90% of the cases do not end with court sentence, because the victims often withdraw the charges. Therefore the prosecutors recommend strengthening the capacity of the institutions working with the victim and ensuring her support and security.

The in-depth interviews done with PPO representatives helped us to prepare the institutional response map for the prosecution system (Annex 2, Map 4).

The institutional response map and the information gathered by the PPO officers helped us to prepare a step by step description of the procedure as well as an estimation of the time and resources associated to it as it is shown in Table 6.

Table 6 – Step-by-step description of the prosecution system procedure, time and resources spent on it

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time spent	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD (e)	Other resources MKD (f)	Total costs in MKD (e + f) (g)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Registering the <i>Criminal Charge</i> at the reception department	1	PPO administration officer	5-10	15-30		15-30
2.	Making the decision in which kind of register to enter the case (depending on the crime)	1	Prosecutor	5-10	15-30		15-30
3.	Registering the case in the relevant archive	1	Archives employee	5-10	15-30		15-30
4.	Reviewing the case by the prosecutor who will work on it	1	Prosecutor	10-20	30-60		30-60
5.	If the case file is incomplete – collecting the missing documents and reports	1	Prosecutor	240-300	720-900		720-900
6.	Preparing the indictment	2	1 Typist 1 Prosecutor	60-120	180-360	150	330-510
7.	Returning case to the archives and registering as processed	1	Archives employee	5-10	15-30		15-30
8.	Registering the case as outgoing case	1	PPO administration officer	5-10	15-30		15-30
9.	Sending the case to court	1	Courier	60-120	180-360	100	280-360
10.	Time spent on court hearings	1	Prosecutor	240-900	720-2700	600	1320-3300

The data shows that the prosecution office spends between 2,035 MKD and 4,380 MKD⁵⁰ per regular case and between 2,755 MKD and 5,280 MKD⁵¹ per case with irregular (missing) documentation.

Assumptions made and data used for estimation

The data gathered by the PPOs and *State Statistical Office of R.M.* is for crimes related to domestic violence in general. We were not able to collect data about domestic violence against women in particular. The files are registered by type of crime and gender of the defendant (not by type and gender of the victim).

For the extrapolation of the costs per case to the total number of cases we used different sources of information and made couple of assumptions⁵²:

⁵⁰ 33 EUR – 71 EUR

⁵¹ 45 EUR – 86 EUR

- The number of *Criminal Charges* received in the PPO was taken from the statistics provided by MIA. According to MIA data and our estimations in 2006 the police inspectors submitted to the public prosecution office 198 *Criminal Charges* for domestic violence against a female victim who was wife, ex-wife or female extramarital partner of the perpetrator;
- According to the data quoted in *Life in Shadow* about 86% of the crime cases initiated by the police enter court. The data gathered by 14 Public Prosecution Offices show that in 2006 this proportion remains the same. Using that proportion we estimate that 170 cases of domestic violence against wife, ex-wife or female extramarital partner of the perpetrator reached court in 2006;
- From all 258 cases of domestic violence with male perpetrator that reached court only 121 (47%) were proceeded with and the perpetrator accused. We assume that the proportion is the same in the cases of domestic violence against wife, ex-wife or extramarital partner. Based on this assumption we estimate that 80 cases of domestic violence against wife, ex-wife or female extramarital partner went through court hearings in 2006;
- We assume that 20% of the cases that entered the PPO were with incomplete (missing) documentation;
- We estimate the administrative costs related to the case (copying, printing, case folder, etc) to 150 MKD;
- We estimate the courier transportation costs at 100 MKD;
- For the labour costs estimation we used the 2006 average gross salary for the public administration and defence sector, announced by the *State Statistical Office* - 28,087 MKD.

Based on all estimations and assumptions made above **we estimated that the costs spent by the Public Prosecution Office budget for dealing with DVAW cases in 2006 were approximately between 253,730 MKD and 482,400 MKD⁵³.**

IV.3. Costs of DVAW within the court system

The Macedonian court system deals with two types of DVAW cases:

- Civil cases – temporary measures for protection from domestic violence⁵⁴, and
- Criminal cases⁵⁵.

Institutional response of court system to DVAW - civil cases

The civil cases are related to issuing temporary measures for protection from domestic violence. The measures are issued upon a written request submitted by the SWCs.

The *Request for issuing a temporary measure for protection from domestic violence* enters the court system through the court reception department, where it is sorted and sent to the

⁵² The preliminary idea was to use as source of information the data gathered by the Public Prosecution Offices. However, from the 25 questionnaires sent to the PPOs in the country only 14 came back completed despite the tremendous efforts put by the field workers from *Akcija Združenska*. The data received regarding the number of cases of domestic violence in 2006 is as follows: 230 *Criminal Charges* received, 32 of them rejected, 198 proceeded to court, 10 are still in court and 188 finished. However, that information is not complete; we lack the data from 11 PPOs which forced us to make some assumptions and estimations of the number of cases that entered court and the number of cases that went through a court procedure. We took into account the collected information while making our assumptions.

⁵³ 4,118 EUR and 7,831 EUR

⁵⁴ According to the provisions of art. 104 of the *Family Law*

⁵⁵ Initiated by the Public Prosecution upon a proposal of the Minors' Delinquency Inspectors

relevant, i.e. the civil, department. That first step of the procedure is done by one court employee and takes him/her about 10 minutes.

After being received in the civil department the case receives a number and gets assigned to a judge who will proceed with it. That step takes the court employee about 10 minutes.

Then the judge assesses the case which takes her/him 30 – 60 minutes. If the judge ascertains that the case documentation is incomplete s/he will prepare a written request to the SWC to complete it. This takes her/him and the typist about 30 minutes to prepare and another 30 minutes for the courier to deliver it to the SWC.

After the case file is finally complete the judge sets the date for the court session and the summonses for the parties involved are prepared, which takes about 30 minutes. Delivering the summonses takes the couriers about 2-3 hours, sometimes even more, since they must be delivered to the addressee in person.

The case usually goes on for one, maximum two, sessions and takes about 1 – 2 hours. Usually a minimum of 8-9 persons are present in the court room during the sessions and these are: the judge, the typist, the attorney for the SWC requesting the measure, the victim, the defendant, the SWC team (by request of the judge), 1 or 2 experts and 1 or 2 NGO representatives, if that had been approved by the judge.

After the sessions are finished the judge and the typist prepare the court decision and its justification. It takes them 2-3 hours to prepare and another 2-3 hours for one or two court couriers to deliver the decision to the parties involved and all relevant institutions responsible for its monitoring and enforcement. The decision must be delivered to the parties involved in person, so sometimes it takes much more than 3 hours to do so.

If, within 8 days, one of the parties involved contests the decision the same procedure repeats again.

During the term of validity of the measure the SWC could submit a request for changing, prolonging or cancelling the measure. In that case the same procedure repeats again.

Map 3 in Annex 2 represents a stylized picture of the procedure described above and Table 7 represents a preliminary estimation of the time and the resources spent on every step of the procedure.

Table 7 – Step-by-step description of the court procedure for issuing temporary measures for protection, time and resources spent on it

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time spent	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD (e)	Other resources MKD (f)	Total costs in MKD spent by court budget (e + f) (g)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Registering the <i>Request for issuing a temporary measure for protection from domestic violence</i> at the reception department and sending it to the civil department	1	Court employee	10	30		30
2.	Registering the case in the civil department register and assigning a judge	1	Court employee	10	30		30
3.	Assessing the case by the judge to whom it was assigned	1	Judge	30-60	90-180		90-180
4.	Preparing the summonses to the parties involved	1	1 Typist	30	90	150	240
5.	Delivering the summonses to the parties involved	1-2	1 Courier 1 Courier	120-180 120-180	360-540 360-540	200 200	1,120-1,480
6.	Preparing a written request to the SWC to complete the case with the missing documents	2	1 Judge 1 Typist	30 30	90 90	20	200
7.	Delivering the request to the SWC	1	Courier	30	90	100	190
8.	Court session	6-8	1 Judge 1 Typist 1 SWC attorney 2-3 representatives of the SWC team (by request of the judge) 1 or 2 experts	60-120 60-120	180-360 180-360	150	510-870
9.	Preparing the court decision with justification	2	1 Judge 1 Typist	120-180 120-180	360-540 360-540	150	870-1,330
10.	Delivering the court decision to all parties involved as well as to all relevant institutions responsible for its enforcement and monitoring	1-2	1 Courier 1 Courier	120-180 120-180	360-540 360-540	200 200	1,120-1,480

For the purposes of our costs' estimation exercise we made the following assumptions and estimations:

- we estimate the administrative costs related to the case (copying, printing, case folder, etc) to 150 MKD;
- we estimate the courier transportation costs at 100 MKD;
- for the labour costs estimation we used the 2006 average gross salary for the public administration and defence sector, announced by the *State Statistical Office* - 28,087 MKD. We are aware of the fact that the judge's remuneration is quite different from that of the courier and the archives employees; however we were not able to find more disaggregated official statistical information regarding the salaries within the court system;
- we assume that in 20% of the cases the case documentation is incomplete.

According to the data provided by courts and Social Work Centres, in 2006 there were 373 measures requested and 8 changes to existing measures.

Taking into account everything mentioned above we estimated that the costs of the civil cases for DVAW within the court system in 2006 were between approximately 1,557,450 MKD and 2,178,480 MKD. The estimation is quite conservative since it uses the average salary for the whole public administration and defence system (however, the judge's salary is several times bigger than that of the typists and the couriers) and doesn't include the costs for court room maintenance.

Institutional response of court system to DVAW – criminal cases

Criminal cases also enter the court system through the court archives, where the case gets registered and prepared for assessment by the judge. It takes about 15 minutes for the archives employee to do that.

After receiving the case the judge assesses it to check whether the case is within the prerogatives of the court, if additional investigation is needed, etc. That takes him/her between 15 – 30 minutes. If the judge ascertains that additional investigation is needed he does that on his own. The time spent depends explicitly on the case.

After the review of the case one court courier delivers the *Charge Act* to the defendant and his attorney. It takes him/her about 30 minutes or more.

If, the defendant contests the *Charge Act* within 8 days the judge should set a court council hearing. One typist prepares the requests to attend the hearing which takes him/her about 15 minutes. The court courier needs about 30 minutes to deliver them.

The court council hearing is attended by a typist, the judge, a court council of 3 judges and the public prosecutor. They need between 15 and 30 minutes to make a decision on the defendant's protest, and the court courier needs about 30 minutes to deliver it to the defendant and his attorney.

Then the judge sets the date for the trial and the typist prepares the summonses to the parties involved. These take about 30 minutes for the typist to prepare and about 30 minutes for the court courier to deliver. Sometimes the delivery takes much longer than 30 minutes as they must be delivered to the addressee in person.

The main trial goes on for one or two sessions, depending on the case, and takes between 4 and 15 hours. If the defendant doesn't show up voluntarily the MIA forces intervene to bring him to court.

The sentence should be prepared and announced within 3 days. Preparing the court sentence takes the judge and one typist between 1 and 4 hours. The sentence is delivered to the parties involved by the court courier, which takes about 30 minutes.

This is the procedure in general. Map 4 in Annex 2 represents a stylized picture of the procedure and Table 8 shows the time and resources usually spent on it. We must emphasize that the time spent on criminal cases can vary substantially depending on many factors – whether the defendant contests the *Charge Act* or not, whether the case needs additional investigation or not, whether the court courier is able to deliver the summonses in person at the first attempt or have to try many times, whether the defendant comes to trial voluntary or must be brought by police escort, etc. However such information could be gathered only after a thorough research of the court archives, which could be a subject of other court system focused research. The in-depth interviews conducted with judges working on criminal cases show that one judge spends between 5 and 27 hours on a case.

Table 8 – Step-by-step description of the court procedure for a criminal case, time and resources spent on it.

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers invoved	Total time spent by court representa-tives	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD	Other resources MKD	Total costs in MKD spent by court budget (e + f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Registering the case at the reception department and preparing it for review by judge.	1	Court employee	15	45		45
2.	Assessing the case by the judge to whom it was assigned in order to check if the case is within the prerogatives of the court, if any additional investigation is needed, etc.	1	Criminal judge	15-30	45-90		45-90
3.	Delivering the <i>Charge Act</i> to the defendant and his attorney.	1	Court courier	30-180	90-540	200	290-740
4.	If the <i>Act</i> is not contested , the judge sets the trial date and the typist prepares the summonses	2	Typist Criminal Judge	60	180	150	330
5.	Delivering the summonses to the parties involved	1	Court courier	30-180	90-540	500	590-1,040

6.	Trial	11-15	1 Typist 3 Criminal Judges 1 Public Prosecutor 1 Defendant 1 Defendant's attorney 1 Victim 1-3 Experts 1-2 SWC representatives if the children are victims too 1-2 NGO representatives	960-3600	2,880-10,800	150	3,030-10,950
7.	Preparing the court decision	2	Typist Criminal Judge	360-480	1,080-1,440	150	1,230-1,590
8.	Delivering the decision to the parties involved in person	1	Court courier	30-180	90-540	500	590-1,040
9.	If the <i>Charge Act</i> is contested- preparing requests to attend Court council hearing	2	Typist Criminal Judge	30	90	150	240
10.	Delivering the requests	1	Court courier	30	90	100	190
11.	Court council hearing	5	Typist Criminal Judge 3 Judges (court council) Public prosecutor	75-150	225-450	150	375-600
12.	Preparing the court council decision	2	Typist Criminal Judge	30	90	150	240
13.	Delivering the decision to the parties involved in person	1	Court courier	30	90	500	590

Assumptions and data used for the estimation

In order to make our estimation we made the following assumptions:

- a) 170 criminal cases entered the court and 80 cases went through court hearings;
- b) in 80% of the cases the defendant contests the *Charge Act*;
- c) there are additional direct costs paid by different parties and related to the court case such as court taxes, attorney's fees, forensic medicine examinations, etc. All these costs however differ substantially from case to case and we cannot include them in the total costs examination.

Using the above data and assumptions **we estimated that the costs for criminal DVAW court cases in 2006 were at least between 604,740 MKD and 1,397,190 MKD.**⁵⁶

If the defendant appeals the basic court's decision the case goes to the Court of Appeal. The procedure there looks very similar to the procedure in the basic court. Map 4 in Annex 2 gives an idea of the procedure within the Court of Appeal.

⁵⁶ 9,817 EUR – 22,682 EUR

In Table 9 we made some preliminary estimation of the costs associated to the map. However, since we were not able to collect information about the number of appealed cases in 2006, we were not able to include the costs for them in the overall costs estimation. Table 9 could be still useful, showing the costs per case in the Court of Appeal. In the event of further research in that area and ability to access reliable data on the number of cases, the costs per case could be useful for the overall costs estimation.

Table 9 – Step-by-step description of the court procedure for appealing the basic court decision, time and resources spent on it.

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Total time spent by court representatives	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD	Other resources MKD	Total costs in MKD spent by court budget (e + f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Registering the case at the reception department	1	Court archives employee	15	45		45
2.	Delivering the case to the judge	1	Court employee	10	30		30
3.	Reviewing the case by judge	1	Criminal judge	60	180		180
4.	Delivering the case to the criminal department	1	Court employee	15	45		45
5.	Delivering the case to the PPO for opinion	1	Court employee	15	45	100	145
6.	After PPO the case goes back to the criminal department and then to the judge	1	Court employee	10	30		30
7.	Review of the case by the judge	1	Criminal Judge	120-180	360-540		360-540
8.	If the parties involved want public hearing, the judge sets the date for it with an order	2	Typist Criminal Judge	20	60		60
9.	Preparing the summonses for the hearing	1	Typist	15	45	150	195
10.	Delivering the summonses to the parties involved by post	1	Court employee	60	180	500	680

11.	Public court hearing	8-10	1 Typist 3-5 Criminal Judges 1 Public Prosecutor 1 Defendant 1 Defendant's attorney 1 Victim	240- 360	720-1,080	150	870-1,230
12.	Preparing the court decision	2	Typist Criminal Judge	60-240	180-720	150	330-870
13.	Delivering the decision for reading and signing by the other judges	1	Criminal judge	30	90		90
14.	Delivering the case to the archives for being recorded as closed and sent back to the Basic court	1	Court archives employee	30	90		90

If the parties involved don't insist on a public hearing the case goes through the same procedure except that the hearing is attended only by judges and a typist.

IV.4. The costs of DVAW within the social protection system

The Macedonian social protection system deals with DVAW issues through the Social Work Centres (SWC). Domestic violence can be registered there as a result of:

- personal report made by the victim;
- report submitted by another institution that has ascertained the problem – police, schools, medical institutions, etc.;
- ascertaining the violence while delivering other social services and protection.

The in-depth interviews conducted with social workers showed that the social workers dealing with domestic violence issues have many other duties within the SWC and they spend between 20% and 80% of their working time dealing with DV cases (depending on the number of cases they have). There is no official procedure protocol in cases of DV⁵⁷ and social workers tackle the problem using the knowledge gathered during their training as well as from the methodological guidelines prepared by the *State Office for Social Activities*.

When the victim of domestic violence enters the SWC she has two choices – to report deteriorated family relations or to report domestic violence. Her decision depends on her readiness to face the problem and to ask for help. If she is ready to report the case as domestic violence she meets the social worker dealing with DV cases. They have an informative talk which could continue from 30 minutes to 2 hours depending on the victim's readiness to talk. During this talk a few goals must be achieved:

- to gather, as much as possible, information about the victim's personality and life situation – education, social status, occupation, family environment, sources of income, etc;

⁵⁷ The protocol was drafted long time ago but is not officially adopted yet.

- to collect information about the violence itself – when it first happened, how often it happens, what exactly happens, what provokes that behaviour, etc;
- to collect information about the perpetrator and factors that may cause him to become violent – alcohol abuse, drugs abuse, etc;
- to assess the situation (victim's needs) and to decide what measures to propose;
- to inform the victim about the alternatives for help.

Usually the meeting is attended by a psychologist as well. The meeting should also be attended by a lawyer, especially if the victim is ready to proceed with temporary measures for protection against domestic violence. The general rule is that an experts' team consisting of social worker, psychologist and a lawyer should make the victim's needs assessment; however people working in the SWCs are overloaded with so many responsibilities that sometimes only the social worker is able to pay full attention to the victim and does everything on her/his own.

After becoming aware of the case and assessing the needs of the victim, the social worker explains to the victim how the SWC could address her problem – providing services like legal advice, sheltering, medical assistance, etc. and/or temporary measures for protection from domestic violence defined in art. 104 of *Family Law*.

Sometimes several meetings are necessary in order to make the victim's needs assessment or to get to the stage where the victim is ready to choose and to accept the measures the SWC proposes for her problem. There is no pattern in victims' behaviour and we can't say in how many cases the victim visits the SWC more than once before giving her permission to initiate a case, i.e. we don't know in how many cases there is more than one visit before opening the case. However, the information gathered by the SWCs suggests that in most of the cases 3-4 meetings are needed in order to make the victim's needs assessment and to proceed with further measures.

After every meeting the social worker prepares a report⁵⁸ containing all information gathered during the interview. It takes her/him between 30 and 90 minutes. The last part of that report contains the SWC proposal for measures to be taken. The SWC's team should also prepare a plan for individual treatment of the victim – measures to be taken and how to monitor their implementation. Preparing the plan should take another 30 – 60 minutes.

If there is a need for sheltering, the social worker, or at some centres the legal advisor, prepares a decision for sheltering, after which the victim is taken to the shelter by the centre's car or a taxi.

If the victim is ready to proceed with the submission of a request for issuing a temporary measures for protection from domestic violence the centre's lawyer prepares the request. It takes her/him between 30 minutes and 3 hours depending on the case and the measures requested. The social workers said that very often the court is insensitive to the domestic violence problem. Measures like forbidding to threaten to commit domestic violence and forbidding to harass, disturb, phone contact or in any other way communicate with a family member are easily issued, but the most effective measures in serious cases such as removing the perpetrator from the house are very difficult to get approved by courts. Such measures need more preparation, experts' testimonies, police reports, medical evidence, etc. Often courts refuse to issue the measure and the SWC is forced to go to the *Court of Appeal*, which raises its costs.

The procedure requires the perpetrator to be met too. He should be invited to visit the centre, but there is no legal obligation for him to do so if he doesn't want to. The aim of the visit is to collect some information about the perpetrator's personality and life situation – education,

⁵⁸ Findings and opinion of expert or experts' team.

social status, occupation, family environment, sources of income, etc, which might be helpful in preparing the plan for individual treatment of the victim, as well as of the perpetrator if he is willing to cooperate. That meeting can take between 30 and 60 minutes, depending on the perpetrator's readiness to talk and cooperate.

In most of the cases the victims are afraid of initiating a court case and prefer to try to solve the problem outside court. They believe that a talk with the perpetrator in the police station and/or the SWC could change the situation. In some cases it works, in most of the cases it doesn't. In some cases the victim and the perpetrator want to meet the social worker together, to receive some counselling within the centre and to solve the problem without the further involvement of any other state institution.

This is the procedure in general. However every case is individual and it is not possible to make an estimation for an "average case" since there is no average case. In some cases the victim needs many visits before deciding what to do and how to proceed. In some cases the measures are applied and the victim is sheltered but she leaves the shelter in few days and returns in a month with the same problem. There are also cases in which the victim has no identity documents, so it requires a lengthy procedure to help her to acquire such documents. However we have no information about the number of these cases. Therefore our estimation here is highly conservative.

Map 8 in Annex 2 represents a stylized picture of the procedure and in Table 10 we tried to estimate the average time and resources spent on the most frequent type of case which we took to be typical of an average case.⁵⁹

Table 10 – Step by step procedure within the social care system

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time spent	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD	Other resources MKD	Total costs in MKD spent by social care system budget (e + f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	First interview with the victim	2-3	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist 1 Lawyer	30-120 30-120 30-120	88-350 87-348 86-345		261-1,043
2.	Second interview with the victim	1-2	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist	30-60 30-60	88-175 87-174		175-349
3.	Third interview with the victim	1-2	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist	30-60 30-60	88-175 87-174		175-349
4.	Fourth interview with the victim	1-2	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist	30-60 30-60	88-175 87-174		175-349
5.	Preparing a report for the case (<i>Findings and opinion of expert or experts' team</i>)	1	1 Social worker	30-90	88-263	100	188-363
6.	Meeting the perpetrator	2-3	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist 1 Lawyer	30-60 30-60 30-60	88-175 87-174 86-173		261-522

⁵⁹ Table 10 is prepared based on the data gathered by the 27 SWCs in Macedonia and 4 in-depth interviews with social workers dealing with domestic violence cases.

7.	Preparing a plan for individual treatment of the victim	1-3	1 Social worker 1 Psychologist 1 Lawyer	30-120 30-120 30-120	88-350 87-348 86-345	100	361-1,143
8.	Preparing a decision for sheltering	1	Social worker	15-20	44-58	100	144-158
9.	Bringing the victim to the shelter	1	Social worker 1 Driver	30-60 30-60	88-175 48-96	240	376-511
10.	Preparing a request for issuing measures for protection from DV	1	1 Lawyer	30-180	87-522	100	187-622
11.	Attending the court session for the measures issuing	2	1 Social worker 1 Lawyer	60-120 60-120	175-350 173-345	2,000	2,348-2,695
12.	Psychological intervention and counselling	1	Psychologist	120-180	348-522		348-522
	Monitoring the case and the implementation of the measures	1	Social worker	540-720	1,576-2,153	700	2,276-2,853

Shelters

7 of the 27 SWCs in the country have shelters attached to them as a structure. There is also one Crisis Centre (24 hours sheltering) and 1 private NGO run shelter⁶⁰. Unfortunately, the information obtained from the shelters doesn't tell us much.

The state run shelters are not aware of the size of their budgets - it is part of the SWC budget. They have no specific employees and are managed by the SWC employees who deal with domestic violence issues.

A social worker or the psychologist from the centre visits the shelter every day in order to provide psychological support to the victims and to check the situation there.

In addition to the 3,500,000 MKD for shelters mentioned in the state budget there are some other costs related to shelter functioning which are hidden in the SWC costs and budget, but provided by the SWC.

In Table 11 we made some estimation of the time and resources spent per week by the SWC for the shelter. The assumptions made below for the SWCs are valid here as well.

Table 11 – Additional costs related to shelter functioning

	Step description	No. of officers involved	Type of officers involved	Time spent	Labour costs (d) X average salary per hour in MKD	Other resources MKD	Total costs in MKD spent by court budget (e + f)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1.	Checks in the shelter made by the social worker	1	Social worker or Psychologist	450-600	1,238-1,650	1,800	3,038-3,450
2.	Delivering food and personal hygiene requisites to the shelter	1	Driver	30-60	48-96	360	408-456

It is interesting to note that 3 out of 7 shelters said that in 2006 their capacities were not fully utilized. In 2007 already 5 out of 7 shelters have not fully utilized their capacities. Further analyses are needed in order to ascertain the reason for that – do the victims avoid using

⁶⁰ Macedonian centre for women rights – Shelter Centre

shelters and if so why, or do the social centres avoid proposing sheltering due to lack of funds for the shelters?

In order to make our costs estimation for the social protection system we made the following assumptions:

- a) in 80% of the cases the victim had been interviewed by the whole needs assessment team - social worker, psychologist and lawyer;
- b) the administrative costs (printing, copying, phone costs, etc) are estimated at 100 MKD;
- c) the estimation of the costs for vehicle fuel and depreciation is 60 MKD per kilometre (based on the price per kilometre fixed in the *Decision for defining the police assistance fees*);
- d) we assume that the distance to the shelter is about 6 km. in total;
- e) the average salary of the social centre workers was estimated using the data provided by the SWCs. According to the information gathered by the SWCs the gross salary of:
 - a social worker amounts to 29,432 MKD per month and 2.92 MKD per minute;
 - a legal advisor amounts to 29,010 MKD per month and 2.88 MKD per minute;
 - a psychologist amounts to 29,273 MKD per month and 2.90 MKD per minute;
 - an administrative employee amounts to 16,081 MKD per month and 1.60 MKD per minute;
- f) we assume that the social workers spend between 9 and 12 hours per case in on the spot checks, monitoring the implementation of the measures applied by court, etc and travelling to the spot and back is about 10 km. in total;
- g) the court fee paid by the SWCs for a civil case amounts to 2,000 MKD;
- h) the data received from the SWCs regarding the time spent for providing different services within the centre is inconsistent. Most of them include in the total time the duration of the service, from beginning to end, in number of days. Thus, we took, as average time, the time provided by several SWCs in hours;
- i) The data regarding the number of cases was taken from the reports sent to the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. According to this data, in 2006 there were 703 cases of DVAW registered in the SWCs;
- j) The budget of the national SOS line provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy is – 153,000 MKD (the rest of the budget for the year 2006 was provided by different public donors);
- k) According to the data gathered by the SWCs, in 2006 the staff spent about 116 days taking part in seminars and trainings.

Based on the above data and assumptions **we estimated that the costs of DVAW in 2006 for the social system were approximately between 8,105,439 MKD and 11,681,212 MKD.** The estimation is conservative and doesn't include the costs made by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy for policy making, monitoring the work of the SWCs and shelters, etc.

IV.5. Healthcare costs of domestic violence against women

The healthcare services are those that all victims, officially registered and hidden, use. However, the present state of data availability for victims of domestic violence and the services they received from the healthcare system doesn't allow the making of any serious estimation of the costs spent on the issue within the system.

The in-depth interviews conducted with 50 victims of domestic violence confirmed the already well known fact that the domestic violence causes severe consequences to the victims' physical

and mental health. One hundred percent of the interviewed women reported a variety of physical injuries (bruises, fractures, cuts, etc.), psychosomatic and psychological disorders. We know for certain that every victim of domestic violence had visited some medical institution. However, we have no data for the number and kind of services received⁶¹. Any estimation here will be merely a speculation and could portray a highly distorted picture of the reality. Although we have estimation of the violence prevalence rate by types of violence, we don't yet have any information on the number and types of medical services used. Our sample of 50 female victims is highly insufficient for drawing general conclusions for the whole population.

Maps 9 and 10 in Annex 2 show the institutional response in cases of physical, psychological and sexual violence. They show the victim's path through the system and, if further data became available, they could be useful for estimating the costs of domestic violence incurred within the healthcare system.

If the Government wants to make well targeted evidence-based policy in the area of domestic violence, some steps should be taken toward improving the medical statistics on the issue. The medical institutions should start keeping records on the possible sources of the patients' injuries. In some cases the violence is openly declared in others it remains hidden in the victim's embarrassed and frightened mind. However, in all cases, the medical personnel could recognize the symptoms and could make a note in the patient's file record.

IV.6. State budget spending through NGO projects

Every year the state budget transfers about 1,000,000 MKD for non-governmental organizations' projects in the social sphere. However, we have no information on how many of these projects are for combating domestic violence, so we can't include these costs in the total costs estimation.

V. Costs paid by agents other than government – NGOs and the victim herself

V.1. Costs paid by and through NGOs

Besides the state, there are other agents bearing the costs of domestic violence against women and these are the victims themselves, their families, friends and employers as well as the non-governmental organizations financed by public or private donors.

Although the costs of the latter should be easy to estimate we were not able to collect sufficient information about the NGO sector costs.

Since the NGOs registered as dealing with women's rights and issues in R. Macedonia greatly outnumber the donors' financing those issues, we asked the donors how much they spent on domestic violence against women projects in 2006. From 28 targeted donors only 6 found it important to provide us with that information⁶², the rest did not respond to the questionnaires we sent.

Aiming to solve this data problem we changed the data source and asked the most active women's NGOs in Macedonia about the funds spent by them in 2006 on tackling DVAW problems. Unfortunately, we were unsuccessful in getting enough information here too because most of the organizations did not respond to the questionnaires we sent.

⁶¹ We made 4 in-depth interviews with medical doctors (GP, gynaecologist and two ER doctors), which helped us to prepare the help-seeking and institutional response map for the healthcare sector. The information provided by them however was not enough for making an estimation of the costs spent within the healthcare system. We have no information on what kind of doctors the victims visited, how many times, what injuries they had, etc.

⁶² UNIFEM, Institute for Sustainable Communities, Aim to Human Rights, UNDP, Global Fund for Women, Mama Cash/Fund for Women.

The limited data received, show that **in 2006 six of the most active women organizations working on domestic violence in the country⁶³ spent 10,986,487 MKD (178,352 EUR) on domestic violence against women related activities.** In many cases the DVAW related activities had been covered by the organizations' own resources and the organizations are not aware of the exact size of the costs

69% of the funds had been spent on providing direct services to victims and 31% for awareness campaigns, training and policy making.

We have to be aware that this is only part of the funds spent within the non-governmental sector. Further and deeper research is needed here, as in all other systems, in order to make a more complete estimation.

The national SOS line

The data gathered from victims and SWCs shows that the National SOS line is a very important link between the victims and the institutions. Very often this is the first step toward starting to fight the problem.

The national SOS phone line for victims of domestic violence has been functioning since 1994. It was opened and maintained by the Association of the Women of Skopje. Since 2005 the SOS line has been co-financed by the state budget.

In 2006 the line budget was 563,261 MKD, 73% of which was provided by public donors (Donor's organizations, Governments of other countries, Embassies) and 27% by the state budget. In 2007 the line became 100% financed by the state budget – 93% by the central budget and 7% by the budgets of the local governments. Since we are estimating the costs of DVAW in 2006, we included the amount provided by Government (153,000 MKD) in the estimation of the state budget costs and the rest of the 410,261 MKD in the costs borne by NGOs and public donors.

The national SOS line has 15 volunteers, 11 of them answer the phone calls and 1 administers the process.

The SOS line statistics show that, in 2006 there were 1,875 calls for counselling and support. In 1,261 of the calls the victim had asked for information and directions to other institutions, in 348 cases the victim needed an informative conversation, in 946 cases the victim asked for a meeting and in 421 of the cases those meetings were realized.

The call is not free of charge for the victim and we included that cost in the estimation of the costs paid by the victim.

V.2. Costs borne by victims themselves

One of the most difficult parts of every violence costing study is the estimation of the costs borne by victims themselves. It is always difficult to estimate those costs and moreover it is very risky to extrapolate them to the whole population, but it is important to show their existence.

In our cost estimation exercise we included a small sample of 50 victims just to illustrate the types of financial costs they bear and to point out the costs which are difficult to monetize – pain, fear, emotional stress, health consequences, change of dwelling and work-place, children's behavioural and educational problems, etc.

Due to the large variety of case durations (between 1 and 40 years) and the fact that the victims are not really able to recall the costs for the entire case duration, we were not able to

⁶³ Akcija Združenska, ESE, Crisis Centre – Hope, Macedonian Centre for women's rights – Shelter centre, the SOS line, the Organization of Women of Municipality "Sveti Nikole".

employ the concept of case-year and thus to estimate the costs per year⁶⁴. Therefore, in the present costing exercise we estimated the costs for the sample as a whole per several years. The present estimation could be used as an illustrative example of what kind of costs the victim bear and how they could be measured.

Sample description

The sample was selected by our field work partner - ESE from the group of victims visiting its legal aid centres in Skopje, Tetovo and Stip.

The sample includes 50 female victims of DV aged between 20 and 65 years - 8 of the victims are up to 30 years old, 16 are up to 40 years old, 16 are up to 50 and 10 are up to 65 years old.

The victims are from five ethnic groups - 8 Albanian, 4 Roma, 2 Serbian, 1 Bosnian and 35 Macedonian women. 24 of them are divorced, 17 are separated but not officially divorced, 7 are married, 1 single and 1 living in marriage-like relationship without official marriage.

92% of the victims in the sample have children - 13 women have 1 child, 25 have 2 children, 6 have 3 children and 1 has 4 children. 29 of the victims have children under the age of 16 years, but in 4 cases the minor children do not live with the mother and this creates problems with her ability to see them regularly.

The victims' educational status is varied - 8 women have university degrees, 24 have secondary school and 18 have basic school education; 1 is illiterate.

The data for the victims' socio-economic status (SES) shows that most of them are financially dependant on their partners or households. Only 16 of the women are currently employed, but 27 have declared that have personal incomes which includes the receipt of social relief payments. However, about half of the victims have no personal incomes at all and more than half of the households are with very low SES⁶⁵ at the time that the interviews were conducted. We did not collect information about the SES of the victims and their families at the moment when the violence started.

72% of the women in the sample have no any property, 8% own a share in real estate, 16% are owners of real estate and 4% possess only gold jewellery.

In 54% of the cases the violence started more than 10 years ago. For some of the victims that period is 20, 30 and even 40 years. Only in 10 cases did the victims report the violence immediately. In most of the cases they had waited for years (between 1 and 30) and in 4 cases the violence has never been reported. We didn't ascertain a correlation between the ownership of property and personal incomes and the years the violence remained unreported. We assume that, in most of the cases of long term non-reporting, the reason is the lack of institutional support and legal base for reporting cases of domestic violence against women before 2004.

Sources of information for places to find help

In most of the cases the victims found out how and where to report the violence from a combination of sources - police (31), NGOs (22), SWC (21), radio and TV campaigns (18), friends and family members (14 cases), the SOS line (10 cases), brochures distributed by NGOs in public (4).

In the majority of the cases (44) the victim sought help from her friends and family first. Only in 6 cases had an institution or NGO been approached first (police, SWC, crisis centre, SOS line

⁶⁴ It is not likely that the victims are able to recall the costs from 20, 30 or 40 years ago. We assume that they reported the costs from recent years which they are able to recall.

⁶⁵ 38% of the households are without income, 2% are with income of up 3,000 MKD, 8% are with income between 3,000 MKD - 5,000 MKD and 8% with income between 5,000 MKD - 7,500 MKD.

and NGO). In 10 cases the victims didn't receive any help from the first source⁶⁶. However, in the rest of the cases the first source approached provided the victim with shelter, moral and financial support, advice and medical help.

The data shows that the violence is costly for the victims both in emotional, health and economic terms.

Costs for following the help seeking and institutional response procedures

The 50 help seeking maps prepared for the sample show that the total costs for going through the help seeking path – asking for help, spending time on interviews, acquiring medical certificates for violence, transportation costs, legal fees, etc. cost the sample about 534,600 MKD. 308,634 MKD of this amount are cash costs and about 225,966 MKD are the costs of the time spent within institutions and travelling to there.

The time spent by all sample victims in visiting institutions in search of help is about 2,790 hours. The price of that time was estimated by using the income declared by victims (for those victims having paid jobs) and the average price, usually paid in Macedonia, for a day's cleaning and house-work if a person is hired for that - 800 MKD (for those victims who are house-wives at the moment).

The interviews show the following statistics of the victims help seeking paths:

Institution approached for help		Total cases	Received help	
			YES	NO
1.	Police	47	30	17
2.	SWC	40	28	12
3.	Shelter	6	6	
4.	Prosecution office	1		1
5.	Ombudsman	4	4	
6.	MLSP	1	1	
7.	Court	11	7	4
8.	Lawyer	13	8	5
9.	Psychologist	4	3	1
10.	Mayor	1	1	
11.	Health institution	18	16	2
12.	SOS line	8	8	
13.	NGO	49	41	8
14.	Relatives and friends	29	24	5
Total cases of help-seeking:		232	177	55

In 47 of the cases the victim had to pay for the services received. The amount is included in the estimation made below.

Costs for job absence

The data shows that domestic violence prevents victims from carrying out paid employment or hampers their job and carrier.

Of 16 employed women in the sample, 15 had been taking days off because of the violence at home. The costs of these days (849 days) were estimated at 481,731 MKD. 350,945 MKD was borne by the victims themselves (not receiving payment for the days off or being forced to compensate for the absence with additional work) and 130,786 MKD by employers or the state insurance funds.

⁶⁶ In some cases the victims complain that the police officers and the social workers only checked the situation on the spot, invited the perpetrator for a talk and nothing else. However, if the victim doesn't lay an official complaint, and if she is not requesting further charges, this is basically all that police and SWC could do – to have a talk with the perpetrator and to warn him.

The 34 unemployed victims in the sample stated that the domestic violence had prevented them from starting a paid job.

8 out of 50 victims have had problems at their work-places because of taking days off due to the violence. All 8 victims had been receiving smaller salaries than their colleagues, 4 of them had been also receiving smaller bonuses, 5 had also been having a lower number of holidays, 4 were unable to receive promotion, 3 were forced to quit their jobs and 2 were fired.

In 66% of the cases the violence had been happening every day, every other day or very often. We can't monetize that, but it should be borne in mind that, in the days following the violence, the victim is stressed and her productivity decreases substantially, which brings additional costs to her, her employer and her colleagues who have to take over part of her unfinished work.

Costs for health consequences

100% of the victims in the sample have had negative consequences to their physical and mental health as a result of experiencing domestic violence. In 80% of the cases (40 cases) the victim has visited a medical institution for help. The most frequently reported health problems and injuries are: bruises; all kinds of fractures (facial bones, limbs, etc.); cerebral-cranium traumas; broken teeth; cuts; stomach, cardio and kidney system problems; acute neuroses, migraine, clinical depression and other psychological disorders.

Due to these severe health consequences 22% (11) of the victims spent 1,707 days in hospital. Visiting doctors, the medicines and hospitalization cost victims more than 861,940 MKD in total (two of the victims cannot recall the amount paid for medical services and medicines).

Costs for property damage or loss

In 82% (42) of the cases various property was damaged as a result of the violence – furniture, doors, windows, white goods, dishes, etc. even children's toys.

In 24 of the cases the damaged property was repaired or replaced, which cost more than 421,180 MKD (some victims cannot recall the costs). In only two cases were the costs borne by the perpetrator, but in those cases the victim doesn't recall the costs. In two cases the costs were borne by the victim and the perpetrator together – only 3,000 MKD. In the remaining cases the costs of reinstating the damaged property were borne by the victim herself and her family.

In one case the perpetrator sold the family house while the court was still deciding on the property issues. It cost the victim 2,464,000 MKD (the share she never received).

Costs for living accommodation

In 92% (46) of the cases the victim was forced to leave home. In 62% of the cases she was forced to leave the home at night. In 14 cases it happened 3 and more times and in 8 cases between 10 and 30 times. In 11 cases she remained out of the home between 2 and 4 months and in 1 case she stayed out of the home for a year and a half. In 29 of the cases the victim took the children with her.

In 11 of 46 cases the victim found refuge in a shelter centre. In 34 cases she was sheltered by relatives and friends. In 7 cases she was forced to rent a residence for herself and her children (the total number is more than 46, because some of the women, being forced to leave their homes many times, made a combination of residential solutions).

In the seven cases of rented homes the rent costs so far amount to 223,328 MKD (some of the victims still live in rented accommodation).

Costs for child support and care

In 27 of the cases, before and after leaving home, the victim financially supports her children alone. In only 5 cases was the financial support of the children taken over by the mother only after she left the family home.

In 32 cases in total, the victim is financially supporting her children alone after leaving the house as a result of the violence there. These are serious costs for the victims which, however, can't be estimated.

Only in 9 of the cases does the victim receive both social relief payments and child allowances, in 2 cases she receives only child allowances and in 1 case only social relief payments. Only in 3 cases did the victims start to receive financial help (child allowances and/or social relief) after leaving the house.

Cost of violence for the sample

The total costs of domestic violence for the sample was estimated at about 4,986,779 MKD⁶⁷. The costs borne by the victims themselves and their families and friends were estimated at about 4,854,493 MKD⁶⁸. These costs are in addition to the costs paid by the state institutions for tackling the problem.

Table 12 – Cost of domestic violence for the sample

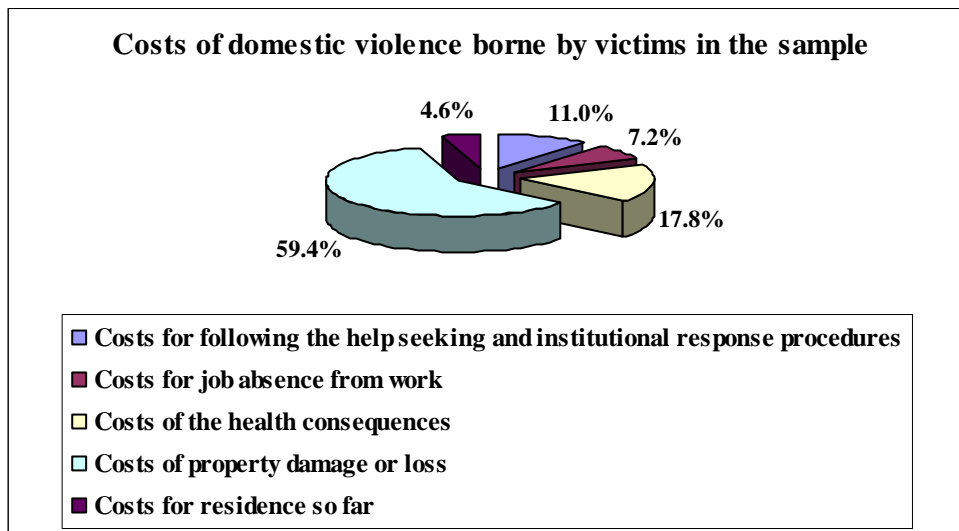
	Costs description	Costs in MKD	Average costs per victim in MKD
1.	<i>Costs for following the help seeking and institutional response procedures (asking for help, spending time on interviews, acquiring medical certificates for violence, transportation costs, legal fees, etc)</i>	534,600	10,692
	cash costs:	308,634	6,173
	time spent within institutions and travelling to there:	225,966	4,519
	costs borne by victim:	534,600	10,692
2.	<i>Costs for job absence</i>	481,731	9,635
	costs borne by the victim:	350,945	7,019
3.	<i>Costs of the health consequences</i>	861,940	17,239
	costs borne by the victim:	861,940	17,239
4.	<i>Costs of damaged property or loss</i>	2 885,180	57,704
	damaged property:	421,180	8,424
	lost property	2,464,000	49,280
	costs borne by victim:	2,883,680	57,674
5.	<i>Costs for residence so far</i>	223,328	4,466
	costs borne by victim:	223,328	4,466
	Total costs of domestic violence against women for the sample (victims + others):	4,986,779	99,735
	Total costs of domestic violence borne by victims in the sample:	4,854,493	97,090

⁶⁷ 80,954 EUR

⁶⁸ 78,807 EUR

The biggest portion is the costs of damaged property and/or loss, followed by health costs, costs for following the help seeking and institutional response procedures, costs for job absence and costs for residence. The cost proportion is better visualized in Graph 1 below.

Graph 1



However, we must emphasize that the real costs for the sample are in fact much bigger. In many cases some of the victims were unable to recall all the costs they paid as a result of the domestic violence and some of the costs are not measurable at all.

The estimation is very conservative and doesn't include the costs that can't be estimated such as:

- caring for and financially supporting children all alone,
- receiving smaller salaries than co-workers;
- receiving smaller bonuses than co-workers;
- having a decreased number of holidays than co-workers;
- being unable to gain promotion in the firm.

There are also some costs of domestic violence that couldn't be measured but they still exist and have to be taken into account:

- In 36 out of 50 cases in the sample the victim was forced to change her place of residence;
- In 34 out of 50 cases the victim was unable to start paid work because of the domestic violence;
- In 4 cases she was forced to change her job;
- In 8 cases the children had to change the school they attend;
- In 10 cases she lost her job and became unemployed;
- In 2 cases the child left school;
- In 2 cases the children were repeating the same educational year as a result of the stress and the changes caused by the violence at home.

All these changes cause inconvenience, reduction in lifestyle, transference of problems through generations and increased financial costs which, however, cannot be monetized and measured.

At the end of the interviews we asked the victims if the violence is a thing of the past or whether it still continues. In 24 of the cases it was now a painful memory, but for 26 of the victims the nightmare is still ruling their lives, meaning that the total costs of domestic violence per our sample continue to increase day by day.

VI. Estimation results

The present violence costing exercise estimated that the costs of DVAW in 2006 in the criminal, justice and social system as well as in the non-governmental sector were between 26,360,181 MKD and 34,424,994 MKD⁶⁹.

Table 13 - Costs of DVAW in the criminal, justice and social system as well as in the non-governmental sector in 2006

	MKD	MKD
Costs of DVAW within the police	4,852,335	7,699,225
Costs of DVAW within the public prosecution system	253,730	482,400
Costs of the civil cases for DVAW within the court system	1,557,450	2,178,480
Costs of the criminal cases for DVAW within the court system	604,740	1,397,190
Costs of DVAW within the social system	8,105,439	11,681,212
Costs of DVAW within the NGO sector	10,986,487	10,986,487
Total:	26,360,181	34,424,994

We feel obliged to emphasize that the costs estimated within the present study are just the tip of the iceberg. The estimation is rather conservative since it doesn't include a range of costs that were un-measurable, or there was not information available for estimating them. We tried to list these costs in the table below.

Table 14 – Identified but not measured costs of DVAW borne by the criminal, justice and social system, non-governmental sector and the victims themselves

N	Cost description	Borne by
1.	Time spent by MDIs while further assisting the victim before the case is closed by the court	Police
2.	Time and resources spent on victims who didn't lay an official complaint	Police
3.	Time and resources spent while delivering defendants to court	Police
4.	Court-room maintenance	Court
5.	Costs per appealed cases	Court
6.	Policy making and monitoring the work of the SWCs and shelters	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy
7.	Healthcare costs	Health care system

⁶⁹ 425,183 EUR and 553,711 EUR

8.	All costs spent within the NGO sector	NGOs and donors
9.	Decreased productivity of the victim in the days after the violence	Employer, colleagues, victim
10.	Caring for and financially supporting children all alone	Victim
11.	Receiving smaller salary than co-workers	Victim
12.	Receiving smaller bonuses than co-workers	Victim
13.	Having fewer holidays than co-workers	Victim
14.	Being unable to receive higher position in the firm	Victim
15.	Change of place of residence	Victim
16.	Not able to start paid job because of the domestic violence	Victim
17.	Change of job	Victim
18.	Change of school for children	Victim
19.	Losing home	Victim
20.	Losing job	Victim
21.	Child left school	Victim, Society in the future
22.	Children repeating the same educational year as a result of the stress and the changes caused by the violence at home	Victim, Society in the future

The present violence costing exercise shows the existence of, and puts in place the model for measuring, the costs of DVAW in R. Macedonia. It could be used in further deeper research and analyses of the issue.

Having the information from the field we went further in our estimations and estimated the costs per 3 ideal case scenarios of full institutional response to DVAW:

- light case (mainly psychological violence; SWC intervention, no police, prosecution and court involvement);
- moderate case (light bodily injuries; police, SWC and civil court intervention, no prosecution involved);
- complex case (grave bodily injuries; police, SWC, prosecution and criminal court involvement).

We estimated that the full institutional response for:

- light case would cost between 4,220 MKD and 7,493 MKD;
- moderate case would cost between 22,366 MKD and 29,040 MKD plus the human and other resources spent by the SWCs for maintaining the shelter (daily checks, delivering food, giving psychological support to victims) – between 13,784 MKD and 15,624 (for 4 weeks sheltering the victim);
- the complex case would cost between 180,186 MKD and 201, 480 MKD plus the human and other resources spent by the SWCs for maintaining the shelter (daily checks, delivering food, giving psychological support to victims) – between 179,192 MKD and 203,112 MKD (for 12 months sheltering the victim⁷⁰).

Having the costs per these 3 ideal cases of full institutional response to DVAW and using the prevalence rates for 2006 estimated by ESE⁷¹, we estimated that **the costs of full institutional response, which would be incurred if all women who suffered from**

⁷⁰ The interviews with prosecution officers and judges showed that often the criminal case takes approximately 1 year.

⁷¹ 56.4% psychological violence, 17.7% physical violence and 10.6% sexual violence. The female population aged 20 – 64 years amounts to 601,775. The prevalence rate was estimated using the data from a representative sample, which includes 1,432 adult women from rural and urban areas all over the country (2 per mill of the total female adult population). The sample includes women from Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Serbian and other ethnic groups living in Macedonia. For more details see: Violeta Chaheva, Jasminka Frscik, Stojan Mishev, *Life in shadow*, ESE, Skopje 2007

domestic violence - according to the limited data available – sought and received help, would be between 15,309,619,744 MKD and 18,489,835,645 MKD⁷² depending on the time spent per case.

This amount does not include the healthcare costs per victim and other excluded costs noted above. Yet, despite the exclusions, it is between 581 and 537 times higher than the estimated current budget spending for tackling the problem. **The silent suffering of the victims and not reporting the violence “saved” the budget between 15,283,259,563 MKD and 18,455,410,651 MKD⁷³, but this saving occurred at the expense of the health, well-being and safety of large numbers of women.** The police statistics show that the reporting rate is increasing year by year, which demands an increase in the funds for tackling the problem.

The estimations show that DVAW is an extremely serious problem, which deserves and demands serious attention.

VII. Unintended results, conclusions and recommendations

During the desk research and the field work, conducted within the present study, some unintended results, conclusions and recommendations appeared. We feel obliged to describe them as well since we find them useful for the future work on the DVAW issues in R. Macedonia.

1. The brief overview of the legislation shows that the legal foundations for combating domestic VAW in R. Macedonia have been laid. Domestic violence is already addressed by the *Criminal Code*, the *Family Law* and the social protection system and an initiative for preparation of separate DV law has also been undertaken. Now, it is important that the legal provisions are effectively applied into practice by developing detailed functioning procedures and allocating sufficient funds for their implementation;
2. The implementation of the legal framework and the strategies dealing with the DV problem requires proper budget support. The study showed that the DV is not only a grave violation of women’s human rights but it is also costly. The vast majority of these costs cannot be put in monetary terms and are born by the victims, which makes them “hidden” from society and the state. The direct costs that the state has to bear are not so high at the moment, mostly due to the fact that many victims do not report to or seek help from the state services, or when they do, the support provided is inadequate. Police statistics show that, over recent years, the reporting of domestic violence has increased. Nevertheless, women victims still face numerous obstacles to ‘breaking the silence’. Irrespective of the extent to which domestic violence is reported, the state has the responsibility to provide the necessary institutional and support structures in place, backed by proper funding, to encourage and allow women to fully claim their rights to live free from domestic violence and to receive quality support. The government should prioritize investment in measures aimed at **prevention** of domestic violence, including efforts to build gender-sensitive and non-violent curricula in educational institutions.
3. There is a lot to be done in the area of psychological support of the victims. They do not receive enough support and often drop the charges in the middle of the process or leave the shelter prematurely and request cancellation of the applied measures. In a few months they return with the same or even more severe problems;

⁷² 248,532,788 EUR – 300,159,670 EUR

⁷³ 248,104,863 EUR – 299,600,822 EUR

4. The capacities of 3 out of 7 shelters were not fully utilized in 2006. In 2007 already 5 out of 7 shelters have not fully utilized their capacities. Further analyses are needed in order to find out the reason for that – do the victims avoid using shelters and if yes why, or do the social centres avoid proposing sheltering due to lack of funds for the shelters?
5. There is a lot to be done in the area of working with the perpetrators. No one in Macedonia works with the perpetrator and the violence repeats itself over and over again. There is no program providing funds for working with perpetrators of domestic violence. There is an obvious need of additional financing in this area;
6. There is no easily enforceable penalty measure for not complying with the temporary measures for protection from domestic violence. If the perpetrator breaks the conditions of the measure he could eventually be fined by the court for not complying with a court order and nothing else;
7. There is much to be done in the area of the awareness, knowledge and sensibility within institutions regarding DVAW issues. Further training is needed, especially for employees within the court and prosecution system. It may be a good idea to have judges and prosecutors specialising in domestic violence cases – people who will have extensive knowledge of the problem, its sources and possible solutions;
8. The SWCs need to be better equipped in terms of technical and human resources. The social workers are overloaded and very often the “team” working with the victim exists on paper only and in fact the victim receives help and psychological support from one social worker only. The SWCs’ budgets should be increased in order to allow more staff to be employed and the creation of better working conditions, thus more qualified institutional response to the violence;
9. There is a need of a coordinated and multi-disciplinary approach to the issue of domestic violence. Social workers revealed that they feel the need to work within a team. They need more people to be involved in solving the problem, with different areas of expertise – psychologist, lawyer, police officer, medical doctor, etc. One possible idea would be to create multi-disciplinary groups of experts and practitioners from different areas of work, which are in some way formalized and institutionalized. Such groups have been established in the past within an NGO-led project but were not sustained after the project ended.
10. The DVAW related statistics must be substantially improved. The healthcare institutions must start keeping records on the domestic violence cases. It will be very useful to introduce two codes - for reported and for suspected domestic violence. This would help greatly in estimating the prevalence rate, making analyses of the problem and thus evidence-based policy making;
11. The study showed that the institutions are not aware how much they spend on DV issues. There is a need to conduct violence costing studies periodically in order to have some benchmark information for the preparation of appropriate budget support for the battle with that social problem. Since the state budget is not unlimited it is useful to know in which areas more funds are needed in order to be able to assess where changes in funds prioritization are required.
12. The analyses made during the study also showed the need for more transparent public budgets, revealing how much funds are spent on DV issues, and in which areas, as well as comparing the expenditure with the needs and Government commitments.

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 34. Yodanis, C. L. and Godenzi, A., 1999, *Report of the Economic Costs of Violence Against Women*, Fribourg, Switzerland: Department of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Fribourg.

ANNEX 1 - The worldwide experience in costing VAW

The domestic violence against women (DVAW) is a widespread problem all over the world and could be met in both developing countries as well as in those that are well developed. It is generally considered as a human rights issue, but along with that it is also considered as a health and economic issue.

The first known efforts to estimate the economic costs of domestic violence against women started in the late 80s when, after proving that DVAW is a direct violation of fundamental human rights with a serious negative impact on women's health, women's advocates formulated the idea to try to estimate the cost of domestic violence against women - to the individuals and to the society as a whole. Adding the economic perspective of the problem provided a new, quite powerful, angle from which to view the legal, health and other consequences from the VAW and advocate for action to be taken.

Since the late 80s studies on the economic cost of domestic VAW have been done in many countries all over the world. They were applying different methodologies using different approaches and focusing on different costs.

One of the first attempts was made in 1986 by Straus, who tried to measure the costs of medical care relating to intra-family assault and homicide⁷⁴. By compiling statistics about the prevalence of injuries and medical attention resulting from spouse and child assaults, he estimated that homicide within families may account for roughly 24% (or about \$1.73 billion) of the total costs of homicide as estimated by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in 1976. Straus however underlined that this figure omits many of the medical costs that are incurred prior to death.

The next year Straus and Gelles⁷⁵ expanded on this idea. By using data from a nationally representative study they outlined the prevalence of additional costly outcomes of violence within the family, including drug and alcohol use, crime and vandalism, missed work and daily activities, and psychological distress. They listed the numerous possible sources of costs, but they did not estimate cost figures. The first financial estimations were published the same year by Friedman and Couper, who prepared the report - *The costs of domestic violence: A preliminary investigation of the financial costs of domestic violence*.⁷⁶

Latter on, during the 90's, costs studies and estimates became even more ambitious. Researchers began to combine prevalence rates of violence and various outcomes of violence with estimates of related costs in order to develop a total figure which measures the costs of violence against women.⁷⁷

Nevertheless the permanent improvement of the applied methodologies, all cost of violence studies continue facing one substantial problem - the lack of data for many costs and the uncertainty of the data available in respect of both costs and prevalence of domestic violence.

In their US report, Laurence and Spalter-Roth offer the following basic formula for determining the costs of domestic violence:

⁷⁴ Straus, M. A. (1986), *Medical care costs of intrafamily assault and homicide*, Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 62, 556-561

⁷⁵ Straus, M. A. and Gelles, R. J. (1987), *The costs of family violence*, Public Health Reports, 102, 638-641

⁷⁶ Friedman, L. and Couper, S. (1987), *The costs of domestic violence: A preliminary investigation of the financial costs of domestic violence*, New York: Victim Services Agency

⁷⁷ Alberto Godenzi and Carrie Yodanis, University of Fribourg, *Male violence: the economic costs - A Methodological Review*, Switzerland - http://www.euowrc.org/06.contributions/1.contrib_en/28.contrib.en.htm

“We need to know how many people are affected, how many are using services as a result of domestic violence, how much of these services they are using, and the costs of these services.”⁷⁸

The equation seems logical and simple. When trying to apply it, however, the researchers face the following two main problems:

- At first place, it is difficult to say how many women had experienced domestic violence. The official criminal and social protection statistics (if there is such) could provide us with the number of the *reported* cases of DVAW. However, as the women surveys have already shown, a significant part of the cases of domestic violence are not officially reported, i.e. remain hidden for the public and never enter the official statistics.
- At second place, even if we determine the approximate number of the affected women, it is still difficult to say how many of them have used services as a result of the violence, which services and how many times. The most difficult for calculation are the health related services.

However, although being not able to come up with exact calculations, the cost of violence studies are still of great use for increasing the society knowledge and awareness of the existence, scope and economic consequences of DVAW. They are also useful by showing the data constraints and gaps in the existing statistics, thus allowing to point out the need for improvements.

Australian studies of the economic costs of domestic violence

Australia was among the first countries that attempted to calculate the economic costs of domestic violence. Several state/territory based studies were undertaken there since the late 1980s.⁷⁹

Queensland 1, 1988

The first Australian study was conducted in Queensland in 1988 - only a year after the first international study on economic costs.

The Queensland study was commissioned by the *Queensland Domestic Violence Taskforce* and conducted by G. Roberts⁸⁰. It sought to measure the economic costs of services provided for female victims of domestic violence (direct costs), and the costs of productivity foregone by the victims (indirect costs).

Within the study twenty women who had experienced domestic violence were interviewed. The study sample was recruited through refuges, phone-ins and counselling agencies. Using semi-structured interviews, Roberts asked the victims to relate services used as a result of experiencing domestic violence from the time when they first sought help. The length of time from the first to the last service visit was used to estimate the duration of the case history, as distinct from the years the respondent was in the relationship.

⁷⁸ Laurence, L. and Spalter-Roth, R., 1996, *Measuring the costs of domestic violence against women and the cost-effectiveness of interventions: An initial assessment and proposals for further research*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for Women's Policy Research, p.14

⁷⁹ The information about the Australian studies presented in the overview was obtained by:

Laing L., *Australian Studies of the Economic Costs of Domestic Violence*, 2001

http://www.austdvclearinghouse.unsw.edu.au/topics/topics_pdf_files/eco_costs_final.pdf and Laing L. and Bobic N. *Economic costs of domestic violence*, 2002

http://www.austdvclearinghouse.unsw.edu.au/PDF%20files/Economic_costs_of_DV.pdf

⁸⁰ Roberts, G. 1988, *Domestic violence: costing of service provision for female victims - 20 case histories*, in *Beyond These Walls*, Report of the Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force to The Honourable Peter McKechnie, M.L.A., Minister for Family Services and Welfare Housing, ed. Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force, Brisbane, pp. 429-503

While analyzing the data Roberts applied the following seven step process:

Step 1. Obtaining information from the relevant agencies on the unit costs of services used by victims (converted to 1988 A\$);

Step 2. Analyzing the unit costs of services;

Step 3. Translating the number of services used by a victim per case into costing terms through the information obtained in step 1;

Step 4. Calculating the cost per case for an average victim;

Step 5. Calculating the total number of case-years by adding the duration of case-years for each victim;

Step 6. Calculating the average cost per victim per case-year by dividing the total costs by the total number of case-years;

Step 7. Estimating the aggregate cost of service provision per case-year by multiplying the number of victims in the total population by the costs per victim per case-year.

The total *direct* costs for the sample were estimated at over \$1 million dollars, with an average cost of services for a victim per case of over \$51,000 dollars. The direct costs included police and legal costs and costs of emotional/health and physical support. The services that incurred the highest costs were health services (for adults and children) and social security. The total *indirect* costs (lost productivity) for the sample amounted to \$113,697.

Using a prevalence rate for severe domestic violence of 3 per cent the estimated costs for the sample were extrapolated to the Queensland female population. Thus the total annual costs of domestic violence in Queensland were estimated at over \$108 million⁸¹.

According to Laing and Bobic costs of violence surveys analyses⁸², although having a number of methodological weaknesses such as small sample size, reliance on the memory of participants, and unknown representativeness of the sample, the first Queensland study still plays significant role in the costing violence literature since it is one of the first studies on the economic costs of domestic violence in the world.

New South Wales (NSW), 1991

The second Australian study was done by Distaff Associates in New South Wales in 1991 as part of the development of the *NSW Domestic Violence Strategic Plan*.⁸³

The methodology of this study did not involve conducting interviews with women who had experienced domestic violence. The total costs of domestic violence were calculated by extrapolating the available data relating to costs of domestic violence services across the estimated population of women who were experiencing domestic violence. To calculate the number of victims of domestic violence in NSW, the study divided the presumed population into three stages. The *first stage* – “non-acknowledgment and non-disclosure” – comprised women who were living in unacknowledged violent relationships and who had not seeking and not accessed neither formal nor informal support. They represent the group of hidden victims of domestic violence. The *second stage* – “acknowledgment and help seeking” – comprised women who have already acknowledged the problem and have sought services to assist them with violent situations. The *third stage* – “building an alternative life” – comprised women who had left violent relationships and were getting on with their lives.

This is the only Australian study that attempted to include in its estimates of costs the hidden victims of domestic violence. However, since the information about the hidden victims is out of

⁸¹ Roberts 1988, p. 466

⁸² Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p.19

⁸³ Distaff Associates, 1991, *Costs of Domestic Violence*, Sydney: NSW Women’s Co-ordination Unit

the official statistics, the estimate of numbers of women at this stage appears to be what the report calls "stated assumptions and informed guesses".⁸⁴

The study findings were presented in terms of costs to women and costs to governments. The costs to women included:

- for *first stage* group - costs for medical services (e.g. additional visits to GPs, counselling, psychotropic medication) and income foregone because of disruption to participation in paid employment;
- for *second stage* group - accommodation costs; legal costs (including the costs for court apprehending violence orders and divorce property settlement costs); medical costs (patient contributions); income forgone (giving up/not returning to paid employment); and paid work costs (including childcare and work days lost);
- for *third stage* group - as numbers of women who had left violent relationships and have moved on with their lives could not be estimated, no costs were calculated for this group.

Included in costs to government were: health, child guidance and welfare service delivery costs; accommodation costs; income provision costs; income earning costs; and law enforcement costs.

The total costs of domestic violence in NSW were estimated at \$1.5 billion on an annual basis, based on 1990 data. The study found that the greatest share of the economic costs are borne by women: at least \$800 million per year is either paid directly by victims or is lost to them and those dependent on them due to domestic violence. The share of costs borne by government was found to be approximately half of that borne by women, at just over \$400 million. The federal government was found to carry the largest proportion of government costs through expenditure on income support, housing and medical costs. The NSW government costs were smaller at \$70 million, primarily incurred through the provision of court and legal services, child welfare and family support programs.⁸⁵

Queensland 2, 1993

The third Australian study was done in 1993 again in Queensland. That study explored the economic costs of violence against women by interviewing three groups of women. Ten women who had experienced domestic violence were interviewed to "assess the direct and opportunity costs for the victims themselves, their children, other people and providers of goods and services used by the victims."⁸⁶ Separate samples of women who had experienced rape and other forms of sexual assault were surveyed, and the results for each of the three groups were presented separately.

This study used the same prevalence rate of 3 per cent (as in 1988), estimating the total annual costs of domestic violence in Queensland at over \$556 million. Both direct and opportunity costs were calculated, with opportunity costs referring to women's lost wages due to absenteeism from work.

The study estimated individual costs per case and annual costs. The final calculation was conducted in six stages:

1. Figures for each case were added to produce total direct costs per case;
2. Opportunity costs were calculated for each case by multiplying participants' weekly wages with the number of missed weeks from work due to domestic violence;

⁸⁴ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p.19

⁸⁵ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p.20

⁸⁶ Blumel, D. K., Gibb, G. L., Innis, B. N., Justo, D. L. and Wilson, D. W., 1993, *Who Pays? The Economic Costs of Violence against Women*, Sunshine Coast Interagency Research Group Queensland for the Women's Policy Unit

3. The direct costs and the opportunity costs were combined to produce the total cost for each case;
4. As the direct and opportunity costs had not been adjusted for the varying number of years over which they occurred, the costs for each case were divided by the number of case years to produce a cost per case-year.
5. The average cost per case-year was calculated by adding together the costs per case-years for a number of cases, and dividing the sum by the number of cases.
6. The total costs of domestic violence for Queensland was calculated by multiplying the average cost per case-year with the number of victims in Queensland seeking help in any year⁸⁷.

The study attempted to include also the economic costs of domestic violence for perpetrators. The authors relied on participants' knowledge of the services used by their partners and obtained information from seven women, primarily about costs incurred by the perpetrator while they were still living together. The average perpetrator cost per case-year for the seven cases was \$1,374⁸⁸. These costs were included in the total costs of domestic violence.

Tasmania, 1994

The next study was conducted by KPMG Management Consulting in Tasmania in 1994. The study used a retrospective case study methodology, according to which 40 women were selected to represent a broad range of the population subject to domestic violence taking into account demographic, geographic and service-use characteristics. Data collected through in-depth interviews examined:

- the nature and type of violence;
- factors hindering and assisting participants to seek help sooner;
- the ongoing impacts of the violence on women and children's emotional and psychological well being;
- the range, duration and frequency of services used;
- pathways women took in accessing services;
- impact on employment;
- lost opportunities attributable to living in a violent domestic relationship.⁸⁹

Data was analyzed in two ways:

- The qualitative data was collated and reviewed in relation to the experience of violence and its impact on the participating women and their children;
- The data on type and frequency of service usage was entered into a computer based financial model which was developed for the study. This data was analyzed together with data relating to service costs to produce the final projection of costs.⁹⁰

The *total direct and indirect* costs of domestic violence for the Tasmanian sample of 40 women were estimated at nearly \$4 million - 64.1% of this amount was borne by the community/government, 34.6% by the women and 1.3% by others (meaning informal networks of family and friends)⁹¹.

⁸⁷ Blumel, D. K., Gibb, G. L., Innis, B. N., Justo, D. L. and Wilson, D. W. 1993, p. 12

⁸⁸ Blumel, D. K., Gibb, G. L., Innis, B. N., Justo, D. L. and Wilson, D. W. 1993, p. 47

⁸⁹ KPMG Management Consulting 1994, p. 12

⁹⁰ KPMG Management Consulting, 1994, p. 5

⁹¹ KPMG Management Consulting, 1994, p. 67

The study employed the already used by the other studies concept of a "case-year", which enables cases of different lengths of time to be compared to each other. The number of case-years is defined as "being the number of years after and including the year in which the first direct cost was incurred, to the time when costs as a result of the violence ceased."⁹²

The average *direct* cost per "case-year" was \$9,458. By extrapolating this figure across the Tasmanian female population using 1991 Tasmanian census data and an annual prevalence rate of 1.8 per cent, the total *direct* costs of domestic violence were estimated at \$17.671 million annually. The study found that the largest proportion of the *direct* costs (81.3%) is borne by the community/government; 18% is borne by the women; and less than 1 % by informal networks. This is unsurprising, as the largest proportion of direct costs (57%) relate to the provision of social security and other forms of financial support to victims of violence after they leave the violent partner. Accommodation comprised the second highest category of direct costs. Further analysis of direct costs relating to *children* showed that women bear 72% of these costs, the community/government bears 22%, and informal networks - 5%.

The total *indirect* costs for the sample came to \$886,609, with the largest proportion (73%) comprising costs associated with replacement of lost and damaged property⁹³.

Since the data on *opportunity* costs had been mainly qualitative, the opportunity costs were not included in costing. The report is citing the following examples of lost opportunities: restricted freedom and associated loss of quality of life; reduced standard of living as a result of leaving the relationship (i.e. reduced income) and not being able to replace some luxuries of life; loss of secondary/tertiary education and career opportunities; being made bankrupt due to ex-partner's debts; and forced sale of a growing business, resulting in loss of future income and loss of possible employment for children in the future.

As noted by Laing and Bobic, the report of the Tasmanian study devotes considerable discussion to the difficulty involved in establishing the incidence rate for use in extrapolating costs from the sample to the wider Tasmanian community.

Northern Territory, 1996

In 1996, using similar methodology, KPMG Management Consulting conducted a study in the Northern Territory. Within the study 32 in-depth interviews with a purposive sample of women victims of domestic/family violence were conducted. The sample was recruited via newspaper and media coverage of the study and selected to reflect a range of characteristics including: geographical spread; NESB⁹⁴ and Aboriginal women; age; marital status; service usage characteristics; and length of time since establishing a violence-free life⁹⁵.

In the Northern Territory study, the total *direct* costs of domestic violence for the sample of 32 women were calculated at approximately \$2.7 million. The *indirect* costs were estimated at over \$1.2 million for the sample, with an average of \$38,563 per case.

Included in direct costs were the women's use of crisis, emergency support, information/relief, police, accommodation, health/medical, counselling/support, financial, legal and judicial services; and their children's usage of health/medical, child care and counselling/support services. These were costed on the basis of information supplied by service providers. Children's service usage comprised 2.5% of total service usage. The provision of income support comprised the greatest proportion of direct costs (48.2%), followed by accommodation costs (33.2%).

81% of the direct costs were borne by the Government/community sector. Women bore 16.3% and others (friends and family), 2.7%.

⁹² KPMG Management Consulting, 1994, p. 23

⁹³ KPMG Management Consulting, 1994, p. 55

⁹⁴ NESB - Non-English Speaking Background

⁹⁵ KPMG Management Consulting 1996, p. 53

The average direct cost per case-year was \$11,812. Extrapolated across the Territory, using the Women's Safety Survey's incidence rate of 2.6 per cent it was estimated that the *direct* cost of domestic violence to the Northern Territory is \$8.86 million per year.

The *indirect* costs were estimated at over \$1.2 million for the sample, with an average of \$38,563 per case. The consultants, however, did not extrapolate indirect costs from the sample to arrive at an annual figure for the Territory. They explain this decision in the following way:

...indirect costs generally occurred after the participant had left the violent relationship and an accurate picture of the cost each year is impossible to obtain. We believe, therefore, that adding a cost each year for the indirect costs to the direct costs is unwise and could be misleading through understatement. ⁹⁶

However, the report provides a "very conservative estimate of \$5,377 for each participant each year..."⁹⁷. The study estimated that the women bore 95.2% of indirect costs, with the government/community bearing 2.0% and others (family and friends), 2.8%.

The costs of lost opportunities due to domestic violence were not estimated since they were regarded by the consultants as "evident but difficult to quantify".

Brisbane, 2000

The sixth Australian study⁹⁸ was conducted by M. Henderson in 2000. It was commissioned by the *Brisbane City Council Lord Mayor's Women's Advisory Committee* and focuses specifically on the economic costs of domestic violence to businesses and the corporate sector in Australia.

Most Australian studies included in their calculations, the economic impact of domestic violence on women's participation in the labour force. The Brisbane study identified and costed (where possible) the impacts of domestic violence in four areas:

- direct costs to employers from absenteeism, staff turnover and lost productivity;
- indirect costs, defined as employer tax share of public sector costs in the provision of services to victims and perpetrators of domestic violence;
- direct and opportunity costs to victims, perpetrators, family and friends;
- the shared impact of domestic violence on the wider community, including inter-generational costs.

Henderson points out that the direct costs to employers are not only end costs in themselves, but affect other aspects of an organization, such as distribution and production, which can result in late deliveries, bringing about customer dissatisfaction and lost business. Similarly, costs to women, such as the inability to work caused by domestic violence, have a 'domino-effect' on other sectors of the society: income forgone by victims result in diminished profits for business and decreased tax revenue to government.

The annual cost of domestic violence to the business/corporate sector was estimated at \$1.5 billion with an approximate cost of an individual case of domestic violence being estimated at almost \$10,000.

Lesley Laing describes the Australian domestic violence studies done between 1988 and 2000 as 'aggregate' studies, which attempt to calculate a total cost for domestic violence. All but one (NSW study) employed a "retrospective case study" methodology. This involved interviewing a sample of women affected by domestic violence about the services used, calculating the costs

⁹⁶ KPMG Management Consulting, 1996, p. 51

⁹⁷ KPMG Management Consulting, 1996, p. 2

⁹⁸ Henderson, M. 2000, *Impacts and Costs of Domestic Violence on the Australian Business/Corporate Sector*, Lord Mayor's Women's Advisory Committee, Brisbane City Council, Brisbane

involved for the sample, and extrapolating from this to arrive at an annual cost of domestic violence to the state/territory.⁹⁹

The key problems of this approach are:

- The small size and possible unrepresentative nature of the samples;
- Failure to use all available information (for example from administrative sources); and
- Difficulties in extrapolating to the population at large, particularly for “indirect” costs.¹⁰⁰

As noted by Laing and Bobic, all Australian studies done between 1988 and 2000 had difficulty in quantifying the indirect/intangible costs of domestic violence to women and children. In most of the Australian studies, the only indirect costs which were quantified were the costs of income lost/forgone due to the impact of domestic violence. This approach was taken by Queensland studies, the NSW and the Brisbane City Council study. The Tasmanian and Northern Territory studies collected considerable qualitative data about the impact of domestic violence on women’s participation in paid employment, but did not monetise these costs.¹⁰¹

Only three of the studies (Queensland 2; NSW, Brisbane) collected data on the costs generated by perpetrators of domestic violence, in addition to victim-related costs. The other studies (Queensland 1, Northern Territory and Tasmania) only collected data pertaining to victims.¹⁰²

Australia, 2004

In 2003 the *Office for the Status of Women* (OSW) commissioned a study of the costs of domestic violence to the Australian economy.¹⁰³

The study takes into account the lessons learned from the previous studies, trying to improve the methodology. It focuses on the economic costs of domestic violence, making a clear distinction between the real costs and the transfer payments¹⁰⁴. The costs of domestic violence are allocated in seven categories:

- pain, suffering and premature mortality - that includes the costs of pain, suffering attributable to DV, measured by assigning a value to the Quality Adjusted Life Years lost as a result of injury and illness and the costs of premature mortality measured by attributing a statistical value to years of life lost;
- health costs - it includes private and public health costs associated with treating the effects of DV on the victim, perpetrator and children;
- production related costs - it includes short-term costs of: lost production (wages plus profit) from absenteeism; search and hiring costs; lost productivity of victim,

⁹⁹ Laing L., 2001, p. 8

¹⁰⁰ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004, p. 11

¹⁰¹ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p.26

¹⁰² Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p.25

¹⁰³ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004,

The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part I

http://www.ofw.facsia.gov.au/downloads/pdfs/cost_of_dv_to_australian_economy_I.pdf

The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part II

http://www.ofw.facsia.gov.au/downloads/pdfs/cost_of_dv_to_australian_economy_II.pdf

¹⁰⁴ The issue of *transfer payments* was addressed for first time by Laurence and Spalter-Rott. They note that welfare payments, which appear to be an obvious cost (as many women escaping violence require social security payments), are neither direct nor indirect costs, but in economic terms, represent a redistribution of resources from one group to another. In the case of social security payments, there is a transfer from taxpayers to those who receive the payments. (Laurence and Spalter-Roth 1996, p.14) This important economic distinction is crucial in avoiding double-counting.

perpetrator, management, co-worker, friends and family; lost unpaid work; retraining costs and long-term costs of: permanent loss of labour capacity;

- consumption related costs - includes short-term costs of: property replacement and bad debts and long-term costs of: lost economies of scale in household operation;
- second generation costs - includes private and public sector costs of: childcare; changing schools, counselling; child protection services; remedial/special education; increased future use of government services; increased juvenile and adult crime;
- administrative and other costs - includes private and public sector costs of: legal/forensic services; temporary accommodation; paid care (i.e. housekeeper); counselling; perpetrator programs; interpreter services; funerals;
- transfer costs - transfer payments include: victim compensation; income support; accommodation subsidies; lost taxes; financial help to victim from friends and family; child support¹⁰⁵

The costs are also allocated to eight groups who bear them and pay or receive transfer payments: the victim; perpetrator; children; friends and family; employer; Federal government; State/Territory and Local government; rest of the community/society (non-government).

The aim of classifying costs by seven cost categories and allocating them to eight groups is to enable a ready manipulation of the data to isolate the impacts on the various groups affected by domestic violence.¹⁰⁶

While applying the methodology, the study team encountered severe problems in obtaining accurate estimates of many of the detailed components of costs. There have been also difficulties in determining the proportion of some health and other impacts that is due to domestic violence, as opposed to associated dysfunctional behaviours—such as child abuse and substance abuse. Hence, as it has been stressed by the *Access Economics* team itself, the overall findings must be considered indicative (and in some cases even speculative).¹⁰⁷

The total annual cost of domestic violence in 2002–03 was estimated to be \$8.1 billion. The largest contributor is pain, suffering and premature mortality, at \$3.5 billion. The remaining costs total \$4.6 billion. The largest part is consumption costs, of which the largest component is lost household economies of scale. The next largest categories are production and administration and other, at \$484 million and \$480 million respectively.

Reflecting the large contribution of pain, suffering and premature mortality to total costs, the largest cost burden (\$4.0 billion) is estimated to be borne by victims of domestic violence. The next largest burden is on the general community (\$1.2 billion), with smaller amounts borne by the remaining groups.¹⁰⁸

New Zealand, 1995

The New Zealand study, conducted by S. Snively in 1995¹⁰⁹, used the New South Wales study¹¹⁰ as a starting point, expanding on its model by analyzing a range of scenarios.

¹⁰⁵ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004, p. 5

¹⁰⁶ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004, p. 6

¹⁰⁷ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004, p. VI

¹⁰⁸ Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2004, p. VII

¹⁰⁹ Snively, S., 1995, *The New Zealand Economic Cost of Family Violence*, Social Policy Journal of New Zealand (4)

¹¹⁰ Three stages of women who experience domestic violence and their contact with services: *Stage 1* – “non-acknowledgment and non-disclosure” – women who were living in unacknowledged violent relationships and who had not seeking and not accessed neither formal nor informal support. *Stage 2* – “acknowledgment and help seeking” – women who have already acknowledged the problem and have sought services to assist them with violent situations. *Stage 3* – “building an alternative life” – women who had left violent relationships and were getting on with their lives.

*A spreadsheet approach was developed to increase the usefulness and portability of results to interested parties and future researchers. The spreadsheets incorporate all the main variables, assumptions and sources of data so that interested parties and policy makers can test different assumptions both about what is a legitimate cost of family violence and about ways of measuring the costs.*¹¹¹

The "base scenario" estimates direct costs assuming that the number of women acknowledging domestic violence is equivalent to the number of police callouts related to domestic violence. The second scenario or "five times callout scenario" assumes that five times as many women are victims of domestic violence as those that call the police. The last or the "income foregone scenario", "attributes the costs of labour market income foregone to work days assumed to be lost because of family violence".¹¹²

Then Snively underpins these three scenarios with three estimates of the prevalence of domestic violence: 1 in 10, 1 in 7 and 1 in 4. The base scenario with 1 in 7 prevalence rate is used as the base case spreadsheet.

Data was obtained from agencies involved in providing support services to survivors of violence. The data was collected in a number of forms: annual cost of providing the service; unit costs per item or service; typical pattern of service usage (a template was designed for this purpose); case studies to form template examples.¹¹³

The total costs to governments are calculated by adding the direct costs to individuals affected by violence – both stage 1 and 2 from the NSW study – to other costs to governments (health care, law, justice, welfare). The total estimated costs range from NZ\$1.187 billion for the "base scenario" with a 1-in-10 prevalence rate to NZ\$5.302 billion based on the "income foregone" scenario, with a 1-in-4 prevalence rate. The study concludes, that, even on the most conservative estimate:

*The results of the analysis indicate that the annual cost of family violence in New Zealand is at least NZ\$1.2 billion. This is more than the NZ\$1 billion earned from wool exports in 1993/1994, nearly as much as the total amount of NZ\$1.4 billion spent on unemployment benefit and around half of the NZ\$2.5 billion earned from forestry exports.*¹¹⁴

This New Zealand study is often mentioned in the international literature as an example of how to cost upper and lower estimates of the economic cost of domestic violence. The value of the spreadsheet model is that it can be developed and extended as further data becomes available. This study includes the effects of domestic violence on children in the total costs. However, intangible or psychological and emotional costs incurred by women as a result of violence, and the impact on children's education, are not costed in this model.¹¹⁵

Costs of VAW studies in the USA

There are several studies on the costs of violence in USA. Some of them include the domestic violence against women as well. Here we present five of them.

Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996

In 1996 Laurence and Spalter-Roth report the results of a project aimed to "develop an economic model for measuring the direct and indirect costs of domestic violence to society and

¹¹¹Snively, 1995, p. 99

¹¹² Snively, 1995, p. 99

¹¹³ Snively, 1995, p. 99

¹¹⁴ Snively, 1995, p. 98

¹¹⁵ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 41

for assessing the cost-effectiveness of interventions.”¹¹⁶ Their focus is on the *institutional prevalence* and *direct* costs in the health care, child well being, employment, homelessness, criminal justice and social services sectors. They also review research on some of the *indirect* costs of domestic violence such as absenteeism and lost productivity. Their model does not include the costs of the long-term impacts of children’s exposure to violence or of the intergenerational transfer of violence.

Using a prevalence-based approach, they outline a formula for determining the annual aggregate costs of domestic violence, expressed in the equation:

$$TCdv = \sum pi Ci$$

where **TCdv** is the direct total cost of domestic violence against women, **pi** is the proportion of those who use service **i** who are victims or perpetrators of domestic violence, and **Ci** is the cost of service **i**. The costs are summed across all services, from **i = 1** through **n**.¹¹⁷

Laurence and Spalter-Roth define direct costs as “the value of goods and services used in treating or preventing domestic violence”, and indirect costs as “the value of goods and services lost because of domestic violence”.¹¹⁸ Included in direct costs are the following:

- Health costs: Emergency room care, hospitalisation, initial or follow-up care at clinic or doctor’s office, nursing home care, dental care, mental health care, costs of treatment for sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy complications and birth defects, alcohol and drug abuse treatment;
- Child well-being: child protective services, special education, teen pregnancy, positive toxicology infants;
- Housing: emergency shelters and supported housing;
- Criminal justice: police time – arrests and responding to calls, prison and detention costs, probation and parole costs, prosecution, criminal court, civil or family court and juvenile court;
- Social services: domestic violence prevention/education, counselling, job training, advocacy program costs and training costs.¹¹⁹

They developed a template in which, for each identified service component of health care, child well-being, homelessness, criminal justice system and social services, available data on service usage and service costs is identified.

Laurence and Spalter-Roth also include in their model some of the *indirect* economic costs of domestic violence: the costs of lost productivity and the cost of mortality. A similar template is developed for each of the following indirect costs:

- job loss;
- lost production of women prevented from working by partner;
- unemployment;
- poor work habits (coming in late, decreased productivity);
- disruption at the work place;

¹¹⁶ Laurence, L. and Spalter-Roth, R., 1996, *Measuring the Costs of Domestic Violence Against Women and the Cost-Effectiveness of Interventions: An initial assessment and proposals for further research*, Washington: Institute for Women’s Policy Research

¹¹⁷ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, p. 16

¹¹⁸ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, p. 9

¹¹⁹ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, pp. 10-11

- lost production from work for court appearances or other appointments;
- lost home production for medical or other reasons;
- lost promotion/advancement;
- lost production from incarceration;
- mortality.¹²⁰

These authors argue, with respect to indirect social and psychological costs, that “without measurement of social costs, any cost estimate of domestic violence will be underestimated.”¹²¹ They note that most studies address this issue by providing descriptive data on women’s experience of violence, and refer to the pioneering work by Miller, Cohen and Wiersema (described below) to try to monetize these costs.

Miller, Cohen and Wiersema (1996)

In 1996 Miller, Cohen and Wiersema conducted for the National Institute of Justice a study on the costs and consequences of personal crime in USA.¹²² Child abuse and domestic violence were included among the personal crimes studied, although obtaining accurate incidence figures for these types of under-reported crimes was a problem encountered in the study and the subject of a strong recommendation for future research.

According to Laing and Bobic analyses, this study differs from most of the others in two important respects. Firstly, its focus is on the costs incurred by *victims*, rather than on the costs of society’s response to victimization. Secondly, in estimating costs to victims, it not only addresses the tangible costs, such as out of pocket expenses (e.g. medical expenses and property losses) but also tries to attach monetary value to non-monetary losses – such as fear, pain, suffering and lost quality of life. Miller, Cohen and Wiersema argue that failing to include these *intangible (indirect)* victim costs leads to gross underestimates of the costs of personal crime.¹²³

Rudman and Davey, 2000

The next US study was conducted by Rudman and Davey within the health sector.¹²⁴ It sought to estimate the prevalence and costs of domestic violence from inpatient hospital data representing 904 hospitals in 19 states – 20 per cent of all inpatient hospital discharges.

From medical records data the study sought to:

- Identify the underlying reason for hospital admission
- Identify the consequences of domestic violence in terms of cost and length of stay (ALOS)
- Provide demographic data to assist health care workers to better identify victims of domestic violence.

The study found that identifying domestic violence patients on the basis of injuries is a difficult task as the injuries ranged from broken bones and bruises to mental illness. For females, 93.2 per cent of the study population, mental disorder, trauma and pregnancy complications comprised over two thirds of identified cases of domestic violence. The average length of stay

¹²⁰ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, p. 12

¹²¹ Laurence and Spalter-Roth, 1996, pp. 29-30

¹²² Miller, T. R., Cohen, M. A. and Wiersema, B. 1996, *Victim Costs and Consequences: A New Look - National Institute of Justice Research Report*, National Institute of Justice, U.S Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Landover, Maryland

¹²³ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 35

¹²⁴ Rudman, W. J. and Davey, D., 2000, Identifying domestic violence with inpatient hospital admissions using medical records. *Women & Health*, 30 (4), p. 1-13

was found to be 5.6 days, with an average total charge of \$8,159.81 and an average daily charge of \$2,147.54

The study found that younger women and non white women were at higher risk of becoming victims of physical violence. It also noted that the lack of information and coding of domestic violence by healthcare workers was a major impediment in obtaining accurate information on the costs of violence.

Costings of individual episodes of domestic violence may underestimate the cumulative health costs associated with domestic violence. Therefore Rudman and Davey suggest that “researchers must consider the overall pattern of service utilization related to intimate violence when calculating its effects.”¹²⁵ They outline a five step methodology for estimating hospital costs of intimate violence, using hospital based violence prevention programs to identify victims.¹²⁶

National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003

In March 2003 the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control in Atlanta, Georgia, published the report Costs of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the United States.

The study estimated that the costs of intimate partner rape, physical assault, and stalking exceed \$5.8 billion each year, nearly \$4.1 billion of which is for *direct* medical and mental health care services and nearly \$1.8 billion *indirect* costs (nearly \$0.9 billion in lost productivity from paid work and household chores for victims of nonfatal IPV and \$0.9 billion in lifetime earnings lost by victims of IPV homicide). The largest proportion of the costs is derived from physical assault victimization because that type of IPV is the most prevalent. The largest component of IPV related costs is health care, which accounts for more than two-thirds of the total costs.¹²⁷

Statistically, the overall total IPV cost estimate of \$5.8 billion varies from more than \$3.9 billion to more than \$7.6 billion, as indicated by the 95% confidence interval for the total costs. The largest proportion of the costs is derived from physical assault victimizations because that type of intimate partner violence (IPV) is the most prevalent. The largest component of IPV costs is health care, accounting for nearly \$4.1 billion—more than two-thirds of the total costs.¹²⁸

The study estimates *direct* and *indirect* costs. The *direct* costs are defined as the actual dollar expenditures related to IPV. They include spending for health care-related services such as emergency department visits; hospitalizations; outpatient clinic visits; services of physicians, dentists, physical therapists, and mental health professionals; ambulance transport; and paramedic assistance. To calculate the total costs of each medical and mental health care service, the unit cost of a particular service was multiplied by the number of times that service was used.¹²⁹

The *indirect* costs of IPV represent the value of lost productivity from both paid work and household chores for injured victims and the present value of lifetime earnings for victims of fatal IPV. Lost productivity was measured by the number of days victims were unable to perform paid work and/or household chores (including household chores and childcare for women not employed outside the home) because of illness, injury, or disability related to IPV victimization. The value of lost productivity was calculated using the mean daily values of work

¹²⁵ Rudman, W. J. and Davey, D., 2000, p. 328

¹²⁶ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 36

¹²⁷ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 2

¹²⁸ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 32

¹²⁹ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 27

and household production, which are based on data from the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics (1996; 1999), Miller (1997), and the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996).¹³⁰

The present value of lifetime earnings was calculated by multiplying the number of IPV homicides for each age group by the average present value of the anticipated future earnings of women in those age groups. These calculations account for differential life expectancy by age group, labour force earning patterns and participation rates at successive ages, and imputed household production values for women in the labour force and women not in the labour force.¹³¹

The estimates presented in this report are based on services that victims of IPV reported using. According to the authors, some of the respondents may not have reported IPV due to embarrassment or shame. Consequently, any services used as a result of these victimizations went unreported.¹³²

Tennessee, 2006

In 2005, under the leadership of Senator Thelma Harper, the Tennessee Legislature passed Senate Bill 1534 [2005] which directs the Tennessee Economic Council on Women (TECW) to “---conduct a comprehensive study on the economic impact of domestic violence in Tennessee—that addresses the true cost of domestic violence to the public, communities, the state healthcare system, law enforcement, the business community, and the courts.”

Implementing its mandate TECW conducted the study - *The Impact of the Domestic Violence on the Tennessee Economy*.

The study estimated that the domestic violence is costing Tennessee approximately \$174,000,000 in tangible costs, annually. This includes at least \$41,712,416 in the business community in lost wages, productivity, sick leave, and absenteeism, \$87,157,848 in medical and present value of life costs, \$49,900,000 in costs to the legal system, and \$26,953,235 in costs to the social service system. The study underlines that the figures are inexact, as they: (1) do not include the incalculable costs to faith-based communities, (2) do not include tangible, but incorrectly attributed, costs because of mislabelling and/or underreporting and (3) are the result in some cases of speculation based on national statistics or on studies completed in specific cities. Given the lack of solid numbers, the figure for Tennessee is perceived as conservative.¹³³

The study uses statistical and research information from many official governmental and non-governmental sources and makes important recommendations to the healthcare, justice and social service systems as well as to the business community. The recommendations are aimed at improving the society response to domestic violence and to eliminate the re-victimization of the victims by the system, which often happens when they try to report their abuse and obtain assistance or protection.

The Economic Council on Women also proposes to conduct an additional study of each of the remaining 95 counties not covered by the Chattanooga, Memphis, Nashville and Johnson City hearings, which will allow the Council to provide county by county information regarding the severity of the problem, current methods of treatment for victims and abusers, the legal process afforded victims.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 27

¹³¹ National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 28

¹³² National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p. 46

¹³³ Tennessee Economic Council on Women, *The Impact of the Domestic Violence on the Tennessee Economy*, Nashville, Tennessee, January, 2006, p. 10

¹³⁴ Tennessee Economic Council on Women, *The Impact of the Domestic Violence on the Tennessee Economy*, Nashville, Tennessee, January, 2006, p. 12

Costs of VAW studies in United Kingdom

There are couple of researches done on the costs of violence in UK.

Stanko, 2000 and Stanko et al., 1998

The study of Stanko et al., 1998¹³⁵ (Stanko, 2000¹³⁶) is aimed to:

1. Approximate the costs of domestic violence in one local authority (the London Borough of Hackney), with an eye to the consequences and costs of domestic violence to children;
2. Examine the public provision of services for domestic violence through the pathways of victims' requests for help;
3. Estimate the prevalence of domestic violence in the local authority;
4. Recommend ways forward to improve strategies for public intervention in domestic violence to better disrupt its longer term damage.¹³⁷

The methodology was multifaceted and included:

- an agency postal survey, asking whether agencies were able to estimate the costs of providing advice and service to women experiencing domestic violence;
- record searches involving trawling through agency files and records to find the proportion of cases involving domestic violence;
- a survey of 129 women in one General Practitioner's waiting room;
- composite case studies generated from key agencies' records;
- feedback sessions with service providers¹³⁸

The researchers examined the records of key agencies – police, housing, and social services (includes child protection services) – to estimate the proportion of cases which involve women's search for assistance in dealing with domestic violence. This part of the study found similar prevalence rates of domestic violence for women in Hackney using each of these three public services (one in fifteen, one in sixteen and one in eighteen). The survey of women in the GP surgery found that one in nine reported violence serious enough to require medial care in the past year. The authors based calculation of costs on the one in nine prevalence rate, with the rationale that rates found from agency data will be low, and that not all women who experience violence use public agencies (as found in other research).¹³⁹

The study calculated *selected costs* to the public sector for domestic violence in Hackney to be over £5 million for the year 1996. The largest component of these costs, are those incurred by social services (£2.3 million) and civil justice (£1 million). Since the agencies surveyed in this study represent about two thirds of those used by women experiencing violence, the authors estimate that the total costs of providing assistance, support and advice would be approximately £7.5 million.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Stanko, E. A., Crisp, D., Hale, C. and Lucraft, H., 1998, *Counting the Costs: Estimating the impact of domestic violence in the London Borough of Hackney*. London: Crime Concern

¹³⁶ Stanko, E., 2000, *Unmasking What Should Be Seen: A Study of the Prevalence of Domestic Violence in the London Borough of Hackney*, *International Review of Victimology*, 7(1-3), 227-242

¹³⁷ Stanko et al., 1998, p. 5

¹³⁸ Stanko et al., 1998, p. 6

¹³⁹ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 38

¹⁴⁰ Stanko et al., 1998

Sylvia Walby, 2004

In 2004 the British *Women and Equality Unit* published the Sylvia Walby's report *The Costs of Domestic Violence*.¹⁴¹

The study estimates the costs for domestic violence against both women and men, but does not include violence from family members that are not intimates. The costs are estimated for one year, for England and Wales, centered on 2001.

The methodology used in the study is based on the Home Office framework for costing crime and further developed in a way to include the specific costs related to domestic violence.

There are three major types of costs covered by the study:

1. Services, largely funded by government: Criminal Justice System; Health Care; Social Services; Housing; Civil legal;
2. Economic output losses, sustained by employers and employees;
3. Human and emotional costs, borne by the individual victim.¹⁴²

The study estimates that the domestic violence costs the state around £3.1 billion and employers around £1.3 billion. The cost of the human and emotional suffering is estimated to be around £17 billion. The total cost is estimated at around £23 billion, namely:

- around £1 billion a year to the criminal justice system. The largest single component is that of the police. Other components include: prosecution, courts, probation, prison, and legal aid.
- around £1.2 billion to the NHS for physical injuries. This includes GPs and hospitals. Physical injuries account for most of the NHS costs, however, there is an important element of mental health care, estimated at an additional £176 million.
- around £.25 billion to the social services. This is overwhelmingly for children rather than for adults, especially those caught up in the co-occurrence of domestic violence and child abuse.
- around £.16 billion for emergency housing. This includes costs to Local Housing Authorities (and other social landlords) for housing those homeless because of domestic violence; housing benefit for such emergency housing; and, importantly, refuges.
- over £.3 billion for civil legal services, about half of which is borne by legal aid and half by the individual. This includes both specialist legal actions such as injunctions to restrain or expel a violent partner, as well as actions consequent on the disentangling of marriages and relationships such as divorce and child custody.
- around £2.7 billion lost economic output. This is the cost of time off work due to injuries. It is estimated that around half of the costs of such sickness absences is borne by the employer and half by the individual in lost wages.
- over £17 billion human and emotional costs. Domestic violence leads to pain and suffering that is not counted in the cost of services. The methodology to estimate these costs is based on the public's 'willingness-to-pay' to avoid such trauma.

The study found out that the level of service use is higher among those who are more heavily abused, that is, those who suffer more frequent acts, more severe acts and more serious injuries. This is an important part of the gender asymmetry in service use and costs, since on each dimension of severity of abuse, women are more heavily abused than men.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Sylvia Walby, *The Costs of Domestic Violence*, University of Leeds, September 2004

¹⁴² Sylvia Walby, 2004, p. 11

¹⁴³ Sylvia Walby, 2004, p. 11 - 12

Costs of violence against women in Sweden

The costs of VAW in Sweden had been analyzed upon an initiative of the *National Board of Health and Welfare*¹⁴⁴. The main purpose of the study was to describe the total estimated costs of VAW in Sweden. The method applied in the study consisted of two stages:

1. Clarifying the scope of the violence against women in Sweden;
2. Attempting to calculate – and in some areas if anything to estimate – the total costs to society ensuing from intimate partner violence.

The study tried to measure the *direct* and *indirect* costs ensuing from intimate partner violence, where the *direct* costs comprise the costs for:

- Health care and medical services (hospital treatment, treatment of outpatients, mental health care and dental service);
- Criminal justice system (police, public prosecutor, court, prison and probation services);
- Women's shelters and victim support centres;
- Social services;
- Social insurance system.¹⁴⁵

The *indirect* costs comprise only the costs for production loss, which has been calculated on the base of the human capital method.¹⁴⁶

The socio-economic costs of VAW in Sweden were estimated at between SEK 2 695 million and SEK 3 300 million a year.

The transfers in the form of health insurance were estimated at SEK 690 million, of which sickness benefit were estimated at SEK 347 million.

The transfers concerning social assistance (income support) have been estimated at SEK 378 million and crime victim compensation at SEK 10 million.

In addition to this, there were costs identified but not able to be calculated - such as costs for dental services, medicines, mental health care, damage to children, pain and suffering, and so on. The authors believe that these costs can be very high, as indicated by international studies.¹⁴⁷

Costs of violence against women in Finland

A study of the costs of male VAW was conducted also in Finland.¹⁴⁸ The study estimates the societal costs that violence against women causes in the health care, social and justice sectors. For the purpose of the study the societal costs refer to the total costs in EUR caused by VAW

¹⁴⁴ Costs of Violence against Women, produced and written mainly by Elis Envall, Senior Advisor and Annika Eriksson, PhD at the National Board of Health and Welfare, Sweden, December 2006

¹⁴⁵ Envall, E. and Eriksson, A., 2006, p. 4

¹⁴⁶ The value of the production loss is usually calculated by means of two main methods, the human capital method or the friction cost method. Both of these methods have been criticised. The human capital method is the one used most frequently, as it is relatively simple to apply. It is based on the fundamental idea that an individual represents a valuable economic resource, attaining a particular stream of production during his or her life and that this production can be valued on the basis of gross wages according to prevailing market conditions. The value often covers only the production loss for paid working hours as it is difficult to value production in leisure hours. (Envall and Eriksson, *Costs of Violence against Women*, Sweden, December 2006, pp 5-6)

¹⁴⁷ Envall, E. and Eriksson, A., 2006, p. 9

¹⁴⁸ Heiskanen, Markku and Minna Piispa, *The price of Violence: The costs of Men's Violence against Women in Finland* (Statistic Finland and the Council for Equality, 2001). *The Costs of Men's Violence against Women in Finland* is a sequel to the first study: *Faith, Hope, Battering* (1998) examining men's violence against women.

that are primarily financed from budget sources. The study has been carried out in 1999-2000, but 1998 has been selected as the base year of data collection as far as such data were available.

The study focuses on the costs of producing the services. It doesn't make assessments of particular victim categories, but it however makes particular cost estimates for partner violence.

The data for the analyses have been collected from two main sources: statistical information related to the activity of various organizations dealing with violence (budgets, annual activity reports, client and patient statistics) together with analytic reports and research reports based on these information; as well as interviews with experts from the agencies dealing with violence. The expert estimates are used to assess the proportion of such cost items that VAW causes to different treatment and helping organizations, but which are not explicitly recorded as "violence".

Primarily the study estimates the direct or immediate costs. Some analytic indirect costs are estimated, but they are perceived as not real in the sense that it is not possible to find their genuine monetary or bookkeeping value.

According to the study the *immediate* costs derive from the health care sector (non-institutional care, hospital care, medication), the social sector (shelters, crisis service, social work, couple and family therapy and other therapy), the criminal justice system (police, trial, prison) and other sources (e.g. intoxicant treatment, insurance and State Reserve compensations to victims of crime). The immediate societal costs of violence against women, or the costs of producing the services related to VAW were estimated at 48 million EUR in 1998. The direct annual costs in the health sector amounted to 6,7 million EUR, those in the social sector were estimated at 14,8 million EUR and the costs of the law enforcement and criminal justice sector were 26,6 million EUR. Other costs amounted to 1,7 million EUR in national level. This sum does not comprise many elements that are traditionally understood to belong to direct costs, such as the victim's compensations for sick leave and subsidies for working inability or property damages.

The study defines the *indirect* costs as costs that have not actually happened, but that as a consequence of a death or an injury have had a negative effect on the total national theoretical working capacity, or the well-being of the population, the value of life, and which are often understood as belonging to assessments of the costs of the phenomenon under scrutiny. *Indirect* costs of violence against women amounted to 61 – 111 million EUR.

The study recognizes that *other non-visible* costs are inflicted in voluntary work. Such work is being carried out in many private institutions such as the *Finnish Service for Crime Victims* and in the non-institutional services organized by the shelters of the *Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters*.

Costs of violence against women in Switzerland

The Switzerland study has been conducted by Yodanis and Godenzi¹⁴⁹ in three phases. The first phase involved calculating the costs to government at federal, canton and local government levels of violence against women. The second phase will investigate costs of male violence to business while the third will focus on costs to victims, family, friends, volunteers, service providers, and taxpayers.

The report done by Yodanis and Godenzi for the first project phase concluded that domestic violence costs the Swiss government 400 million Swiss francs, or US\$290 million each year "based on the lowest, reasonable prevalence rates and cost figures."¹⁵⁰ The authors include

¹⁴⁹ Yodanis, C. L. and Godenzi, A., 1999, *Report of the Economic Costs of Violence Against Women*, Fribourg, Switzerland: Department of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Fribourg

¹⁵⁰ Yodanis and Godenzi, 1999, p. 13

mainly direct or tangible costs in the calculations. Data was collected pertaining to the costs of medical treatment (physician care, hospital care and medication); police and justice (police, courts and prison); victim-related support (public assistance and victim assistance); support and counselling (hotlines and shelters); and research. They found that the most expensive categories of costs were (in descending order) police, physicians, courts and public assistance. The categories of victim assistance, shelters and research attracted the lowest costs.¹⁵¹

Costs of VAW studies in Canada

The *Centre for Research on Violence Against Women and Children in Ontario* has conducted a number of studies on economic costs of domestic violence.

Tanis Day, 1995

The first study was conducted by Tanis Day in 1995.¹⁵² It examined the health related and total costs of violence against women, dividing the costs in two groups - with immediate and long term effect.

The study estimated that the total of the measurable costs relating to health and well-being alone amounts to more than C\$1, 5 billion per year. This includes about:

- C\$44,9 mln. immediate effects - C\$7,6 mln. medical costs, C\$1,3 mln. dental costs and C\$36 mln. lost output from paid and unpaid work;
- C\$1,494 mln. long term effects - C\$255 mln. for long term medical service use, C\$507 mln. for psychiatric services, C\$539 mln. long term lost output, C\$164 mln for community response (transition homes and crises centres) and C\$29 mln. for prevention and treatment programs.¹⁵³

As the author says:

*This is just the tip of the iceberg. If the missing costs could be added, such as those for hospital admissions, physicians' services, and the women's own personal costs, as well as the costs for policing, legal and judicial systems, the total would be certainly many times greater than this.*¹⁵⁴

Greaves, Hankivsky and Kingston-Riechers, 1995

The second study, conducted by Greaves, Hankivsky and Kingston-Riechers in 1995¹⁵⁵, estimated costs of three forms of violence against women: sexual assault/rape; woman abuse in intimate partnerships and incest/child sexual assault.

Economic costs of these forms of violence are estimated in relation to four policy areas: health/medical, criminal justice, social services/education and labour/employment. By combining a range of methods (which did not calculate cost of pain and suffering), the report distinguishes between state, personal and third party costs of violence against women. It estimated the total costs of violence against women at C\$4.2 billion annually. Social services and education represented C\$2.4 billion of this cost, followed by criminal justice at C\$872 million, women's labour and employment losses at C\$577 million and health and medical costs at \$408 million. Thus social supports represented 55.8% of costs; health and medical costs 9.3%; criminal justice costs, 20.9%; and labour and employment costs, 14.0%. The state was found to bear 87.5% of these costs, the individual, 11.5% and third parties, 0.9%.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 34

¹⁵² Day, T., 1995, *The Health Related Costs of Violence Against Women in Canada: The Tip of the Iceberg*

¹⁵³ Day, T., 1995, pp 29-34

¹⁵⁴ Day, T., 1995, p. 18

¹⁵⁵ Greaves, L., Hankivsky, O., and Kingston-Riechers, J., 1995, *Selected Estimates of the Costs of Violence against Women*. Ontario: Centre for Research on Violence Against Women and Children

¹⁵⁶ Greaves, L., Hankivsky, O., and Kingston-Riechers, J., 1995, p. 14

Kerr and McLean, 1996

In 1996 Kerr and McLean produced a report that aimed to estimate economic costs of domestic violence in British Columbia, the province with the highest reported incidence of violence against women in Canada. The project provides monetary value of tangible costs, and lost time of work from intangible costs, but falls short of providing a monetary value for costs such as psychological suffering. As authors say:

*This project quantifies some (of these) financial costs, but in no way can we "cost" the horrifying physical and psychological damage of this violence to the women and their children.*¹⁵⁷

Apart from quantitative findings, the report also provides a qualitative account of the type, nature and impact of violence on women's lives. In terms of quantitative findings, estimated costs of policing, corrections, criminal injury compensation, victim assistance programs, counselling for women, aboriginal programs, mental and drug related care, income assistance, sexual and women assault centres, women's loss of work time, programs for children who witness violence and treatment programs for assaultive men come to C\$385 million. The majority of these costs involve income assistance which costs C\$161 million per year. The second largest component of these costs is women's loss of work time at C\$54 million.¹⁵⁸ The main sources of data were the Provincial Ministries and Statistics of Canada.

The authors state that the cost estimate is significantly less than the real economic costs of domestic violence for the following reasons:

- Male violence against women is under-reported by women, institutions and their personnel;
- The estimate does not include pre-natal damage due to abuse of women during pregnancy (trauma to the woman or her substance abuse brought on by violence);
- The long-term consequences of intergenerational transfers of violent behaviours cannot be accurately estimated;
- Most of the additional private costs incurred by women (e.g. legal services, housing, additional child care) are not included;
- Other costs not included are additional public expenditure on legal and court costs, tax expenditures such as child benefit, most of the long and short-term health costs, and the hidden costs to the educational system due to the effects on children who witness the violence or their mother falling into poverty.¹⁵⁹

*Even this preliminary and partial analysis demonstrates the enormity of the identifiable costs which society and the women experiencing violence are bearing. We believe that if the missing costs of health care, child services, housing, legal and court costs, and intergenerational effects were added to the above total, the quantifiable costs of violence against women for B.C. alone would likely approach one billion dollars per year. If one then considers the pain and suffering, the loss of life, the lost potential, and the damage to the lives of the assaulted women and their families, especially the children, the total "costs" of violence against women are truly staggering.*¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Kerr, R. and McLean, J., 1996, *Paying for Violence: Some of the Costs of Violence Against Women in B.C.*, British Columbia: Ministry of Women's Equality

¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁸ Kerr, R. and McLean, J., 1996, p. 2

¹⁵⁹ Kerr & McLean, 1996, p. 7

¹⁶⁰ Kerr & McLean, 1996, p. 3

Costs of VAW studies in developing countries

Chile and Nicaragua

In 1999 Morrison and Orlando conducted sample surveys with women in Santiago (Chile) and Managua (Nicaragua) to examine the impact of domestic violence on labour force participation and earnings, health care use and children.¹⁶¹ These two Latin American countries were selected for the study because they are at different levels of economic development. For example, the authors note that in 1996, Chile's per capita income was seven times greater than Nicaragua's and that the secondary school participation rate is much lower in Nicaragua than in Chile.

The study found out that:

*The costs to the two countries' economies are immense: all types of domestic violence reduce women's earning by 1.56 billion in Chile (more than 2 percent of 1996 GDP) and by 29.5 million in Nicaragua (about 1.6 percent of GDP). These losses are just the first-round effects, because each dollar in lost earnings will lead to a further decline in GDP through multiplier effects.*¹⁶²

Differences between the countries emerged in findings about the impact of domestic violence on health care utilization, and its associated costs. In Nicaragua, abused women were found to use health services twice as frequently as non-abused women, but no association between domestic violence and health service utilization was found in Chile.

The study used three measures to try to identify the impact of domestic violence on children: whether the child repeated a grade, academic problems and discipline problems. Impacts on children's educational attainment due to domestic violence are thought to impact on children's future life chances and thus reflect the intergenerational transmission of violence. In Chile (but not in Nicaragua), children of abused women were found to be significantly more likely to display disciplinary problems at school than were children who were not living with domestic violence.¹⁶³

Nata Duvvury, Caren Grown, Jennifer Redner, 2004

In its paper *Intimate Partner Violence Costs of at the Household and Community Levels. An Operational Framework for Developing Countries*, the authors have attempted to develop a costing framework of IPV that is relevant to developing countries. They have argued that in such countries, the focus of attention needs to be on developing cost estimates at the household and community levels in order to galvanize national policy makers, civil society, and communities to address the pervasive phenomenon of IPV. Once a policy framework and specific public responses are in place, the exercise can be broadened to highlight the resources that are needed for effective public responses and to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of interventions.

A number of questions need to be answered in order to develop a relevant costing framework for developing countries. First, what is the purpose of a costing exercise? Second, what costs should be estimated? Should the focus be on actual or potential costs? Is it necessary to break down costs into direct and indirect? Should the focus be on service provision, expenditure by households, loss of income, or loss of output?

Given the predominance of household economies in low-income countries, it is important to first estimate the economic costs to households of violence against women. To mobilize

¹⁶¹ Morrison, A. R., and Orlando, M. B., 1999, *Social and Economic Costs of Domestic Violence: Chile and Nicaragua*, In A. R. Morrison and B. Loreto (Eds.), *Too close to home: domestic violence in the Americas* (pp. 51-80), Washington: Inter-American Development Bank

¹⁶² Morrison and Orlando, 1999, p. 66

¹⁶³ Laing L. and Bobic N., 2002, p. 41

communities, it is also important to develop estimates of costs at the community level. Two types of community-level costs are important: the cost of service provision and the cost to businesses. Both of these are important for demonstrating the drain on resources, which will strengthen the case for prevention. A community-level estimate also would give service providers empirical evidence to advocate for the required resources to meet the potential demand for services.¹⁶⁴

Conclusions

The overview of the worldwide experience in costing violence against women points out the following main methodological challenges and shortcomings:

1. Insufficient data - lack of data for many direct costs (especially in the health care) and uncertainty of the available data for others;
2. Difficulties in giving money value to many intangible costs such as fear, pain, suffering, transferring violence through generations, etc.;
3. Difficulties in estimating the prevalence rate, therefore in extrapolating the data to the whole affected population;
4. Inability to measure all direct and indirect costs ensuing from domestic violence, therefore always making underestimation of the actual costs.

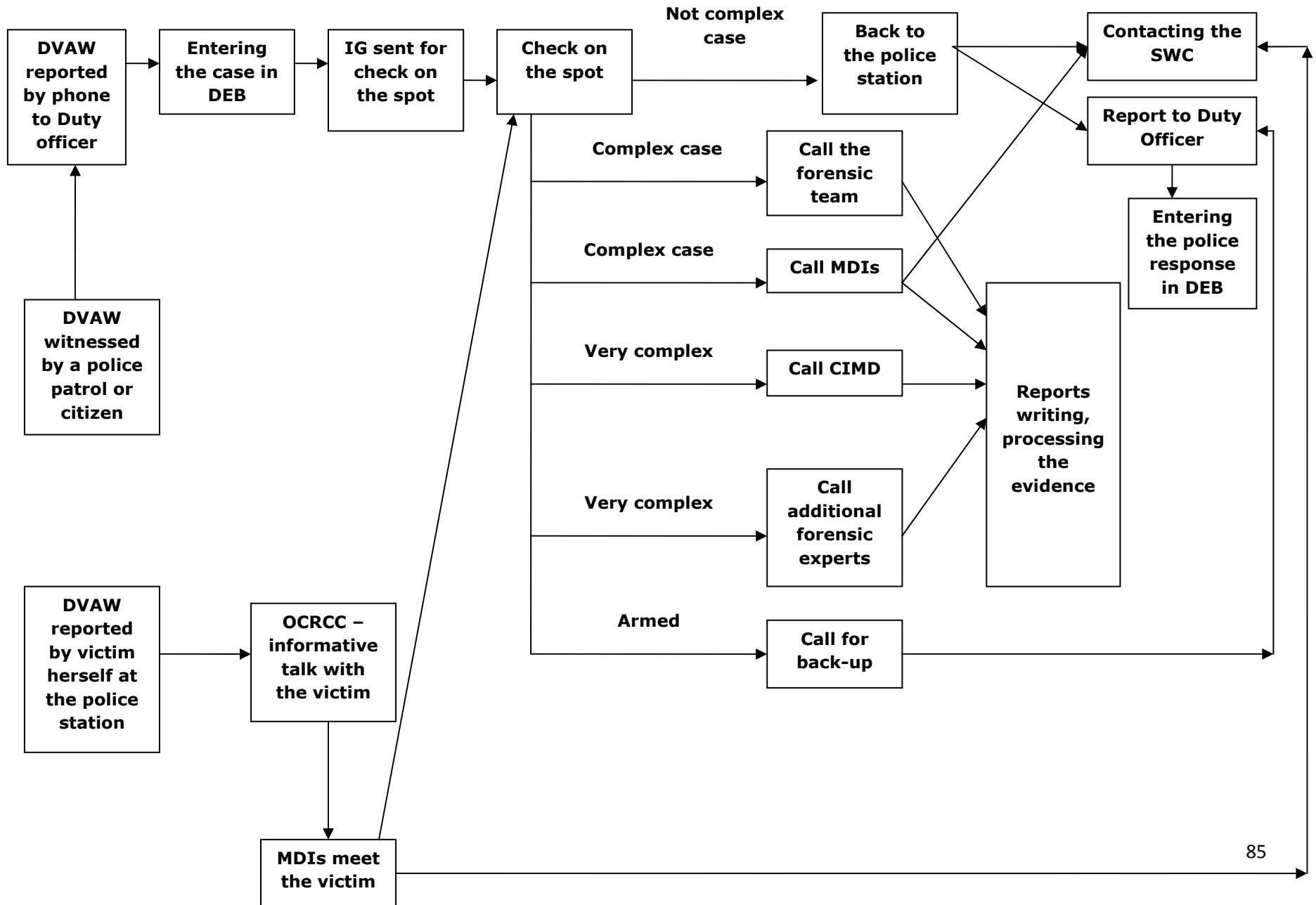
However, although the unavoidable underestimation of the costs it is still useful to try to measure them. While conducting the study, the researchers could identify not only the missing data, i.e. the official statistics shortcomings, but also the problematic areas in government response to domestic violence. Get the problems identified allows starting a search for proper solutions.

¹⁶⁴ *Intimate Partner Violence Costs of at the Household and Community Levels. An Operational Framework for Developing Countries*, International Center for Research on Women:

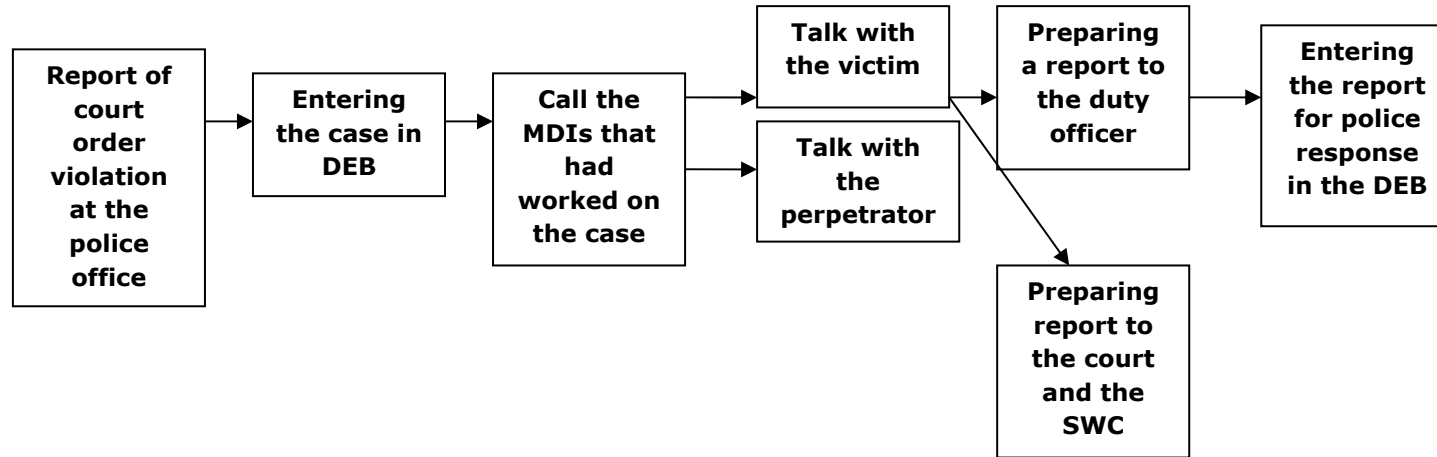
http://www.icrw.org/docs/2004_paper_costingviolence.pdf

Map 1

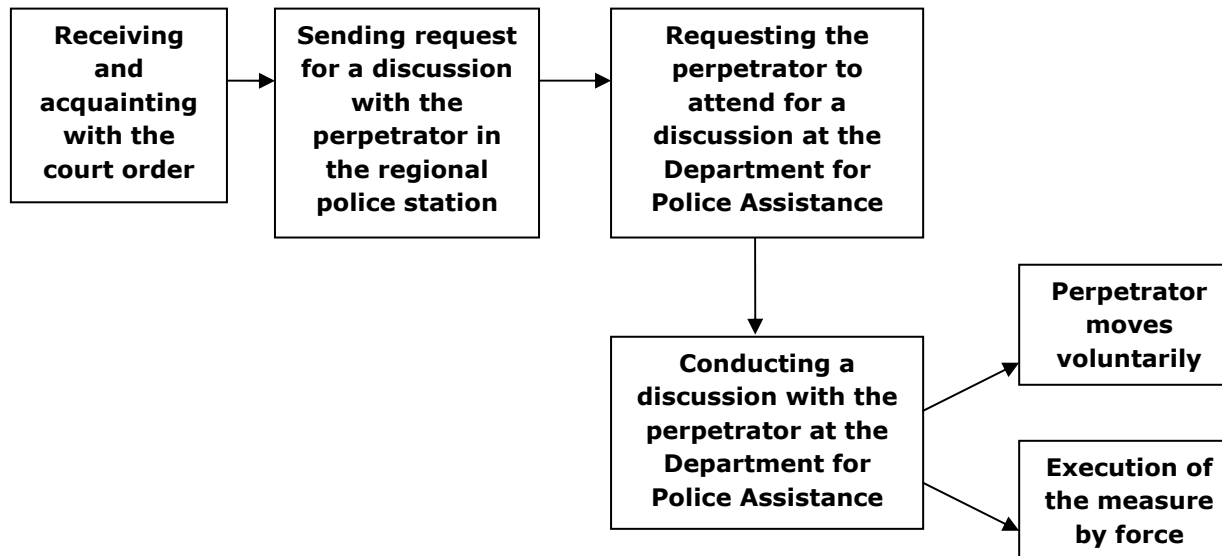
Institutional response map - Police



Map 2 **Police response in case of court order violation**

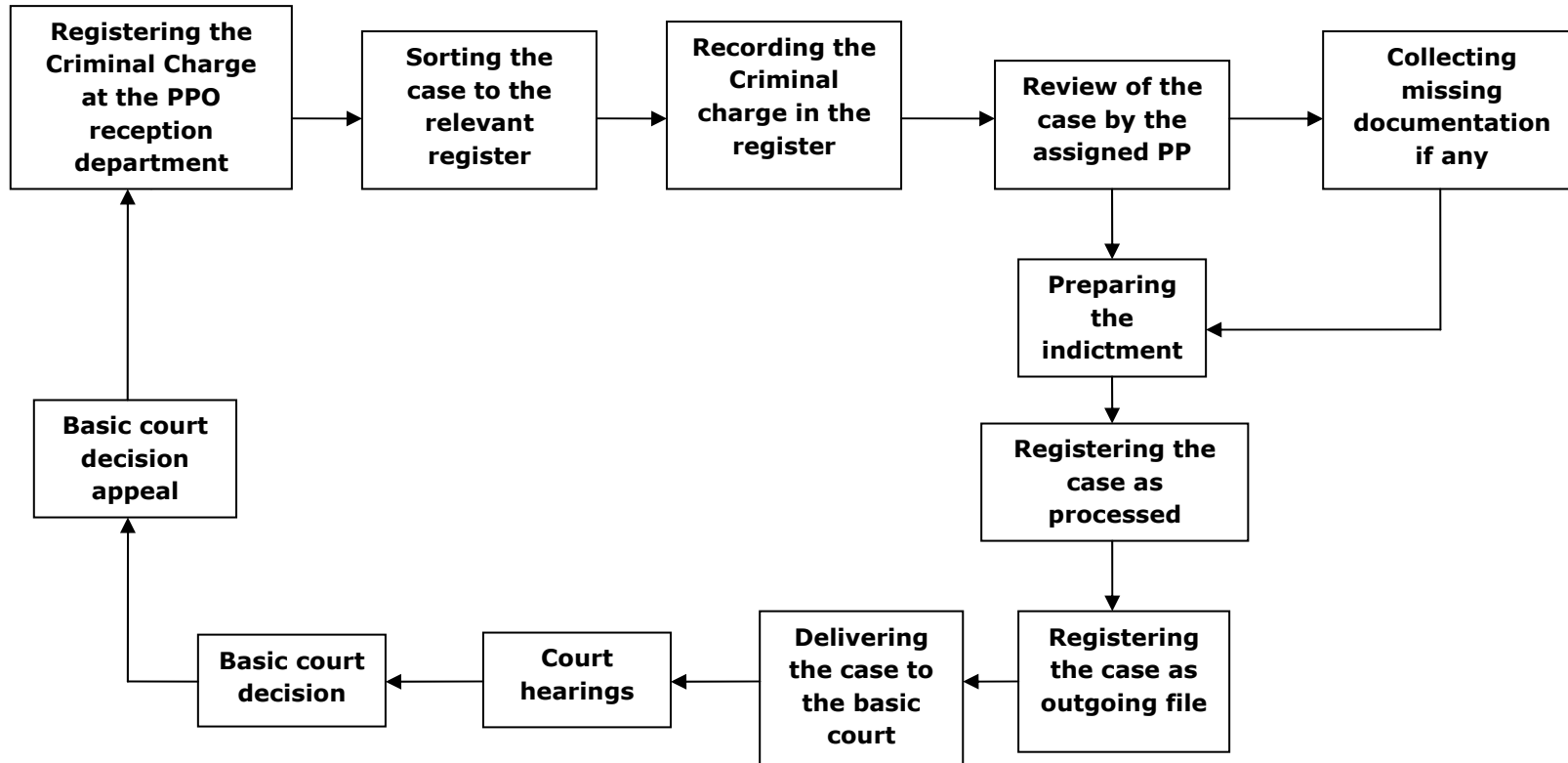


Map 3 **Execution of the measure – moving perpetrator out of the house**



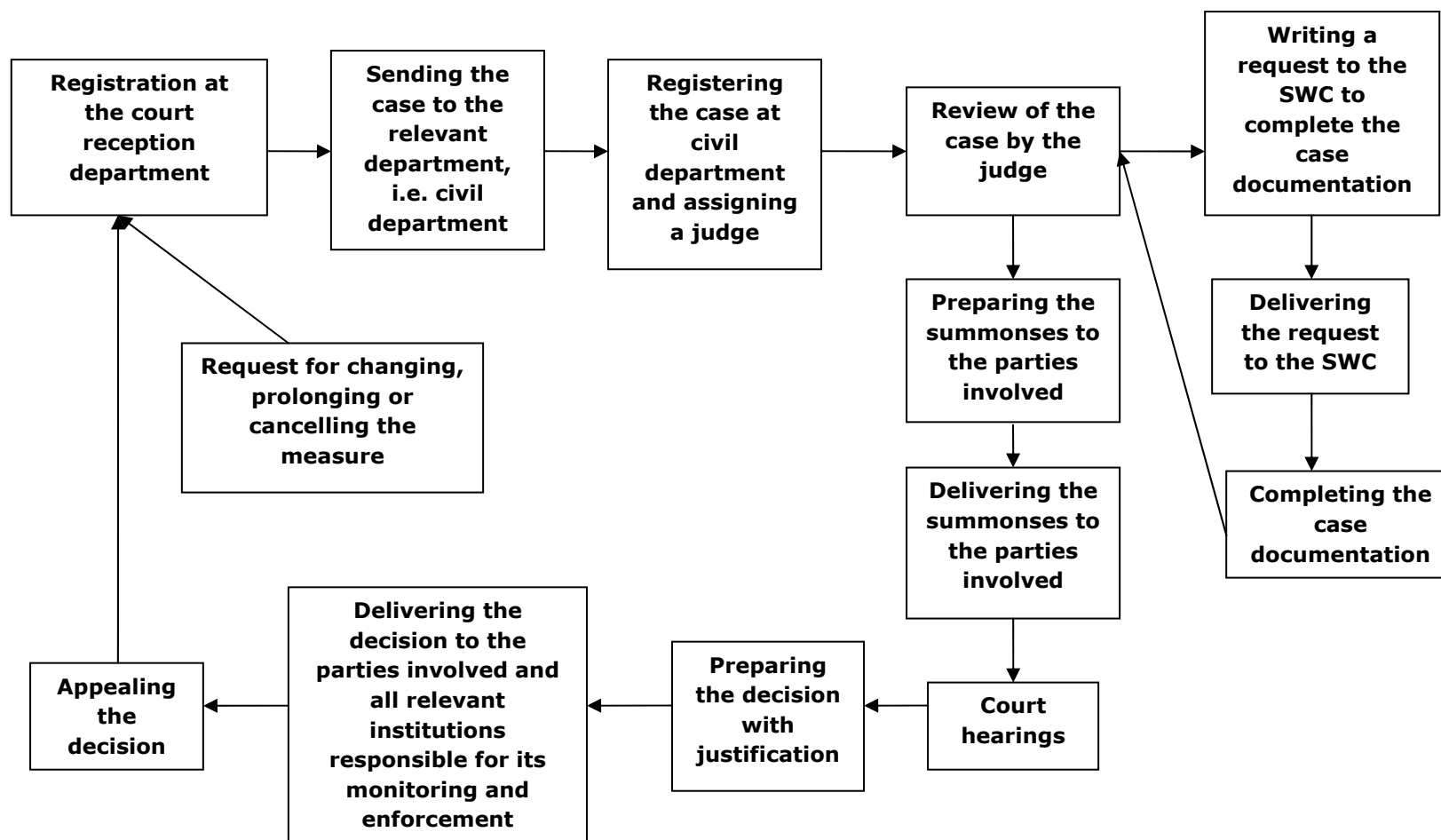
Institutional response map - Prosecution

Map 4



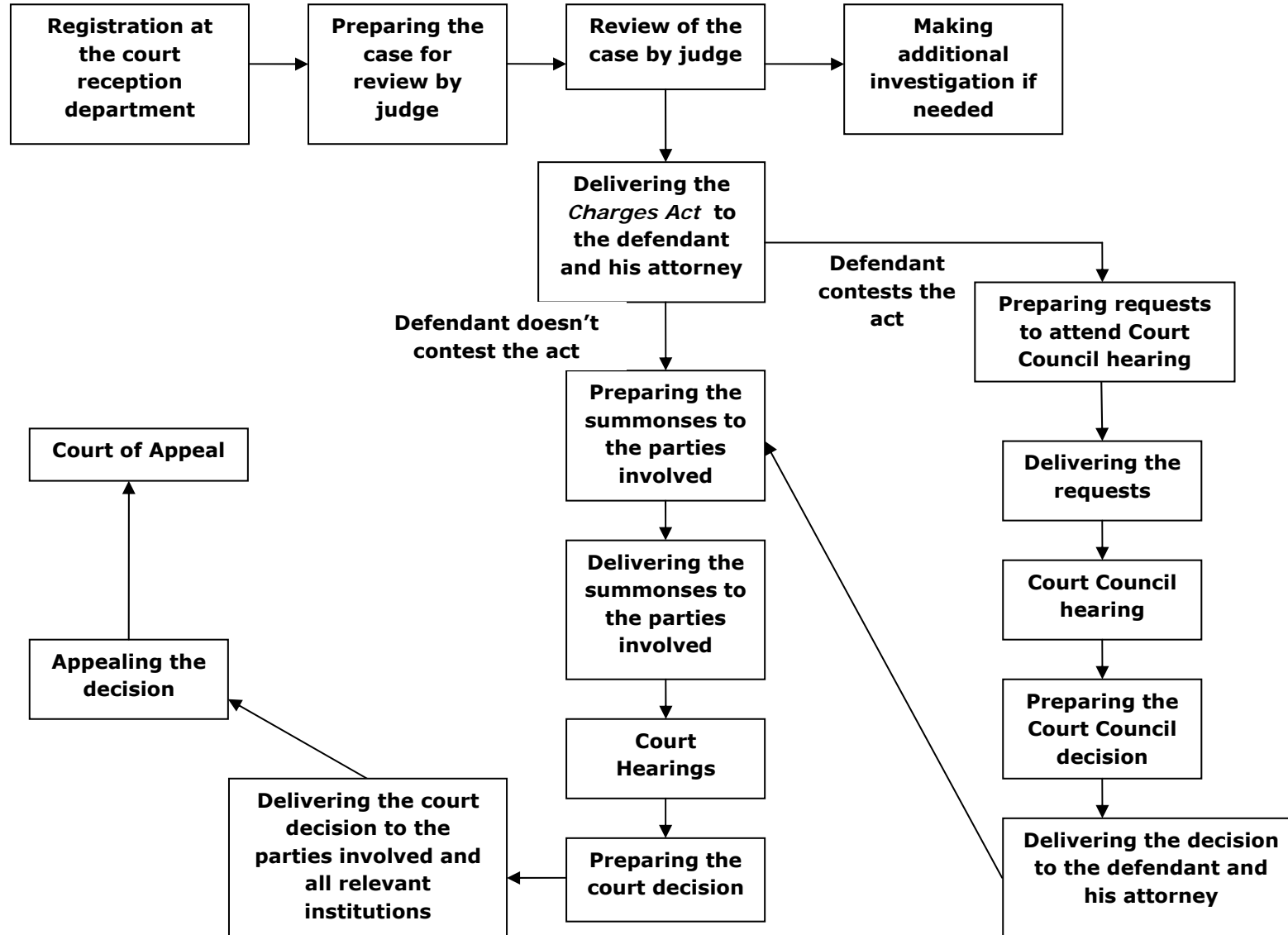
Map 5

Institutional response map – Court system – civil case



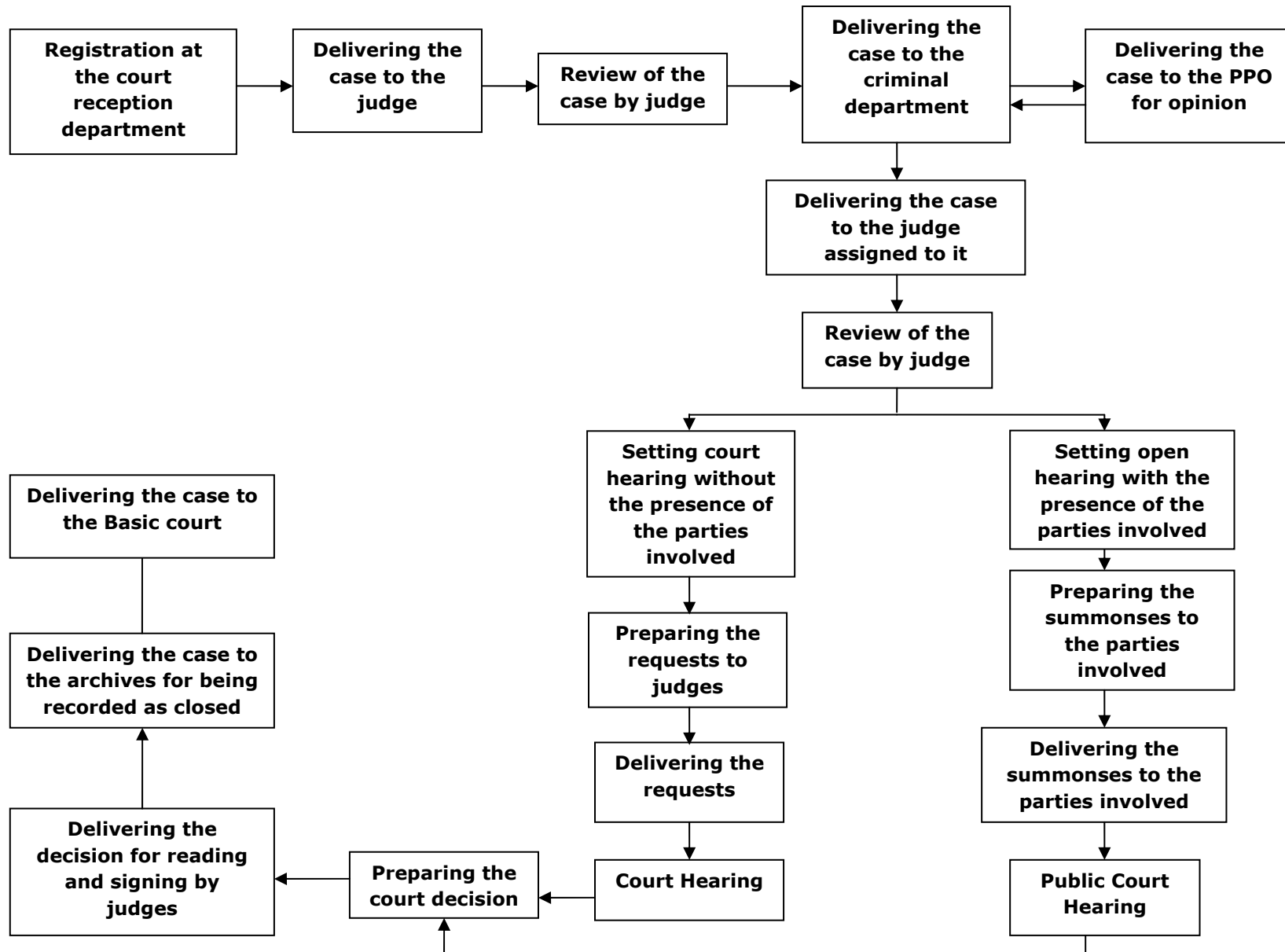
Map 6

Institutional response map – court system – criminal cases



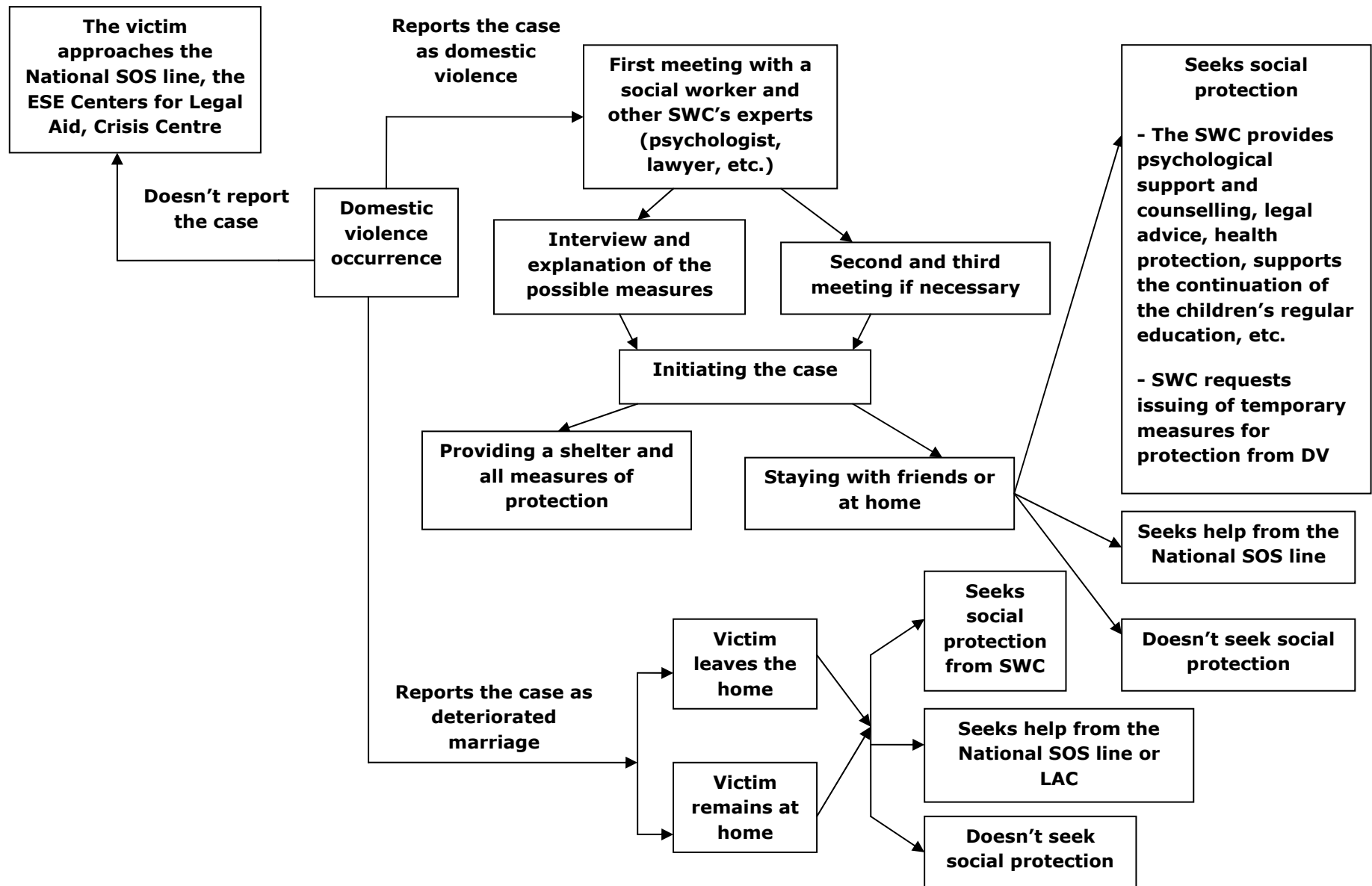
Map 7

Institutional response map – court system – Court of Appeal



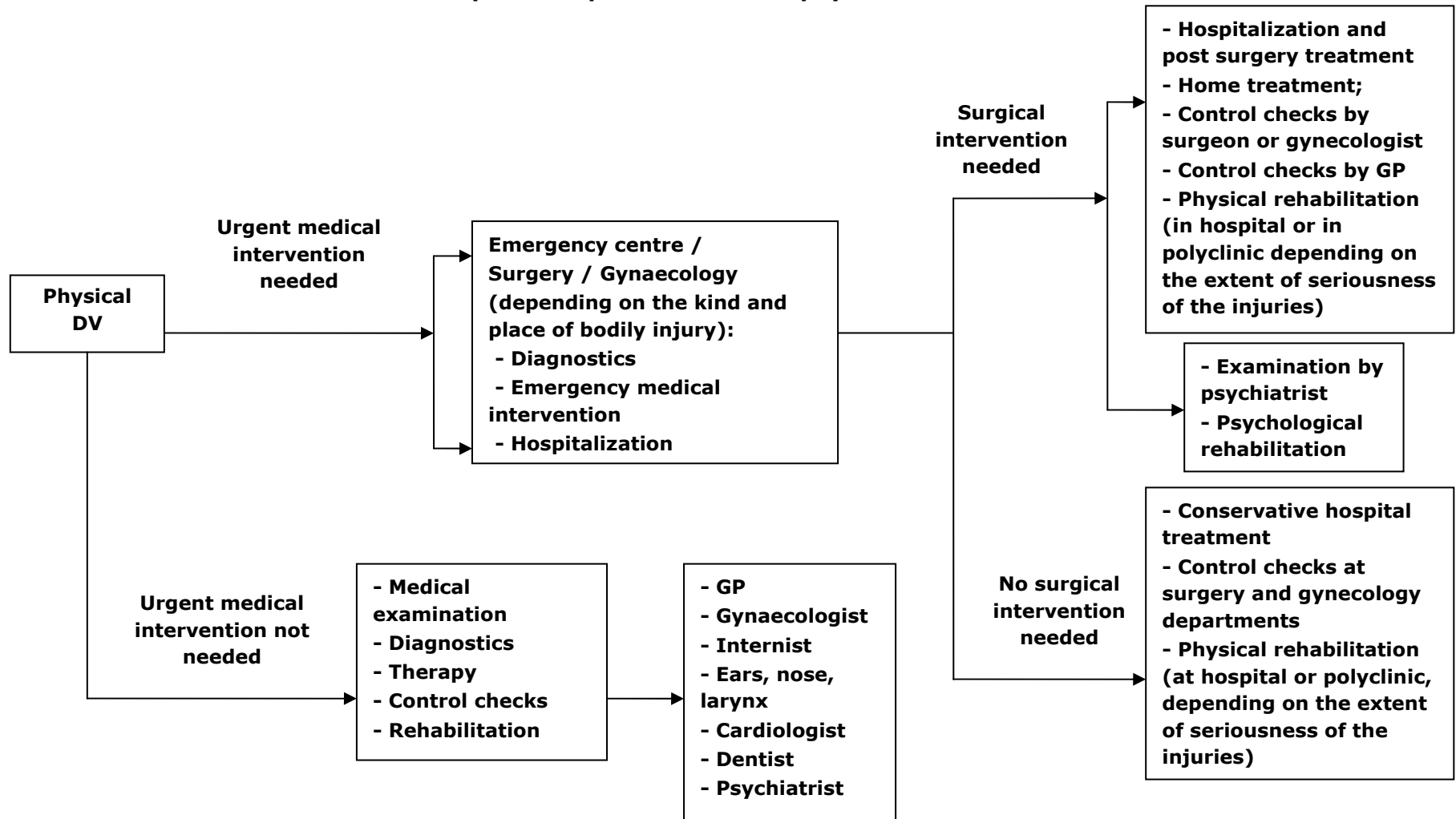
Map 8

Institutional response map – social protection system



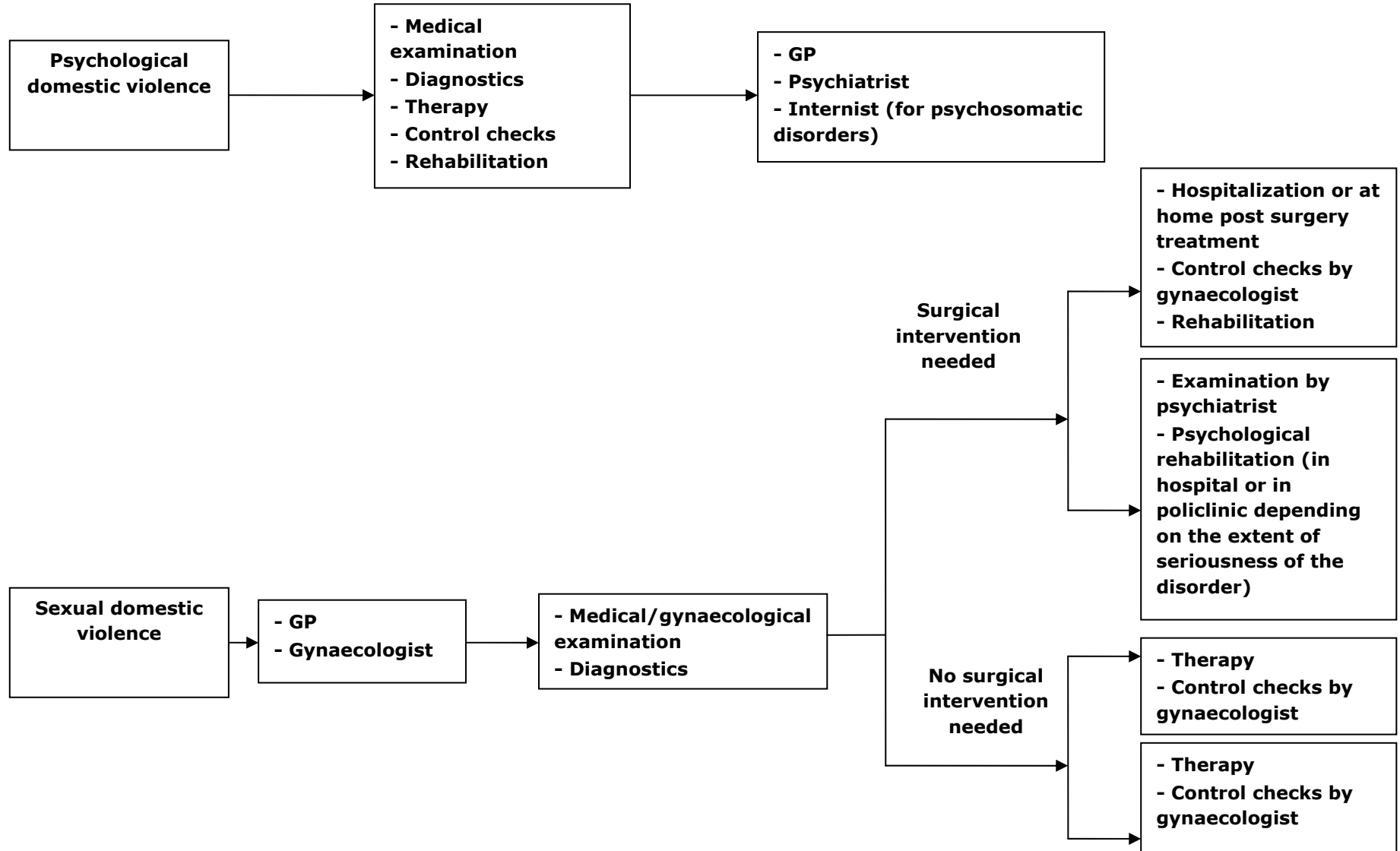
Map 9

Institutional response map – Health care – physical domestic violence



Map 10

Institutional response map – Health care – psychological and sexual domestic violence



ANNEX 3

Costs of DVAW within the police in 2006

		Total No. of cases	No. of cases reported at the police station	No. of cases reported by phone	Costs estimation for the cases reported at the police station	Costs estimation for the cases reported by phone	Total costs
1.	Complaints	1,171	585	586	195,975 - 248,625	621,160 - 796,960	817,135 - 1,045,585
2.	Misdemeanours	407	171	236	178,866 - 286,596	1,194,396 - 1,838,676	1,373,262 - 2,125,272
3.	Criminal cases	198		198		1,796,058 - 2,719,728	1,796,058 - 2,719,728
4.	Tests for alcohol	806					515,840 - 677,040
5.	Back up officers	409					331,290 - 1,104,300
6.	Execution of measures for protection from domestic violence	10					18,750 - 27,300
	Total:						4,852,335 - 7,699,225

Costs of DVAW within the public prosecution system in 2006

		Number of cases	Costs spent
1.	Total number of cases entered PPO	198	14,850 - 29,700
2.	Number of cases proceeded to the court	170	108,800 - 158,100
3.	Number of cases went through court hearings	80	105,600 - 264,000
4.	Number of cases with incomplete documentation	34	24,480 - 30,600
	Total:		253,730 - 482,400

Costs of the civil cases for DVAW within the court system in 2006

		Number of cases	Costs spent
1.	Number of measures requested by SWCs with complete documentation	305	1,223,050 - 1,720,200
2.	Number of cases with incomplete documentation	76	334,400 - 458,280
	Total:	381	1,557,450 - 2,178,480

Costs of the criminal cases for DVAW within the court system in 2006

		Number of cases	Costs spent
1.	Number of cases that entered the court and were proceeded	80	492,000 - 1,266,000
2.	Number of cases that entered the court but were not proceeded further	90	8,100 - 12,150
3.	Number of contests against the <i>Criminal Charge</i>	64	104,640 - 119,040
	Total:		604,740 - 1,397,190

Costs of DVAW within the social system in 2006

		Number of cases	Costs spent
1.	Needs assessments made by the entire team – social worker, psychologist and lawyer	562	586,728 - 2,344,664
2.	Needs assessments made by the social worker and psychologist	141	98,700 - 196,836
3.	Reports and plans for individual treatment	703	569,430 - 1,425,684
4.	Providing sheltering – completing the documentation and driving the victim to the shelter	60	31,200 - 40,140
5.	Measures for protection	387	981,045 - 1,283,679
6.	Psychological interventions and counselling	703	244,644 - 366,966
7.	Monitoring the case and measures implementation	703	1,600,028 - 2,005,659
8.	Costs for the shelters maintenance		3,679,192 - 3,703,112
9.	State financing of the national SOS line for victims of domestic violence		153,000
10.	SWCs' staff training	116	161,472
	Total:		8,105,439 - 11,681,212

Costs of DVAW within the NGO sector in 2006

		Costs spent
1.	Akcija Združenska	2,282,700
2.	ESE	3,261,166
3.	Macedonian Centre for Women Rights – Shelter Centre	4,880,000
4.	Crisis Centre – Hope	100,000
5.	Organization of Women of Municipality “Sveti Nikole”	52,360
6.	National SOS line	410,261
Total:		10,986,487

Costs of full institutional response – light case (mainly psychological violence; SWC intervention, no police, prosecution and court involvement)

		Costs	
1.	SWC intervention without sheltering and court measures	4,220	7,493
Total:		4,220	7,493

Costs of full institutional response - moderate case (light bodily injuries; police, SWC and civil court intervention, no prosecution involved)

		Costs	
1.	Police intervention	1,871	2,711
2.	SWC intervention	7,275	11,479
3.	Civil court involvement	4,400	6,030
4.	4 weeks sheltering (costs related to the victim)	8,820	8,820
Total:		22,366	29,040
5.	4 weeks sheltering (costs covered by the SWC – daily checks, counselling, supplying food, etc)	13,784	15,624

Costs of full institutional response - complex case (grave bodily injuries; police, SWC, prosecution and criminal court involvement)

		Costs	
1.	Police intervention	9,071	13,736
2.	SWC intervention	7,275	11,479
3.	12 months sheltering (costs related to the victim)	153,300	153,300
4.	Prosecution	2,755	5,280
5.	Criminal court involvement	7,785	17,685
Total:		180,186	201,480
6.	12 months sheltering (costs covered by the SWC – daily checks, counselling, supplying food, etc)	179,192	203,112

Costs of full institutional response, which would be incurred if all women who suffered from domestic violence - according to the limited data available – sought and received help

Light cases:
56.4% psychological violence = 339,401 women x 4,220 = 1,432,272,220 MKD
56.4% psychological violence = 339,401 women x 7,493 = 2,543,131,693 MKD
Moderate cases
17.7% physical violence = 106,514 women x 22,366 = 2,382,292,124 + 7 shelters x 13,784 = 2,382,388,612 MKD
17.7% physical violence = 106,514 women x 29,040 = 3093166560 + 7 shelters x 15,624 = 3,093,275,928 MKD
Heavy cases
10.6% sexual violence = 63,788 women x 180,186 = 11493704568 7 shelters x 179,192 = 11,494,958,912 MKD
10.6% sexual violence = 63,788 women x 201,480 = 12852006240 x 7 shelters x 203,112 = 12,853,428,024 MKD
Total between 15,309,619,744 MKD and 18,489,835,645 MKD

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