

EGYPT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN STUDY

LITERATURE REVIEW OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEWLA	Center for Egyptian Women Legal Aid
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EDHS	Egypt Demographic and Health Survey
FGC/FGM	Female Genital Cutting/Mutilation
IPV	Intimate partner violence
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NCW	National Council for Women
NGO	nongovernmental organization
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
STI	sexually transmitted infection
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	violence against women
WHO	World Health Organization

1. INTRODUCTION

As the Egyptian National Council for Women (NCW) and USAID-funded Combating Violence Against Women project designed the elements of the multi-dimensional study of violence against women in Egypt, the project began surveying available research and information from international, regional, and Egyptian sources. Violence Against Women and Gender Specialist Susan Somach and Combating Violence project Research Manager Gihan AbuZeid conducted the initial review of research, which was supplemented by a bibliography prepared by Social, Planning, Analysis, and Administration Consultants. The research team also conducted individual and group meetings with academics and researchers at project start-up to identify current research and gaps that should be filled by the NCW— Combating Violence Study of Violence Against Women.

The purpose of the literature review was to build on the base of existing knowledge and to avoid duplication of efforts. In addition to the literature summarized here, the Egyptian experts involved in the study also surveyed available research in their own areas of expertise, again to build on existing knowledge and to avoid overlapping efforts.

The review of research continued throughout the study process, culminating in this literature review. The review concludes by identifying gaps in research, many of which are addressed by the elements of the larger violence against women study.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Much research has been conducted to understand the phenomenon of violence against women and all of its dimensions. The research has largely centered on seven areas:

1. The prevalence of the violence against women and its various forms
2. Context, causes and risk factors
3. The impact on the victims, their families, and society in general
4. The response of victims to violence
5. The legal and regulatory framework
6. Services for victims
7. Support, advocacy and prevention activities

International organizations, especially those focused on human rights and health issues, have conducted some comprehensive, multi-national studies and comparative analyses of particular types of violence against women (VAW), issues, or interventions. Meanwhile, national governments, research institutes, and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) tend to focus more on collecting and analyzing national or local data on VAW within a particular country.

Because the amount of available literature can be overwhelming, a targeted literature review is an appropriate starting point for research as well as program planning. The challenge, of course, is identifying the resources most relevant to the task at hand. As noted above, this review lays the groundwork for the gap-filling research that was conducted for the NCW-Combating Violence Study of Violence Against Women, which will holistically inform Egyptian policy-makers as they develop strategies for addressing the problem of violence against women in Egypt.

The literature review examines and summarizes the findings of the existing research studies on violence against women at the international, regional (Middle East and North Africa) and national (Egypt) levels. The review attempts to draw conclusions about the current state of knowledge regarding violence against women in Egypt and to determine where major gaps remain. The review identifies a wide range of topics within the context of violence against women, including prevalence and risk factors, impacts of, and responses to VAW, as well as selected studies on specialized areas such as intimate partner violence, honor killings, trafficking in persons, and other forms of violence against women.

A variety of materials are reviewed, including demographic health surveys, papers based on limited survey research, and analytical papers or reports on particular issues or interventions. Source institutions include international organizations, government institutions as well as university, NGO, and individual researchers.

The first part of the research was conducted by an Egyptian researcher under the supervision of the Egyptian research firm Social Planning, Analysis, and Administration Consultants, who searched for Arabic- and English-language resources on violence against women in Egypt published within the last 10 years. This research was conducted in Cairo research libraries over a one-week period in summer 2007; it yielded 16 sources in English and 23 in Arabic (Annex).

The second part of the research was conducted by Susan Somach and Gihan AbouZeid, who identified sources on violence against women globally using their own collected resources as well as the results of university-accessed online search services of journal articles and other sources. Several searches were conducted at periodic intervals to identify new materials, especially about VAW in Egypt and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. A final, cursory search was conducted in December 2008.

The third part of the research involved ongoing identification of VAW resources by Egyptian experts and the Combating Violence Against Women project team during the preparation and development of the other study pieces. Examples include the legal literature review conducted by the legal expert, Nehad Abu Komsen of the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, and studies from the NCW Media Watch Unit that the media expert, Dr. Enas Abu Youssef, analyzed. Additional in-depth analysis of the relevant issues from those resources is included within the report for the study piece covering those particular topics.

Resources were selected for inclusion in this review that are most representative of the wide range of international resources available on the topic and/or for the purpose of better identifying gaps in existing VAW research in Egypt. The literature review presents key points from the selected international and regional resources on VAW and provides an overview of the entire range of identified VAW resources in Egypt.

2.1. Definitions

Women. The focus for this research, and thus the working definition of “women,” is females 15 years old or above, whether married or unmarried.

Violence against women. For the purposes of this study and work with the National Council for Women, violence against women is defined in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women of 1993 (A/RES/48/104), adopted by the General Assembly 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 private life.

The General Assembly Resolution on the Elimination of Domestic Violence Against Women (A/RES/58/147) recognizes that “domestic violence can include economic deprivation and isolation and that such conduct may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or well-being of women.”

The same definition was affirmed in the Beijing Platform of Action of 1995, which further delineates the categories of family violence, community violence, and state violence:

Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited, to the following:

- 1. 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;*
- 2. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work, in educational institutions, and elsewhere, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution;*
- 3. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.*

Domestic violence. Domestic violence takes place between intimate partners as well as between family members (for example, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters). Domestic violence may include sexual, physical, and psychological abuse.

Gender-based violence. This is an overall term for any harm that is perpetrated against a person’s will and that results from power inequities that are based on gender roles. Globally, gender-based violence always has a greater negative impact on women and girls; thus, the term is often used interchangeably with violence against women.

Intimate partner. Intimate partners may or may not be cohabitating, and the relationship need not involve sexual activities. It includes current or former spouses (legal and common-law), and non-marital partners (boyfriend, girlfriend, same-sex partner, dating partner).

Sexual violence. This term includes an attempt at or a completed sex act without consent or involving a victim unable to consent or refuse, abusive sexual contact (intentional

sexual touching directly or through clothing), or non-contact sexual abuse (acts such as voyeurism, intentional exposure of an individual to exhibitionism, verbal or behavioral sexual harassment, threats of sexual violence to accomplish some other end, or taking nude photographs of a sexual nature of another person without his or her consent or knowledge).¹

2.2. Limitations

The body of research on violence against women is enormous. And, although this literature review includes a wide range of source materials, the following limitations should be noted:

- *No analysis of research quality.* This review was designed to identify a wide variety of studies on VAW, and it includes research of varying quality. The research has not been analyzed for reliability or methodological rigor. Due to the limited amount of reliable data in Egypt on many VAW topics, some sources were included that already have been subjects of criticism within the research community.
- *Most relevant resources.* This literature review is not intended to be exhaustive; rather, it concentrates on areas most relevant to Egyptian realities, international standards, and the goals of the NCW/USAID Combating Violence Against Women and Children project.
- *Concentration on certain types of violence against women.* The focus was mostly on family and community violence and not on state violence.
- *Limited coverage of specialized topics.* Specialized topics such as female genital cutting or trafficking in persons were given only cursory attention.
- *Limited to newer sources.* With a few exceptions, this review was limited to sources published within the previous 10 years.

3. FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

A wide variety of forms of violence against women have been identified. These include physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence. Violence against women can occur from the very start of life, through childhood, marriage, and into through old age — identified in the literature as the life cycle of violence against women (Table 1).^{2,3}

¹ L. Saltzman, et al., *Intimate Partner Violence Surveillance: Uniform Definitions and Recommended Data Elements, Version 1.0.* (Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2002).

² C. Watts and C. Zimmerman, “Violence Against Women: Global Scope and Magnitude,” *Lancet* 359 (9313) (2002): 1233.

³ B. Shane and M. Ellsberg, *Violence Against Women: Effects of Reproductive Health* (Seattle: PATH, United Nations Population Fund, 2002), Report No. 20 (1).

Table 1. Types of violence against women

Life Cycle of Violence		
<i>Pre-birth/infancy</i>	sex-selective abortion, infanticide or neglect (health care, nutrition)	
<i>Childhood</i>	child abuse involving malnutrition, FGC/FGM, excessive discipline, child sex abuse (including prostitution or pornography), violence against girls in schools, child marriage, or trafficking for sex, labor, or begging	
<i>Adolescence</i>	forced prostitution, trafficking, forced early marriage, psychological abuse, rape	
<i>Reproductive age</i>	honor killing, dowry crimes and bride-price abuse, intimate partner violence, sexual assault by a non-partner, homicide/femicide, sex trafficking, violence against domestic workers, sexual harassment and intimidation	
<i>Elder years</i>	elder /widow abuse	
By Action		
<i>Physical Violence</i>	<i>Psychological Violence</i>	<i>Sexual Violence</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • slapped • pushed or shoved • struck with a fist • kicked • dragged • threatened with a weapon • having a weapon used against her 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insulted or made to feel bad • humiliated or belittled in front of others • intimidated or scared on purpose (e.g., yelling and smashing things) • threatened with harm (directly or indirectly) • controlling behavior 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rape • sexual abuse • sexual exploitation • partner violence also includes: having sex against her will, having sex due to fear of what the partner might do, being forced to do something sexual that is humiliating or degrading

Sources: Adapted from WHO VAW Consultation 1996; World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*. Geneva, 2005.

Slapping is the most common act of *physical violence* identified in intimate partner violence (IPV) research, followed by being struck with a fist. When ranking the severity of the act according to its likelihood of causing physical injuries, researchers considered moderate acts to include being slapped, pushed, or shoved and severe acts to include being hit with a fist, kicked, dragged, threatened with a weapon, or having a weapon used against the female partner.^{4, 5}

Specific acts of *psychological violence* include being insulted or made to feel bad about oneself, being humiliated or belittled in front of others; being purposely intimidated or frightened (e.g., through yelling and smashing things); and being threatened with harm (directly or indirectly through a threat to hurt someone the respondent cared for). Another type of psychological abuse is controlling behavior, which includes keeping a woman from her friends; restricting contact with her family of birth; insisting on knowing where she is at all times; ignoring or treating her indifferently; getting angry if she speaks with other men; often accusing her of being faithful; and controlling her access to health care.⁶

Sexual violence against a woman by an intimate partner can include being forced to have sexual intercourse against her will; having sexual intercourse because she was afraid of what her partner might do; or being forced to do something sexual that she found humiliating or degrading.⁷ Although sexual violence is most commonly perpetrated by intimate partners, non-partner sexual violence can also occur within a community; this may include rape, attempted rape, sexual abuse, and sexual exploitation. Sexual harassment and violence have been identified as problems for women in the workplace

⁴ World Health Organization, VAW Consultation, 1996.

⁵ World Health Organization, *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*, (Geneva, 2005).

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*

and for young women and girls in educational institutions and in sport.⁸ Rape has also been a common problem in refugee settings and used as a weapon of war.^{9,10,11}

State agents may commit violence against women on the streets and in custodial settings, and a state also may perpetuate violence against women through its laws and policies (e.g., forced sterilization, forced pregnancy, and forced abortion; virginity testing; and sanctioning of forced marriages). States also, in effect, condone VAW through inadequate laws and ineffective implementation of laws, enabling perpetrators of violence against women to act with impunity.¹²

4. CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON VAW

*Now that international attention is focused on gender-based violence, methodologically rigorous research is needed to guide the formulation and implementation of effective interventions, policies and prevention strategies.*¹³

Practitioners and researchers have long debated how to measure violence against women — and what to measure.¹⁴ A common source of information on the prevalence of IPV is a country-wide demographic health survey.¹⁵ International efforts have focused on providing effective comparisons of data from country to country.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the measurement and comparability of the data collected can vary depending on survey methodology and definitions used,^{17,18,19} interview techniques and specificity of questions,^{20,21} differences in respondent populations,²² interviewer characteristics and

⁸ United Nations General Assembly, *In-depth Study on All Forms of Violence Against Women: Report of the Secretary-General*. (A/61/122/Add.1, 2006), 42.

⁹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs/Integrated Regional Information Network, *Broken Bodies, Broken Dreams: VAW Exposed* (Nairobi: UNON, 2005).

¹⁰ Watts and Zimmerman 2002.

¹¹ Shane and Ellsberg. 2002.

¹² United Nations Secretary-General, *Ending Violence Against Women: From Words to Action — Study of the Secretary-General*. (2006), 52.

¹³ Mary C. Ellsberg and Lori Heise, *Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists* (Washington, D.C. and Geneva: PATH/World Health Organization, 2005), 5.

¹⁴ S. Desai, and L. Salzman, “Measurement Issues for Violence Against Women,” in *Sourcebook on Violence Against Women*, eds. C. Renzetti, J. Edleson and R. Bergen. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2001).

¹⁵ Sunita Kishor and Kiersten Johnson, *Profiling Domestic Violence: A Multi-country Study*. (Columbia, Md: ORC MACRO, Measure DHS+, 2004). <http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/OD31/DV.pdf>.

¹⁶ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women* (Geneva, 2005).

¹⁷ H. Johnson, “Rethinking Survey Research on Violence Against Women” in *Rethinking Violence Against Women*, ed. R. E. Dobash and R. P. Dobash (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998).

¹⁸ S. Walby and A. Myhill, “New Survey Methodologies in Researching Violence Against Women,” *British Journal of Criminology* 41 (2001): 502–522.

¹⁹ Watts et al., 27.

²⁰ E. G. Krug, et al., eds. *World Report on Violence and Health* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2002), 93. http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/.

²¹ Clark, Cari. *Gender-Based Violence Research Initiatives in Refugee, Internally Displaced, and Post-Conflict Settings: Lessons Learned*, (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology/Inter-University Committee on International Migration, 2003), 20. http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/migration/pubs/rwp/17_lessons.pdf.

²² World Health Organization, *Violence Against Women: Report on the 1999 WHO Pilot Survey in Tajikistan*, (Copenhagen: World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, 2000), 15, 19.

approaches,^{23,24} cultural differences in language and how it is understood by respondents, and the context of societal norms.²⁵ Thus, cross-country comparisons can be problematic; even within a single country, it is difficult to obtain valid and reliable measures based on surveys. For example, an in-depth analysis of the results of three population-based VAW studies in Nicaragua showed lifetime prevalence estimates ranging from 28 to 69 percent. The most important differences were related to ethical and safety procedures and the interview setting. The findings indicated that prevalence estimates for violence are highly sensitive to methodological factors and that underreporting is a significant problem.²⁶

Researching violence against women requires careful attention to ensure not only accuracy of the data but also safety for the respondents.²⁷ Poorly designed research can pose substantial risks to both the respondent and the interviewer. Safety, privacy, and confidentiality are critically important to minimize the participants' level of stress, as is sensitivity training for field staff using explicit exercises to clarify their own attitudes toward rape and domestic violence. Keeping researchers safe requires decreasing the potential for physical violence against them during data collection and providing support for the emotional impact of the interviews.²⁸

Guidelines have been established and manuals developed to assist researchers in conducting ethical research on violence against women. Ethical considerations include selecting field survey workers who have an appropriate level of sensitivity to the issues (and training them to follow survey protocols), protecting the confidentiality of the respondents, making participation in the survey completely voluntary, offering information about services available to respondents who reveal themselves to be victims, and providing support services to field workers to deal with their own reactions to the data collected.^{29,30} Researching issues of trafficking poses additional challenges,³¹ and the World Health Organization (WHO) has a set of ethical and safety recommendations for interviewing trafficked women.³²

5. PREVALENCE

“Violence against women is the most pervasive yet under-recognized human rights violation in the world.”³³

²³ Watts et al., 16.

²⁴ Kishor and Johnson, 2004.

²⁵ M. Khawaja and M. Twetel-Salem, “Agreement Between Husband and Wife in Reporting of Domestic Violence: Evidence for Poor Refugee Communities in Lebanon,” *International Journal of Epidemiology* 33 (2004): 526–533.

²⁶ Mary Ellsberg et al. “Researching Domestic Violence Against Women: Methodological and Ethical Considerations,” *Studies in Family Planning* 32:1 (Mar, 2001), 1–16.

²⁷ Watts, et al.

²⁸ Mary Ellsberg and Lori Heise. “Bearing Witness: Ethics in Domestic Violence Research” *Lancet* 2002: 359 (9317): 1599–1604.

²⁹ Ellsberg, et al., 2001.

³⁰ Ellsberg and Heise, 2005.

³¹ G. Tyldum and A. Brunovskis, “Describing the Unobserved: Methodological Challenges in Empirical Studies on Human Trafficking,” *International Migration, Special Issue on Data Research on Human Trafficking, A Global Survey* 43(1/2): 17–34.

³² World Health Organization. *Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2003).

³³ Ellsberg and Heise, 9.

The literature usually divides violence into two parts: (i) family violence, which includes violence at the hands of intimate partners as well as other members of the family; and (ii) violence in the community, which includes violence committed by strangers or non-family acquaintances. The most comprehensive data available on violence against women is collected in demographic health surveys, but these typically focus primarily on intimate partner violence, and the only respondents are ever-married women within a limited age range (e.g., 15 to 45). Estimates predict that 15 to 71 percent of women will be victims of some form of violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lives.³⁴ Based on surveys of victims of crime in 35 countries conducted prior to 1999, 10 to 27 percent of women and girls reported having been sexually abused, either as children or adults.³⁵ However, under-reporting of violence to any agency has been well documented.³⁶

Egypt and MENA Region

International and Egyptian researchers alike have confirmed that violence against women is both varied and widespread in Egypt. According to the 2005 Egypt Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS), 47 percent of ever-married women reported ever having experienced physical violence since the age of 15. Although the majority of those women identified an intimate partner (their current or previous husbands) as the perpetrator of at least one episode of violence, nearly half (45 percent) had been subjected to physical violence by a male perpetrator other than their husband, and a third (36 percent) identified a female perpetrator. Fathers were reported twice as often as brothers (53 percent compared to 23 percent); the female perpetrator was most often the woman's mother.³⁷ Similar studies of women over 45 or unmarried women have not been conducted.

5.1 Family Violence

5.1.1. Intimate Partner Violence

Research has consistently found that a woman is more likely to be assaulted, injured, raped, or killed by a current or former partner than by any other person.^{38, 39, 40} Prevalence of intimate partner violence varies greatly from country to country and even among studies within the same country. Findings from 80 population-based studies carried out in 50 countries show that 10 to 60 percent of women who have ever been married or partnered have experienced at least one incident of physical violence from a current or former intimate partner.⁴¹

³⁴ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

³⁵ Krug, et al., 2002.

³⁶ Greenan, Lilly, *Violence Against Women: A Literature Review* (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, 2004), 16, citing the example of Edinburgh where while over half of the respondents indicated that they had experienced physical or sexual violence but only 21 percent of those who had experienced such violence had approached a support agency for help.

³⁷ El-Zanaty, Fatma and Ann Way, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2005* (Egypt Ministry of Health and Population; Egypt National Population Council, 2006) 222–223.

³⁸ Krug, et al., 2002.

³⁹ L. Heise, M. Ellsberg, and M. Gottemoeller, *Ending Violence Against Women* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

⁴⁰ UNICEF "Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls," (Florence: *Innocenti Digest No. 6*, Innocenti Research Center, 2000).

⁴¹ Ellsberg and Heise, 2005, 12.

In a 10-country study, prevalence of IPV experienced by married women within the previous 12 months ranged from 16 to 75 percent.⁴² Another study also based on demographic and health surveys looking at data from nine countries found that the proportions of ever-married women reporting spousal/IPV violence ranged from a low of 18 to 22 percent (in Cambodia, India and the Dominican Republic) to a high of 42 to 48 percent (in Peru, Columbia, and Zambia). Egypt and Nicaragua were in the middle with about one-third of ever-married women reporting the experience of domestic violence.⁴³

Most acts of physical IPV reflect a pattern of abuse rather than an isolated incident according to a 10-country WHO study.⁴⁴ And, in most of these 10 countries, 30 to 56 percent of women who experienced any IPV reported both physical and *sexual* abuse. Worldwide, abuse during pregnancy has been identified as an important problem with significant consequences for maternal and infant health. According to research involving multiple studies, the range of prevalence of IPV varies widely, with a wider range and a higher upper range in developing countries (4 percent in China to 32 percent in Egypt) than in industrialized countries (ranging from 3 to 11 percent).⁴⁵

Reporting in all sites of a multi-country study showed that abused women experience more incidents of severe *psychological* violence than severe physical violence in their lifetimes.^{46,47} This is especially concerning because the literature suggests that psychological violence has more enduring and debilitating consequences than physical violence — not only for the victim but also for her family and the larger society.⁴⁸ A multi-country WHO study found that between 20 and 75 percent of women reported experiencing one or more acts of emotional abuse and between 21 and 90 percent of women reported experiencing one or more controlling behaviors within the past 12 months.⁴⁹

Egypt and MENA Region

A comparative analysis of the 1995 and 2005 Egypt DHS suggests that there may have been a decrease in the prevalence of more severe forms of wife beating in parallel with an increase in overall reporting of violence.⁵⁰ In the 1995 survey, 35 percent of the sample of

⁴² Michelle J. Hindin, Sunita Kishor, and Donna L. Ansara, *Intimate Partner Violence Among Couples in 10 DHS Countries: Predictors and Health Outcomes*. (Calverton, Md.: ORC/MACRO, 2008). Analyzing data from 10 recent Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS): Bangladesh (2004), Bolivia (2003/2004), the Dominican Republic (2002), Haiti (2005), Kenya (2003), Malawi (2004), Moldova (2005), Rwanda (2005), Zambia (2001/2002), and Zimbabwe (2005/2006).

⁴³ Kishor and Johnson, 2004.

⁴⁴ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*

⁴⁵ Jacquelyn Campbell, Claudia Garcia-Moreno, and Phyllis Sharps, "Abuse During Pregnancy in Industrialized and Developing Countries," *Violence Against Women* 10 (2004): 770.

<http://vaw.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/10/7/770>.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Laurie Ramiro, Fatma Hassan, and Abraham Peedicayil, "Risk Markers of Severe Psychological Violence Against Women: A WorldSAFE Multi-country Study," *Injury Control and Safety Promotion* 11:2 (2004): 131–137.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

⁵⁰ Manas K. Akmatov, et al. "Factors Associated with Wife Beating in Egypt: Analysis of Two Surveys (1995 and 2005)," *BMC Women's Health* 8(2008): 15. <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1472-68-15>.

6,566 ever-married women reported ever being beaten by their current husbands, and 16 percent were beaten in the previous year.^{51, 52} In the 2005 survey, 36 percent of the sample of 5,613 reported ever experiencing some form of marital violence (emotional, physical, and/or sexual) from their current husbands, and 25 percent reported experiencing any such violence in the past year. The rates for physical and sexual violence only (excluding psychological violence) were 34 percent ever and 22 percent in the past year.⁵³ According to Amnesty International, almost 250 women in Egypt were reported to have been killed in the first half of 2007 by violent husbands or other family members.⁵⁴

Smaller localized studies in Egypt have also focused on spousal abuse. In a 2004 household survey in four villages in Minya, 20 to 32 percent of women reported being beaten by their husbands; the main reasons for the beatings were opposing the husband on household issues or having a difference of opinion.⁵⁵ In a study of 190 Egyptian women employed in clerical jobs, almost half (44 percent) of the respondents indicated spousal psychological abuse as a stressful aspect of the spousal role. The participants gave detailed accounts of the stress they experienced from a spouses verbal abuse when *asaby* (short-tempered, impulsive, and highly volatile); his inflexibility during conflicts; and his regular demanding, authoritarian, and controlling behavior.⁵⁶ In two studies of sexual abuse of married Egyptian women, 12 percent of women in Lower Egypt and 17 percent of women in Cairo reported being forced to engage in sex by their partners.⁵⁷

Although marital rape is not generally recognized legally or culturally as a crime in the region, studies in Jordan and Morocco have shown that an overwhelming majority of women identify the right to refuse sex with their husband under certain circumstances. For example, 94 percent of ever-married women age 15-49 in Jordan believe a wife is justified in refusing her husband sex if he has a sexually transmitted infection, 95 percent believe a wife who has recently given birth is justified in refusing sex, and 69 percent also agree that a wife is justified in refusing sex if she is tired or not in the mood. Only 1.4 percent said that women were not justified in refusing their husbands sex for any of these reasons.⁵⁸

⁵¹ F. El-Zanaty, et al., *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 1995* (Cairo: National Population Council and Calverton, Md.: Macro International, 1996).

⁵² Nafissatou Campbell Diop-Sidibe, Jacquelyn C. Campbell, and Stan Becker, "Domestic Violence Against Women in Egypt: Wife Beating and Health Outcomes," *Social Science & Medicine* 62:5 (March 2006): 1260-1277.

⁵³ El-Zanaty and Way, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey* (2005), 222-223.

⁵⁴ Amnesty International, *The State of the World's Human Rights* (2008).

⁵⁵ National Council for Women, *The Final Report of the Field Study: The Multifaceted Development Project for the Advancement of Women in Minya Governorate*. (2006).

⁵⁶ Marianne Hattar-Pollara, Afaf Ibrahim Meleis, and Haassanat Nagaib, "A Study of the Spousal Role of Egyptian Women In Clerical Jobs," *Health Care for Women International* 21 (2000): 305-317.

⁵⁷ I.M. Bakr and N.A. Ismail, "Domestic Violence Among Women Attending Out-Patient Clinics in Ain Shams University Hospitals, Cairo, Egypt," *Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association* 80 (2005):629-50.

⁵⁸ *Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2002*.

http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pub_details.cfm?Filename=JO02FinalReport.ZIP&id=411.

In Morocco, the numbers are 94 percent if STI, 39 percent recently gave birth, 59 percent tired or not in the mood, (91 percent if her husband had sex with other women), and 2.6 percent agreeing that there is no reason to refuse sex. *Morocco Population and Family Health Survey 2003-04*.

<http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR155/00PremieresPages00%2Epdf>.

A recent review of 59 studies concluded that “Little is known about intimate partner violence in the Middle East and North Africa.”⁵⁹ The review pointed to the very limited knowledge base and the need to employ a broader array of research methods in studying IPV in the region. Nevertheless, the literature review found 21 studies from nine countries with data from a variety of sources on the prevalence of IPV or beliefs regarding its justification (including multi-country DHS studies and small-scale local studies on particular topics).

In a study of 230 men and women in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 30 percent of males indicated that they had abused female members of the families, and 41 percent of the total sample said female members of their families were victims of physical violence.⁶⁰ Especially in the last five years, Palestinian women have reported an increased prevalence of physical abuse such as beating, hitting, and murder; sexual abuse including rape, assault, and incest; and psychological abuse such as verbal assaults and insults, the intentional tarnishing of a woman’s reputation through the spread of rumors and gossip, and the reinforcing of negative gender stereotypes.

Limited data is available regarding the sexual and reproductive health situations of young people aged 10–24 in the Arab States or Iran, including information on the prevalence of violence against female youth.⁶¹

5.1.2. Other Forms of Family Violence Against Women

Less has been written about other forms of violence against women in the family than about intimate partner violence. Other forms of VAW in the family include abuse by other family members (such as in-laws, parents, and brothers); dowry-related violence; female infanticide; sexual abuse of female children in the household; female genital mutilation/cutting and other traditional practices harmful to women; early marriage; forced marriage; honor-related crimes; non-spousal violence; violence perpetrated against domestic workers; and other forms of exploitation.^{62, 63}

Because certain types of violence are more specific to a culture, country or region, research in these areas is more targeted. For example, the practice of sex-selective abortions and/or female infanticide has been identified as a major problem in India and China,^{64, 65} dowry-related violence in India; and FGM/FGC in certain African countries, including some Arab states.^{66, 67} Forced marriages in Afghanistan and other countries

⁵⁹ Angie Boy and Andrzej Kulczycki, “What We Know About Intimate Partner Violence in the Middle East and North Africa,” *Violence Against Women* 14:53 (2008).

⁶⁰ Nora Almosaed, “Violence Against Women: A Cross-cultural Perspective,” *Journal of Muslim Affairs* Vol. 24, No. 1 (April 2004).

⁶¹ Jocelyn DeJong, Rana Jawad, Iman Mortagy, and Bonnie Shepard, “The Sexual and Reproductive Health of Young People in the Arab Countries and Iran,” *Reproductive Health Matters* 13:25 (May 2005): 49–59.

⁶² United Nations Secretary-General, 42-43.

⁶³ Human Rights Watch, “Swept Under the Rug: Violence Against Domestic Workers Around the World” Volume 18: 7(C) (2006).

⁶⁴ J. Ward, *If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and Post-Conflict Settings: A Global Overview* (New York: Reproductive Health Response in Conflict Consortium, 2002).

⁶⁵ J. Ward and B. Vann, “Gender-based Violence in Refugee Settings” *Lancet* 360 Suppl (2002): 12.

⁶⁶ DeJong, et al., 2005, 56.

⁶⁷ Francis Block and Vijayendra Rao, “Terror as a Bargaining Instrument: A Case Study of Dowry Violence in Rural India,” *The American Economic Review* 92:4 (September 2002) : 1029–1043.

occur for many reasons, including settling feuds, compensating for a crime by giving a young girl or female youth to the victim's family, and compelling a widow to marry a man from her deceased husband's family.⁶⁸

Globally, the prevalence of non-partner violence against women over the age of 15 varies widely, with 5 to 65 percent of women reporting physical or sexual abuse — most commonly perpetrated by fathers and other male or female family members and, in some settings, by teachers.⁶⁹ In many countries with strong patriarchal traditions, unmarried women in the home are often victims of various types of abuse, including psychological and/or physical violence by fathers and brothers. Mothers can also be abusive in enforcing obedience by their unmarried daughters. In-laws have a similar measure of authority over daughters-in-law that sometimes can turn abusive.

Egypt and MENA Region

Areas of family violence that have been the subject of specialized research, especially in the Middle East, are honor-related violence,^{70, 71} that may be directed against both unmarried and married women,^{72, 73} FGC/FGM; and early, forced, and/or temporary marriages.

A review of 125 newspaper reports on honor crimes in Egypt between 1998 and 2001 revealed that 79 percent of the reported crimes were murders of females suspected of sexual behavior, 9 percent were murders of females due to adultery, 6 percent were murders of female to hide incest, and 6 percent were murders for other reasons.⁷⁴ The perpetrators of the reported crimes were husbands (41 percent), fathers (34 percent), brothers (18 percent), and other relatives (7 percent).⁷⁵ A report on VAW in Egypt to the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) Committee in 2001 noted that “studies indicate that honor crimes are common in Upper Egypt, the Egyptian rural areas, and in low-income urban areas.”⁷⁶

Honor crimes also have been studied in Jordan⁷⁷ and Turkey.⁷⁸ A review of all court files in Jordan in 1995 indicated that the majority of the 38 female homicide victims that year were killed by male relatives (primarily brothers) and concluded that patrilineal norms of female-male sexual behavior resulted in the social and legal benefits of penalty reduction

⁶⁸ United Nations Development Fund for Women, *Uncounted and Discounted: A Secondary Data Research Project on Violence Against Women in Afghanistan*. (2006).

⁶⁹ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

⁷⁰ Kardam, F., *The Dynamics of Honor Killings in Turkey*. United Nations Population Fund. (2005).

⁷¹ Human Rights Watch, *Honoring the Killers: Justice Denied for “Honor” Crimes in Jordan*. (2004).

⁷² Kardam, F., *The Dynamics of Honor Killings in Turkey*. United Nations Population Fund. (2005).

⁷³ Human Rights Watch, *Honoring the Killers: Justice Denied for “Honor” Crimes in Jordan*. (2004).

⁷⁴ Fatima Khafagy, *Honour Killing in Egypt* (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005).

⁷⁵ Seham Abdel Salam, *Daleil Tadreeby: Al Onf Ded Al Nesaa (Training Reference: Violence Against Women)*, . (National Council for Women/ Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance, 2003).

⁷⁶ Carin Benninger-Budel, *Violence against Women in Egypt: Report prepared for the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (Geneva: The World Organization Against Torture, 2001), 23–24. <http://www.omct.org/pdf/VAW/EgyptEng2001.pdf>.

⁷⁷ Human Rights Watch. *Honoring the Killers: Justice Denied for “Honor” Crimes in Jordan*.

⁷⁸ Kardam.

or excusing of the penalty for the murders committed by male relatives.⁷⁹ Honor crimes, many officially identified as “suspicious deaths, have also contributed to the increase in violence against Palestinian women, particularly in recent years.⁸⁰

FGM/FGC is practiced in four countries in the region — Egypt, Sudan, Yemen, and Djibouti.⁸¹ According to 2000 DHS statistics, 97 percent of ever-married women in Egypt have undergone FGC/FGM.⁸² However, support for the practice is not universal, with 14 percent of circumcised girls saying they think the procedure is unnecessary and a further 28 percent expressing ambivalence.⁸³ A 2007 survey conducted by WHO and the Egyptian Ministry of Health shows a decline in the practice to 50 percent among girls age 10 to 18 (43 percent in urban public schools, 63 percent in rural schools, and 9 percent in private urban schools).⁸⁴

On the issue of early marriage, one study estimated that 49 percent of adolescent girls living in agricultural areas marry before the age of 16.^{85, 86, 87} Another study in Upper Egypt found that 44 percent of girls are married before the age of 16 and 68 percent before the age of 18.⁸⁸

According to anecdotal evidence, customary (*urfi*) marriage is increasing in Egypt. There have also been reports of so-called “summer marriages” of young Egyptian girls from low-income families to wealthy Arab tourists in return for a bride-price; these relationships often end in divorce by the end of the visit.⁸⁹

Little research has been conducted on non-conventional marriages in the region, such as temporary and *urfi* marriage. Temporary marriage is forbidden among Sunni Muslims but is legitimate among Shiites. It has reportedly been encouraged by some political leaders in Iran to allow young people to engage in sexual relations without religious or social disapproval.⁹⁰

⁷⁹ Anahid Debartanian Kulwicki, “The Practice of Honor Crimes: A Glimpse of Domestic Violence in the Arab World,” *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 23 (2002):77–87.

⁸⁰ Anahid Debartanian Kulwicki, “The Practice of Honor Crimes: A Glimpse of Domestic Violence in the Arab World,” *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 23 (2002):77–87.

⁸¹ DeJong, et al. 2005, 49–59.

⁸² Fatma El-Zanaty and Ann Way, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2000* (Calverton, Md.: Egypt Ministry of Health and Population, Egypt National Population Council, and ORC MACRO, 2001).

⁸³ Omaima El-Gibaly, Barbara Ibrahim, Barbara S. Mensch, and Wesley H. Clark, “The Decline of Female Circumcision in Egypt: Evidence and Interpretation”, *Social Science and Medicine* 54:2 (January 2002): 205–220.

⁸⁴ Mohammed A. Tag-Eldin, et al., “Prevalence of Female Genital Cutting Among Egyptian Girls,” *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 86 (4) (April 2008).

⁸⁵ Gamal Ismaeil Mohamed Aldaghrawy, *Al ‘Onf Ded El Mar’a: Tahliel Sosyologi (Violence Against Women: A Sociological Perspective)* (University of Minya, Faculty of Social Science, 2000).

⁸⁶ Khaled Montasser, *Al Khetan Wa al ‘Onf Ded el Mar’a (Female Circumcision and Violence Against Women)*, (National Council for Women, 2003).

⁸⁷ Salam.

⁸⁸ L. Hamamsy, *Early Marriage and Reproduction in Two Egyptian Villages* (Cairo: Population Council/United Nations Population Fund Occasional Paper, 1994).

⁸⁹ DeJong, et al. 2005, 49–59.

⁹⁰ S. Haeri, “Temporary Marriage and the State in Iran: An Islamic Discourse on Female Sexuality,” in *Women and Sexuality in Muslim Societies*, ed. P. Ilkkaracan (Istanbul: Women for Women’s Human Rights — New Ways, 2000), 343-61.

5.2. Community Violence

Measuring the prevalence of community violence against women can be even more difficult than measuring family violence. Rape and sexual assault are often underreported as crimes because of the stigma attached to being a “violated woman.” Countries that have mandatory reporting requirements for certain types of service providers usually have additional standardized sources of records, (for example, from health care providers, social workers, teachers, and others) from which to draw conclusions about prevalence. Where such crimes are not generally reported, researchers have turned to victim services providers (including health care providers, counselors, lawyers, and social workers) to attempt to assess the prevalence of violence based on requests for assistance.

A WHO review of small surveys of crime victims in 20 countries from 1992 to 1997, showed the number of women who reported being victims of sexual assault in the previous five years to range from a low of 0.3 percent in the Philippines to a high of 8 percent in Brazil. The rate for Egypt was 3.1 percent based on a 1991 survey of 1,000 women in Cairo. The same WHO report noted that in a national survey conducted in the United States in 1998, nearly 15 percent of women over the age of 17 reported having been raped in their lifetime.⁹¹

Research has shown that most nonconsensual sex occurs with individuals known to the victim — spouses, family members, dating partners, or acquaintances.⁹² Coercion is likely in many young girls’ first sexual experience; the younger she is, the more likely that her initiation into sexual activity was forced.⁹³ Sexual harassment of women and girls in educational institutions, in the workplace, on the street, and in other public places is also a widespread problem that takes different forms and frequency depending on the country and cultural norms. Violence against widows and the elderly affects women in many countries.

Another form of violence against women, trafficking in women and girls for forced labor and sexual exploitation, has increased during the past decade, with estimates of 700,000 to 2 million women and girls trafficked annually across international borders.^{94, 95, 96}

Violence against women can be particularly acute in conflict settings. Rape has been used as a weapon of war in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda. Women and girls have been abducted to provide sexual services to combatants. And, women in refugee settings are particularly vulnerable to violence, including widespread sexual violence and exploitation.^{97, 98, 99} In 2002, sexual offenses in wartime

⁹¹ Krug, et al., 2002.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ S. Jejeebhoy and S. Bott, *Non-consensual Sexual Experiences of Young People: A Review of the Evidence from Developing Countries*. New Delhi: Population Council (2003).

<http://www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/wp/seasia/seawp16.pdf>.

⁹⁴ Watts and Zimmerman, 2002.

⁹⁵ C. Zimmerman, et. al. *The Health Risks and Consequences of Trafficking in Women and Adolescents: Findings from a European Study* (London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2003).

⁹⁶ Orhant, M. and E. Murphy, “Trafficking in Persons,” in *Reproductive Health and Rights: Reaching the Hardly Reached*, ed. E. Murphy and K. Ringheim (Washington: PATH, 2002).

⁹⁷ Ward, *If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and Post-Conflict Settings: A Global Overview*

⁹⁸ Ward and Vann, 2002: 13–14.

were recognized as a crime against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague. Moreover, the stress of war and occupation and the breakdown of everyday law enforcement often result in increased gender-based violence — particularly sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape — as has been documented since the U.S. invasion of Iraq¹⁰⁰ and the Israeli occupation of Palestine.¹⁰¹

Egypt and MENA Region

Researchers in Egypt have estimated that as many as 98 percent of rape and sexual assault cases are not reported to authorities.^{102, 103} Despite the difficulty in researching the subject, studies have uncovered high rates of abuse. For example, a study by Egypt's National Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research, reported 20,000 rape cases in 2006.¹⁰⁴

Sexual harassment has only recently come to the attention of the Egyptian public as an issue to be addressed. A 2008 survey of more than a thousand women in Cairo, Giza, and Qalubia by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights found that 83 percent of Egyptian respondents have experienced sexual harassment in their lifetime; 46 percent reported sexual harassment on a daily basis.¹⁰⁵ In a field study of 140 females conducted in the Governorate of Sohag, 66 percent of the respondents said they had been sexually harassed at work (70 percent physically and 30 percent verbally).¹⁰⁶

6. CONTEXT, CAUSES, RISK FACTORS

*The roots of violence against women lie in historically unequal power relations between men and women and pervasive discrimination against women in both the public and private spheres. Patriarchal disparities of power, discriminatory cultural norms, and economic inequalities serve to deny women's human rights and perpetuate violence. Violence against women is one of the key means through which male control over women's agency and sexuality is maintained.*¹⁰⁷

Women throughout the world experience violence — regardless of their race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, age, or social class. Men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators.¹⁰⁸ Feminist activists point to male violence against women — including sexual assault, rape,

⁹⁹ S. Swiss, et al. "Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 279 (1998): 625–629.

¹⁰⁰ Y. Susskind, *Promising Democracy, Imposing Theocracy: Gender-based Violence and the U.S. War in Iraq* (Madre, 2007).

¹⁰¹ Human Rights Watch, *A Question of Security: Violence Against Palestinian Women and Girls* (2006).

¹⁰² Montasser.

¹⁰³ *Takreer a'n al-Awdaa al-Ehsaeyya lel-Mar'a al-Mesriyya* (A Report on the Statistical Data Concerning Egyptian Women), National Council for Women, 2000.

¹⁰⁴ Sex Crimes Rise," *Al Ahrām*, July 19-25, 2007

¹⁰⁵ Shoukry, Aliyan and Rasha Mohammad Hassan, "Clouds in Egypt's Sky" — *Sexual Harassment: From Verbal Harassment to Rape* (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, 2008).

¹⁰⁶ Madiha Ahmed Ebada and Khaled Kazem Abou Douh, *Al Ab'aad al Egtimaeyya lel Taharoush al Gensi fi al Haya al Yawmeyya* (The Social Consequences of Sexual Harassment in Daily Life) (Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance, 2007).

¹⁰⁷ United Nations Secretary-General, ii.

¹⁰⁸ Krug, et al., 2002.

sexual harassment, and domestic violence — as central to the continuing oppression of women.¹⁰⁹

Researchers increasingly use an ecological framework to understand the relationship among personal, situational, and socio-cultural factors that combine to cause abuse.^{110, 111, 112} Domestic violence studies have shown that different factors at four levels of the social environment — individual, family and relationship, community, and society — increase the likelihood that a man will abuse his partner.¹¹³ The individual level represents the biological and personal history an individual brings to a relationship, such as whether he has witnessed violence or lived in a home where alcohol was abused. The family level is the immediate context within which the abuse occurs, where the male may exercise control of resources and decision-making. The community level relates to the neighborhoods, workplace, social networks, and peer groups that may leave women socially isolated. The societal level refers to cultural norms such as those that reinforce gender roles and promote male dominance.

For example, a review of national surveys in nine countries found a consistent association of an increased risk of partner abuse for women with low educational attainment, being under 25 years old, having witnessed her father's violence against her mother, living in an urban area, and having low socioeconomic status.¹¹⁴ Another multi-country study found significant associations between physical IPV and several characteristics including regular alcohol consumption by the husband or partner, the woman's having witnessed her father beating her mother, the woman's poor mental health, and poor family work status. Women who have been married more than once, or who are divorced or separated, report higher rates of violence. This is not surprising since domestic violence can be an important reason for the dissolution of marriage.¹¹⁵

Some research suggests that education has a protective effect on women's experience with violence, even when controlling for age and income.^{116, 117} However, views on the relationship of education to violence against women differ. South African and Zimbabwean studies show a correlation between higher levels of female education and increased vulnerability to gender-based violence.¹¹⁸ The reason suggested is that female empowerment involves women's resistance to patriarchal norms, which in turn provokes men to violence in an attempt to regain control. However, it is also suggested that female empowerment can increase the risk of physical violence only up to a certain level, after

¹⁰⁹ Greenan.

¹¹⁰ L. Heise, "Violence Against Women: An Integrated Ecological Framework," *Violence Against Women*, 4 (1998):262–290.

¹¹¹ Krug, et al., 2002.

¹¹² Four studies are cited in Ellsberg and Heise, 2005: 24.

¹¹³ Mary Ellsberg et al. "Researching Domestic Violence Against Women: Methodological and Ethical Considerations," 1–16.

¹¹⁴ L. Jeyaseelan, et al. "World Studies of Abuse in the Family Environment – Risk Factors for Physical Intimate Partner Violence," *Injury Control and Safety Promotion* 11:2 (2004): 117–124.

¹¹⁵ Kishor and Johnson, 2004.

¹¹⁶ A. Jones, et al. "Annual and Lifetime Prevalence of Partner Abuse in a Sample of female HMO Enrollees" *Women's Health Issues* 9 (1999): 295–305.

¹¹⁷ P. Tjaden and N. Thoennes, *Extent, Nature and Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey* (Washington: National Institute of Justice, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2000).

¹¹⁸ Krug, et al., 2002.

which it confers protection.¹¹⁹ This theory is supported by evidence from the WHO multi-country study, which found that the protective effect of education started only when women’s education progressed beyond secondary school.¹²⁰

Societal factors influencing men’s risk of committing rape include norms supportive of male superiority and sexual entitlement and weak laws and policies related to both sexual violence and gender equality (Table 2). Research into individual-level risk factors indicates that violence is a learned behavior. For instance, boys who witness or experience violence as children are more likely to use violence against women as adults, and a history of sexual abuse distorts perceptions about sexual violence and the risk of HIV infection.¹²¹ A study of Mexican and Egyptian youth showed that those in both countries who were victims of intra-family violence were also more likely than non-victims to report that they have been perpetrators of violence. The same results have been reported in studies in the United States and other developed countries.¹²²

Table 2. Factors Influencing Men’s Risk of Committing Rape

Individual factors	Relationship factors	Community factors	Societal factors
Alcohol and drug use	Associate with sexually aggressive and delinquent peers	Poverty, mediated through forms of crisis of male identity	Societal norms supportive of sexual violence
Coercive sexual fantasies and other attitudes and beliefs supportive of sexual violence	Family environment characterized by physical violence and few resources	Lack of employment opportunities	Societal norms supportive of male superiority and sexual entitlement
Impulsive and antisocial tendencies	Strongly patriarchal relationship or family environment	Lack of institutional support from police and judicial system	Weak laws and policies related to sexual violence
Preference for impersonal sex	Emotionally unsupportive family environment	General tolerance of sexual assault within the community	Weak laws and policies related to gender equality
Hostility toward women	Family honor considered more important than the health and safety of the victim	Weak community sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence	High levels of crime and other forms of violence
History of sexual abuse as a child			
Witnessed family violence as a child			

Source: E. G. Krug, et al., eds. *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization, 2002.

Research has demonstrated that rates of domestic violence tend to be lower for couples who share responsibility for household decisions than when either the husband or the wife makes decisions alone. Gender norms are often used as a justification of violence against women, and women who agree that it is acceptable for a husband to hit his wife are more likely to report having ever experienced violence. In diverse countries (including Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Nicaragua, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), studies have found that violence is viewed as the husband’s right to “correct” a wife’s mistakes¹²³ or that dominant social and cultural norms of

¹¹⁹ R. Jewkes, “Intimate partner Violence: Causes and Prevention,” *Lancet* 359 (2002): 1423–1429.

¹²⁰ World Health Organization, 2005.

¹²¹ N. Andersson, et al., “National Cross-sectional Study on Views on Sexual Violence and Risk of HIV Infection and AIDS Among South African School Pupils,” *BMJ* 2004; 329 (2004): 952–957.

¹²² Leonor Rivera-Rivera, et al., “Intra-familial Physical Violence Among Mexican and Egyptian Youth,” *Rev. Saude Publica* 39(5) (2005): 709–715.

¹²³ Heise Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller, 1999.

“ideal” women sanction the use of force to enforce these gender roles.¹²⁴ A variety of “trigger” events that may justify “disciplining” a wife include not obeying the husband or talking back, burning food or not having it ready on time, failing to care adequately for the children or home, questioning the husband about money or girlfriends, going somewhere without his permission, or refusing to have sex with him.¹²⁵

There is wide variation in women’s attitudes toward partner violence, as studied in national demographic health surveys. According to the WHO’s multi-country study, the greatest variation in the circumstances under which women agree that wife-beating is justified exists between urban, industrialized settings and rural and traditional areas. Acceptance of wife-beating is also more common among women who have experienced abuse. The attitudes also vary greatly on whether a woman can refuse sex with her husband (and the acceptable reasons for doing so).¹²⁶ The strongest and most consistent negative predictors of acceptance of wife-beating among both men and women are household wealth and education.¹²⁷

Little has been written about other family members (fathers, brothers, or in-laws) “disciplining” a wife or unmarried female except within the context of honor crimes.

Egypt and MENA Region

According to the 2005 Egypt DHS, half (50 percent) of ever-married Egyptian women agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: She goes out without telling him (40 percent), neglects the children (40 percent), argues with him (37 percent), refuses to have sex with him (34 percent), or burns food (19 percent). And 17 percent of the women agreed that a husband is justified in beating his wife for all five reasons. Substantially comparable questions on health surveys conducted in Morocco, Jordan, and Turkey reveal some cultural or gender differences: In Jordan, 87 percent of the women agree with one or more reasons (with 60 percent of women agreeing that burning food is a justification for wife-beating but only 4 percent agreeing with the justification of arguing with him); in Turkey, only 39.4 percent of women agree with one or more reasons (with only 6 percent agreeing that burning food and 29 percent agreeing that arguing with the husband justify wife-beating).^{128, 129, 130, 131}

An earlier study of 200 men and women in the governorates of Cairo, Shariqia, Minya, and Qena showed that 43 percent of respondents agreed that a man has the right to

¹²⁴ Marnju Rani, Sekhar Bonu, and Nafissatou Diop-Sidibe, “An Empirical Investigation of Attitudes Towards Wife-Beating Among Men and Women in Seven Sub-Saharan African Countries,” *African Journal of Reproductive Health/La Revue Africaine de la Sante Reproductive* 8:3 (December 2004): 116–136. The article uses DHS data collected between 1999 and 2001 in Benin, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mali, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.

¹²⁵ Heise, 1998.

¹²⁶ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹²⁷ Rani, Bonu, and Nafissatou Diop-Sidibe, 2004, 116–136.

¹²⁸ El-Zanaty and Way, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey*, 222-223.

¹²⁹ *Morocco Population and Family Health Survey 2003–04*.

¹³⁰ *Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2002*.

¹³¹ *Turkey Demographic and Health Survey 2003*.

<http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/tnsa2003eng/reports.htm>.

physically punish his wife; however, among those with higher education, 0 percent of females and only 3 percent of males responded that a man has that right.¹³²

A comparative analysis of the 1995 and 2005 Egypt DHSs reveals that the association between socio-demographic differentials and wife-beating is weakening. However, the prevalence of such abuse is still lower if both partners are educated. Although the difference is now less than in 1995, women who were better educated were not as likely to report severe abuse as were women with less education.¹³³

A review of several VAW studies in Egypt identified risk factors for spousal domestic violence as the wife's young age, a history of domestic violence in the abusive partner's family, alcohol and drugs, seasonal employment, and low wealth and education of the woman.^{134, 135} In a study of 2,522 married women living in Minya, women with children and without financial alternatives to marriage were more likely to experience and justify abuse, and women who were financially dependent on their spouses for support were less likely to seek help for physical abuse they experience compared with more financially independent women. The study also found that women living farther from their own families were more likely to have been beaten by their spouse.¹³⁶

Smaller studies in Egypt have also examined the causes of domestic violence. In a study of 500 rural women questioned about the reasons they were beaten, respondents mentioned unfaithfulness (63 percent), the wife refuses sex (63 percent), she speaks to someone the husband does not know (45 percent), the husband comes home and does not find his wife (36 percent), the wife answers back (34 percent), the wife will not go to a place where husband wants her to go (32 percent), food is late (23 percent), and no reason (22 percent).¹³⁷ In a study of 100 married women in a Cairo suburb of Manshiet Nasser, 30 percent of the women said they had experienced some form of physical domestic violence; of those respondents, 75 percent reported that the main reason for the abuse was refusal to have sex with their husband.¹³⁸

The connection between attitudes and religion was examined in an Egyptian study that asked 75 married couples whether marital rape exists or if it is a man's right to have sex with his wife at any time. Of the female respondents, 67 percent of Muslims and 55 percent of Christians believed their husbands had the right to have sexual relations with them whenever they wish. However, based only on the age of the respondents, 75 percent of the women below the age of 20 disagreed with the concept of the husband's absolute

¹³² Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, *Women's Rights and Islamic Family Law: Perspectives on Reform* (New York: Zed Books, 2004).

¹³³ Akmatov, et al.

¹³⁴ Nawal H. Ammar, "Beyond the Shadows: Domestic Spousal Violence in a 'Democratising' Egypt," *Trauma Violence & Abuse*, 7:4 (October 2006): 244–259.

¹³⁵ The Social Research Center of the American University in Cairo recently completed a women's empowerment survey based on a pilot sample of 2,400 Egyptian women. The survey instrument was designed to measure women's empowerment, but includes some questions related to violence and help-seeking behaviors. The data has not yet been analyzed.

¹³⁶ Kathryn M. Yount, "Resources, Family Organization and Domestic Violence Against Married Women in Minya, Egypt," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67:3 (August 2005).

¹³⁷ This study by Ahmed Ragaa is referenced in Ahmed Zaki, Neveen Soliman, and Howaida Al Refai, *Al Onf Ded Al Mar'a Fi Mesr (Violence Against Women in Egypt)* (El Mahrousa Center for Publishing and Media Services, 2007).

¹³⁸ M. Tadros, *Rightless Women, Heartless Men: Violence Against Women a Field Study in a Cairo Suburb* (Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights, 1998).

right. The same study found that women in arranged marriages were more likely to experience marital rape.¹³⁹

Another Egyptian study¹⁴⁰ explored the attitudes of the public about what constitutes violence against women and their reactions to community violence in the streets. The research group categorized as acts of severe violence against women sexual assault (88 percent), women treated harshly by their husbands (85 percent), verbal harassment (82 percent), or a husband's betrayal of his wife (81 percent). Other behaviors were less likely to be considered severe violence against women: preventing women from working (40 percent), preventing women from leaving the house (39 percent), the husband's marriage to another woman (47 percent), and female circumcision (33 percent). Respondents were also asked their likely reaction if they were passing by when a woman was exposed to violence on the street. Friendly intervention was the most frequent response (91 percent), followed by reporting the incident to the police (69 percent); 8 percent of respondents said they would support the offender because they believed women deserved this type of violence. The study did not find any correlation between the individual's educational level and expected behavior.

Regarding the rationale for female genital cutting/mutilation, research suggests that the practice, although reportedly declining, persists because of a belief that circumcision will moderate female sexuality and assure a girl's marriageability, and that it is sanctioned by Islam.¹⁴¹ Circumcised women have been found more likely to support continuation of FGC/FGM, to circumcise their daughters, and to accept the right of husbands to beat their wives.¹⁴² The level of education of the wife and the practice of FGC/FGM were significantly correlated with sexual abuse in a study of women in Lower Egypt. The educational level and age of the husbands were variables that were highly significantly related to sexual abuse, particularly among those who were illiterate, who smoked, and who used drugs.¹⁴³

Among low-income women in Aleppo, Syria, the prevalence of physical abuse among rural residents was 44 percent compared with 19 percent among city residents.¹⁴⁴ Women finishing 12 years of schooling were 10 times less likely to be abused than illiterate women, and educated women were also less likely to suffer from mental distress. Arranged marriage is more common among rural than urban communities in Syria, which could be one reason why country women are more likely than city women to have abuse-prone marriages. To a lesser degree, the husband's education also is related to physical abuse. Women married to illiterate husbands are three times more likely to be abused compared with those whose husbands have finished at least 12 years of schooling.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Adley Al-Semary. *Al Entihak al Gensi lel Zawga (Sexual Abuse of Wives)*. Dar Al Maaref Al Gameyya, 1999.

¹⁴⁰ Nahed Ramzey and Adel Sultan, *Al'Onf Ded El Mar'a Ro'ya al Nekhba wa al Gomhour al Amm (Violence Against Women: The View of Electors and the General Public)* (National Council for Women, 1999).

¹⁴¹ El-Gibaly, 2002.

¹⁴² Manay Refaat, et al., "Female Genital Mutilation and Domestic Violence Among Egyptian Women," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 27 (2001): 593–596.

¹⁴³ A. M. Elnashar, et al., "Sexual Abuse Experienced by Married Egyptian Women," *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* 99 (2007): 216–220.

¹⁴⁴ Wasim Maziak and Taghrid Asfar, "Physical Abuse in Low-Income Women in Aleppo, Syria," *Health Care for Women International*, 24 (2003):313–326.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

Overall, the duty of obedience and conflicts with in-laws are considered a major cause of wife abuse in Islamic countries. Domestic abuse is largely hidden and is regarded by many — including the victims, the police, health professionals, and even the law — as private and, in some cases, even legitimate.¹⁴⁶ The majority of men in a Saudi study viewed violence as the appropriate way to deal with female misconduct, and more than half (53 percent) of the 30 percent of men who physically abused women in their families thought it was their duty to undertake the act.¹⁴⁷

7. IMPACTS OF VAW

*Violence against women has far-reaching consequences for women, their children, and society as a whole. Women who experience violence suffer a range of health problems, and their ability to earn a living and to participate in public life is diminished. Their children are significantly more at risk of health problems, poor school performance and behavioural disturbances. Violence against women impoverishes women, their families, and nations. It lowers economic production, drains resources from public services and employers, and reduces human capital formation.*¹⁴⁸

Violence against women results in major health problems for both women and children (Table 3). Impacts include physical injury (such as bruises, cuts, and broken bones), functional disorders (chronic pain syndromes, gastrointestinal disorders, irritable bowel syndrome) and reduced physical function as well as gynecological problems and mental health disorders. Violence can have direct consequences on women's health and can increase the risk of future ill health. Therefore, being a victim of violence is not a health problem itself, but rather can be considered a risk factor for a variety of diseases and conditions.¹⁴⁹

Female victims of sexual abuse — whether by strangers or violent partners — often are unable to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV.^{150, 151} If subjected to violence during pregnancy (which is the case for up to 28 percent of women, depending on the location),¹⁵² the result can be miscarriage or stillbirth, fetal injury, or premature labor or birth. Physical violence is often accompanied by emotionally abusive behaviors such as belittling, intimidation, humiliation, and prohibiting women from seeing friends and family.¹⁵³ The psychological impact of domestic abuse often extends well beyond the physical harm from even a single

¹⁴⁶ S. Douki, et al., “Women’s Mental Health in the Muslim World: Cultural, Religious, and Social Issues,” *Journal of Affective Disorders* 102 (2007): 177–189.

¹⁴⁷ Almosaed.

¹⁴⁸ United Nations Secretary-General, iii.

¹⁴⁹ Heise and Ellsberg, 1999.

J. C. Campbell, “Health Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence,” *Lancet* 359(9314) (2002): 1331–1336.

¹⁵⁰ United Nations Development Programme, *Dying of Sadness: Sexual Violence and the HIV Epidemic* (2000).

¹⁵¹ L. Schechtman, *Zero Tolerance: Stop Violence Against Women and Children, Stop HIV/AIDS*. (Washington: Global AIDS Alliance, 2006).

¹⁵² World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁵³ Watts and Zimmerman, 2002.

episode.¹⁵⁴ Women who are abused tend to suffer from depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, phobias, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and alcohol and drug abuse, and they may have an increased risk of suicide or suicide attempts.^{155, 156, 157} Such violence can also lead to self-immolation, forced prostitution, and violent behavior toward children.¹⁵⁸

Table 3. Fatal and Non-fatal Outcomes of VAW

Non-fatal Outcomes			Fatal outcomes
Physical injuries and chronic conditions	Sexual and reproductive sequelae	Psychological and behavioral outcomes	
Injury — fractures, lacerations, abrasions Functional impairment Physical symptoms Poor subjective health Chronic pain syndromes Gastrointestinal disorders Irritable bowel syndrome Permanent disability	Unwanted pregnancy Sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV Gynecological disorders Unsafe abortion Pregnancy complications Miscarriage/low birth weight Pelvic Inflammatory disease	Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) Depression Anxiety Phobias/panic disorders Eating and sleep disorders Sexual dysfunction Low self-esteem Mental distress Smoking Alcohol/drug use Sexual risk-taking Physical inactivity Overeating	Femicide Suicide Maternal mortality AIDS-related mortality

Sources: Adapted from Krug, 2002 and Heise, L., M. Ellsberg, and M. Gottemoeller. *Ending Violence Against Women*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

And violence kills women. In the United States, for example, an estimated 40 to 70 percent of homicides of women are perpetrated by intimate partners, often within the context of abusive relationships.^{159, 160} Among homicides of men, intimate partner violence accounts for a small only percentage of the killings; in many cases, the homicides occur when the woman attempts to defend herself or retaliate against an abusive man.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ R. Fishbach and B. Herbert, “Domestic Violence and Mental Health: Correlates and Conundrums Within and Across Cultures,” *Social Science Medicine* 45(8) (1997):1168.

¹⁵⁵ Heise and Ellsberg, 1999.

¹⁵⁶ Krug, et al., 2002.

¹⁵⁷ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁵⁸ United Nations General Assembly. *In-depth Study on All Forms of Violence Against Women: Report of the Secretary-General*, 6.

¹⁵⁹ J. E. Bailey, et al., “Risk Factors for Violent Death of Women in the Home,” *Archives of Internal Medicine* 157 (1997):777–82.

¹⁶⁰ Another study based on 2006 U.S. crime statistics showed that where the victim-to-perpetrator relationship could be identified, 92 percent of the female victims (1,572 of a total of 1,701) were murdered by someone they knew. And 60 percent of those victims were the wives or intimate partner of their murderers. Violence Policy Center, *When Men Murder Women: An Analysis of 2006 Homicide Data* (Washington: Violence Policy Center, 2008).

¹⁶¹ P. H. Smith, K. E. Moracco, and J. Butts, “Partner Homicide in Context: A Population Based Perspective,” *Homicide Studies* 2 (1998), 400–421.

Domestic violence not only poses a direct threat to women's health, but also has adverse consequences for the survival and well-being of children. From conception, children of mothers who have experienced violence are at a disproportionately high risk for poor health outcomes. These include greater likelihood of a non-live birth, higher mortality rates for children under five, and lower rates of full vaccination of children from 12 to 35 months (in Egypt, the rate is 5 to 10 percent higher among mothers who have not experienced violence than among mothers who have).¹⁶²

The economic costs of violence against women can be measured in terms of prevention, response, and opportunity costs¹⁶³ — for example, lost wages due to absenteeism, higher health care costs, and increased burdens on law enforcement structures.¹⁶⁴ The state/public sector bears most of the direct cost of services, including the criminal justice system, health services, housing and shelters, social services for women and their children, and income support; other support services; and civil legal costs. Costs related to reduced employment and productivity can mean that women lose earnings; employers may lose output and may incur additional costs for sick leave and recruiting and training replacements; and the state may lose taxes as a consequence of lost employment and output. There is also the cost of pain and suffering inflicted on women and the consequences for children.¹⁶⁵ Thus, prevention efforts have been shown to be cost-effective.¹⁶⁶

Egypt and MENA Region

Consistent with data from around the world, ever-beaten women in Egypt, including those who were beaten within the previous year, were more likely to report health problems necessitating medical attention than never-beaten women. The research has also shown a positive correlation between the increased frequency of beatings and the lack of contraceptive use, often out of fear that a husband may suspect some sort of infidelity. There is also generally a negative relationship between the frequency of beatings and the number of visits to a health professional, in many cases due to the husband's control over the wife's mobility.^{167, 168}

Egyptian studies have analyzed the psychological effects of violence against women,¹⁶⁹ including a focus on domestic violence and rape and the psychological characteristics leading to abuse for both the perpetrator and the victim.¹⁷⁰ One study in some Qena prisons noted that as many as 12 percent of suicides are the result of domestic violence.

¹⁶² Kishor and Johnson, 2004. Egypt statistic based on Egypt DHS 1995.

¹⁶³ N. Duvvury, C. Grown, and J. Redner. *Costs of Intimate Partner Violence at the Household and Community Levels: An Operational Framework for Developing Countries* (Washington: ICRW. 2004).

¹⁶⁴ Krug, et al., 2002.

¹⁶⁵ United Nations Secretary-General, 62–63.

¹⁶⁶ World Health Organization, *The Economic Dimensions of Interpersonal Violence* (2004).

¹⁶⁷ R. MacLean, "In Egypt, Beaten Wives Are Less Likely to Use Prenatal Care or Contraceptives," Guttmacher Institute: *International Planning Perspective*, 32:3 (September 2006).

¹⁶⁸ Diop-Sidibe, Campbell, and Becker, 2006.

¹⁶⁹ *Al Onf Ded el Mar'a: Derasat Halet al Nesa'a al Monanafat 2003 (Violence Against Women: Study of Female Victims 2003)* (Ministry of Insurance and Social Administrative Development, 2003).

¹⁷⁰ Amal Abdel Hady, *Al Khroug Men Daerat al 'Onf: Dalil Monahdat al 'Onf Ded al Nes'aa (Exit from the Circle of Violence: Director of the Fight Against Violence Against Women)* (Al-Tlaai' Publishers, 2004).

Another study identified several general characteristics of husbands who beat their wives; these included the fact that most had witnessed domestic violence in their own homes (their father hit their mother).¹⁷¹

In Egypt, the National Council for Women has published several studies on violence against women, including one on both the physical and psychological effects of VAW on women and on society as a whole. When compared to their non-abused counterparts, abused wives reported more negative patterns of marital communication and lower levels of commitment to marriage as well as lower levels of satisfaction, affection, harmony, and happiness in marriage.¹⁷² And, in a study analyzing rates of depression in adolescents in Egypt and Oman, a history of abuse during adolescence predicted depression in almost all the models. Although there was no significant gender difference for the Oman sample, the rate of depressive symptoms for Alexandria (Egypt) showed that the incidence of symptoms in girls was almost always double that in boys.¹⁷³

Arab researchers have consistently reported that cultural factors arising mainly from the subordinate position of women in Arab communities influence the prevalence, pattern, and management of psychiatric disorders in women.¹⁷⁴ Physical, sexual, and emotional safety and security that are essential to good mental health are systematically denied to countless women in Islamic societies simply because of their gender. And health professionals, rather than detecting abuse, often deny, minimize, interpret as delusional or ignore reports of abuse.¹⁷⁵ Surveys of Palestinian women revealed that the greater the extent of abuse by their husbands, the higher their levels of anger, fear, psychological distress, depression and anxiety, and the lower their self-esteem.¹⁷⁶

8. RESPONSES OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE

*Most abused women are not passive victims, but use active strategies to maximize their safety and that of their children. Some women resist, others flee, and still others attempt to keep the peace by capitulating to their husband's demands.*¹⁷⁷

The majority of physically abused women — between 55 and 95 percent of women according to a 10-country study — have never gone to an agency to seek help. Women who experience severe physical violence are more likely than those who experience other

¹⁷¹ El Sayed Awad, *Al Mar'a wa al Onfal Osari: Bayn al Reef wa al Hadar (Women and Domestic Violence: Between the Rural and Present)* (Cairo: Cairo Institute of Research and Social Studies of Cairo University, 2004).

¹⁷² Nahed Ramzey and Adel Sultan, *Al'Onf Ded El Mar'a Ro'ya al Nekhba wa al Gomhour al Amm (Violence Against Women: The View of Electors and the General Public)* (National Council for Women, 1999).

¹⁷³ M. Afifi, "Depression in Adolescents: Gender Differences in Oman and Egypt," *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal* 12:1-2 (2006): 61–71.

¹⁷⁴ M. Fakhr El Islam, M. "Social Psychiatry and the Impact of Religion," in *Images in Psychiatry: An Arab Perspective*, ed. A. Okasha and M. Maj, M. (Cairo: WPA Publications, 2001), 37-51.

¹⁷⁵ Douki, et al. (2007): 177–189.

¹⁷⁶ Muhammad Haj-Yahia, "The Impact of Wife Abuse on Marital Relations as Revealed by the Second Palestinian National Survey on Violence Against Women," *Journal of Family Psychology* 16:3 (2002): 273–285.

¹⁷⁷ Mary Ellsberg et al. "Researching Domestic Violence Against Women: Methodological and Ethical Considerations," 25.

types of violence to seek support from an agency or authority.¹⁷⁸ Informal networks of friends, families, and neighbors are usually the first point of contact for abused women rather than more formal services (health services, legal advice, or shelters) or contacted authorities (police, local leaders, or religious leaders).^{179, 180}

The options available to a female victim of violence tend to limit her response. The seeming lack of response to violence (including living with violence) may, in fact, be a woman's strategic assessment of what it takes to survive and to protect her children.¹⁸¹ Moreover, denial and fear of social stigma also prevent women from seeking help.¹⁸² Revealing that a woman is a victim of violence can lead to more violence, and even death, in countries where a family's "honor" rests in the chastity or purity of its female members. Researchers have found that the interviewer is frequently the first person that a woman has spoken to about her abuse — this is the case for 20 percent to two-thirds of those who reported being abused.¹⁸³

The reasons given by women for staying in abusive relationships commonly include fear of retribution, lack of other means of economic support, concern for children, emotional dependence, lack of support from family and friends, and an enduring hope that the abuser will change. In some countries, the stigma of being single or divorced pushes women to stay in abusive marriages. Studies have also suggested a consistent set of factors that lead to a woman's leaving the marriage: the severity of the violence increases and the woman realizes the abuser will not change, or the violence starts affecting the children. Another key factor in the decision to leave is emotional and logistical support from family or friends to seek help.¹⁸⁴

Women often leave and return to an abusive relationship several times before making the final break.¹⁸⁵ Leaving does not necessarily guarantee a woman's safety; in fact, the risk of being murdered is greatest immediately after separation from an abuser.¹⁸⁶

Egypt and MENA Region

According to the 2005 Egypt DHS, only about one-third (35 percent) of Egyptian women who have been physically or sexually abused by their spouses have sought assistance. Those who did seek help overwhelmingly went to family members, with under one percent seeking assistance from the police or a religious leader, doctor, or lawyer.¹⁸⁷ More

¹⁷⁸ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁷⁹ L. Rose, J. Campbell, and J. Cub, "The Role of Social Support and Family Relationships in Women's Responses to Battering," *Health Care for Women International* 21 (2000): 27–29.

¹⁸⁰ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁸¹ Ellsberg and Heise, 2005: 25–26.

¹⁸² Krug, et al., 2002.

¹⁸³ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁸⁴ Heise, Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller, 1999.

¹⁸⁵ K. A. Landenburger, "A Process of Entrapment in and Recovery from an Abusive Relationship," *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 9 (2006): 927–938.

¹⁸⁶ J. C. Campbell, *Assessing Dangerousness: Violence by Sexual Offenders, Batterers and Child Abusers* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1995).

¹⁸⁷ El-Zanaty and Way, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2005*, 228.

than half of those who did not seek help gave the reason that the abuse is “not important” or that it is a “part of life” (47 and 15 percent, respectively).

Women in Egypt rarely report wife abuse to the police. In one study of 100 abused women only 13 went to the police; even when cases are brought, an estimated 44 percent are withdrawn within a few days after the report is filed, according to another study.¹⁸⁸ The Egyptian Centre for Women’s Rights reported that of 2,500 women who had reported cases of sexual harassment to the Centre, only 12 per cent had made a complaint to the police.¹⁸⁹

Women stay in abusive relationships because of challenges posed by Egyptian law, such as an unequal divorce system, “obedience” laws, discriminatory consequences such as non-payment of alimony and child support, and precarious housing and custody rights.¹⁹⁰ A 2004 study of 135 women living in the El Monera El Gharbeia areas of Geza County explored the reasons why women accepted domestic violence and did not obtain divorces. The survey found that 90 percent of respondents believed life with an abusive husband was better than being divorced in Egyptian society. Other reasons for not divorcing despite abuse included fear that their children would live in isolation and be shunned; that they would not have friends or would be shunned by neighbors; that their parents would not accept a divorced daughter, and that their sisters would not be able to marry if they were divorced.¹⁹¹

9. LEGAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

*There exists an international legal and policy framework which establishes standards for States to address violence against women, including through the enactment of legislation. These standards have been further elaborated through initiatives, including model legislation. However, while States have made a great deal of progress in the enactment of legislation to address violence against women, numerous gaps and challenges remain.*¹⁹²

The starting point for a legal response to violence against women is the international conventions and laws that address the issue — from the anti-discrimination clauses of the basic human rights treaties (e.g., the Universal Declaration for Human Rights) to the International Declaration. Government compliance with already ratified human rights treaties and international agreements related to gender equality and human rights for women would go a long way toward reducing VAW. These agreements include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

¹⁸⁸ Ammar, “Beyond the Shadows: Domestic Spousal Violence in a ‘Democratising’ Egypt: 244-259. The author cites Tadros, M. (1998). *Rightless women, heartless men: Violence against women a field study in a Cairo suburb*. Cairo, Egypt: Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights and Abd el-Wahhab, L. (1994).

¹⁸⁹ Amnesty International. *The State of the World’s Human Rights* (2008).

¹⁹⁰ Human Rights Watch/Middle East, *Divorced from Justice: Women’s Unequal Access to Divorce in Egypt*, (Human Rights Watch Series MENA 16:8, 2004).

¹⁹¹ Abeer A. Ibrahim and Abby L. Ferber “An Overview of Domestic Violence Against Women in Egypt’s Slums,” American Sociological Association Conference Paper (2004).

¹⁹² United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, *Background Paper for the Expert Group Meeting on Good Practices in Legislation on Violence Against Women* (2008).
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw/legislation_2008/Background%20Paper%20vaw%20legislation.pdf.

(CEDAW) (1979), the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), the 1994 Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), the 1995 Declaration and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women (the “Beijing Declaration”), and the 2000 Declaration and Development Goals.¹⁹³ Table 3 lists selected international instruments of law, policy, and practice on violence against women. The United Nations has intensified its efforts to combat violence against women with the Secretary-General’s 2006 report on violence against women and a 2008 report on good practices for legislative response to VAW.¹⁹⁴

Table 4. Selected International Instruments of Law, Policy and Practice on Violence Against Women

<p><i>International Treaties</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women • Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women • International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol • International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights • International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination • Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment • Convention on the Rights of the Child and Optional Protocols • International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families • Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime • Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court • Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War (Fourth Geneva Convention)
<p><i>Regional Treaties</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Convention of Belem do Para) • Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People Rights on the Rights on Women in Africa • South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution
<p><i>International Policy Instruments</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights • Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development • Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women • Outcome document of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly, “Women 2000: Gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century” (General Assembly resolution 5-23/3)
<p><i>Selected Recent United Nations General Assembly Resolutions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Declaration on the Elimination Against Women, Resolution 48/104 • Crime prevention and criminal justice measure to eliminate violence against women, Resolution 52/86 • United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution 55/2, particularly para. 25 • Traditional or Customary Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Girls, Resolution 56/128 • Elimination of Domestic Violence Against Women, Resolution 58/147 • Working towards the Elimination of Crimes Against Women and Girls Committed in the Name of Honour, Resolution 59/165 • Trafficking in Women and Girls, Resolution 59/166 • Violence Against Women Migrant Workers, Resolution 60/139 • 2005 World Summit Outcome, Resolution 60/1, particularly para. 58(f)

¹⁹³ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

¹⁹⁴ United Nations. *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Good Practices in Legislation on Violence Against Women*. Vienna, Austria: UNDAW and UNODC, 2008.

<p>Security Council Resolution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women and Peace and Security
<p>Commission on Human Rights Resolution (most recent)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elimination of Violence Against Women, Resolution 2005/41
<p>United Nations Treaty Bodies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: general recommendations No. 12, violence against women Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: general recommendations No. 14, female circumcision Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: general recommendations No. 19, violence against women Committee on Racial Discrimination: general recommendations No. 25, gender-related dimensions of racial discrimination Human Rights Committee: general comment No. 28, equality of rights between men and women (article 3) Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: general comment No. 14, the right to the highest attainable standard of health Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: general comment No. 16, the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights (article 3)
<p>Inter-Parliamentary Union</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How Parliaments Can and Must Promote Effective Ways of Combating Violence Against Women in All Fields, resolution of 12 May 2006

Source: United Nations. *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Good Practices in Legislation on Violence Against Women*. Vienna, Austria: UNDAW and UNODC, 2008.

Analyses of legal frameworks for addressing violence against women have focused on different types of VAW, such as IPV/domestic violence and trafficking in persons^{195, 196, 197, 198} and sometimes focus on specific ways to address the problems. These include critical analysis of state intervention in IPV cases¹⁹⁹ and mandated victim participation in domestic violence prosecutions.^{200, 201}

Egypt and MENA Region

Egypt is a state party to a broad range of international human rights instruments that address the issue of violence against women. Although progress has been made in some areas, human rights groups have concluded that women remain — legally, politically, and practically — second-class citizens in the entire Arab region, including Egypt.²⁰² As a result of illiteracy and lack of knowledge about legal rights, rural women are less likely to make decisions about their own futures, they often cannot stand up to a father’s or brother’s decision to arrange their marriage while they are still underage, they are expected to produce many children to help in farming the land, and they end up less

¹⁹⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons* (2006).
¹⁹⁶ Kathryn E. Nelson, “Sex Trafficking and Forced Prostitution: Comprehensive New Legal Approaches,” *Houston Journal of International Law* 24:3 (2005): 551-578.
¹⁹⁷ M. Mattar, *Comprehensive Legal Approaches to Combating Trafficking in Persons: An International and Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University/SAIS, 2006).
¹⁹⁸ M. McCreight, “Smuggling of Migrants, Trafficking in Human Beings, and Irregular Migration on a Comparative Basis,” *European Law Journal* 12:1 (January 2006): 106–129.
¹⁹⁹ Linda G. Mills, “Killing Her Softly: Intimate Abuse and the Violence of State Intervention,” *Harvard Law Review* 113:2 (December 1999): 550–613.
²⁰⁰ Kayani Robbins, “No-Drop Prosecution of Domestic Violence: Just Good Policy of Equal Protection Mandate?” *Stanford Law Review* 52:1 (November 1999): 205–233.
²⁰¹ Cheryl Hanna, “No Right to Choose: Mandated Victim Participation in Domestic Violence Prosecutions,” *Harvard Law Review* 109:8 (June 1996): 1849–1910.
²⁰² Amnesty International, *The State of the World’s Human Rights* (2007).

financially secure. The entrenched culture of discrimination between the sexes has prevailed although some progress has been achieved more recently, encouraging the growth of the women's rights movement.

The issue of violence against women has not, from the legal perspective, won as much interest from local Egyptian organizations as from international organizations. Egyptian libraries have a wide variety of research papers and studies on violence against women from the media and social perspectives, but the legal aspect remains a largely undeveloped area for researchers. The research that exists on legal topics is limited mostly to analyzing discrimination against women in general without specifically addressing violence.

Nevertheless, a limited number of studies and reports of local legal and women's organizations have focused on monitoring violence against woman from the legal perspective. These studies have reviewed the most significant international conventions and treaties and the Egyptian government's response to their commitments to them as well as the text of articles under reservations.²⁰³ Other studies have analyzed a wide range of issues related to violence based on the Egyptian constitution and Islamic law.

One of the most recent studies examined the Family Court to identify strengths and weaknesses in the new legal system and its role in delivering justice to female plaintiffs.²⁰⁴ The study also highlighted inherent concepts within the context of the legal process of marriage, the rights and duties of both spouses within the relationship, and the effect of these concepts on female plaintiffs in securing their rights. The study's secondary goal was to learn how to implement the divorce law for consideration (*'khul'*) within the context of Family Court structures and its effect on the female plaintiffs. Another study analyzed cases involving Egyptian families and violence against women, such as domestic violence, rape, indecent assault, and torture in police stations.²⁰⁵ These cases underline the difficulties women face and the powerlessness of articles of law to provide them with legal protection.

Two studies analyze honor crimes in Egypt. One examines the perspectives of the law and legislators and the other reviews the legal aspects of cases and the sentences imposed on perpetrators of VAW, including honor crimes.^{206, 207} A study on sexual molestation is based on field study and analysis of 2,800 complaints received from a center that deals with victims of such cases.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Mohamed Al-Gamrey, *Wake' al Mar'a al Masriyya fi Daw'Etifakeyat al Kada' ala Gamei' Ashkal al Tamyez Ded al Mar'a ma Banyan Dawr al-Monathamat Ghayr al-Hokomiyya fi Taazeez wa Hamayat Hekook al Mar'a (The Reality of Egyptian Women in Light of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and a Report on the Role of NGOs in Fostering and Protecting Women's Rights)* (National Council for Women, 2003). This is the report of the coalition of the organizations concerned with following up on the CEDAW for 2000.

²⁰⁴ Elshermany, Malaka. "The Family Court in Egypt." Cairo: AUC, 2008.

²⁰⁵ El Nadeem Center for Treatment and Psychological Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence, "Women against Violence – Accounts from inside the Egyptian Families." 2003.

²⁰⁶ Mahmoud Abdel Rashed and Zein Alabedeen Makhlof, *Garaem al-Sharaf: Sora men al Onf al Mowagah Ded al Mar'a (Honour Crimes: An Example of Violence Towards Women)* (Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance, 2007).

²⁰⁷ Shoukri Al Dkaak, *Keyoud Este'mal Al Raefa fi Garaem al Ard wi al Sharaf (Constraints to the Use of Mercy in Honour Crimes)* (Center for Arab Civilization, 2006).

²⁰⁸ Shoukry and Hassan.

Other texts cover domestic violence and the concept of “discipline,”²⁰⁹ female kidnapping and rape in ancient and modern times,²¹⁰ a comprehensive encyclopedia of moral crimes and crimes of indecency, and related orders issued by the courts, including the Court of Cassation.²¹¹ A book published by the NCW’s Office of Women’s Complaints analyzed the role of the police in protecting women from violence, including sexual harassment, rape, and honor crimes.²¹²

On the regional level, Egypt participated in the Rabat Declaration on Violence against Women and Young Girls 2005, which called for the establishment of clear national policies to eradicate all forms of abuse that prevent women from fully enjoying their human rights. The same declaration called for public and media campaigns to raise awareness of the issue. More recently, as a result of the November 2006 Euro-Mediterranean Ministerial Conference on Strengthening the Role of Women in Society, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership member states, including Egypt, committed to combating all forms of violence against women — particularly domestic violence, trafficking in human beings, harmful traditional practices and violence against migrant women.²¹³

10. VICTIM SERVICES

*Victims/survivors of violence against women need timely access to health care and support services that respond to health care and support services that respond to short-term injuries, protect them from further violations and address longer-term needs.*²¹⁴

Services and assistance for victims of violence against women varies, but a typical package of services includes many, if not all, of the following:

- Shelter or other type of residential facilities;
- Medical care and assistance;
- Psychological and psychiatric assistance;
- Legal assistance;
- Educational assistance and vocational training;
- Economic opportunities, job placement and income-generation activities;
- Humanitarian assistance;
- Housing assistance;
- Family mediation and counseling services;
- Witness protection and security services;
- Specialized assistance to minors (for victims and minors accompanying a family member who is a victim).

²⁰⁹ Ali Elselmy, “Violence in the Family – Legitimate Discipline or Forbidden Violation.” 2001.

²¹⁰ Ahmad Ali Elmagdoob, “Female Rape in Ancient and Modern Societies.” 1993.

²¹¹ Moawad Abdeltawwab, “Universal Encyclopedia in Public Moral Crimes and Crimes of Indecency.” 1993.

²¹² Fatima Khafagy, Azza Soliman and Rdwan Al-Qadi, *Daleil Ma'lomat an Dawr al-Shorta fi Hemayat al Nesa'a men al Onf (Information Guide on the Role of the Police in Protecting Women from Violence)* (Office for Women’s Complaints, 2006).

²¹³ Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, *Intercultural Dialogue on Violence Against Women: Final Results of a Euro-Mediterranean Project* (Nicosia, Cyprus: 2008).

²¹⁴ United Nations Secretary-General, 114.

Victim services can be offered in residential and nonresidential settings, or in a combination thereof. Providing services for victims of different types of violence (for example, domestic violence and trafficking) can be complicated and requires careful consideration.²¹⁵

Many international organizations have developed guidelines and manuals on responding to the needs of female victims of violence. For health care providers and managers, the United Nations Population Fund has a program guide and the International Planned Parenthood Federation has a resource manual on health sector response to gender-based violence.^{216, 217} A literature review has been compiled of existing interventions to address gender-based violence reproductive health/HIV issues in developing countries, with a focus on lessons learned and profiles of “promising” interventions.²¹⁸ Manuals that have been developed target specific issues such as sexual violence in the education sector,²¹⁹ IPV during pregnancy,²²⁰ routine screening for domestic violence,²²¹ and sexual and gender-based violence in refugee situations.^{222, 223, 224}

Among resources on trafficking are the United Nations’ recommended principles and guidelines,²²⁵ The International Organization for Migration’s handbook on direct assistance to victims of trafficking,²²⁶ and the United Nations Children’s Fund’s (UNICEF’s) guidelines on protection and the rights of child victims.²²⁷ Key guidelines for working with victims include do no harm, individualized treatment and care, continuing and comprehensive care, victim interviews and informed consent, self-determination and participation, non-discrimination, and confidentiality and the right to privacy.

²¹⁵ Rebecca Surtees and Susan Somach, *Methods and Models for Mixing Services for Victims of Domestic Violence and Trafficking in Persons in Europe and Eurasia* (Washington: USAID, 2008).

²¹⁶ United Nations Population Fund, *A Practical Approach to Gender-Based Violence: A Programme Guide for Health Care Providers and Managers* (New York: United Nations Population Fund, 2001). http://www.unfpa.org/upload/lib_pub_file/99_filename_genderbased.pdf.

²¹⁷ S. Bott, et al. *Improving the Health Sector Response to Gender-Based Violence: A Resource Manual for Health Care Managers in Developing Countries*. (New York: IPPF/WHO, 2004).

²¹⁸ A. Guedes, *Addressing Gender Based Violence from the Reproductive Health/HIV Sector: A Literature Review and Analysis* (Washington: Poptech, 2004).

²¹⁹ Panos Institute, *Beyond Victims and Villains: Addressing Sexual Violence in the Education Sector*. (2003).

²²⁰ American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, *Intimate Partner Violence During Pregnancy: A Guide for Clinicians* (1998).

²²¹ Family Violence Prevention Fund. *National consensus guidelines on identifying and responding to domestic violence victimization in health care settings*. San Francisco, CA: Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2004.

²²² United Nations Population Fund. *Interagency Manual on Reproductive Health in Refugee Situations: Sexual and Gender-Based Violence*. 2001.

²²³ Ward, *If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and Post-Conflict Settings: A Global Overview*.

²²⁴ Ward and Vann, 2002: 13-14.

²²⁵ UNOHCHR. *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking*. New York: United Nations: E/2002/68/Add.1.

²²⁶ International Organization for Migration, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance to Victims of Trafficking*. (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2007). http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/books/CT%20handbook.pdf

²²⁷ UNICEF, *Guidelines of the Protection of the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking* (UNICEF: SEE, 2005).

Standards for social services for battered women have focused on their adequacy, accessibility and appropriateness.²²⁸ A best practices study on sheltering female victims of IPV in Canada found that the vast majority of women reported needing shelters to provide them emotional support or counseling, a safe and secure place to stay (with their children), information about coping with stress and anger and about improving self-esteem, and housing referrals. On leaving shelters, women often face inadequate housing and financial support, leaving them with a choice between homelessness and returning to the abusive partner.²²⁹ Similarly, researchers in South Africa have found that, after emergency “overnight” shelter and initial “first stage” housing, which accommodates women for approximately three additional months, abused women should move through a number of progressive stages of housing and care until they are settled enough to secure both economic independence and physical security.²³⁰

Studies based on victim interviews have been used to help service providers better understand how victims view different services and service provision approaches²³¹ and why some victims decline assistance.²³² One paper also analyzed differences in grassroots assistance provided by Muslim advocates based on religion and ethnicity.²³³

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Due to a lack of legal protections and restrictions on social services, female victims of violence generally have limited options for assistance in the Middle East and North Africa.^{234, 235} Developing interventions for abuse victims is challenging because victims rarely think seeking assistance outside the family is a viable option, particularly when their families often counsel them to forgive their husbands, tolerate their behavior, and return to their households. Social service providers must find ways to use Western training to assist victims without violating cultural norms.²³⁶

Because abused women in Egypt do not typically talk to doctors or other health care providers about their beatings, additional interventions have been recommended to involve health care providers in combating domestic violence against women. These include adding a module on domestic violence in medical education and training curricula, developing a culturally appropriate screening tool to help health care providers assess risk for each female patient, modifying the national health information system to

²²⁸ L. Davis, T. Early, and J. Hagen, “Social Services for Battered Women: Are They Adequate, Accessible and Appropriate?” *Social Work* 39(6): 395–704.

²²⁹ Leslie Tutty, *Effective Practices in Sheltering Women: Leaving Violence in Intimate Relationships* (YMCA Canada, 2006).

²³⁰ E. Emdon, *Expanding Abused Women’s Access to Housing* (Johannesburg: The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2006). <http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/gender/handbook.pdf>.

²³¹ R. Surtees, *Listening to Victims: Experiences of Identification, Return and Assistance in South-Eastern Europe*. (Vienna: ICMPD. 2007).

²³² A. Brunovskis and R. Surtees, *Leaving the Past Behind: Why Some Trafficking Victims Decline Assistance* (Oslo: Fafo Institute and Vienna: Nexus Institute, 2007).

²³³ Edward Snajdr, “Gender, Power and the Performance of Justice: Muslim Women’s Responses to Domestic Violence in Kazakhstan” *American Ethnologist*, 32:2 (2005): 294–311.

²³⁴ Boy and Kulczycki.

²³⁵ S. Nazir, *Challenging Inequality: Obstacles and Opportunities Towards Women’s Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Freedom House, 2005).

²³⁶ Muhammad Haj-Yahia, “Wife Abuse and Battering in the Sociocultural Context of Arab Society,” *Family Process*, 39, 237–255.

include systematic data collection on domestic violence and its consequences on women's health, developing referral systems, and informing the medical personnel of these mechanisms.²³⁷

A 2004 Human Rights Watch study²³⁸ raised concerns about the lack of institutions available in Egypt to help women who have been victims of violence (at the time of the study, only four shelters existed). The report examines the rules governing women's shelters in Egypt, which reportedly include admission only for women under 50 who are divorced or widowed, for a maximum stay of three months; the shelters do not take in unmarried women who are victims of physical or sexual abuse. The report also noted that once a woman is accepted into the shelter, a social worker verifies her information with her family, therefore creating a situation where a perpetrator may discover the woman's whereabouts. The report also notes that many social workers in Egypt were not aware of the existence of women's shelters. The report emphasizes that such strict restrictions on shelters cause many women to remain in violent situations, often resulting in their risking their lives.

According to a review of the sexual and reproductive health situation of young people between 10 and 24 in the Arab States and Iran, improved education and employment has meant the age of marriage is rising, but unprotected forms of informal marriage are also being reported. Moreover, health service providers neither recognize the needs of this age group nor welcome young people, particularly those who are unmarried. Tunisia has been identified as one of the few places that have developed health policies and services to reach all young people, including those who are unmarried. Highly confidential programs for unmarried young people, such as telephone hotlines with referrals to health services, have been shown to be effective in this context.²³⁹

11. SUPPORT, ADVOCACY, AND PREVENTION

Much has been written on the need to prevent VAW, focusing on multi-sectoral action plans that include coordinated community response (from health and social services, religious organizations, the judiciary and police, trade unions and businesses, and the media) at the national and local levels.^{240, 241} Overall recommendations include strengthening national commitment and action; promoting primary prevention (e.g., raising public awareness, breaking silence, targeting risk factors, and increasing public safety); involving the education sector (in particular, making schools safe for girls); strengthening the health sector response and making it comprehensive, including direct support and referral services); supporting women living with violence; sensitizing criminal justice systems (especially to the needs of female victims of violence); and supporting research and collaboration.²⁴²

²³⁷ Diop-Sidibe, Campbell, and Becker, 2006.

²³⁸ Human Rights Watch/Middle East, "Divorced from Justice: Women's Unequal Access to Divorce in Egypt," *Human Rights Watch Series MENA* 16:8 (2004).

²³⁹ DeJong, et al. 2005, 49–59.

²⁴⁰ World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

²⁴¹ Krug, et al., 2002. Also known as the *Duluth Model*; see <http://www.theduluthmodel.org/duluthmodel.php>.

²⁴² World Health Organization. *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*.

A significant challenge for policy-makers is that there is often no baseline from which to measure the effectiveness of legal and other measures for combating VAW. National data is needed on the cases of violence in both the family and in the community that come to the police and/or health services, and systematic tracking of referrals and judicial outcomes is necessary. Monitoring and evaluation indicators have been developed for program managers, organizations, and policy-makers who are working to address violence against women and girls at the individual, community, district/provincial, and national levels in developing countries.²⁴³

Promising prevention practices include advocacy and campaigns; community mobilization; working with men; using the news media and information technology; promoting public safety, education and capacity-building; and other efforts such as hearings and victim/survivor tribunals.

A variety of VAW prevention activities in the justice, health, and education sectors, as well as multisectoral approaches, have been reviewed in United Nations Development Fund for Women and World Bank publications.^{244, 245} The Council of Europe has developed its own comprehensive plan to combat VAW that urges member states to prioritize prevention on VAW with a strong commitment on the national level. The comprehensive approach includes legal and policy measures, support and protection for victims, data collection, and raising of awareness.²⁴⁶

Women's rights advocates are crucial participants in advocacy campaigns on VAW, with culturally appropriate slogans developed around the Stop Violence Against Women theme.²⁴⁷ Advocacy is a key element in promoting social change, for example, contributing to implementation of South Africa's new domestic violence law.²⁴⁸ Strategic communication has been identified as a critical tool to raise awareness about and combat violence against women.²⁴⁹

Prevention strategies include working with men as allies to combat violence against women and with young people to develop healthy non-violent relationships.²⁵⁰ Special curricula that have been developed to work with men (often young men) include the

²⁴³ Shelah S. Bloom, *Violence Against Women and Girls: A Compendium of Monitoring and Evaluation Indicators* (Chapel Hill: MEASURE Evaluation/USAID, 2008).

²⁴⁴ United Nations Development Fund for Women, *Not a Minute More: Ending Violence Against Women* (UNIFEM, 2003).

²⁴⁵ S. Bott, A Morrison, and M. Ellsberg. *Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence in Middle and Low-Income Countries: A Global Review and Analysis*. (Washington: World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3618, 2004).

²⁴⁶ Council of Europe, "Blueprint of the Council of Europe Campaign to Combat Violence Against Women, including Domestic Violence," *EG-TFV* 8 rev 5 (2006).

²⁴⁷ Such as Amnesty International's "Shelters Not Cemeteries" Stop Violence Against Women Campaign in Turkey and the Council of Europe's "It starts with screams but must never end in silence" campaign.

²⁴⁸ Shereen Usdin, et al., "The Value of Advocacy in Promoting Social Change: Implementing the New Domestic Violence Act in South Africa," *Reproductive Health Matters* 8:16 (November 2000): 55–65.

²⁴⁹ UNIFEM. *Making a Difference: Strategic Communications to End Violence Against Women*. 2003. UNIFEM. *Picturing a Life Free of Violence: Media and Communication Strategies to End Violence Against Women*. 2001

²⁵⁰ Neha Bhandari, "Strategies and Tools for Working with Men and Boys to End Violence Against Girls, Boys, Women and Other Men," UNIFEM and Save the Children (2004).

White Ribbon Campaign from Canada,²⁵¹ Stepping Stones in sub-Saharan Africa (and adapted for use Asia, Latin and North America and Europe),²⁵² Project H from Brazil, and Choose Your Future developed in the United States (adapted under different names in other countries, such as New Visions for Boys in Egypt). The Program H Initiative focuses on helping young men develop gender-equitable norms and behaviors through a tested and validated set of interventions that work at two levels: promoting attitude and behavior change among individual young men and promoting changes in social or community norms that influence these individual attitudes and behaviors.²⁵³

A recent commissioned report commissioned by the WHO evaluated the effectiveness of programs seeking to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality and equity in health. Almost one-third of the 58 programs evaluated were successful in encouraging men to end violence against women, care for their pregnant wives and children, and take steps to avoid infecting their partners with HIV or becoming infected themselves. However, relatively few of the programs went beyond short-term pilot phases of less than one year.²⁵⁴

Working with male perpetrators is a challenging area of prevention. Batterer intervention groups work with voluntary and court-mandated clients.²⁵⁵ Batterer intervention programs have been operating in the United States since the late 1970s using a wide variety of approaches that have been the subject of much debate.^{256, 257, 258} A WHO descriptive study of batterer intervention programs identified 56 programs, including 23 in developing countries. Most of the programs were established in the 1990s, most commonly motivated by the frustration of IPV counseling or advocacy service providers who were unable to stop IPV at what they believed to be the source.²⁵⁹

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Because the majority of abused women in Egypt regard beating as a normal part of marriage, action must be taken to make women — and all of Egyptian society — understand that violence against women is not legitimate or acceptable and that everyone pays a high price for it.²⁶⁰ One study recommended that behavior change communication campaigns be conducted in Egypt to address VAW by targeting the public at large and

²⁵¹ www.whiteribbon.ca (and other branches such as www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk/ and www.euowrc.org/).

²⁵² <http://www.stratshope.org/t-training.htm>

²⁵³ Marcos Nascimento, *Working with Young Men to Promote Gender Equality: An Experience in Brazil and Latin America*. www.promundo.org.br.

²⁵⁴ Gary Barker, Christine Ricardo, and Marcos Nascimento, “Engaging Men and Boys in Changing Gender-based Inequity in Health”, World Health Organization, 2008. The programs evaluated were in North America (24), sub-Saharan Africa (9), Latin America and the Caribbean (9), Asia and the Pacific (9), North Africa and the Middle East (5), and Europe (2).

²⁵⁵ Such as Men Stopping Violence, www.menstoppingviolence.org.

²⁵⁶ Kerry Healy and Christine Smith, *Batterer Intervention: Program Approaches and Criminal Justice Strategies* (Washington: United States Department of Justice/National Institute of Justice, 1997). <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/168638.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ Michael Paymar, *Violent No More: Helping Men End Domestic Abuse* (Hunter Press, 2000).

²⁵⁸ Principles for starting a batterer’s intervention program available at <http://www.stopvaw.org/printview/ebabca60-5bca-45af-89bc-7e62547f45c3.html>.

²⁵⁹ Emily R. Rothman, Alexander Butchart and Magdalena Cerda, *Intervening With Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence: A Global Perspective* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2003), 9.

²⁶⁰ Diop-Sidibe, Campbell, and Becker, 2006.

specific subgroups of the population using different communication strategies (for example, targeting men at mosques, churches, and work places; targeting women through special programs in the mass media or women's organizations; and targeting boys and girls at secular and religious schools).²⁶¹ The NCW Media Unit's media monitoring reports include data on how the media portrays VAW.

Men can be important allies in programs to change attitudes on various gender issues. However, gender practitioners have cautioned on the men's limitations as gender trainers, noting that although they can be effective trainers, they should play only supportive roles. In cultures where men are seen as the legitimate voice of the community, such as Egypt, a male trainer's voice can lend credence to the unspoken convictions of most men that if women are to be empowered, men should be the ones to empower them. Empowering women may be the goal of the program, but allowing men to retain control of the training can have the opposite effect, and result in excluding and disempowering women.²⁶²

Because poor education has been identified as a risk factor for early marriage²⁶³ and VAW, programs that focus on girls' education can be viewed as a type of long-term prevention. Studies in Egypt have shown that improving household wealth has a positive effect on schooling for both boys and girls but that girls' education is also significantly affected by other factors, such as the household composition (for example, the presence of very young children and the absence of adult women other than their mothers who can share in the burden of housework).²⁶⁴ UNICEF has partnered with the Government of Egypt to establish 450 girl-friendly schools, among other initiatives to improve girls' education.²⁶⁵

Not much has been written specifically on the topic of prevention of VAW in the region. One study based on Palestinian surveys on VAW concluded that, due to the collectivist nature of Arab societies, prevention activities should be focused on women's families, who should be educated about the marital and mental health consequences of violence against women and the importance of supporting, protecting, and empowering battered women.²⁶⁶

To respond to the issue of religion and combating violence against women, resources are available on Islamic interpretations of wife beating, including comparisons of literal, patriarchal, and feminist interpretations of the Qur'anic text.²⁶⁷ The internet could play a role in promoting reforming trends in Qur'anic interpretation that can help lead to further empowerment of Muslim women (e.g., the Domestic Violence Forum on the website for

²⁶¹ *ibid.*

²⁶² Nadia Wassef, "Male Involvement in Perpetuating and Challenging the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation in Egypt," in *Men's Involvement in Gender and Development Policy and Practice: Beyond Rhetoric*, edited by Caroline Sweetman (Oxfam, 2001).

²⁶³ Hamamsy, 1994.

²⁶⁴ Assaad, Ragui, Deborah Levison, and Nadia Zibani, "The Effect of Child Work on School Enrollment in Egypt" (Cairo: Economic Research Forum Working Paper Series, 2001).

²⁶⁵ Malak Zaalouk, "Innovation and Mediation: The case of Egypt," in *Partnership for Girls Education*, ed. Nitya Rao and Ines Smyth (Oxfam, 2004).

²⁶⁶ Haj-Yahia, "The Impact of Wife Abuse on Marital Relations as Revealed by the Second Palestinian National Survey on Violence Against Women.

²⁶⁷ Nawal H. Ammar, "Wife Battery in Islam: A Comprehensive Understanding of Interpretations," *Violence Against Women* 13:5 (May 2007). <http://vaw.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/13/5/516>.

the Islamic Society of North America that provides information on community prevention programs and a link to a ten-step advice plan for *imams*).²⁶⁸

12. CONCLUSION

*There is compelling evidence that violence against women is severe and pervasive throughout the world: in 71 countries at least one survey on violence against women has been conducted. However, there is still an urgent need to strengthen the knowledge base to inform policy and strategy development.*²⁶⁹

Although available research on violence against women worldwide covers a wide range of topics, the majority of research in Egypt has been on the prevalence of wife-beating, risk factors and health consequences. Very little has been written about other types of VAW, women's coping strategies and help-seeking behaviors, or comprehensive ways to combat VAW in Egypt. Moreover, the methodology and data collection techniques used in many of the non-DHS studies have been questioned on the basis of adequacy and/or ethical foundations.

Therefore, major gaps exist when considering the spectrum of violence against women issues. Policy-makers in Egypt seeking to develop a strategy to combat violence against women in all its forms should benefit especially from additional research in the following areas:

- *Additional analysis of existing data sets on VAW in Egypt for correlations and risk factors.* The domestic violence data from the DHS has not been fully analyzed because it comprised a small component of the overall survey and was not the survey's primary focus. Similarly, the women's empowerment survey data from the Social Research Center of the American University in Cairo was not initially analyzed from a VAW perspective.
- *Prevalence of, responses to, and attitudes about community violence against women and types of VAW other than IPV.* Almost all currently available research on VAW in Egypt is exclusively on domestic violence, more specifically spousal violence (IPV).
- *Prevalence of and responses to VAW among young women, particularly the unmarried.* Available research, such as the Egypt DHS, overwhelmingly focuses only on married women.
- *Help-seeking behavior of victims of VAW, their awareness about available assistance, and types of assistance they want.* Studies in Egypt have focused more on documenting VAW than on the needs of VAW victims.
- *Awareness and attitudes of married men and of young women and men.* Comparative data attitudes of men and women — whether married or single —

²⁶⁸ Referring to the Web site www.isna.net: Alexis Kort, "Dar al-Cyber Islam: Women, Domestic Violence, and the Islamic Reformation on the World Wide Web," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 25:3 (December 2005).

²⁶⁹ United Nations Secretary-General, iv.

toward VAW issues is not available. Available studies are largely anecdotal and do not focus comprehensively on underlying beliefs that affect individual or societal responses to the many forms of VAW.

- *Comprehensive analysis of legal and regulatory framework specific to VAW in Egypt.* Available legal research tends to focus on narrow legal issues of gender discrimination rather than providing an overview of the legal system's response to VAW through criminal, civil, labor, and family law.
- *Types of services and service provision environment in Egypt for female victims of violence.* No studies have taken a comprehensive look at victim services available to women.
- *Analysis of media approach to VAW to better understand the media environment and how it influences attitudes toward VAW in daily life.* Media monitoring has covered a wide range of issues affecting women, but this particular approach to VAW has not been analyzed.
- *Attitudes and approach of media workers and management to lay the groundwork on a centralized level for raising public awareness and changing attitudes about VAW.* The media is a key player in shaping attitudes of the public, so understanding its views of and approaches to VAW will be critical in designing successful campaigns to combat the issue.

Each of these gaps is partially filled by the remainder of the pieces of the Violence Against Women Study. Although further research is necessary, the study's pieces will establish solid groundwork for policy development and implementation on the part of the NCW and other Egyptian governmental and nongovernmental organizations that build upon the substantial body of work conducted by other researchers and research institutions.

ANNEX

Year	Language	Title	Publisher/Organization	Topic	Type of Study
1997	Arabic	The New Woman	The New Woman Research Centre	Violence against women	Analytical
1998	English	Rightless Women, Heartless Men: Violence Against Women, a Field Study in a Cairo Suburb	Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights	Domestic violence	New Quantitative
1999	Arabic	Sexual Abuse of Wives	Dar Al Maaref Al Gameyya	Marital rape, domestic violence	New Quantitative
1999	Arabic	Bibliography Resources: Violence Against Women	Centre for Resource and Institutional aid for NGOs	Lists all Arabic studies done	–
1999	Arabic	Violence Against Women: The View of Electors and the General Public	The University of Alexandria for Home Economics and the National Council for Human Development and the Environment.	Domestic violence, violence against women, effects on self-esteem	Qualitative/Analytical
2000	Arabic	Violence Against Women: Forum of Discussion: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	Friedrich Ebert — Violence Against Women Journal	Domestic violence, honor killings, sexual abuse	Qualitative/Analytical
2000	Arabic	State of World Population 2000	United Nations Population Fund	Domestic violence, honor killings	Qualitative
2000	Arabic	Violence Against Women: A Sociological Perspective	University of Minya Faculty of Social Science.	FGM, early marriage	Analytical
2000	Arabic	An analysis of the State's Fourth and Fifth Egyptian Reports on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women	National Council of Women	Sexual assault, violence against women	Analytical
2000	Arabic	A Report on the Statistical Data Concerning the Egyptian Woman	National Council of Woman	Sexual assault, domestic violence	New Quantitative/Analytical
2000	English	Egypt: Reports to Treaty Bodies	United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	Women's rights, violence, FGM	Analytical
2000	English	Annex to the Combined Fourth and Fifth State Periodic Report of the	National Council of Women	FGM, violence and women's legal rights	Analytical

Year	Language	Title	Publisher/Organization	Topic	Type of Study
		Arabic Republic of Egypt on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.			
2001	English	Violence Against Women in Egypt; Report Prepared for the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women	World Organisation Against Torture (OMCT)—CEDAW	Rape, domestic violence, FGM, prostitution, torture, honor killings	Qualitative/Analytical
2002	English	Violence Against Women: Study Presented at the Annual Conference on Population and Development	Cairo Demographic Center	Domestic violence, FGM	Analytical
2003	English	Violence Against Women in Arab and Islamic Countries	Women's Mental Health	Violence against women	Analytical
2003	Arabic	Female Circumcision and Violence Against Women	Al a'mal al elmiyya	Early marriage, sexual assault	Qualitative/ Analytical
2003	Arabic	The Reality of Egyptian Women in Light of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and a Report on the Role of NGOs in Fostering and Protecting Women's Rights	Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance	Early marriage, FGM, honor killings	Analytical
2003	Arabic	Training Reference: Violence Against Women	Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance	Sexual molestation, FGM, domestic violence, honor killings	Qualitative/ Analytical
2003	Arabic	Violence Against Women: Study of Female Victims	Ministry of Insurance and Social Administrative Development	Domestic violence	Analytical
2004	English	Women's Rights and Islamic Family Law: Perspectives on Reform	Zed Books (New York)	Marital trends, domestic violence	New Quantitative
2004	English	Divorced from Justice: Women's Unequal Access to Divorce in Egypt	Human Rights Watch	Divorce laws, domestic violence	Analytical
2004	English	Human Rights Watch Annual Report: Egypt	Human Rights Watch	Women's rights: violence and access to shelters	Analytical

Year	Language	Title	Publisher/Organization	Topic	Type of Study
2004	Arabic	Exit from the Circle of Violence: Directory of the Fight Against Violence Against Women	Al -Tlaai' publishers	Domestic violence, rape	Analytical
2004	Arabic	Women and Domestic Violence: Between the Rural and Present	Cairo institute of Research and Social Studies/Social Studies Department, Cairo University	Domestic violence	New Quantitative
2004	Arabic	Honour Crimes: Rape, Honour, Adultery, Acts of Indecency, Pimping, Sexual Harassment	National Institute of Legal Publishing	Rape, honor crimes, adultery sexual harassment	Analytical
2005	English	Honour Killing in Egypt	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women	Honour killings	Qualitative/Analytical
2005	English	Domestic Violence Measurements in Demographic and Health Surveys: The History and the Challenges	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women	DHS and data collection	Qualitative/ Analytical
2005	English	The Sexual and Reproductive Health of Young People in the Arab Countries and Iran	Reproductive Health Matters	Honor killings, early marriage, FGM, abortion	Qualitative/Analytical
2005	English	Resources, Family Organization, and Domestic Violence Against Married Women in Minya, Egypt	Journal of Marriage and Family	Domestic violence	New Quantitative
2006	English	In Egypt, Beaten Wives Are Less Likely to Use Prenatal Care or Contraceptives	Guttmacher Institute: International Family Planning Perspectives	Domestic violence and reproductive health	Analytical
2006	English	Domestic Violence Against Women in Egypt: Wife Beating and Health Outcomes	Elsevier: Social Science & Medicine	Domestic violence and women's health	Qualitative Analytical
2006	English	Beyond the Shadows; Domestic Spousal Violence in a "Democratizing" Egypt	Sage Journals: Trauma, Violence and Abuse	Domestic violence	Qualitative/ Analytical
2006	Arabic	Violence Against Women; Reasons, Effects and Methods of Treatment	Motaz	Violence against women	New Qualitative
2006	Arabic	Information Guide on the Role of the Police in Protecting Women from	Centre for Women's Complaints and Follow Up	Sexual assault, honor killings	Qualitative/Analytical

Year	Language	Title	Publisher/Organization	Topic	Type of Study
		Violence			
2006	Arabic	Constraints to the Use of Mercy in Honour Crimes	Centre for Arab Civilization	Honor killings and the law	Qualitative/Analytical
2007	Arabic	Honour Crimes: An example of Violence Towards Women	Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance	Honor crimes	Qualitative/Analytical
2007	Arabic	Violence Against Women in Egypt	El Mahrousa Centre for Publishing and Media Services	Torture, sexual assault, domestic violence	New Quantitative
2007	Arabic	The Social Consequences of Sexual Harassment in Daily Life	Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance	Sexual harassment at home, in the street, at universities, and at work.	New Quantitative

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