

# **Educating Police in Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women**

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**CENTRE X**



## 1.0 Introduction

Research documents that women irrespective of age, ethnicity, marital status, education, employment or geographic location have been victims of violence. For many this violence occurs within the home at the hands of an intimate partner or family member. Similar to women all over the world women of the Maldives are likely to face violence in the form of physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Currently there is limited data available in the Maldives to assess the extent of the problem although anecdotal information is available suggesting the Maldives is no different from any other country in the world. The Maldives in 1993 signed the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and as a result has shown a commitment to improving services for victims and working towards the elimination of violence.

This report has been compiled after a seven day police training program which took place in Male in May 2005. Two days were also spent looking at existing services in the Maldives. Due to the very short time period for research in the Maldives the findings are based mainly on information and impressions gathered from police officers attending the course. Recommendations are made as a result of these impressions and suggestions are made for the establishment of an inter agency framework.

## 2.0 Context

The family is most often associated with sanctuary a place where people seek love, safety and security, however evidence also shows that the family is also a place that breeds some of the most drastic forms of violence. Historically domestic violence has been viewed as a family or private matter, violence occurring in the home being seen as outside the remit of the law or state responsibility.

Statistics suggest that at least 1 in 3 women worldwide had been beaten, forced in to sex or otherwise physically abused at some point during her life. A UNICEF report found that women's greatest risk of violence comes from men they know, often husbands or male family members. As such domestic violence is the most common form of gender violence. UNICEF estimates that from country to country between 20 and 50 % of women have experienced physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner or family member. (*Unicef 2000*)

In December 1992 the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against women. It was the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women.

The declaration defines violence against women as

*“any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (UN 1993)*

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The declaration states that violence against women constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and impairs their enjoyment of these rights and freedoms. It recognises that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and violence against women is one of the social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men. Furthermore the UN acknowledges that violence against women in the family and society is pervasive and cuts across all incomes, classes and cultures.

The declaration evokes states to condemn violence against women and to develop legislation to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women. One specific resolution is that law enforcement officers and public officials responsible for implementing such legislation should receive specific training.

Traditionally domestic violence has been viewed as a private matter however in light of work done by the United Nations and member states domestic violence has been viewed less and less as private and more as a legitimate concern for government and communities. Even in countries where legal rights for women are robust domestic violence remains common place. It is the space where domestic violence occurs i.e. the family that makes it so hard to study and document and it is the importance of the family in every society that makes the formulation of effective strategies to protect women so important.

### **3.0 Nature of domestic violence**

It is important that we recognise that domestic violence is about more than just violence and physical injury. It also includes emotional abuses, economic abuses, sexual abuse, intimidation, isolation, threats and coercion and is about power and control of the abuser over the victim. While the impact of physical abuse may be more visible than psychological scarring victims report that ongoing psychological violence is often more unbearable than physical assaults.

Domestic violence is most commonly perpetrated by men against women. The existence of violence against men is not denied but if we understand domestic violence as reflecting broader gender inequalities in society then domestic violence requires a response which reflects this recognition. It must also be recognised that children are witness to and may be subjected abuse and there is a correlation between domestic violence and the mental, physical and sexual abuse of children.

Domestic violence is not caused by stress, unemployment, poverty, alcohol or mental illness or by women who experience the violence. While these factors may perpetuate domestic violence they cannot be looked upon as causes rather domestic violence is associated with broader gender inequalities whereby societies have given greater status, wealth, influence, control and power to men.

Domestic violence may have far reaching physical and psychological consequences for women and may ultimately lead to fatal outcomes in the cases of murder or suicide. Violence may lead to physical injury and overall poor long term health while

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psychological effects may be depression, anxiety or low self-esteem. The effects on children who may witness the abuse or be used in the abuse are also recognised as including a range of forms of stress and fear, as well as the additional correlation between domestic violence and child abuse. There is also a correlation between infant mortality and domestic violence.

Domestic violence also impacts on society as a whole. Violence undermines women's ability to participate in and contribute economically to society thereby hindering progress towards human and economic development. Direct costs are seen in the costs to the health service, police and other agencies in dealing with violence.

Domestic violence is an extremely difficult subject to study because of the dearth of reliable information on the subject, this is true in just about all countries. This relates to many factors such as the disinclination of victims to report violence, official or social acceptance of certain forms of domestic violence and different research parameters used by studies that makes comparison difficult. Moreover because it is difficult to capture psychological abuse in quantitative studies and because many women may not define this as a form of violence this deeper and more insidious form of violence defies quantification. In terms of police statistics domestic violence is thought to be the most under reported and under recorded crime there is and even when a violent incident is reported it is likely that there are numerous previous crimes which have gone unreported.

#### **4.0 Domestic violence in the Maldives**

There is an acknowledged lack of research and information on domestic violence in the Maldives. What is available appears to be mostly based on case studies and anecdotal information gathered from agencies who deal with victims such as the health service, counselling services and the Ministry of Gender Family Development and Social Security (MGFDSS). A qualitative study was carried out in 2004 by MGFDDSS and is to be followed up by a quantitative data collection.

The MGFDDSS began a database 3 years ago in which they now record details of case referred to them. Police also record incidents reported to them, however no statistics were available for this report.

The case study information available does suggest that the situation in the Maldives is no different than anywhere else in the world and that domestic violence does exist.

The Maldives is a member to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women which requires states to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women that prevent their enjoyment of full civil, political, economic and cultural rights. As such the government in 1998 established the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Security (MWASS) and measures have been taken to improve the number of female atoll chiefs and for women to be represented atoll development committees.

The Family Act, which came in to force in 2000, contains provisions for the protection of rights of women. However, concerns remain about a number of factors, women are excluded from the offices of president and vice-president, there are no female judges, and women still have less access to higher education and legislative bodies at both national and local levels. There is also an absence of effective laws in relation to rape and violence against women and lack of support systems for such women. There are no formal services in place for victims of violence although the MGFDDSS attempts to guide victims of violence by providing information and advice and counselling services are also offered through the Society for Health Education (SHE). Family Law also remains gendered and has been identified as perpetuating traditional gender roles that may discriminate against women.

Issues of concern identified by the MGFDDSS are the lack of data to assess the actual situation, lack of expertise in the collecting and analysis of forensic evidence and a lack of legal backing for the use of forensic evidence.

Since 1997 the MGFDDSS has carried out various training and publicity programmes to highlight the issues of domestic violence and violence against women. This has included the publishing of posters, production of an information video and a one-day training program for senior police officers held in 2003. After this training it was identified that police officers would benefit from practical training focusing on understanding the dynamics of domestic violence, how to deal with victims and gather evidence. The requirement for the establishment of a multi- agency framework to develop policy and deal with victims has also been identified by the MWASS.

## **5.0 Factors that may perpetuate domestic violence in the Maldives**

As discussed the United Nations identifies violence against women as being a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women. In other words inequality between men and women significantly contributes to the occurrence of domestic violence. Domestic Violence is related to beliefs that women occupy a subordinate position in society therefore abusers learn their behaviour is acceptable and appropriate and unless condemned by communities and the state this view is reinforced. Appendix 1 shows a table compiled by UNICEF (2000) outlining factors which may perpetuate domestic violence and violence against women. In the Maldives the following factors have been identified as perpetuating violence against women.

### **5.1 Traditional Values**

Cultural ideologies have provided a legitimacy for violence against women. It is within the family that gender inequalities are probably most entrenched. The challenges of changing inequalities are compounded in societies where gender and family relations are governed by religious laws. Even in societies with robust legal rights for women domestic violence is both commonplace and hidden. In societies where women's rights are weak their vulnerability to violence is compounded by a lack of options to seek protection from the law.

In the Maldives Shari'a provides the legal framework for administering family relations. The application of Shari'a has been identified as gendered, perpetuating traditional roles resulting in the "*privileging and empowerment of men over women in the context of the family*" (Hajjar 2004 p235). A recent study of family law in the Maldives found that it is clearly gendered "*care work and nurturing of the family for women and authority and financial burden by men; obedience by women and maintenance by men*" (Velezinee & Muizz 2005 P.42). The study goes on to elaborate that while women have a right to petition for divorce research shows that in practice unless the man agrees to divorce it is less likely that this will be successful and as a result women are often forced to remain in an unhappy or possibly abusive marriage. One of the most common reasons why women would seek to end a marriage is to extricate themselves from a harmful situation. This highlights the connection between the right to divorce and female vulnerability to domestic violence. One of the strongest predictors of violence against women is the restriction of their ability to leave the family sphere.

The study discussed highlighted a case study where evidence of physical abuse presented to the court by the female was dismissed until a third appeal. The physical violence was accepted as justified by the court due to the wife's behaviour.

## **5.2 Criminal Justice System**

Lack of legal protection is also a strong factor in perpetuating violence against women. Investigations by Human Rights Watch found that cases of domestic violence are more often tolerated as the norm and person committing such offences are prosecuted less vigorously and punished more leniently than perpetrators of similar violence against strangers.

In 2002 the CEDAW committee in its initial report on the Maldives noted 2 principal areas of concern in relation to women and the criminal justice system. They first noted concern an under-reporting of domestic violence and violence against women and an absence of effective laws and law enforcement. Secondly the committee noted that the legal system and society as a whole tend to identify violence against women as a private matter.

A report compiled in 2004 explores gender issues in the criminal justice system in the Maldives (Alder & Polk 2004). Research supporting the report found that there is a general acceptance that gender based violence is a private matter resulting in a lack of reporting and a lack of gender sensitivity in both the justice and health care systems as well as a low conviction rate. Currently there are no female judges in the Maldives and it is estimated about 9% of the police force are female.

Rules of evidence and admissibility of forensic evidence also impact negatively. In terms of rape a women's complaint must be evidenced either by 2 male witnesses or 4 female witnesses, making such an offence almost impossible to prove. There is also a reliance on confessions as the basis for establishing criminal liability. No specific definition of rape exists and the law does not extend to recognise marital rape although if there is physical injury procedures may be taken on an assault charge. Forensic evidence is not accepted by the court as corroborative of the victim's complaint. Moreover, currently medical examinations for rape or violence victims are

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based on injury examination only with no capacity for forensic analysis. Where sex occurs outside marriage even where it is an alleged rape if it is not proven along the strict evidence rules the female can be treated as the offender and receive a public lashing.

In terms of policing the civilian police force only came in to force in September 2004 and currently there is no Police Act to set out specific rules governing the authority and procedures of police. As a result there is an overall lack of formal definitions in terms of domestic violence and of any clear procedures in dealing with cases.

### **5.3 Rural nature**

The Maldives is made up of approximately 200 inhabited and almost 1000 uninhabited islands. Seventy three percent of the population reside out with the capital Male. Populations on each island are likely to consist of a small number of family groups and this combined with the isolated nature of island life means that the actions of inhabitants may be readily open to public scrutiny. These factors along with traditional values are likely to compound the difficulties a women attempting to leave a violent or abusive relationship may face. Women are not as free as men to leave their home island district unaccompanied. While in a country like the United Kingdom refuges and anonymous drop in centres are an option in the Maldives their provision is much more complex. Though it should be remembered that a strong community can be important in condemning violence and providing support to victims.

Administrative units are organised in to 19 atolls with each atoll governed by an atoll chief. There is also a magistrate (ghazi) on each inhabited island who deals with legal and criminal matters. While again there are likely to be many benefits in this localised system it may make reporting matters very difficult for a female when perhaps the ghazi is a friend of her husband or a relative.

### **5.4 Economic dependence of women**

The lack of economic resources underpins women's vulnerability to violence and difficulty in leaving a violent relationship. While poverty is not causal it can increase women's vulnerability. Women's economic dependence on men may be reflected in limited access to employment, discriminatory laws regarding inheritance and less access to training and education. Though widespread poverty affects many Maldivian women are hit especially hard. Women's participation in the labour market is roughly half that of men. Women also carry out household and child care tasks. Traditional gender roles dominating in the Maldives and women bearing the double burden of paid and unpaid work.

## 6.0 Training course

The stated objective of the course was to train police in Male to deal with violence against women and domestic violence with an overall aim to improve the services provided to victims. It was anticipated that at the end of the course participants would be able to –

- 1 – clearly understand violence against women and domestic violence as a critical issue.
- 2 – understand gender and its relationship to violence
- 3 – identify victims of domestic violence
- 4 – communicate with victims in a proper and un-intimidating way.
- 5 – advocate strategies to eliminate domestic violence
- 6 – share their knowledge with colleagues

Training took place in Male in May 2005. Course participants were made up of 20 police officers approximately half of the officers from the Family and Child Protection Unit and half from the uniform police including an officer from the forensic department. All officers were Male' based. The majority of officers were of constable rank along with 1 sergeant, 2 corporals and 2 lance corporals. There were also 2 representatives from the Ministry of Gender Family Development and Social Security who organised the training with funding from the British Council.

The training was based on informal lectures and syndicate work with the participants providing feed back. Outside speakers also contributed ensuring a local relevance. Speakers included Miss Umeyma a counsellor at SHE who provided an in depth case study, Dr Mausooma Kamaldeen who again provided a number of case studies and outlined health implications. Sergeant Ismail Naveen of the Maldives Police Service looked a local police issues. Aishath Velezinee and Ahmed Muizz discussed the law in the Maldives and the implications for investigating domestic violence.

The first 2 days of the training focused on the nature and dynamics of domestic violence. The power and control wheel developed by the Domestic Abuse Project in Dulth Minnesota was used as the main tool for these inputs (see Appendix 2). Domestic Violence was also identified as a human rights issue and set in the context of United Nations declarations. The training then moved on to look at reasons why domestic violence occurs focusing on the breaking down of various myths and again focusing on domestic violence in the context of traditional gender based power imbalances in society. The health and socio-economic implications of domestic violence were examined along with the important correlation between domestic violence and child abuse.

The remainder of the course focused on the police response to domestic violence. How to encourage disclosure, carry out risk assessments, action to be taken at the scene of an incident, forensic evidence and statement taken were all covered. The final day focused on the importance of inter-agency working.

## **7.0 Findings from officers on course**

In discussion throughout the course the participants expressed the following opinions and frustrations –

**7.1** In the initial first days it was clear participants did not feel domestic violence is an issue in the Maldives. What they described was family violence where women were behaving as violently as men. Many of the participants found it difficult to accept that violence against women is any different from violence against men or that women are more often victims than men. In the absence of any statistical information it was difficult to change these perceptions, however local case studies presented by outside speakers did go some way to challenging these beliefs.

**7.2** – Police appear to feel that part of their role is to counsel couples. When they attend domestic incidents they will attempt to reconcile the couple and solve their problems or can ask them to come to a police station where again the couple will be counselled. Throughout the course it was emphasised that police are not counsellors and while it is tempting to try to resolve problems the role of the police should be to enforce the law and investigate any crime while ensuring the safety of all parties.

**7.3** – Participants had a good knowledge of basic forensics but expressed frustration at the lack of capacity in the Maldivian Police Service for its use and the lack of acceptance by courts. Currently medical examinations of rape victims search only for injuries with no capacity for forensic examination.

**7.4** – Participants also expressed frustration at the nature of Family Law particularly the difficulties that may occur in getting a divorce which may result in a woman becoming trapped in a violent relationship.

**7.5** - The lack of other supports for victims of domestic violence was identified.

**7.6** – Amongst the uniform officers there was a lack of knowledge of what other agencies can do to support victims

**7.7** – The participants identified the need for similar training to be carried out for senior police officers and in particular the judiciary.

**7.8** - Participants identified that traditional cultural values in the Maldives are likely to enhance the problems facing women and will also exacerbate the under-reporting of domestic violence.

**7.9** – Participants identified that the small population of the Maldives combined with the high population density in Male and the small island communities makes it very difficult for victims of domestic violence to identify themselves. These factors also make the provision of a refuge or safe house problematic.

## **8.0 Recommendations**

### **8.1 – Definition**

This report recommends that a definition of domestic violence be formulated and adopted by all agencies. The definition must include the fact that domestic violence can occur between unmarried and separated couples. In developing this definition consideration must be given as to whether other types of family violence e.g. between father and daughter or brother and sister are included.

### **8.2 – Interagency Forum**

This report recommends the establishment of an interagency domestic violence forum. This group would consist of representatives from all agencies who may come across domestic violence including health, police, education, Unit for the Rights of the Child, MGFSDSS and SHE. It must also incorporate representatives from out with Male for example through the Ministry of Atolls Development and Island Women’s Development Committees. The forum should exist at two levels one consisting of seniors who will take forward policy and strategy and a second level who will carry out practical tasks such as training and publicity campaigns.

The forum must have a statement of purpose for example “ to raise awareness and understanding of the issues surrounding domestic violence within the Maldives and to help agencies provide a comprehensive range of services for their victims and their families”.

The forum must develop clear aims and objectives against which its progress can be measured. All agencies involved in the forum need to have specific domestic violence procedures and policies which can be co-ordinated and monitored by forum members. The main activities of the forum would be

- 1 – Commissioning of a quantitative research project (see recommendation 3)
- 2 – Development of a National Strategy (see recommendation 4 )
- 3 – Co-ordination and development of local services
- 4 – Co-ordination of training for agencies (see recommendation 5)
- 5 – Engaging in public education/ prevention projects/ media campaign
- 6 - Establishing direct services for victims and their children
- 7 – Establishment of communication/ referral protocols between agencies (see recommendation 6)

### **8.3 - Research**

This report recommends the need for a quantitative research project to be carried out in relation to domestic violence. It is accepted that any research in to domestic violence is problematic but such research is required to challenge the attitudes

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conveyed by the participants in the course that domestic violence is not a problem in the Maldives or when it occurs men are as often victims. Any research project should consider not only Male but also the island communities. The researcher should be given unrestricted access to data held by the police, courts, island committees and any other relevant agencies. Once data has been collected it should identify the scale and nature of domestic violence in the Maldives, identify gaps in service provision and measure the effectiveness of existing service provision. This research will inform the work of the Domestic Violence Forum and will lead to the establishment of a National Strategy.

#### **8.4 – National Strategy**

This report recommends that a national strategy to address domestic violence in the Maldives should be prepared. The strategy should be based on a multi agency approach accepting that no one agency or government department can tackle domestic violence alone, it should apply across public, voluntary and private sectors. It should contain long and short term goals along with a timetable and means of evaluation to ensure accountability. The strategy should focus on both primary and secondary prevention. Primary prevention challenging the notion that violence is inevitable aiming to change society attitudes and values which result in inequality. Primary prevention would include education and public awareness raising strategies and would also focus on the overall empowerment of women. The secondary strategy should target women and children who have experienced abuse and the men who use violence. This would include the development of services for victims, training strategies and intervention programs for abusive men.

#### **8.5 – Training Strategy**

This report recommends that in conjunction with the National Strategy a training strategy should be developed. Training such as the training for police carried out in May 2005 cannot be a one off it must be part of an overall long-term strategy not a token gesture. Domestic violence training should be incorporated in to the basic training for all police officers. Importantly senior police officers and judges must receive training. On the islands island committees and chiefs should also receive training given their capacity for decision making. Any training strategy should also include the capacity for inter-agency training with health workers, police, judiciary, counsellors etc. working together to increase their understanding of each other's roles.

#### **8.6 – Communication/ Referral Protocols**

This report recommends that the Domestic Violence Forum establish clear information sharing and communication protocols between partner agencies. While it is important that confidentiality be respected at times it is appropriate to breach confidentiality e.g. in child protection cases, it is vital that all agencies understand this. Formal procedures should be developed for the referral of cases to other agencies

and a clear audit maintained. For instance an information sharing protocol should be developed between the URC and the police Family and Child Protection Unit.

### **8.7 – Criminal Justice System**

This report recommends that the police service and judiciary take steps to attract and employ more females. New rules of evidence must be established which give equal values to the evidence of men and women.

### **8.8 - Refuge**

This report recommends that in the long- term a refuge be developed to act as a safe house for females fleeing violence. Such a service could also be supported by a national help line to provide confidential support and advice. It is recognised that provision of a refuge may be problematic due to the island nature of the Maldives.

### **8.9 - Victim Support**

This report recommends that a victim service be established out with the criminal justice system. Such a service should provide practical help and emotional support to persons who have experienced violence or abuse. Practical help could include assistance with claiming benefits, crime prevention advice, accompanying a person to the police station to make a complaint or court familiarisation visits.

### **8.10 - Recording systems**

This report recommends that all agencies coming in contact with victims of domestic violence must develop recording procedures and standards that may include the requirement to provide statistical returns to the government to ensure compliance. It must be recognised that incidents of domestic violence are rarely a one off but likely to be a pattern of behaviours, it is therefore vital that all incidents are properly recorded. In terms of policing databases should be developed to allow officers to access details of previous incident that may be necessary for evidential purposes. These databases should be available to officers in the control room in order to pass information to officers attending incidents. Recording systems must also be capable of recognising and identifying the connections between domestic violence and child abuse.

### **8.11 Forensic Capacity**

This report recommends that the police service develop its forensic capacity. This includes the use of forensic medical examinations for victims of rape and sexual assault and would therefore include the training of both police and medical staff. It must be recognised that rape and sexual violence are generally one witness crimes and are notoriously difficult to prove therefore forensic evidence is a vital form of corroboration.

### **8.12 Forensic Evidence admissibility**

This report recommends that in conjunction with recommendation 11 that forensic evidence is accepted as admissible by the court.

### **8.13 Policing**

This report recommends that the Family and Child Protection Unit of the police incorporates a specialist Domestic Violence Liaison Officer. This officer would be responsible for developing and maintaining data bases, ensuring officers adhere to procedures and providing follow up support to victims. The officer would also be responsible for developing inter agency working including the communication/referral protocols (recommendation 6) It is also recommended that the police service prepare and implement clear procedures for officers on how to deal with incidents of domestic violence and violence against women.

## **9.0 Towards a Framework for Multi-Sector Support**

Before a framework can be competently developed to deal with victims of domestic violence all agencies involved must develop clear procedures and policies in relation to domestic violence. At the most basic level this requires a definition of domestic violence to be developed and adopted. Each agency must then recognise their role in providing support as well as their limitations. Currently it appears support for victims is provided on an ad hoc basis and there are no formal channels for communication or referral between agencies. Each agency must recognise and support their partner agencies skills and role in service provision. Key to taking this forward is the establishment of the suggested multi-agency forum.

## **10.0 Conclusion**

This report and recommendations have been based on the limited information available to the writer over a very short study period. The remit was to develop a framework for multi-sector support in relation to female victims of violence and domestic violence and the recommendations made should contribute to its establishment. However, such a framework can only be competently developed by actual practitioners in a local context therefore the key recommendation of this report is the establishment of the Interagency Forum which will ensure that all agencies adopt and implement appropriate policies.

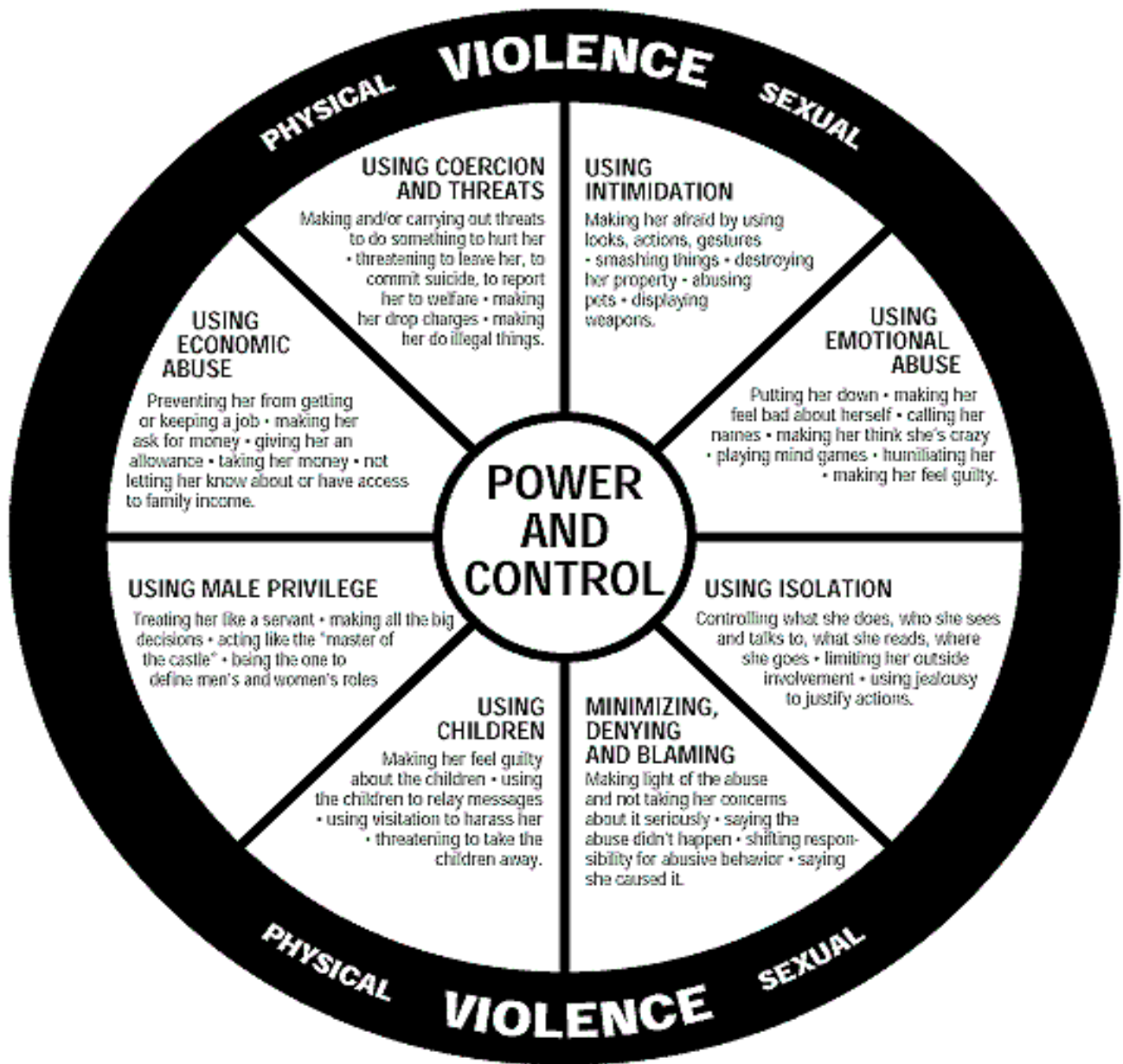
## Appendix 1 – Factors which perpetuate domestic violence

<b>Cultural</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. Gender specific socialization</li> <li>. Cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles</li> <li>. expectations of roles within relationships</li> <li>. belief in the inherent superiority of males</li> <li>. values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls</li> <li>. notion of the family as the private sphere and under male control</li> <li>. Customs of marriage (dowry etc)</li> <li>. acceptability of violence as means to resolve conflict</li> </ul>
<b>Economic</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. Women's economic dependence on men</li> <li>. limited access to cash and credit</li> <li>. discriminatory laws regarding inheritance, property rights etc</li> <li>. limited access to employment</li> <li>. less access to education and training</li> </ul>
<b>Legal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. lesser legal status of women</li> <li>. laws regarding divorce, child custody</li> <li>. legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse</li> <li>. low levels of literacy</li> <li>. insensitive treatment of women and girls by police/ judiciary</li> </ul>
<b>Political</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. under-representation of women in power, politics, the media and in legal and medical professions</li> <li>. domestic violence not taken seriously</li> <li>. notions of the family as being private and beyond the control of the state</li> <li>. risk of challenges to status quo/ religious laws</li> </ul>

	.limited participation of women in politics
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*(UNICEF 2000)*

Appendix 2 Power and Control Wheel



## References

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