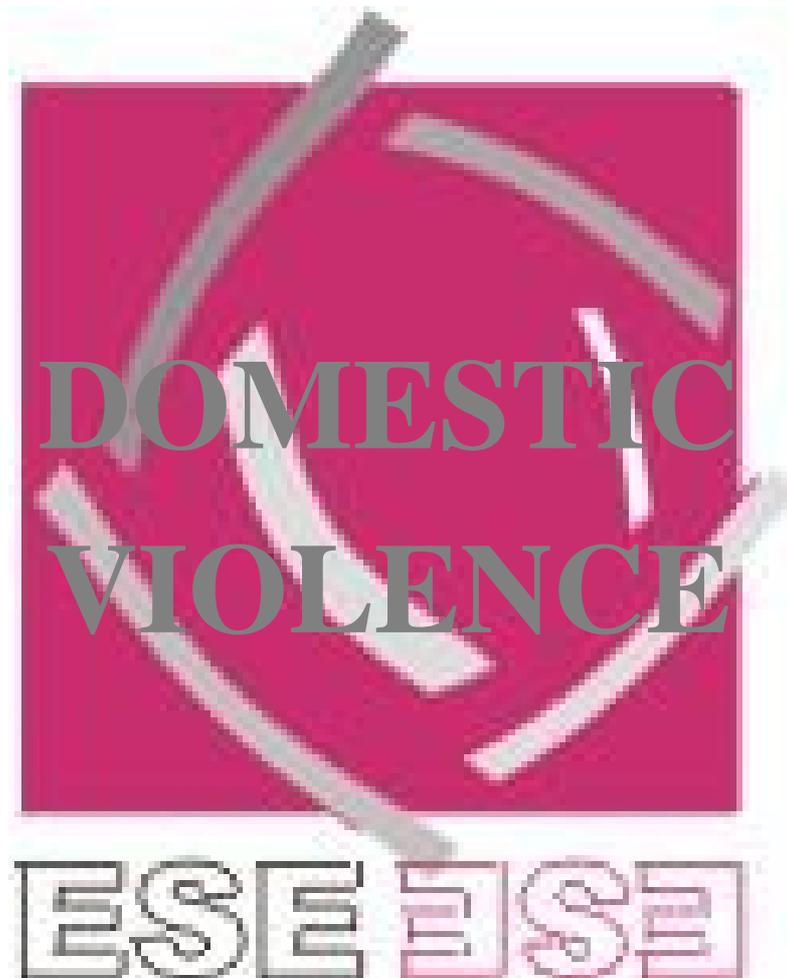


**REPORT
ON THE IMPLEMENTED FIELD
RESEARCH**



**ASSOCIATION FOR EMANCIPATION, SOLIDARITY
AND EQUALITY OF WOMEN – ESE**

Skopje, 2000

REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTED
FIELD RESEARCH
ON THE SUBJECT OF:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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Dear Sirs,

The domestic violence is one of the prevailing criminal conducts in several societies and brings about devastating consequences both to the primary victim, the woman and to the secondary victim, the children. In the majority of the countries in the world, the domestic violence assumes dimensions of a problem of primary social character.

The domestic violence as a problem reflects itself upon the economic and overall development of a society, and it results from the historically established unequal position of the man and the woman, whereby the woman finds herself in a subordinate position with respect to the man.

The Republic of Macedonia is not an exception to this general perception of the dimensions and consequences of the problem of domestic violence. The Association for emancipation, solidarity and equity of women within the framework of its programme activities has been focusing its efforts in the past years on the intensive work in the field of raising the public awareness of the problem of domestic violence, among which as a more significant we would distinguish the publication of the first book in this filed under the name “Rea Silvia” published in 1997 and the organisation of the campaign “Whisper”.

At the same time, ESE continued to work in the field of offering legal solutions and as a result of these activities there have been changes and amendments of certain positive legal regulations, which we believe are appropriate to the complexity and seriousness of this problem.

As a result of our long-term efforts, the need to carry out this research as well on the gray numbers of domestic violence appeared, which we believe from all our hearts, will represent a solid basis for further strategy building, both of the governmental and non-governmental organisations in the field of elimination of the violence against women. With this ESE has rounded up the cycle of activities which led to offering systematic solutions for the fight against this type of violence in several fields.

We would like to pay special respects and appreciation to the United Nations Developmental Fund for Women – UNIFEM, which has financially supported the implementation of the research, and t the Inter-church Organisation for Development and Cooperation – ICCO , which supported the publication of this research.

At the same time, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who were involved in the implementation of the research and to express our particular appreciation to Ms. Violeta Caceva as a Manager of the same.

Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equity of women – ESE

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Instead of Introduction

“There is God after all, there is a salvation for me as well. He passed away some time ago, let him rest in peace, put it dawned to me for the first time now at 50 years of age. He passed away from drinking, from the cirrhosis of the liver, my husband, my executioner. Was it the destiny, what was it, that I had him as my husband. He started drinking from the first day of our marriage. He was drinking to death. Outside the poverty, inside the brandy was nibbling him. Both him and me. For year, all my life, for all eternity it seemed to me. Why I have not left him, you ask. And where would I go? My parents are poor people, they have been poor always. For them, my marriage meant one less mouth to feed.

From the first days when we got married, he started with swearing, beating, calling me all possible insulting names, at the beginning he and then later on his inmates started treating me like a piece of cloth for wiping off their feet. Cry today, cry tomorrow, no consolation from anybody or from anywhere. In order for the misery to be bigger, I could not get pregnant. For my fortune, he also wanted the same, and so besides all sufferings I had of him, we decided to adopt. That child became my joy, my consolation in life, and God wanted me to bear also a child of my own. Do you think that he changed with the children? No! He continued to drink, to swear to beat me, as if it was my fault that we were living in such poverty. When he decided to leave for Germany, and he left there as an asylum seeker, I hoped that maybe my life will also change for the better, and I hoped even more when he called me to come there.

How I belied myself. In Germany it was even worse. The little money that we earned he was giving away for drinking. I had no other choice, I went to a reception center. And there, what did I not see? Young women, healthy, strong, who had nothing to live off, and so they had to sell their own body even, women with bruises on their face and soul, so I said to myself: God, there have been worse than myself. That knowledge was the best I learnt in Germany, my biggest savings abroad – to accept my destiny and not to complain to anybody for anything. Disappointed with his life he started drinking even more, abusing both me and our children. Often I thought of a suicide, but when I would remember the children who were neither guilty nor deserving of it, I would give up quickly on that thought. God forgive me there were also moments when I also wished to kill him, but what would be the gain of it. He in the ground, and me in jail, and the children, who would look after my orphans who would suffer even more than myself in life.

Whatever it was, he is now gone, and though I am poor, I will feed myself and my children with these two hands that I have, and I do not even think about a second marriage.

PART ONE

PROBLEM – METHODOLOGICAL BASES FOR THE RESEARCH

1. Problem Framework

We started the monography with one of the many sad life stories that we heard during the research. Life stories which speak about our reality, the presence of domestic violence in our homes, a phenomenon which is spoken about more frequently and more loudly and which is winning the civil society (through non-governmental organisations) owing to its seriousness, particularly owing to the consequences which it leaves behind. Despite the factual situations, it seems as if though the phenomenon is not recognised by the state. Thus, it has not been incorporated in a separate penal – legal category, which would be systematically monitored and researched, seeking solution for its suppression, prevention and overcoming, in a manner in which it has been done with the other forms of criminal behaviour, while it least deserves this treatment for reasons of its complexity, the seriousness of this behaviour and the consequences it leaves behind.

As a difference to many states in the world, in which for almost three decades, the social, expert and scientific public deal with the problem of domestic violence both from theoretical and from empirical, social and legal aspects, in Macedonia this problem has been spoken of for the first time in 1994 by the non-governmental women's and other organisations, which began to be established massively in that period. Not only did they promote the problem of domestic violence, but they also introduced the first SOS lines for women and children victims of violence, and lately their activities have been focused on the initiation of the issue of legally regulating and advancing this problem.¹

The family, as a milieu, in which the violence among certain members of it, appears and persists, represents a special social group, which functions as a system with a particularly important socialising function. In it, the role and position of each of its members have been defined, and their contents are to a large extent determined by the culture of the given community, which by way of socialisation has been transferred to the next generations. Therefore, when arguing about the problem of violence against women, many explanations and answers may be provided, if the problem is viewed from the point of view of the position of the woman in the society. This for reasons, that the position of the woman on the macro and micro plane is to a large extent defined by the level of her protection, but also by the possibilities for discrimination as a tantamount to that level.

The inequity of the woman, demonstrated through her position in the society, marriage and family, springs out from the patriarchic structure of the society, where the dominant position of the man and the inferior position of the woman is defined at macro and micro plane. The determined active role of the man in the society provides him with a concentration of power and authority at the micro plane, particularly within the framework of the marriage and family. The ownership attitude towards the woman which does not exclude the violence as a regulator of the obedience, results as a side effect of the active and superior position of the man and of the passive and inferior position of the woman. These relations, by way of socialisation are being transferred from generation to generation.

Having the aforementioned in mind, one may reach the conclusion of the historical conditionality of the domestic violence (and the violence against women), which simultaneously implies the variability of the relations. But, on the other hand, there is a static character noted in these relations – the inequity of the woman has been registered until nowadays. Concrete changes in this field at global level, began to come in the last three decades within the framework of the development of the universal idea of emancipation of all people, irrespective of the sex, age, race, social and other characteristics, whereby a particular emphasis has been placed on the unequal position of the women (certainly the domestic violence represents a part of that inequity), the discrepancy between its formal and factual situation, as well as recommendations for its change, and overcoming. This at the same time, represented an incentive for focusing the attention on women, by locating her real positions at all levels (political, legal, social, economic, cultural, etc.) and by undertaking concrete actions for overcoming such realities.ⁱⁱ

Unfortunately, these processes, at least as regards the topic which is the focus of this monography – violence against women- are late among us at least for two and a half decades. We have already mentioned that this problem became current for the first time in our regions in 1994.

2. Characteristic of the Treatment of Domestic Violence in Macedonia

The problem of domestic violence, and particularly the violence against women, as it has been already pointed out, has not been attracting the attention of the social, scientific and expert public in Macedonia until now, except in the cases of brutal murders committed within the domestic circle, about which the public was informed by the mass media, and for which the opinion and explanation of experts in certain fields were sought. However, a distinction in this field is noticeable, one may assert that lately the interest in the domestic violence has increased, as well as the fact that this problem becomes more and more “visible”.

If one dissects the treatment of domestic violence in our state, at this moment, the following characteristics of its might be drawn out:

- **Marginalisation of the problem.** In this state there is no(has not been) an interest to research this problem, to systematically monitor and study it, all in the function of its more successful suppression, prevention, overcoming and reduction of the consequences it leaves behind.
- **Insufficient knowledge of the phenomenon.** There is not even elementary information about the expansion of the domestic violence, its forms of manifestation, reasons and consequences.
- **Lack of official data.** In light of the fact that it does not represent a separate incriminating act, there are no official statistical data as for a separate phenomenon, while on the other hand, the Institute of Statistics registers the criminal acts according to perpetrators, and not according to victims, and therefore the real figures of domestic violence cannot be reached even indirectly. Also, the state authorities which in the course of implementation of their activities come in touch with this phenomenon (centers for social work, medical institutions, courts) do not maintain separate statistics on it.
- **Lack of empirical knowledge.** Not even a single scientific research (this is the first research) has been carried out the results of which would fill in a part of the gap of the lack of official data, and would also provide cognitive grounds for entering into the substance of the phenomenon and its better understanding.
- **Insufficient legal coverage.** Our legislation does not recognise the particular incrimination of the domestic violence, as a separate criminal act. This issue has been regulated through the general criminal acts (murder, bodily harm, serious bodily harm, not affording assistance, forceful act upon a powerless person, mediation in prostitution, etc.) but they do not take into account the fact of common living. An exception is the criminal act of rape – the rape in marriage is also incriminated, which is an incrimination introduced in 1996, with the new Penal Code of the Republic of Macedonia. However, the criminal act of rape in marriage has been deprived of the ex officio level – the procedure can be initiated upon private charges, as a difference to the criminal act of rape involving other persons, where the procedure is initiated ex officio.

As a difference to our system, the contemporary tendencies of the legal solution of this problem, move in two directions: first, through the introduction of separate incriminations for the domestic violence, and second, within the framework of the general criminal acts where there are special sanctions when actually the perpetrator is a member of the family.

At the moment, the state prepares a proposal for changing the laws wherewith the domestic violence would be covered. The changes move in the direction of the second solution, more particularly towards the sanctioning of the members of the family within the framework of the existing criminal acts:

- **Lack of formal response.** In accordance with the overall marginalisation of the problem of domestic violence, the marginalisation of the formal response in relation to this problem can be also established. This in relation, first and foremost to the police, but also to the other state authorities, which in cases of

domestic violence, behave very reservedly, as if that is a private matter, and not criminal behaviour, like any other. This is in compliance with the generally accepted attitude about the private character of all events in the home, even when it comes to violence.

- **Partiality in the approach and non-transparency in the work of non-governmental organisations.** We have already mentioned that the non-governmental organisations have initiated the process of removing the taboo from the problem of the domestic violence. However, though the role of the non-governmental organisations in opening the problem of domestic violence is indisputable and very important, one can establish their partial coverage of the problem and the non-transparency of their work with a particular lack of information from the many projects which they have implemented until now (for example, there are no summary information and experiences of the SOS telephones, which represent a rich empirical material for understanding the phenomenon); lack of coordination and cooperation among the non-governmental organisations (it happens that different organisations work on the same or a very similar project, which is very unproductive). Irrespective of everything, they are promoters of the problem and they deserve a great credit in its actualisation.

3. Making Operational the Basic Notions and the Subject of the Research

Our deliberation for this research was to focus the attention only on one segment of domestic violence – the violence against women. This, in its turn, presupposed to make operational the two constituting components of the basic notion – the domestic violence and to determine within that framework the subject of the research.

In the theory there is no uniquely and generally accepted definition of the notion of violence, which results in its various notional definitions, as well as in using various terms as synonyms – aggression, violent behaviour, abuse of power, etc. For these reasons, in researches the subject of which is violence, the researchers make operational the term for the needs of the research action. That was done in this research as well.

In light of the objective set, that is the coverage of the violence against women in the widest sense possible, as grounds for making operational the subject of the research, we have used the definition with wide coverage of the violence. That is **the definition of violence given by the United Nations**, and contained in the Declaration of Elimination of Violence against Women – Resolution 48/104 of the General Assembly. According to it, **the violence is every act of violence, based on membership of a particular sex, which results or is conducive to resulting into physical, sexual or psychological harm, suffering of women, including the threats for such a behaviour. Therefore, the constituting elements of the violence are the physical violence, psychological violence and sexual violence, in the shape of either acts performed or only threats.**

Therefore, in our research, we have accepted the three components of the violence (physical, psychological and sexual violence) manifested through concrete violent behaviours, or through a threat of such behaviours. The constituting components of violence were further defined in the following manner:

The physical violence was made operational through the following components:

- hit, dragging by the hair, slap, box, beating, strangulation, hitting with an object, burning, scalding (implying immediate physical contact between the perpetrator and the victim whereby the physical integrity of the woman is violated).
- Throwing objects at the woman.
- Threatening with physical injuries.

The psychological violence, as a second component of violence against women, involved in itself the following structural elements:

- Control over the woman – control over her movement – control over her personal contacts, and overall control over the family budget;
- Isolation – prohibition of contacts with the family, prohibition to work outside the home.
- Jealousy or possessiveness
- Behaviour which causes emotional or psychological torture and suffering of the woman: verbal aggressive behaviour (calling her insulting names), behaviours which are degrading for the woman, complete obedience of the woman – the word of the husband must be always the last one.

The third constituting element of violence was the sexual violence. We have defined this component as forcing the women to a sexual intercourse, or an attempt for forcing her to other type of sexual activity.

As regards the second element of the phenomenon of domestic violence, we consider as family all members who are part of one household. The household comprises of all persons who live at the same address and use the same kitchen.

In light of the fact that in this research we do not cover the domestic violence as a whole, but instead we have limited ourselves only to the female part of the family, we define the domestic violence for the purposes of this research of ours in the following manner: **violence (physical, psychological and sexual) inflicted upon an adult woman by her spouse, common-law partner as well as by other adult members of the household.**

4. Knowing the Phenomenon – a Prerequisite for Building a Strategy Against Domestic Violence

The marginalisation of the problem of domestic violence, the insufficient knowledge of the phenomenon, the lack of official data, the lack of empirical information, the insufficient legal coverage, the lack of formal response are the basic characteristics of domestic violence and of the society's attitude towards this phenomenon in our state. Against these characteristics, there are massively accepted stereotypes on the role of the sexes in the society, marriage and the family, the contents of which involve unequal and inferior position of the women, and do not condemn the violence as a manner of maintaining the defined positions. This, in its turn, makes the violence in the family remain in this circle and not be reported. Thus, the needs of building a strategy directed towards the change of the society's attitude towards this phenomenon, through increasing the sensibility of the public, imposes itself as a primary need. The same refers to the scientific and expert public, the ultimate aim of which would be to conceive of measures and activities for reducing and overcoming those circumstances which are conducive to domestic violence, that is activities directed towards suppression and prevention of this phenomenon.

The basic precondition for building a strategy is the existence of ample cognitive basis, which will make possible the research of and the familiarisation with the phenomenon. It was precisely that, the provision of the initial empirical material, which was the primary aim of this first scientific research of domestic violence – the violence against women, implemented in our country.

The dilemma which arose in front of the researchers was the direction in which to evolve the research: whether the study should be carried out through the official numbers (through the documentation of the centers for social work and the SOS telephones) or through the research of the gray figures of this phenomenon. We have decided to research the violence against women through its gray figures. Such an approach was determined by the fact that the behaviours which make part of this phenomenon are most frequently not reported and remain undisclosed; and furthermore, by the non-coverage of domestic violence with an appropriate incrimination and the official non-registration of the criminal acts according to the victims which in practice implies lack of valid data through which one could monitor and analyse the phenomenon.

5. Research Methods of the Gray Figures

The knowledge about the criminality based on the official statistics is unrealistic with reference to its quantitative dimension. It has been established that there is always a part which remains undisclosed, known as the gray figures of the criminality. The size of the undisclosed part of the phenomenon is various and depends on a series of factors such as: the type, consequences, nature of the phenomenon, the victim, etc. Thus, there is undoubtedly a need to research the gray figures of the criminality,

which will allow to reach data nearing the realistically perpetrated criminality as a precondition for an efficient criminal policy.

There are several methodological procedures for the research of the gray figures of criminality, among which the most frequently used ones are: the method of self-reporting (the examinees declare whether they have been perpetrators of a certain criminal act and whether that has been officially registered); victim based survey (examinees declare whether they have been victims of a certain criminal behaviour and whether they have reported the same to the competent authorities); the method of reporting by another persons (the examinees give information as to whether they know a person who is a victim of a certain criminal behaviour) and the method of expert assessment (experts in a certain field, on the basis of the experiential knowledge and the existing statistical data on criminality, make an assessment of the minimal and maximal gray figures of a certain type of criminality).

In this research, starting from the characteristics of the phenomenon, its specificities and the reasons for its occurrence, we have determined to apply two methodological procedures: the victim based survey and the method of reporting by another person. Why have we decided to apply two methodological procedures and why exactly these two, though it is not usual to do this in only one research?

We have rejected the method of self-reporting , since we considered that it is less adequate for this phenomenon – we expected that a very small number of the examinees would admit that they are the aggressors within their own families. Accordingly, we presupposed that very little information can be provided on the phenomenon through this method.

For us, the most acceptable was the victim based method. We have decided to research the gray figures of domestic violence through the victim based method since:

- We believed that the victims will be more prepared to cooperate, starting from the fact that it is easier to admit the status of a victim, than the status of a perpetrator of a violent act, irrespective towards whom it has been directed.
- One will arrive to more data on the type, nature and reasons of domestic violence, as well as to more data on the personality of the victim and the perpetrator.

Consequently, the research has been directed towards the potential victims – the women. We asked them to declare as to whether they had been victims of certain behaviours which according to our definition, would represent a component of domestic violence.

At the same time we were aware that all women victims of violence would not demonstrate readiness to report their experience, taking into consideration the fact that they had had reasons not to report the violence, and thus it could be hardly expected that they would be prepared to accept the cooperation with the persons who carried

out the research. Therefore we expected that it would not be possible to cover a part of the gray figures of violence against women with the research and that they will remain undisclosed.

Starting from this notion, and in order to discover as many as possible data on this phenomenon, we decided to apply an additional methodological procedure – providing information on another persons. The women who have not reported that they have been victims of violence are included at another level of the research – they have been requested to declare as to whether they know a woman who has been a victim of violence within the family, as well as to provide other information related to the violence. In such a manner we considered that a part of the women victims of violence, who in the first part of the research did not recognise that status, might be prepared to do it through reporting another person. We believed that through the application of this methodological procedure additional information would be obtained on the expansion of the violence against women in our areas.

6. Research Sample

The research was carried out on a sample of 850 female examinees – adult persons of female sex, which is more than 1‰ (1.3‰) of the total female population in the country. Territorially speaking, the research covered also the whole state, whereby both urban and rural settlements were covered. More precisely, the research was carried out in 14 towns and in one or two villages belonging to these municipalities, that is in the total of 21 villages.

The research sample was determined to a certain extent by the phenomenon which was in the focus of the research, while its variants requested a certain drawback from a sample with representative characteristics. Namely from one side the multiethnic character of the state, and on the other side the awareness that the culture, tradition, attitudes towards the woman, her place, role and position in the marriage and family to a certain extent determine the domestic violence, presupposed the identification of the specificities of violence against women in different national and ethnic groups, which would create the cognitive basis for better understanding of domestic violence as a whole and in the particular ethnic groups; would determine the directions of the future more in-depth researches and would provide the knowledge for building a strategy for prevention of domestic violence, in which it is necessary to include and respect the specific characteristics of domestic violence in various national and ethnic groups, in order to work on their overcoming.

For these reasons, in order to collect valid data, the sample should have included a sufficient number of female examinees – members of national and ethnic groups, particularly of those for whom it has been known to have an express presence of domestic violence (the Roma population) irrespective of their proportional participation in the total population of the Republic of Macedonia.

Such a deliberation of ours represented a difficulty in the conceptualisation of the sample, for reasons that there are no pure (ethnically speaking) settlements in our country. Therefore, the forming of the sample was carried out in two stages. In the first stage, following the selection of towns and villages where the research was to be carried out, we approached the identification of the parts of the towns in which the research was to be conducted. The determination of the parts of the towns was made on the basis of voting lists, and through the specific characteristics of the personal names the streets predominantly populated with members of particular national or ethnic groups were determined. As it could be presupposed, and as it has been confirmed by the research material, this procedure has not fully met our requirements about the involvement of the members of national and ethnic groups, because as we already mentioned there are no ethnically pure areas, streets, etc. Following the identification of the streets the number of households which were to be surveyed was determined. As a rule, five households per street were surveyed with the exception of the streets which pass through the whole town, where the number of households to be surveyed was bigger.

In the second stage our female collaborators, made a random selection of households in the previously determined streets in the town, at a pace conditioned by the size of the street and the number of households which were to be surveyed. In the villages, the selection was made by the female collaborators themselves. However they were instructed to cover the whole village, in terms of space. In the villages the total of five out of ten household, that is female examinees were surveyed.

In the last phase of this stage the person who was to be surveyed was identified. Within a given household the female person over 18 years of age whose birthday was the first in line was surveyed. Consequently the researched unit was the household, while the source of information was the adult woman of the household.

Respecting the above mentioned criteria we obtained a sample with the following characteristics:

RESEARCH SAMPLE

AGE

Up to 24 years	71	8.4
From 25 to 29 years	119	14.0
From 30 to 34 years	135	15.9
From 35 to 39 years	118	13.9
From 40 to 44 years	110	12.9
From 45 to 49 years	104	12.2
From 50 to 54 years	69	8.1
From 55 to 59 years	45	5.3
From 60 to 64 years	35	4.1
Over 65 years	42	4.9
Refuses to reply	2	0.2
Total	850	100.0

EMPLOYMENT RATE

Employed woman	269	26.4
Unemployed woman	173	20.4
Housewife	258	30.4
Works – unregistered	17	2.0
Worker in a bankrupt company	20	2.4
Technological surplus	13	1.5
Pensioner woman, invalid woman	77	9.1
Attends school	15	0.8
Farmer woman	4	0.5
Private businesswoman	1	0.1
Other	2	0.2
Does not know	/	/
Refuses to reply	1	0.1
Total	850	100.0

EDUCATION

No education	51	6.0
Unfinished elementary school	117	13.8
Finished elementary school	243	28.6
Secondary education	309	36.4
Associate Degree	56	6.6
Batchelor's Degree	70	8.2
Master's Degree	2	0.2
Doctorate (Ph. D)	2	0.2
Refuses to reply	/	/
Total	850	100.0

ETHNICITY

Macedonian woman	515	60.6
Albanian woman	167	19.6
Turk woman	20	2.4
Roma woman	93	10.9
Serb woman	42	4.9
Other ethnicity	13	1.5
Refuses to reply	/	/
Total	850	100.0

RELIGION

Orthodox woman	556	65.4
Muslim woman	267	31.4
Catholic woman	8	0.9
None – atheist	11	1.3
Other	3	0.4
Refuses to reply	5	0.6
Total	850	100.0

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

1 member	27	3.2
2 members	79	9.3
3 members	128	15.1
4 members	254	29.9
5 members	164	19.2
6 members	106	12.5
7 members	40	4.7
8 members	22	2.6
9 members	10	1.2
10 and more members	18	2.1
Unknown	2	0.2
Total	850	100.0

MARITAL STATUS

Married	704	82.8
Living as a couple	13	1.5
Divorced	39	4.6
Separated	6	0.7
Widow	44	5.2
Single	29	3.5
Has a stable partner	15	1.8
Refuses to reply	/	/
Total	850	100.0

DOMICILE

Town	635	74.7
Village	215	25.3
Total	850	100.0

7. Technique of Data Gathering

The contact with the potential female examinees began with the introduction of our female collaborators, and the introduction was standardised. Two situations were foreseen and accordingly there were two typical models of introduction, depending on the sex of the person with whom initial contacts were made.

Should the female collaborator be making initial contacts with a male person, she was introducing herself by mentioning the organiser, the ordering party and the subject of the research and she was seeking to establish contacts with an adult female of the household.

If the first contact was made with a female person of the household, besides quoting the organiser and the ordering party of the research, more detailed information was given on the project, the aim of the research, the significance of the project, and the confidentiality and the anonymity of the replies were especially emphasised. The women who were hesitant and doubtful were offered the telephone numbers and names of concrete persons – representatives of the ordering party and of the implementing party of the research, from whom they could get more detailed information on the research itself as well as confirmation of the truthfulness of the statements of the female collaborator.

The survey was direct, and was implemented according to the *face-to-face* principle.

25 female collaborators were involved in the implementation of the survey. In light of the fact that they had a very important role in the whole research action, the issue of selection of female collaborators was paid extreme attention to. Criteria were prepared for the selection of polling women, criteria for which we believed could provide appropriate collaborators for this research. The basic criteria was the age: we decided to have more adult female collaborators at about or over 40 years of age. This criteria imposed itself with the sensitiveness of the problem that we were researching. We assumed that the potential victims would speak more easily about their bad, traumatic experience in front of an older unknown woman, with a bigger life experience, as well as with a possibility of her having found herself in an identical situation and accordingly she could be expected to show more understanding. But also vice versa, we expected that the approach of these women would be more appropriate.

For methodological reasons we included two female collaborators at less than 25 years of age, in order to check our presupposition but also in order to establish whether and how much the age of the polling female influences the rate of reporting of violent acts. Meaning that there was a word about acquiring methodological experience. Other criteria which were taken into account during the selection of female collaborators were the education, inter-personal skills of the person, polling experience, or the contacts with the social problems. The team of female

collaborators which carried out the survey had at least secondary education (the majority of them had university education, and two female collaborators were doctors of science with long-term research experience); part of the female collaborators were from among the employees of the Institute, that is with a certain experience in the implementation of empirical researches; we had also volunteers from the SOS telephones, social workers, pedagogues, one student and a volunteer from a non-governmental organisation. There is a word about a solid polling team, which was also confirmed by the obtained empirical material.

The training of the female collaborators was carried out through group instruction, and besides that they received additional instructions, and at any time they could address themselves for additional explanations, assistance and intervention to the Project Manager.

The implementation of the survey went relatively well. The female collaborators have not encountered particular problems, except the ones which are common to empirical researches (to find the street, to provide a female examinee, refusal of conversation, etc.)

Only one case was an exception to that, where the husband of the female respondent not only was verbally aggressive towards our female collaborator, but he also attempted to deprive her of the questionnaire. In this case, the female respondent had previously reported that she had been a victim of violence inflicted by her husband, and he himself confirmed that very vividly by his attitude towards our female collaborator.

The research was carried out during the period from 2 to 30 July. Due to the tropical heat which consumed the state at that time, the research was interrupted in certain regions for a short period of about one week, while in others only the intensity of implementation of the polling activity was reduced.

The questionnaire was in Macedonian, while the polling was done both in Macedonian and in Albanian. For the regions predominantly populated with Albanian population, for whom it had been presupposed that they did not understand sufficiently the Macedonian language, female collaborators (five) were engaged with excellent knowledge of both languages (Macedonian and Albanian). The female respondents who did not know the Macedonian language were asked the questions in Albanian, while the replies were recorded on the questionnaire in Macedonian.

8. Rate of Replies

One of the indicators through which women demonstrated their attitude towards the research subject as well as their assessment of the significance of this topic, was their readiness to accept the conversation with our female collaborators. The fact of refusal to discuss was particularly recorded by the female collaborators. The most general

assessment of our female collaborators on the selection of the research subject according to the experience acquired in the field, is highly positive. They presented that women received them very well, and in most cases also expressed their appreciation that this issue had been finally opened. Not one single woman asked for a telephone number in order to double check or to receive additional information. The refusal of conversation, most frequently was due to lack of time (they were going out, preparing food for winter, obligations with the baby, etc.) and in some cases fear was expressed with respect to losing the social welfare assistance (they perceived of the Institute for Sociological Research as an institution which deals with the problems of social welfare assistance), while the number of those who refused the conversation due to the sensitiveness of the problem was the smallest.

Having obtained the empirical material, we established that the female collaborators visited 896 households, out of which in 46 households the women refused to accept the conversation.

The difference between the gross and net sample expressed in percentage is 5.1% owing to which we believe that we can speak about successfully implemented research.



PART TWO

RESEARCH RESULTS

Gray Figures of the Violence against Women in the Republic of Macedonia

The response to the most important question which this research was supposed to offer was the information on the volume, that is the expansion of violence against women, through establishing its gray figures. While defining the research subject, we pointed out that the phenomenon of violence against women, according to our determination, comprises of physical violence, psychological violence and sexual violence. Therefore, the research was establishing the scope of the gray figures of each component of violence against women separately.

What was offered as a global conclusion by the research results was the knowledge of the wide expansion of the violence against women in our regions. Therewith, one should emphasise the different degree of expansion of particular types of violence. We have established that the most highly reported is the gray figure of the psychological violence – 61.5% of the female examinees declared themselves as having had personal experience involving some of the contents of the psychological violence. A smaller number of female respondents , more exactly 23.9% of them confirmed that they had been victims of physical violence, while the smallest number of them (5.0%) which was within the limits of the expected, declared that they had had their sexual integrity violated.

The information on the expansion of the violence against women represents a strong argument for the need of urgent change of the society's attitude towards this phenomenon, through building a complex and systematic approach. Also perhaps more urgent is the need of undertaking concrete measures for offering assistance and support to women victims of violence, through various forms (shelters, reception centers...) which have been widely used in the world and are utterly lacking in our country.

1. PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE

Scope and Contents

In this part we will refer to the research results on the volume of the gray figures, types, contents and other characteristics of psychological violence, inflicted on the woman by her husband/partner.

The structural elements of the psychological violence, according to our definition in this research are: control over the wife/female partner, isolation of the wife/female partner and behaviors which cause psychological and emotional harm and suffering of the woman – be it a wife or female partner. These dimensions of psychological violence were covered, that is made operational through eight questions.

What was the biggest surprise for the researchers as well was the high degree of exposure to this type of violence of women in our state. We have already mentioned that even 523 or 61.5% of the female examinees stated that they had been victims of some form of psychological violence. The percentage is larger if one would deduce the women who do not have a husband/partner. In the research sample there were 107 female examinees who did not have a husband/partner. If they are deduced from the total sample, one can arrive to a percentage of 70.4% of female examinees who were exposed to psychological violence of their husband/partner.

All contents offered through which the psychological violence was made operational were experientially confirmed by our female examinees however with different intensity:

Table 1

Victims of psychological violence according to the type

Type of psychological violence	Total	Victims	%
Overly jealous and possessive	850	212	24.9
Tries to limit the contacts with the family and friends	850	81	9.5
Insists to know where and with whom she is all the time	850	308	36.2
Calls her insulting names, attacks her or behaves in a certain manner to shut her up and to make her feel bad	850	153	18.0
Prevents her from working outside the home	850	119	14.0
Prevents her from knowing where the money is or to use the money, even if she asks	850	82	9.6
His word is always the last one	850	335	39.4

As one can notice from the data presented the experience of our female examinees with certain contents of the violence of psychological nature is different and varies

between 9.5% and 39.4% if the total population is viewed, that is between 15.5% and 64.0% if one takes into consideration only the women who were victims of psychological violence.

“His word is always the last one” (39.4%) – the most spread form of partner relationships, in which the dominant position of the man is emphasised is the everyday reality for every third female examinee. This model of inter-partner relationship is one of the bases on which the patriarchic relations rely, in which the position of the man is a dominant one – he manages, he decides, while the position of the woman is inferior – she should obey, and endure. These data show that the matrix of patriarchic relations is still very intensely conveyed through the socialisation mechanism. Such form of patriarchic relations is more frequently reported (with respect to their average participation) by the Albanian women, unemployed women and housewives, those who are married from 11 to 15 years, those who have a husband who is unemployed, with higher education than their own and who never drinks.

The control over the wife, as a component of the psychological violence, is second in line according to its frequency in our regions, according to the experience of female respondents and it is expressed through the insistence of the husband/partner to know where and with whom she spends all her time (36.2%). Such an experience is more frequently reported by Albanian women, whose husband is older than themselves and unemployed. Also this form of inter-partner relationships falls under the matrix of patriarchic model of marital relationships, in which the husband has the right of total control over his own wife.

Every fourth female examinee (24.9%) agreed with the description of overly jealous and possessive husband. The Roma women describe in such a manner their husbands more frequently, as well as the female examinees who are married from 11 to 15 years and those whose husband is unemployed.

With respect to the above commented forms of violence, less female examinees (18.0%) declared that their husbands/partners were verbally aggressive or that they behaved in a certain manner in order to make them feel bad, hurt, degraded. Such were the statements of the younger female respondents, of the unemployed and housewives, those whose husbands are unemployed, with lower education than theirs and who consumes alcohol on daily basis.

The prohibition to work outside the home is a content of the form of behaviour which has been reported more rarely by our female examinees (14.0%). This form of behaviour is mostly present among the Albanian ethnic minority. Namely, 34.7% of the Albanian women, 14.0% of the Roma women and the least, 7.4% of Macedonian women reported it as their personal experience. This prohibition represents an objective obstacle to the process of emancipation of women and leads to retention of traditional relationships in the marriage and family. With respect to the other characteristics this form of violence was most frequently reported by female

examinees who are married from 6 to 10 years, with low incomes of the household, whose husband has higher education than their own, is unemployed and never drinks.

The least present behaviour in our regions according to the experience of female examinees, is the limitation of contacts of the women with their family or friends (9.5%) and prevention of knowing where the money is, or to use the money or even to ask about it (9.6%).

The research information showed that when there is a violence of psychological nature, as a rule, it is not expressed through one, but through several forms. This shows that there is a word about a more complex attitude by which the women are kept under control, isolation, and in a degrading position. In our research the women reported 1355 individual behaviours of various forms of psychological violence the victims of which they had been themselves and this averagely represents 2.6 forms of psychological violence per female examinee.

1.2 Categories at Risk as Victims of Psychological Violence

In our state, the victims of psychological violence are more frequently women at the age between 30 and 44 years, housewives, with low education – maximum finished primary school, with lowest income per household of 5.000,00 denars, married between 10 and 20 years, with a husband older than themselves, unemployed, with higher education and who never drinks.

One of the many testimonies about happenings of this type is the life story from the home of V:

“I met M. through our common friends. By chance. I became fond of him at first sight, obviously he as well, because after few days he called me on the phone and suggested that we should see each other and go out somewhere. Even at that first meeting we discovered that we had many things in common: we both loved to read, and we both liked the same music, we found many common points in our views of the world. It did not take much and long for me to fall in love with him, and to find myself in heaven. After 4 months we got married. My parents protested a little, they thought we should not rush into a marriage, that we should give each other time to get to know each other a little bit better (though I was 27 and he was 33). Probably they saw a little bit more than I could see from the heaven I was in.

Even at the beginning he showed his jealousy and possessiveness. Not only did it not bother me but I was even impressed because I thought that that was a sign of his love for me.

Even in the first days of our marriage he put it to my attention that he is allergic to every type of cosmetics and that actually it does not suit any decent and married woman to wear make up like an actress or god forbid like a whore. Too much in

love I did not say anything and I just silenced through that statement of his, thus making actually the first wrong step towards the salvation of our happiness. It did not take much and long for him to assume all his freedoms and rights over me, over my thoughts, my mood and my behaviour. He did not want us to go out like before, he was bothered by the telephone calls with my parents, relatives, friends. For all of them he had an insulting name, and mostly for me. First I was a sheep, then a goat, then a goose, then a female baboon – my evolution progressed quickly, but no way that I could become what I really was. Everything I said was wrong, everything I did was wrong. From day to day he was turning into an incarnation of perfection and I into an incarnation of stupidity, clumsiness, incompetence. And I really began to turn into that. The dishes were falling off my hands, I said things that I did not mean, sometimes I was becoming ridiculous in my own eyes with some stupid thing I would blur out or do. He started insulting me in front of other people, in front of those little people that we had contacts with. He could not stand even his own brother for whom he told me openly that he would lay me with pleasure, that is that I would also not miss that opportunity if it ever presented itself to me. He often questioned me about how many men I slept with before him and he replied that question himself, because I really did not have any strength to put myself to my defense. And it was already late. I found myself in a sort of a black circle from which I wished to come out more and more often. I lost the desire to work, and I more and more often failed in the performance of my working tasks. The changes with me were noticed by my colleagues as well, and also by my parents, who though I saw them rarely were somehow silently putting it to my knowledge that they knew what was happening to me and that they were on my side, and that I will have their support for any decision that I would make related to my life and my marriage.

- *No, he has never hit me. He was just robbing myself off, bit by bit. Bits which I now want desperately to bring back, to put them back together, to go on living a normal life”.*

(Macedonian woman, 38 years of age, with university education, whose husband is six years older than her, and has higher education than her own).

2. PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

2.1. Scope and Contents of Physical Violence

In the part where we talked about the definition of domestic violence, we pointed out that there are several definitions, which differ from each other in terms of definition of the contents of the term violence and also by the width of coverage of the phenomenon. The narrowest definition of domestic violence accepts only physical violence, and it is defined as: use of physical force or threat of use of physical force towards the wedlock or out-of-wedlock partner or towards another adult member of the family. This is a definition which we accept as basis for defining the physical violence.

For the purposes of our research the definition of physical violence is the following one: used physical force or threat that the same will be used upon the woman by her spouse or out-of-wedlock partner or by other adult member of her household.

This determination, as a definition of the physical violence, has been made operational by us through 12 components which represent serious physical threats or behaviours which imply assault upon the physical integrity of the woman. Each of the components of the physical violence was formulated in a question and the female respondents replied whether they had had a personal experience of such type of behaviour within their own family.

The research results showed that the domestic violence in Macedonia, in a manner in which we have previously defined it, imposes itself with all of its seriousness and complexity. Namely, almost every fourth woman examinee declared that she had had her physical integrity violated within her own family. In this context I would like to present also the field experience of our female collaborators, who indicated that the women are more frequently victims of violence than they actually report it. In this respect, one of our female collaborators was most decisive, otherwise a social worker by profession and with many years of working experience, whose impression was that over 60% of the women that she talked to had had an experience involving a physical attack or threat. Maybe even more impressive are the findings of our female collaborators, related to the perplexity of a large number of female examinees at the question as to whether they had been ever slapped, since as they claimed there was not a woman who had not been slapped, and that this did not represent physical violence and they did not allow it to be registered as such (“do not register it – that is nothing, that is something which happens in every house”).

The rate of reporting of the physical violence, according to the findings of the research, is 23.9% or 202 of the total of women who were polled reported that they had had a personal experience with the violation of or a threat to their physical identity.

The behaviours which threatened or violated the physical integrity of the female examinees were various in terms of their contents and were present with various intensity.

Table 2

Victims of physical violence, according to the type

Type of violence	Total	N	%
Physical, or in any other way, threat	202	147	72.8
Throwing at her an object which could have hurt her	202	102	50.5
Hit, grabbed or pushed	202	133	65.8
He twisted her arm or dragged her by the hair	202	81	40.1
Hit with a slap	202	161	79.7
Kicked, bitten, or hit with a fist	202	94	46.5
He tried to strangle her, and closed her mouth	202	34	16.8
He was beating her	202	130	64.4
He hit her with an object	202	79	39.1
He burnt her or scalded her	202	9	4.4
He used a knife or a gun	202	17	8.4
He was violent in some other way	202	59	29.2

The research findings speak that women in our state often, that is every fourth of the female examinees, were exposed to physical violence, through its various manifestations. What can be also concluded is that when there is a violence in the family, it is manifested through several different forms, some lighter and some more severe. According to the reported forms of violence, each of the female examinees was exposed at an average to 4.6 different forms of violence. Most frequent are the slaps (79.7%), threats (72.8%) and the beating, The rarest are the most severe forms of violence – burning or scalding (4.4%) and the use of a knife and a gun (8.4%). However, other severe forms of physical harm and mistreatment are frequently present – shutting the mouth, that is strangulation (16.8%) and hitting with a fist or biting, behaviours which had been experienced by every second woman.

2.2. Who is the Aggressor?

Most frequently, the role of aggressor over the women in our regions, is the husband (the current and the former one - 81.7%), which is actually within the limits of the expected. Other members of the household were rarely physically violent towards the female examinees.



Table 3

Who is the aggressor?

Aggressor:	N	%
Husband/partner	143	70.8
Father-in-law/Mother-in-law	4	2.0
Mother/Father	4	2.0
Brother-in-law, wife of the brother-in-law, sister of the husband	1	0.5
Brothers, sisters, wives of the brothers	2	1.0
Son, daughter	3	1.5
Other relatives	2	4.0
Former husband	22	10.9
Several relatives	12	5.9
No reply	9	3.5
Total	202	100.0

Though the other members of the household have behaved violently towards the female respondents much more rarely than the husband (about 18% altogether), this finding also deserves certain comments. If the degree of relationship is being viewed (the question was related only to the violence inflicted by members of the household), according to the replies one can conclude that there are extended families existing in our country.

Some of them are a result of the traditional way of living, and some are forcefully created in this period of crisis, in order to survive more easily. In such circumstances, particularly when it comes to extended households, whose members are compelled to live together (for economic reasons) there is a decrease of the housing standard, and if all problems resulting from the material inconveniences are added to it, it becomes clear that there are circumstances which frustrate the family members, which can certainly be a reason for aggressive behaviour. This is also one of the explanations of the registered violence against women who live in extended family units, that can be linked to the crisis situation in which a substantial part of citizens of our state find themselves.

2.3. Frequency of Occurrence

The seriousness of the problem of domestic violence in its physical dimension, may be also viewed through its frequency of individual occurrence. For these reasons, we asked the female examinees to give a precise number of behaviours, as individual events, when their physical integrity had been violated.

Table 4

How often their physical integrity had been violated?

	N	%
Once or twice	40	19.8
Between 3 and 10 times	44	21.8
Between 11 and 20 times	18	8.9
More than 20 times	53	26.2
She cannot remember	27	13.4
Refuses to reply	20	9.9
Total	202	100.0

The overall conclusion which can be drawn from the offered findings is that the women were victims of multiple physical violence. Most of them, that is every fourth woman indicated that she had been physically attacked within her own family 20 or more than 20 times, most frequently by her husband.

In order to consider more precisely the real scope of physical violence to which our female examinees had been exposed, we tried to quantify it mathematically as individual behaviours, which we did in the following manner: for the female examinees who reported that they had been victims of physical violence once or twice, we calculated as if that had happened to them only once, for those who stated that they had been victims between 3 and 10 times we calculated 6 times, for female examinees who reported that they had been victims between 10-20 times we took the average of 15 times, and for female respondents who declared that they had been physically assaulted 20 or more times we took the lower limit of 20 times, while for those who declared that they could not remember how often it had happened to them we decided in favour of 5 times.

Table 5

How often their physical integrity had been violated?

Number of occurrences	Average	Number	Total
Once or twice	1	40	40
Between 3 and 10 times	6	44	264
Between 11 and 20 times	15	18	270
More than 20 times	20	53	1,060
She cannot remember	5	27	135
Total			1,769

As it can be concluded from the calculations made our female examinees had been at least 1,769 times, taken as individual behaviours, victims of physical violence (we say at least since during the calculation we took the lowest values, due to which we can

claim with certainty that the scope of physical violence among the examined population is much bigger). If this situation is reduced to an average, it turns out that each one of the 202 women victims of physical violence, was physically attacked or abused averagely 87 times.

2.4. Time of Occurrence

In order to establish the period during which the female examinees had suffered violence within their family, we asked them to locate the time of the last event of physical violence.

Table 6
When did the last event happen?

Time	N	%
In the last 12 months	79	39.1
Between 1 and 5 years ago	63	31.2
Between 6 and 10 years ago	15	7.4
Between 10 and 20 years ago	10	4.9
More than 20 years ago	2	1.0
She cannot remember	13	6.4
Refuses to reply	20	9.9
Total	202	100.0

As it can be seen, most frequently there is a word about current violence. Almost 40% (39.1%) of the women live in conditions where they suffer physical violence, violence committed in the course of the last year. Most of these women stated that they were beaten up for the last time in the course of the last month. Second by frequency comes the category of female examinees (31.2%) who reported that they had experienced the last physical violation or threatening of their integrity in the last five years. It is interesting that their replies were more focused on the violence of a “more recent date” as well. Therefore, one can conclude that in our state in the recent years, there has been an increase of the rate of physical violence against women. This finding should be also viewed from the aspect of the crisis in the society (on which we have previously given certain comments) because the fact is that a significant part of the citizens live in great poverty – a circumstance which in combination with other factors may encourage the violence. These data, by themselves, represent strong arguments for the justification of this research and impose as well the need of undertaking organised and systematic measures towards reducing the domestic violence and alleviation of the consequences caused by it.



2.5. Time of the Most Frequent Occurrence

We also turned our attention during the research towards the establishment of the time (day and hours) when the violence had most frequently occurred. Therewith, the presumption that we started from was that the violence would be most frequently manifested on the days when the family members spend more time together, when there are occasions for consumption of alcohol (according to our habits) that is during the weekends and holidays. However, contrary to our expectations, the research results did not show any specific characteristic related to the days of the week when the physical violence had been more manifested.

Table 7

Day in the week when the violence had occurred most frequently

Day	N	%
Ordinary days	66	32.7
Weekend days	15	7.4
Holiday days	15	7.4
All days	54	26.7
She cannot remember	42	20.8
Refuses to reply	10	4.9
Total	202	100.0

Consequently, the most frequent replies (59.4%) indicate that the violence happened on ordinary days and on all days, showing that in those families there is no need for special occasions to be violent against the woman, that is they are latently present or are invented.

As regards the time of the day when the physical violence occurred most frequently, certain specific characteristics can be noticed:

Table 8

Time of occurrence

Time	N	%
Morning	8	3.96
Afternoon	7	3.47
Evening	53	26.24
During nighttime	21	10.40
At any time	76	37.62
She cannot remember	21	10.40
Refuses to reply	10	4.95
Nobody	6	2.97
Total	202	100.0

Most of the female examinees (37.6%) stated that it had happened at any time of the day. A little bit less (36.2%) indicated as the time of violence the evening and nighttime hours. It seems that women are safer during morning hours. Only 4.0% indicated that period of the day as the time when they had been most frequently physically assaulted. Therefore, the more risky period for the women to be exposed to violence are the evening and nighttime hours.

Consequently, the women in our state are exposed to violence during all days of the week and at any time of the day, but somewhat more frequently during evening and nighttime hours. In short, there is no special time for violence, any time is convenient time.

2.6. Abuse of the Mother and Child Victimization

The questions which in our assessment were significant and deserved to be placed in the focus of the research, since with them the findings on domestic violence were rounded up, and which at the same time made possible to check certain theoretic postulates, as well as to make a comparison with the empirical practice of other countries, were the questions on victimisation (physical and sexual) of the women victims in the period of their childhood and the exposure to violence of the mother (her mother and the mother of her husband – partner) by her own husband.

In that context, the female examinees were asked a few questions with such contents. In order to be able to identify the specific characteristics, we present together and simultaneously the research results both for the entire population and for the women victims of violence.

Table 9

Victimisation in the childhood and violence against the mother

	Total population	Women victims
Violence against the mother	12.4	34.6
Physical violence in the childhood	8.2	22.8
Sexual violence in the childhood	1.3	5.4
Violence against the mother of the husband – partner	11.8	32.7

The data indicate that every third woman victim of violence (34.6%) was a witness of a violent behaviour targeting her own mother inflicted by her father or step father. A little bit less (28.2%) of the female examinees were themselves victims of violence (physical or sexual) during their childhood – until their 15th year of age. These relations are thrice more present with women victims of violence compared to the total population of female examinees. One of the possible explanations for such a situation (in order to have a definite conclusion more findings are necessary and we do not have them at our disposal) is the higher threshold of tolerance of violence by the women who in the period of their childhood had been victimised themselves, or

had witnessed the victimisation of their mother, particularly if the intensity of the violence to which they are actually exposed is lesser than the one to which their mother had been exposed. Yet, there might be also a word about absence of help and support by the primary family for the resolution of their current situation.

The research results indicated that frequently, that is 32.7% of the husbands/partners of the women victims of violence, originate from families in which the father had been violent towards their mother. This percentage may be higher, in light of the fact that every fifth (21.7%) female examinee stated that she was unfamiliar with that fact. Also in this case, the ratio of the frequency is one to three between the women victims of violence and the total population of female examinees.

Consequently, the data of our research are nearing as well the theoretic postulate, which also had an empirical confirmation in a certain number of researches indicating that the domestic aggressors frequently originate from families in which there had been violence. This results from the fact that children identify themselves with their parents and can adopt (learn) a model of behaviour involving aggressive response in conflict situations. So, this means, that if there is an identification with a father aggressor it may be expected, provided there are other inconvenient factors (for example assumed roles of the sexes in a patriarchic sense) that the son will also behave aggressively.

The life of J. is filled with a lot of violence, a life story similar to many alike, heard during the research:

“ He raised his hand on me for the first time when we were engaged, more precisely only one month before we got married.

That evening we were at the birthday party of my cousin. I was 22 years old then and I am one of those people who only need to hear nice music in order to start stamping their feet and are ready at any moment to stand up in order to dance. My fiancée , my current husband does not like neither music, nor dancing, singing or laughing.

Then I still didn't know that I as his future wife was supposed to like only what he liked and to do only what he would like me to do.

I stood up, it was the time of the twist and group dancing and I joined the group which was dancing. I danced with my heart and soul, but all the time I was glancing towards the place where my fiancée was sitting. A part of my subconsciousness was warning me that it was not right that I was neglecting him, maybe he would be insulted. And he was really insulted, and how he was insulted. At a certain moment I saw him rising and setting off towards me. Something stung me in my heart. I stopped dancing and started towards him. He grabbed me rudely by the arm and without a word or greetings with any of the present people we went outside. The moment we were out he stopped and grabbed me rudely by the

shoulders. I thought that he would kiss me. Instead of a kiss I got a slap, one then another one. I was stoned, but I managed to ask him why he did that, what was so wrong that I did, what did I do, what did I deserve that with.

- *Oh come on you know, you know very well what did you deserve it with. Don't you play a saint to me, a lamb, I watched you carefully how you danced and exchanged looks with the others.*

I did not have the courage to speak, neither that night, nor the next day, nor at any night or day in my life. Neither about that slap, nor about all the others that I got from him. But that is nothing compared to all his other bizarre specialties. I also lived to be beaten by a belt and to be chased out of the house with a gun and to be threatened that he would really kill me one day. And all that in the name of his love for me, in the name of marital decency and fidelity, in the name of the morality of his family known by its reputation of decency, in which for generations back it used to be clear who was the husband and who was the wife in the house.

Several times, in rage, he burnt me with cigarettes; several times in rage he cut my dresses with scissors. Once in the presence of our children, he threw scissors at me. Once, also in rage he grabbed the pot from the stove and he set off towards me. Fortunately at that moment the doorbell rang loudly, otherwise I still have the goose pimples when thinking of what could have happened to me. I often thought of divorcing him, but for a long time I did not have the courage to even mention that, and let alone make a concrete step. To be honest, I was scared somewhat of his reaction, but even more of what the people would say about me, how the children would accept it. I must say that he also behaved with them as with his private property, as with me. Both them and I were standing in front of him in a position of attention. Besides that, in the eyes of the world my husband was a wonderful father, wonderful husband, and even more than that a reputable and respected manager.

Things changed a little bit when the children grew up a little, and when my health also deteriorated seriously. I started seeing a psychiatrist as well, his counseling, I must say helped me significantly to recover a little psychologically speaking and to gain the courage to fight for myself and the children. Not for him. In the meantime he left our home. But I still did not get the divorce. We are still officially married. He sees the children, that is his right. He tries for us to live together again, but how when he has not changed at all. He continues to insult me and once when I was more categorically rejecting him, he threatened me with a murder as well.

I hope that I will manage to endure till the end in the battle for myself and the peace, whichever way it will be, for my children”

(Macedonian woman, at the age of 47 years, with university education, employed and with a solid income).

3. SEXUAL VIOLENCE

3.1. Scope of Sexual Violence

The third constituting element of domestic violence, according to our definition for this research is the sexual violence. Otherwise, we have defined the sexual violence through the questions as a coercion to a sexual intercourse or to any other sexual activity.

As a difference to the previously presented findings on the scope of the physical and psychological violence, the sexual violence is less present, that is reported by our respondents. Only 43 (5.0%) of them stated that they had been victims of sexual violence. In this context, it should be pointed out that only 6 of the female examinees who reported that they had been victims of sexual violence, had not been victims of physical violence. Therefore, it can be concluded that the sexual violence, as a rule, is accompanied by the physical violence that is that there is a word about combined violence.

3.2. Who is the Aggressor?

Asked about the identity of the aggressor the female examinees indicated the following persons

Table 10
Who is the aggressor?

Aggressor	N	%
Current husband/partner	21	10.4
Former husband/partner	7	3.5
Boyfriend	3	1.5
Father/step father	1	0.5
Brother	2	1.0
Other relative	2	1.0
Acquaintance	4	2.0
Unknown	2	1.0
Several persons	5	2.5
Has not been coerced	155	76.7
Total	202	100.0

Most frequently (62.2%) women suffer sexual violence inflicted by their husbands – the current and former ones. What is impressive and at the same time worrisome is that women were sexually abused by their relatives as well, an issue which has not been paid any attention at all in our country, particularly the issue of the incest and the

consequences which it leaves behind. We mention this (the incest) only to emphasise the relevance of this problem.

We would like to finish this part with one of the saddest and most touching life stories heard during the research, a story taken down in the poor home of Z. in one of the larger towns in Macedonia. A life which illustrates very well the findings which we have previously presented:

Zenube is 36 years old, and she looks as if she is 50. She speaks slowly, quietly, as if she is scared that what she will say may be wrongly understood or accuse her of something, as if she is afraid of the others and of herself. The wrinkles on her forehead, around her eyes and lips are wide and deep, and immediately one thinks that under those wrinkles there are maybe others bigger, deeper, invisible for the human eye. And there are not only wrinkles, but also many and huge scars in the soul of Zenube, about which at the beginning she did not want to speak openly. Yet, there is also a sparkle in the eyes of Zenube, a living flame which warms up her heart and the heart of the collocutor.

Zenube has a feeling for other people, a miraculous goodness which springs up from the depths of her look, from the depths of her soul.

- *Your work isn't easy either, she says to me. You must meet different people, you listen about other people's sufferings and the people have many of those, everyone knows his own, every man has his own story. Mine is a bad one, but it can be even worse, but come on tell me what you are interested in, what do you want to know about me? And forgive me, I have nothing to give you as a treat.*

"I was born in Albania. My father, my mother, brothers and sisters live in Albania. My son also lives with my mother. I have not seen them since I came here. It hurts me most for my son. He is not like the others. He was born an idiot. And do you know why? Because he is an offspring of a crime. A crime which my brother committed over me. He raped me when I was 15 years old. Not once, several times. Even today I cannot forgive myself that I did not take away my life then, and I was thinking about it, or at least if I told my mother on time, anybody. To have annihilated on time that bitter offspring in my womb, that eternal shame and punishment for me and my family".

She neither cried nor did her voice tremble. A long time ago, I thought, this woman had shed all her tears.

- *Then – I said- Zenube, how did you come here, was that your wish or that was what your parents wanted?*
- *They sold me - cut me Zenube. I don't' know how much money my husband gave for me, but I was bought with money and he constantly reminds me of*

that. I am a slave, my husband can do with me whatever he likes and not to be held responsible for that in front of anybody. There is no one to protect me, neither a father, nor a mother, a brother or a sister, the neighbours even if they want to, do not dare to do anything, and the children are still small. I do not complain for myself, but for these three little souls who already understand enough, see everything, hear everything, and cannot do anything. I am afraid for them.

- *And what is that so terrible that your husband does to you Zenube?*

Instead of a reply she showed me her hands. From the fingers to the elbows she has scars from burns – some older some fresher. I shoo./

- *Has he done this to you Zenube?*

- *Yes. Often he does this to me for nothing. Sometimes he does it when he is drunk, sometimes even when he is sober, just for fun. I do not count the kicks and slaps but I count the scars from the burns and they hurt me even when they are healed up.*

- *Have you asked the police to help you until now?*

- *Yes, several times. They will come, keep him for a night or two-three days in the police station and then they let him go. For two-three days he is calm, he does not do anything to me, then the same old tune. I am sorry for the children. And I am ashamed in front of them, particularly in front of the girl who is 4 years old, you know I gave birth to her, while the two others, the boys I found here. I feel ashamed in front of the neighbours as well. A few times he stripped me completely naked and threw me out in the street in the middle of winter – Zenube says again.*

- *Why Zenube?*

- *I am ashamed to tell you, but he forces me to do that thing at any time, and he wants us to do it in front of the children as well. If I oppose him, woe me. I am sorry for the children, and I do not know how to help them, how to protect them, he is their father, and whatever he is they love him. And they should love him, only I am afraid that one day they will become like him – and here Zenube finishes her story.*

The darkness was falling quickly and inhabiting the small room of Zenube. Even more quickly her tortured soul. I really do not know how one can help her.

4. THE LAST INCIDENT

4.1. Why the Last Incident?

We carried out an in-depth insight into the substance of violence against women through establishing its types, reasons, circumstances under which it had occurred, through consequences, reactions of the victim etc, but all these located in the last occurrence. We considered that by focusing the female examinees on the last incident we will obtain more systematic and more precise findings, the quantification of which will provide a better quality analysis. In this context, it should be mentioned that the research results relate only to the physical and sexual violence but not to the psychological violence.

4.2. The Form of Violence

The prevailing form of violence viewed from the aspect of the last incident is the physical violence

Table 11

Form of violence – last incident

Type of violence	N	%
Sexual assault/threat	21	10.4
Physical assault/threat	146	72.3
Both	26	12.9
Refuses to reply	9	4.5
Total	202	100.0

In the context of these data we would like to point out one specific trait, which relates to the scope of reported sexual violence. Namely in the last incident the sexual violence is manifested more, and has a higher rate than the previously reported one.ⁱⁱⁱ This leads to the conclusion that the female examinees have been silent about the sexual violence in certain cases, which in its turn, speaks about the limited possibilities of the victimisation survey, and that through it only a part of the gray figures of domestic violence are discovered.

4.3. Participation of Alcohol in Violence

Undoubtedly the alcohol has an important role, that is it can be considered a serious cause of domestic violence, more concretely of the violence against women, at least in our areas. The replies to the question as to whether the aggressor was under the influence of alcohol during the incident (the last one) also move in this direction:

Table 12

Participation of alcohol in the last incident

Was he under the influence of:	N	%
Alcohol	104	51.5
Drugs	5	2.5
None	73	36.1
She does not know	8	3.9
Refuses to reply	12	5.9
Total	202	100.0

As it can be seen, the alcohol was present in every second incident of violence. Namely, about 51.5% of female examinees reported that during the last incident the aggressor was under the influence of alcohol, and what is particularly interesting 5 (2.5%) of women declared that he was under the influence of drugs.

When speaking of alcoholism as a cause of domestic violence, it should be emphasised that it primarily relates to the orthodox part of our female examinees, since the female respondents of Muslim confession, particularly the Albanian ones, declared (most frequently) that their husbands never drink. Namely, out of the total number of female examinees 26.5% declared that their husbands/partners never drink. However, within the framework of the separate national and ethnic groups that ratio is expressed in the following manner: 16.3% of the Macedonian women declared that their husband/partner never drinks, such a reply was the choice of 65.9% of the Albanian women and of 23.7% of the female members of the Roma population.

As a difference to the aggressors, the victims faced the violence sober.

As it can be seen from the table, even 94.1% of the female examinees were sober when they were physically assaulted, and only two women were under the influence of alcohol, that is under the effect of drugs.

Table 13

Has the victim been under the influence of alcohol or drugs?

The victim was under the influence of:	N	%
Alcohol	2	1.0
Drugs	2	1.0
None	190	94.1
Refuses to reply	8	3.9
Total	202	100.0

The life story of one of our female examinees speaks of the association of alcohol and violence:

“My name is A. I am 29 years old. Since I have known about myself, I have known the meaning of alcohol, poverty, the dark side of the life. No, I do not drink. But my father drinks, my brother drinks, and my first husband was drinking. There is drinking and drinking, but when my father is drunk he transforms from a peaceful man into a beast and it is better for anybody not to be in his presence then. Several times he was in prison even for the bad things he did when he was drunk. My brothers are not better at all than him, nor was my first husband with whom I also have a child. I left my first husband because of his drinking and mistreatment of me, the second left me because he disagreed with my family. I also have a child of my second husband. Now I have a lover – much older than me. He has a wife, children, grandchildren. Do you think that he supports me, that he gives me money. No. I give money to him, those little money that I earn by cleaning the houses and begging. He makes me beg, and I fulfill all his wishes and desires. And what should I do? I am pregnant again, from him. I want to have a daughter. I want to tell you about the last event which happened during the circumcision celebration of my smallest son Randu. I roasted a chicken, I made salads, bought refreshments. I invited the closest relatives and neighbours. However, as soon as the guests started arriving, my brother came in a drunken state. He started swearing, yelling, insulting me and my child, and in one moment he started to break the plates and bottles which were on the table. I fell through the ground out of shame, and when I started to cry, he started beating me mercilessly. If the guests were not there he would have beaten me to death. My lover was just standing aside and watching all of that.

Love- what is that? Is that luck?”

4.4. The Use of Weapons During the Last Incident

During the last incident, a knife, gun or other weapons were rarely used. That was confirmed by our female examinees through replies to the question asked in that direction.

Table 14

Did the aggressor use a weapon?

He had a knife, a gun	N	%
Yes	11	5.5
No	178	88.1
Does not know	2	1.0
Refuses to reply	11	5.5
Total	202	100.0

This means, that in our regions, most frequently there is a word about immediate violence. Only in 5,5% of the cases, during the last incident the aggressors had a gun,



knife or other weapons which they could have hurt the victim with. Though there is a word about a relatively small number of cases, this is still an indicator on the seriousness of the violence to which the women are exposed.

4.5. Consequences of Violence

The violence against women, very often resulted in her physical injury. During the last incident, event 65.8% (133 women) among our female examinees were physically injured. The physical injuries of the female examinees were expressed in the following manner:

Table 15

Physical injuries

Type of injury	N	%
Bruises	109	54.0
Cuts, scratches, burns	8	3.9
Fractures	3	1.5
Abortion	2	1.0
Unconsciousness	1	0.5
Multiple injuries	22	10.9
Refuses to reply	20	9.9
No injuries	37	18.3
Total	202	100.0

The most frequent form or more precisely consequence of the physical violence are bruises on the body of the woman. The other injuries, though rarely present individually, when viewed together, still represent 18% of the injuries inflicted, which are severe by nature, and allow to speak about violence of greater intensity.

4.6. Have the Victims of Violence Requested Medical Assistance?

Among the women who declared that they had been physically injured, every third (33.1%) had requested medical assistance. However, in the discussions, the victims emphasised that though they had needed medical assistance, they had treated themselves, out of fear of the aggressor or the shame of violence. Even, if one takes into consideration only that data – that every third injury was of such character that a medical intervention was necessary, the conclusion on the seriousness of the forms of physical violence to which women are exposed to in our state, imposes itself.

4.7. How the Violence Influence the Victims?

The women stand with difficulty the life with violence. This is manifested through conditions which lead to deterioration of the health or to concrete illnesses. This is actually very well illustrated by the replies to the question as to how violence influenced them.

Table 16
Consequences of violence

Consequence	N	%
Loss of self-confidence	31	15.3
Depression	33	16.3
Nervous disease	6	2.9
Insomnia	22	10.9
Isolation	16	7.9
Phobia, fear	25	12.4
Several modalities	40	19.8
Refuses to reply	17	8.4
No influence	12	5.9
Total	202	100.0

The loss of self-confidence, depression, insomnia, fear and phobia are the most frequent consequences of the violent behaviour against women. Those are conditions which influence the self-confidence of women, form an insecure personality, and this decreases the capacity to react, to oppose the aggressor, and in such a manner conditions are created for moving around in the “magic circle of violence”.

4.8. Is the Violence a Crime?

The traditional relationships in the marriage and family, in which the husband is provided with a dominant position, which includes overall control over the woman, and does not exclude even the violence as a regulator of interpersonal relationships, still represent part of our culture, which is unfortunately conveyed by socialisation to a considerable extent and is accepted by the women. The most illustrative argument for this conclusion is the qualification of the violent act by the female examinees. On the question as to whether they view the conduct of their husband as criminal, only 47,5% replied affirmatively.

Table 17

Is the incident a criminal conduct?

Is it a crime	N	%
Yes	96	47.5
No	52	25.7
Does not know	35	17.3
Refuses to reply	19	9.4
Total	202	100.0

The fact that more than half of the women do not view the violence they suffer as a criminal conduct, speaks in favour of the present patriarchic matrix, which makes the woman tolerant towards violence, and with that acts restrictively upon the undertaking of concrete activities for resolving such situation, which creates conditions for the violence to continue endlessly. In this framework, the reply should be sought for the high gray figures of domestic violence in our regions.

4.9. Has the Incident Been Reported to the Police?

We have already mentioned that more than half of the women victims of violence have not been viewing the violent conduct as a criminal act, and so there is a little probability for the same to report it to the police. However, it is interesting that, even among the women who qualified the incident as a crime, less than half had reported it to the police.

Table 18

Had the incident been reported to the police?

Reported to the police	N	%
Yes	42	20.8
No	154	76.2
Refuses to reply	6	3.0
Total	202	100.0

The data indicate that the rate of reporting to the police, only for the last incident is 20,8%. These findings deserve another short comment, which relates to the rate of reporting of the violence to the police, in general. Namely the women who declared that they had reported the incident to the police, at the same time stated (with the exception of one female examinee) that this is the only reporting that they had made. Accordingly, if the data of 43 reported cases is placed in correlation with the previously established (at least) 1,769 individual acts of violence, it results that every 42nd incident is reported to the police or expressed in percentages the rate of reporting is 2.4%. However the overview of the data as a whole and their placing in certain

relations, allows to conclude that the rate of reporting of violence against women, is unfortunately much, much lower.

4.10. Reasons for not Reporting the Incident

The finding on the reasons due to which women did not address the police in cases where they suffered violence was very important, because it might help reach certain information on the reasons for the gray figures of this type of violence, on the attitude of women towards this phenomenon, on the trust in the body competent to protect them. Therefore, the female examinees were requested to indicate the reasons for not-reporting the incident to the police.

As it can be seen from the findings which were reached, the prevailing reason for not reporting the incident to the police is its insufficient seriousness (19,8%). This response means that the physical attacks on women within the family, are not recognised as violence, are not identified as an event, for which, if it was done outside the family and by other person, police intervention would have been requested. This also fits into the picture of the patriarchic model of relationships in the marriage and family in our country.

Table 19

Reasons for not reporting it

Reason	N	%
Fear of revenge	27	13.4
The case is not serious for police	40	19.8
Shame	25	12.4
She wanted to solve the case by herself	18	8.9
She wanted the family to solve the case	13	6.4
Is not under the jurisdiction of the police	5	2.5
The police did not engage itself	5	2.5
The police cannot do anything	1	0.5
The police does not act seriously	1	0.5
The case has been reported to another body	2	1.0
Several modalities	10	4.9
Does not know	1	0.5
Refuses to reply	11	5.4
The case has been reported to the police	43	21.3
Total	202	100.0

The fear of revenge (13.4%) as a reason for not reporting to the police, explicitly indicates that these women accept the violence as their destiny and do not see another solution for them. The fear excludes any other alternative for solving their problem. In such cases, the support and assistance by state and other organs and organisations, which lacks with us substantially, might be very beneficial for them.



The shame (12.4%) as a reason for which the violence is not reported to the police is an indicator of the conservative mentality and model of education. In this framework one should also place the replies that the woman wanted to solve the case by herself, that is for it to be solved within the family. Such evaluation, discovers very well one of the reasons for the gray figures of domestic violence: everything which happens in the family should stay there, it is a shame for it to be found out.

A relatively small percentage (6.0%) of the female examinees locate the work of the police, as a state body competent to respond in cases of domestic violence as a reason for the non reporting, and that expressed through the attitude that: the police cannot do anything, it does not engage itself; it does not act seriously; which at the same time imply a value judgment for the acting of the police in such cases.

4.11. Satisfaction with the Work of the Police

The experience of women who have reported the violence to the police is very important, since the overcoming of some problems linked to domestic violence, and ultimately the reduction of its gray figures depend on its works, the treatment of victims, its efficiency etc., given that the police with its correct attitude, its availability, its protection will mean encouragement for the women to seek a solution to their problems. However, unfortunately, the experience of our female examinees who have reported the event to the police, is not of such a nature.

They, assessed their satisfaction with the police action in relation to their reporting, in the following manner:

Table 20

Satisfaction with the work of the police

Satisfied	N	%
Yes	20	9.9
No	25	2.4
Refuses to reply	14	7.0
Has not been reported to the police	142	70.6
Total	202	100.0

The research results indicated that more than half (55.6%) of the female examinees who had reported the incident to the police have negative experience, that is they are not satisfied with the behaviour of the police. The establishment of special departments, with particularly educated policemen on the problems of domestic violence, is one of the directions in which the solutions concerning the participation of the police in the response to this problem should move. That will lead to the increase of the efficiency in its work and to its transformation into a service for the citizens which will help them in all spheres of protection of their rights.



4.12. Reasons for Dissatisfaction

When asked to identify the segment of the police activities which is the source of their dissatisfaction, the female examinees identified it within the framework of the following:

Table 21

Reasons for dissatisfaction with the work of the police

Reason	N	%
Has not done enough	20	9.9
Disinterested	25	2.4
Incorrect	14	7.0
It took them a long time to come	142	70.6
Other reason		
Refuses to reply		
Satisfied		
The case has not been reported to the police		
Total	202	100.0

The disinterestedness of the police was indicated as the most frequent reason for the dissatisfaction with its work. In addition, the female examinees assessed their work as insufficient, and they also have objections to the slowness of the reaction (it took them a long time to come). This moves in the direction of confirmation of the presented attitude (which is a result of the discussions with the victims of violence and judges, officials from Ministry of Interior) on the reserved behaviour of the policemen when there is a word about domestic violence, as if there is a word about a private problem which does not deserve a particular engagement from their side.

4.13. Was the Incident Tried in Court?

The insensitivity of the police for these problems is perhaps one of the reasons that only 13 (30.2%) of the total of reported incidents had a court epilogue.

As a difference to the treatment by the police, where more than half of the female examinees were not satisfied with the treatment by the police, even 60% of the female examinees whose violent incident had a court epilogue expressed their satisfaction with the manner in which they were treated during the court proceedings. However, when there is a word about a court epilogue, the female examinees had in mind the divorce of the marriage. In the course of the conversation, they stressed that after they had reported the incident to the police they made a decision to dissolve the marriage, or it can be presupposed that the decision was already in the stage of its formation, while the last incident was only a motive to bring it to reality. According to the information which we got (only one of the women who were interviewed,

stated that she had reported her husband to the police and that she was still living with her husband), a sign of equation may be placed between the reporting of the incident to the police and the instigation of divorce proceedings. However, we established one more specific characteristic: not a single woman who reported the incident to the police after the instigation of the divorce proceedings instigated penal proceedings for the infliction of physical injuries or mistreatment. Therefore, everything ends up with the divorce proceedings.

4.14. Who Knew About the Violence?

The fact that the domestic violence is not spoken about, and that it most frequently stays within the family circle, a statement which we have deduced on the basis of the previously presented research material, was confirmed once more through the replies to the question as to who was acquainted with the events in the home.

Table 22

Who knew about the violence?

Who knew?	N	%
Family members	82	40.6
Other relatives	8	3.9
A friend, a neighbour	3	1.5
Colleague	1	0.5
Other than the above	55	27.2
None of the above	38	18.8
Refuses to reply	15	7.4
Total	202	100.0

Mostly, the happenings in the home are known to the members of the family (40.6%). Actually, they most frequently are themselves witnesses of the events. The female examinees speak more rarely about their problems with persons external to the family (only 2.0%), and every fifth woman declared that nobody knows about her suffering within the family. Once more it can be established that one speaks about the violence within the family after it has taken a full swing and has become “visible” (through bruises, swells, etc.) for the environment.

4.15. Addressing the Official Bodies

The conclusion that the violence most frequently stays within the family, has been also confirmed by the answers to the question: has the victim addressed itself to any state body or institution.

Table 23

Has she addressed herself to a state body or an institution?

She has addressed a	N	%
Doctor	20	10.0
Lawyer	4	2.0
Court	3	1.5
Centre for Social Work	19	9.4
SOS telephones	1	0.5
Several modalities	22	10.8
Nobody	118	58.4
Refuses to reply	15	7.4
Total	202	100.0

As it can be seen, the category of women (58.4%) who did not address anybody for assistance in the moments when they were exposed to violence and when they suffered physical, psychological and emotional pain is the prevailing one. It seems, that the women address themselves for help when they are in a situation of need, when they need medical or social assistance. This is among others, what the research findings speak about. Among those who addressed themselves for assistance, those women who addressed the medical institution for intervention (10.0%) and those who requested the assistance of the centers for social work (9.4%) are present, most frequently that is almost equally.

4.16. Why Women Accept a Life with Violence?

Leaving the family, that is the divorce of the marriage is one of the possible solutions for the woman to put an end to the violence, abuse and degradations she suffers in her home. It was interesting to see how many of the women had decided to make such a step, or had tried to at least. Their replies to that question are as follows:

Table 24

Did she leave the home?

She left it	N	%
She does not live with her family	42	20.8
Yes, but I returned	52	25.7
No	91	45.0
Refuses to reply	17	8.0
Total	202	100.0

Leaving the family, as a manner of freeing themselves from the violence had been attempted by 46.5% of the female examinees. We say, attempted, since more than

half (55.3%) returned and continued their life with the aggressor. It is interesting that even 45% of the female examinees have not tried at all to undertake a concrete activity to put an end to the violence that they live with.

As reasons for not leaving the family, that is for returning to it and continuing their life within the family, our female examinees identified the following ones:

Table 25

Why she has not left the family?

Reason	N	%
She has nowhere to go	25	12.4
Economic dependency	9	4.5
Influence on the children	39	19.3
Hope of improvement	35	17.3
Isolation from the family	1	0.5
Fear from violence	5	2.5
Lack of institutional support	1	0.5
Several replies	19	9.4
Refuses to reply	27	13.4
She has left the family	41	20.3
Total	202	100.0

The research results indicate that women indicate as most frequent reasons for continuing the life with the aggressor : the fear from how the dissolution of the family will influence the children (19.3%), hope that the situation will improve (17.3%), absence of minimal, objective conditions to continue the life without the aggressor (“she has nowhere to go” and “economic dependency”, together – 16.9%).

The prevailing reasons indicated by our female examinees deserve certain comments.

The dilemma which is posed in front of the women who suffer violence most frequently and which is the most important motive for them to continue to endure the violence is how the divorce will influence the development of their children. If it is recognised that there are no other reasons here (economic, emotional, moral and others) this dilemma should not exist. This for the reason that the development of children in conditions of absence of love, harmony, positive family atmosphere and moreover in the presence of violence which they witness, and perhaps are even its objects, cannot lead to a regular, positive and socialised personality. In this context we would repeat the thesis which was confirmed during our research as well, and that is that one of the generators of domestic aggressors are families in which there has been violence. Therefore, this dilemma has no concrete grounds.

The hope of spontaneous improvement of the situation, particularly in conditions of long-term violence, is unrealistic. There are most probably certain problems which



the woman “supposes” will be difficult to be faced by her, and the hope of changes in the family is only consolation for her to live her life more easily.

The female examinees who indicated the objective circumstances (economic dependency and she has nowhere to go) as reasons due to which they live in conditions of violence, is the population which the state can mostly assist through its activities. This means creation of institutions, but also of other forms which will provide first and foremost a shelter to the women and then will offer them assistance and protection. And we will repeat again, it is necessary to urgently undertake activities for creation of conditions for reception of women in moments when they suffer violence, but also for offering assistance of other type – legal, social, psychiatric, etc. The activities will have the importance of an alternative while solving the problems with which the women –victims of violence are faced every day.

4.17. Profile of the Victim of Physical Violence

On the basis of the findings obtained the profile of women who are victims of physical violence more frequently can be outlined. These are women at the age between 30-44 years, unemployed, those with lowest education – with maximum completed eighth years primary school, Roma., with lowest income per household, whose husband is at the same age as themselves or younger, unemployed or worker in a bankrupt company, with lower education from theirs, who consumes alcohol daily.

5. WOMEN WHO ARE NOT VICTIMS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

5.1. Persons Who Are Not Victims of Physical Violence

In the introduction to the research report we mentioned that in order to provide findings which will give a more realistic picture of the volume of the gray figures of domestic violence, we have conceptualised the research, as primary objective of the project, at two levels. At the first level all female examinees reported whether they had been victims of domestic violence. Considering that there was a word about a phenomenon for which it was uncertain as to whether it had a very high gray figure, or which was most frequently presented through it, it could be presumed that the reasons which had influenced the woman not to report the violence, would be an obstacle for her to speak about her problems in front of our female collaborators as well. So it means that we counted on the fact that a part of our female examinees though having an experience as victims of domestic violence, would not admit that fact and that is why we also chose the application of the method of reporting by another person. Namely, we have included at the second level of research, only the female examinees who had not been victims of domestic violence. This means that we asked from them information about the presence of the violence against women, their attitudes towards this problem, as well as on other dimensions of the phenomenon. However the most important question that they were supposed to reply to was : do they know a woman who is a victim of violence.

This sub-sample of the research, consisting only of women who are not victims of violence, covers a population of 648 female examinees.

In the following pages we will present the findings of the research at this second research level, according to the order of questions in the instrument by which we conducted the survey.

5.2. Expansion of Domestic Violence

Our female examinees, perceive of the domestic violence as a problem which has been spread in our regions. Such a reply was the choice of 421 female examinees or 65.0% of the total population (648). Though the domestic violence has been spread, the female examinees consider that there is a word about a phenomenon that is not spoken about. It is one of the taboo topics in the state, which is silenced, not spoken publicly of , as declared by three fourths, that is 73.4% of the female examinees. The silence on domestic violence has been located by the female respondents in the following reasons:

Table 26

Reasons for the silence on domestic violence

Reason	Total	N	%
Fear of the aggressor	648	98	15.1
Shame from the close relatives	648	103	15.9
Shame from the community	648	224	34.6
To protect the children	648	132	20.4
To preserve the family	648	137	21.1
Other	648	51	7.9
Does not know	648	53	8.2
Refuses to reply	648	18	2.8

As it can be seen from the data presented (they are given separately in relation to the population which was the subject of the research, for reasons that that question had several possible answers), most often, that is every second female examinee believed that the shame (shame from the community- 34.6% and the shame from the close relatives – 15.9%) is the reason owing to which the domestic violence is not spoken of. If one starts from the fact that the shame contains in itself the category of guilt, then it results that the female examinees (irrespective as to whether they are victims of domestic violence, or not) seem to consider themselves that the women victims of violence bear the part of the guilt for what has been happening to them in their home. On the other side, however, such an attitude appears to have its confirmation in the practice. The experience indicated that a significant part of the mistreated wives accept or seek for the guilt for the behaviour of their husbands also in themselves, which is essentially wrong. Such opinions will be overcome if the domestic violence is more frequently and more spoken about and if it is no longer considered as a taboo, a process which is beginning in our state.

The second, by its frequency, reason for the silence on the family violence – to preserve the family and to protect the children, fits into the patriarchic matrix, according to which it is better to have a bad marriage than a divorce, and all that in the interest of the children. Conditions which are most negatively reflected precisely upon the children.

5.3 Domestic Violence and the Crisis in the Society

According to the opinion of our female examinees, in the time of crisis, in which our state finds itself, there is also an increase of the violence. Such an opinion was expressed by almost 80% of the female examinees. However, according to them, the communions based upon love are most resistant vis-à-vis domestic violence.

Table 27

In which communions there is violence?

Type of communion	N	%
In communions based on love	24	3.7
In communions based on economic interests	181	27.9
In communions based on mutual agreement	46	7.1
In all of the above	246	37.9
Does not know	145	22.4
Refuses to reply	6	0.9
Total	648	100.0

Our research findings indicate that the domestic violence appears in all types of marital communions, irrespective of the motive for which they were stipulated, at least that is what has been stated by 37.9% of female examinees. According to their opinion, communions based on economic interests are mostly at risk with respect to domestic violence (27.9%) while the safest ones in that respect are marriages in which love was the motive for their stipulation. That which makes an impression is the high percentage (22.4%) of female examinees who could not have expressed an attitude upon the question which was asked. One of the reasons for such a situation is simply the fact that they have not been thinking about that problem, or that they have very small experience in this issue (personal or they do not know a woman victim of domestic violence).

5.4. Reasons Which Lead to Domestic Violence

Our female examinees identified quite precisely the reasons due to which the violence appears and exists in certain family communions. On the question to indicate the most important (the female examinees had a possibility to indicate several reasons) we were given the following replies:

Table 28

Reasons which cause the domestic violence

Reasons	Total	N	%
Alcohol addiction	648	258	39.8
Narcotics addiction	648	89	13.7
Jealousy	648	154	23.8
Pennilessness	648	183	28.2
Unemployment	648	154	23.8
Unsolved housing issue	648	56	8.6
Several members household	648	95	14.7
Falling in love with another woman	648	67	10.3
Other	648	7	1.1
Does not know	648	26	4.0
Refuses to reply	648	6	0.9

The replies given to this question, overlap to a great extent with the findings of the first level of the research, that is the findings which are based on the personal experience of women victims of violence. The prevailing reasons which cause the domestic violence are first and foremost the alcohol addiction, the reason which being a prevailing one was pointed out by the women victims of violence as well as a personal experience, then the pennilessness, unemployment and jealousy follow suit. The first two indicated reasons have been particularly expressed in the recent years and naturally they represent a part of the factors contributing to the increase of domestic violence in this period.

5.5. Do They Know Victims of Violence?

The reply on the substance to that part of the research was the reporting of women victims of domestic violence. In this part we also obtained findings which indicated the big scope of the phenomenon of domestic violence. Namely, even 37.5% of the women who had not been victims of domestic violence themselves, according to their statements, knew a woman who suffered violence in the family. Most of them, (51.4%) reported that there is a word about their friends, neighbours, colleagues. A smaller number (45.2%) reported that there was a word about relatives. The findings obtained are very indicative and deserve some comments. Namely, we have already pointed out that with the method of reporting of other persons we will obtain additional findings on the gray figures of domestic violence, and we have expected in particular, that one part of women who are victims of violence and have not reported that in the first part, will do that in this part through reporting other persons. We found the confirmation of the well-foundedness of this presumption in the research results. Namely, when indicating the relationship with the victim of violence whom they reported, our female examinees declared most frequently that these are their friends, neighbours and colleagues. These replies to a great extent differ from the replies which we received to the same question from women victims of violence. Among them, only four declared that they had confided their sufferings in their family to their friends, neighbours and colleagues.

If we presume that the replies of women victims of violence are more realistic, given that they are a result of a personal experience, then it can be expected that among women who reported that their friends, neighbours and colleagues were victims of violence, the personal experience of the woman in question was interwoven. Still, this enters the sphere of presumption as there are no sufficient arguments to transform this into a claim. Most frequently, our female examinees reported that there is a word about physical (58.4%) and combined violence (28.2%), of a long-term character (several years 33.3% and many years 37.9%). These last data, on the type and duration of violence, move in the direction of confirmation of the findings which we received through the first level of the research.

5.6. What Did the Women Undertake to Change Their Situation?

The interventions in the cases of domestic violence against women, are conditioned to a large extent by the attitude of the society towards this problem. These measures are objectively postulated on the transparency and understanding for the problem in terms of social factors of the personality and their manifestation in the wider socio-cultural context. As a result of this cause-effect situation, the models of social response when it comes to the assistance for the victim in our environment are small in numbers and poor in contents. However, it was interesting to see, whether and how much the women victims of violence use the existing forms of intervention in such cases. In that direction the question “Do they have knowledge as to whether the victim undertook something to change her situation” was asked.

Table 29

Did she undertake something to change her situation?

She undertook action	N	%
Yes	106	38.7
No	102	37.2
Does not know	50	18.2
Refuses to reply	16	5.8
Total	274	100.0

As it can be seen from the replies of our female examinees about the women they know as victims of domestic violence, 37.2% did not ask for help at all, while 18.2% are not familiar with that fact. These results lead to the conclusion that among our women there is still a relatively high resistance towards the intervention “from aside” even in cases of mistreatment, degradation, even threat upon the health and life, by which the violence remains a private and personal problem of the family and tyranny for the victim.

Among the female examinees who replied affirmatively, that is declared that they are familiar with the fact that the victims asked for assistance in order to change their situation, they were asked to precise who they had addressed themselves to.

Table 30

Whom she addressed herself for assistance

	N	%
Asked her family for help	37	34.2
Asked his family for help	11	10.2
Asked her friends for help	5	4.6
Called an SOS	/	/
Left her family	18	16.7
Addressed herself to an institution	22	20.4
Asked her family and another persons for help	15	13.9
Total	108	100.0

The data obtained lead to the existence of variations with respect to the subject which the women who experienced domestic violence addressed themselves to (according to the information of those who know about their life under violence). When they speak about the happenings in the home and ask for help, they most frequently address their family – 44.4% (their own or the one of their husband) and the family and another body in 13.9% of the cases.

However, these data show that 166 of the women victims of violence remained alone to defend themselves from the violence they had been experiencing, that is to be further physically and psychologically exposed to mistreatment, not rarely even together with their children. Their dependency, to a large extent is probably based also on the attitude of the community, the prejudices about the treatment of this problem, which is linked to the absence of protection and non-intervention of external factors. The fact that the physical and other forms of domestic violence are not rarely treated as a private matter, or that their very existence is negated even, is a frequent reason that many women neither report it, nor undertake anything against it. Another, very important reasons for it is most frequently the shame, since they try to hide the truth even from their closest family. Accordingly, we will conclude that a large number of the surveyed population of women believes that the domestic violence is frequently accepted by the victims as a normal lifestyle in our regions, which contribute to the violence's remaining anonymous, unreported, that is to the “gray figure” of this dangerous problem.

However, owing to mistreatment and deprivations in the marriage, 18 female examinees (16.7%) left their home, not being able to stand the conflicts. These cases, which according to the knowledge of our surveyed population, are little present in the structure of violent conducts, still actualise the issue of the acute need of establishing an institution for that purpose with conditions for receiving women who do not have a refuge from the aggressor. This is also due to the fact that when the woman leaves the situation of violence she is also faced with additional difficulties: visiting the child at school, the frustration of the child owing to the changed relationships between the mother and the father, the social stigma placed upon the child and the mother, which have to be taken into consideration while according assistance to the women who sought a way out from the violence. The assistance and protection rendered should primarily provide them with counseling services, psychotherapy treatment and other indispensable needs when they will find themselves outside their home. This forms of indispensable intervention have already their tradition in the highly developed countries, where they are often sought, while in our country they are still unknown, and so they are socially stigmatising for the victim.

The fact that the surveyed women do not know victims of domestic violence who have called for assistance the SOS telephones is probably due to the fact that these forms of communication are still unknown to the wide public in our community, though some of them have certain experiences with counseling women in acute situation of violence. Such is the example of the SOS telephone of the Union of

Women's Associations in Skopje, which has the longest practice (7 years), then the Municipal Women's Organisation in Kumanovo, SOROS-Skopje and others.

Our research showed that while defining the strategy and plan of response to the domestic violence and the assistance for the victim in Macedonia, the question of organising legitimate forms for meeting the needs at individual level appears to be of particular importance. With respect to the expressed need of the female examinees exposed to domestic violence, the most important issue is to offer the initial support and to strengthen them from psychological and practical points of view.

5.7. Protection of the Woman by the Competent Bodies

In the approach to the protection of victims of domestic violence in our state, the female examinees were asked the question: which subjects, state bodies or services they have addressed themselves for assistance, or what have they undertaken to find a way out of the situation in which the women for whom they know that they have been exposed to violence have found themselves.

The analysis of the results of the survey on the rate of addressing of the women to the institutions or services for assistance in order to solve their problems linked to violence showed that they rarely address themselves, and according to the participation the police (24 women or 22.2%) and the centers for social work (12 women or 11.1%) were differentiated. Actually these are the only services which the women they knew to be victims of domestic violence addressed for assistance, according to the knowledge of our female respondents.

The centers for social work were addressed only by 12 or 11.1% of the women, according to the female examinees, while the judicial bodies and alike have not registered a single referral. The data on the small number of referrals to these institutions, speak about the relative introversion of the persons in an explicit crisis situation caused by violence, or maybe by the ignorance about their competencies for protecting and assisting the victims. We presume that those who addressed these institutions were in a complex crisis situation, and that in several areas of their life subsistence (unemployed, without means of subsistence and possibilities for employment, homelessness in the critical moment). This leads to the conclusion that the majority of women in the situation of violence did not know of the possibilities for intervention and assistance by these institutions in terms of their jurisdiction as services for primary social assistance and protection. Therefore it can be emphasised that the centers for social work have a very important position and the largest scope of tasks in the domain of protection of the family and its members from violent behaviour. Thus, the social protection covers certain measures for solving the family conflicts, which are implemented through offering various forms of support and counseling to the persons who are immediately exposed to violence. Actually, the activity of the centers for social work reflect the most important problems linked to the mistreatment of the woman in the family and the social response to the

phenomenon: the presence of the phenomenon, the cause and effect relation between the phenomenon and its consequences, the criteria for social and legal interventions, the problem of detection of the violence, the selection of protection measure, up to the assessment of the protection applied.

Our centers for social work assess that their insight into the domestic violence is insufficient and that there is a big discrepancy between the number of registered cases and the real scope of this problem. These institutions most frequently reach the findings on those events in the course of their work on cases which are reported on other grounds (materially and socially not provided for, families which are social problems and alike), and mistreatments of the woman in the family, as specific categories of problems, have not been registered. As major obstacles to the detection of domestic violence against women the centers for social work mention: the closed character of the family, the fear from stigmatisation, inadequate perception of these problems by the community, insufficient engagement of other bodies and institutions and non deliberation with respect to their obligations and authorisations in regard to the problem.

Within the context of the objective problems of the centers for social work in the assistance to women victims of domestic violence, their limited temporal possibility for receiving requests for assistance should be also mentioned. Namely, these institutions have working hours from 7.00 to 15:00 hrs, while in the course of the afternoon and during the night and at weekends they do not have organised duty shifts or any type of formalised possibilities for receiving persons exposed to violence, such as the domestic one. Our research also showed, as we already presented, that women are exposed to violence at all times, on all days, and at any time during the day, but more markedly during late hours at night.

The analysed conditions relating to the contents and types of assistance which is offered to women exposed to domestic violence and the involvement of the services in that field, offer the possibilities to establish several standpoints about it. On that plane there is a lack of cooperation among the appropriate competent services and institutions which work with the problems of the family, the lack of specific professional education and undeveloped expert methodology for working on this problem. In the research the hypothesis that also in our practice of assisting the victims and preventing the domestic violence, the separate social sub-systems such as the police and social protection still rigidly remain within their traditional framework and non-involvement in the private domain of domestic life, has been confirmed, which is one additional reason for the increase of the “gray figures” of the phenomenon.

The analysis at the level of individual cases of domestic violence against women through the survey, showed that in the Republic of Macedonia the women who were exposed to domestic violence requested assistance from the police in 22.2% of the cases, which is a surprisingly small number, when compared with the total number of requests for assistance to other institution for which they believed that they could

assist them, from which it results that most of these women actually called the police. As the basic viewpoint on this problem the victims of violence asked the assistance of the police only in critical situations, such as the threatening with a gun, knife or other objects, when there was a threat to their life actually. The experiences of mistreated women in our country show that the police “does not interfere in the family”, and when asked to help it distances itself in the style “don’t beat each other, you are a husband and a wife”, that is, it reacts only in cases when there is a word about serious bodily harms, in accordance with their competencies. Such negative experiences cause alienation of citizens from the police, which is not in accordance with the need of human treatment of the women victims of domestic violence, as a priority demand in the deliberation to prevent this phenomenon at national level and following the examples in the international experiences.

6. LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

6.1 Research Results

In the introduction to the monography we pointed out that the insufficient and inadequate legal coverage is a characteristic of the domestic violence and of the attitude of the society toward this phenomenon. More concretely, our legislation does not provide for a separate incrimination of the domestic violence, as a particular criminal act. This matter is regulated through general criminal acts, but they do not take into account the fact of common living. Consequently, perhaps the first step which should be made, should be in the direction of the legislation on domestic violence – for offering special assistance to the victims and a more rigid approach to the aggressor. The replies of our female examinees to the question: Should this issue be legally regulated? move in that direction as well.

Table 31

Should domestic violence be legally regulated?

	N	%
Yes	724	85.2
No - a private problem	28	3.3
No	11	1.3
Other	31	3.6
Does not have an opinion	56	6.6
Refuses to reply	/	/
Total	850	100.0

The affirmative reply of 85.2% of the female examinees shows that there is an awareness among the female population in Macedonia of the existence of the problem, of its complexity but also at the same time of the preparedness to face it. On the other hand, without an opinion on this issue there were 3.6% of the women, while 6.6% had no reply. Also, 3.3% of the surveyed persons believe that it is a private issue and the state should not have competencies there.

The positive attitude towards the enactment of legislation against violence, abuse and degradation of women in their own families at the same time means emancipation of the woman towards the issues of her decisiveness and independence. This deliberation was also confirmed by the replies of 79.2% of the women with the opinion that the legislation on domestic violence will lead to its reduction, against 16.8% who do not have an opinion on this issue, or abstain from giving a reply. It appears that the woman does not view any more the solution of divorcing her husband as her “disaster”, which can be supported by the data that only 1.3% believe that the legislative regulation of the domestic violence will increase the total number of divorces.

The preparedness for the incrimination of the domestic violence by our female examinees was expressed also through the replies to the three questions relating to the issue as to whether a man should be punished if he hits his wife, whether the parents should be punished if they beat their children and whether a man who hits another man in a restaurant should be punished. Even 84.5% of the women who were surveyed declared positively for the attitude that the man who hits his wife should be punished, while among the rest of the surveyed women a larger part of them were hesitant, could not assess (9.2%) or 5.5% of them were categorical not to react that is for the violence to continue to exist. On the other hand, the attitude not to punish the parents who beat their children appears in a different ratio. Namely, though the majority of them (66.6%) agreed with such a legal solution, the percentage of those who do not oppose to it (18.9%) or cannot assess it (13.9%) was not small.

That there is a serious approach towards the problem of domestic violence, it can be seen also from the fact that the surveyed population compares this problem with the acts for which there is a penal responsibility, like for example for a person who will hurt another person, which is not closely related to him like the family. For example 68.7% answered affirmatively that a man who hits another man in a restaurant should be punished, against the small percentage of female examinees who have a contrary attitude (9.1%) or the usual abstinence of a part of the surveyed population (21.5%).

Therefore, we believe that the proposal of a special legislation on the domestic violence should have a special influence upon the perpetrators, but it should also create obligations for the organs in the penal-legal system and other competent legal subjects in the state. The approach to the domestic violence should start from the conclusion that it is a criminal act such as the crime involving persons unfamiliar with each other and should be penalised as such.

The legal reform in the function of the domestic violence should relate to the building of a whole department for protection and prevention of abuse against women, and the possibility for improvement of the practice for timely response to this problem should be immediately linked to the follow up of the new scientific findings, development of appropriate methodology and standardisation of the professional background of all participants and their training.

The procedure for assisting in a case of domestic violence should be based on the principles of urgent reaction, and not post-festum responses, establishing of the state of facts and determination of temporary measures by which urgent protection will be offered to the victim of violence. The possibilities for concrete assistance to the victims of domestic violence in our conditions have still not been established in the practice, and they have also not been differentiated by sectors for the subjects. In this field what is particularly lacking is the spatial accommodation, timely separation of the victim from the aggressor and offering her support and encouragement, in order to warn about the violence that is continuation of the violence. This priority need for organised reception of the woman victim of domestic violence has been expressed by

80.7% of the surveyed. Also they declared that they are for an organised form of action (85.3%) like in the countries with experience in this field.

One should also mention here the practice in several countries in the world to encourage and educate the victims about the problem that they face, which to a large extent influences the reduction of the number of these incidents. As regards this issue, we will conclude that in Macedonia there is no reception center, that is a crisis center for accommodation of women victims of domestic violence. There is an opinion that when there would be forms of assistance of this type, a small number of women would suffer psychological and physical abuse in their homes. Among the surveyed population of women it was established that there is no information about the possible forms of organised protection, and it is presumed that also owing to this fact 14.6% replied that they cannot assess which one of the mentioned forms in the questionnaire is the most appropriate one for the prevention of violence among us. However, they in the larger part (40.9%) declared in favour of the establishment of a Crisis Centre, then an out-patient clinic for intervention in the health homes (18.9%), department in the centers for social work (14.8%), legal assistance bureaus (4.6%), special departments in the police stations (2.6%) and opening of SOS telephones (1.2%).

At the end we will mention that the development of new, democratic, interpersonal relations in Macedonia within the civil society framework, presupposes the determination in favour of elimination and prevention of domestic violence. For that purpose it is necessary to strongly oppose the long-term tradition of tolerance of the multiple forms of domestic violence against women, for which it is necessary to enact and consistently apply the legislation and the policy of punishing the aggressors. This need assumes a more enhanced importance when one comes to know that until now not in any procedural or material law the domestic violence has been classified as a legal act, and more concretely as a serious crime, but most frequently it is marked with the determinant of socially unacceptable phenomenon. Thus the issue of its suppression and prevention through enactment of appropriate legislation has been devalued to a great extent.

6.2 Legislative Proposal

The initiative and concrete steps for establishment of legislation on domestic violence in our country were made by the non-governmental sector. Namely, the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equity of Women in the Republic of Macedonia has prepared a proposal of legislative solutions with appropriate consultations with the expert and scientific public in the country on its more important characteristics and following the legislative examples of the countries with a tradition in suppression and prevention of this phenomenon. For that purpose a Proposal for Changes and Amendments to the Penal Code, Law on Penal Procedure, and Law on Legal Procedure has been made, and there are also ongoing engagements in the opening of an appropriate procedure for acquainting the competent state institutions and the government about the enactment of the same.



The changes which are proposed as an amendment to the Penal Code are the following ones:

- Introduction of a new Article 125a. The murder in case of domestic violence when the woman commits a murder as a result of long lasting abuse inflicted by the aggressor, which will have relevance to the proper qualification of the act, assessment of the penal responsibility, that is adequate weighing of the sentence.
- Bodily harm or severe bodily harm is punished more strictly in the cases when it was committed as an act of domestic violence, and for the bodily harm the prosecution should be undertaken ex officio.
- Non undertaking measure of protection in case of domestic violence should be considered to be a criminal act – non affording assistance and to increase the sentence foreseen for this criminal act.
- Changes with respect to sharpening the punishment for the one who by force or by serious threat will coerce another person to do or suffer something (in the chapter on crimes against human rights and freedoms).
- Sharpening the punishment for the one who will endanger the security of another person by a threat upon his life or body or of a person close to him, as an act of domestic violence,
- Increasing the punishment for the act when as a result of the rape it came to a severe bodily harm, death or a particularly cruel or degrading treatment and penal prosecution – in these cases not to leave it to the private suit when the woman and perpetrator live in a wedlock or out-of-wedlock communion (in the chapter on criminal act against the sexual freedom and sexual morality).
- In the case of the criminal act of sexual abuse of powerless person, that is for those who will sexually abuse another person, by misusing the mental illness, mental disorder, powerlessness, mentally retarded development or another condition when the person is not capable for resistance, to foresee an appropriate punishment for the perpetrator who has committed the crime as an act of domestic violence.
- In the case of the crime of mediation in engaging in prostitution, that is in the case of recruitment, inducing and enticing persons to prostitution the perpetrator to be punished by a sentence to imprisonment when this is an act of domestic violence.
- In the crime of non execution of a court decision a new paragraph has been inserted in order to regulate the cases of not respecting the orders for protection provided for within the framework of the legal procedure, and it relates to the official and competent persons who are obliged to implement the effective court verdicts.

Changes and amendments of the Law on Penal Procedure:

- It is suggested that investigation activities be undertaking relating to the hearing of witnesses, Article 219 and 221, by which it has been allowed for the victim

and persons with whom she most frequently has contacts in cases of domestic violence, to testify without any impediments in the course of the legal procedure, for reasons that the domestic violence most frequently happens in the home where the only witnesses are the victim and her closest relatives whom she approached for assistance in that situation.

Changes and amendments of Law on Legal Procedure:

- They relate to the procedure of the delivery note – Article 138, namely the delivery note in cases of domestic violence is not signed by the receiver, but only by the deliverer in order to facilitate the process of delivery.
- In the third part – special procedures, a new chapter 32 is being added, which regulates thoroughly the procedure for sentencing measures for protection and an urgent order for protection; the application for sentencing these measures, persons who may appear in the role of applicants; measures of protection which may be sentenced; manner of sentencing such measures; obligatory delivery of a copy of the sentenced measures to the bodies of internal affairs within 24 hours since its issuance; right to appeal; verbal request of the persons to issue urgent order for protection without having a hearing; provisions on the costs and on the submission of the application for issuing decisions during this procedure.

7. SUMMARY COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The lack of official data and research findings on the domestic violence, particularly on the domestic violence against women, has determined to a large extent the level, the type and the methodology of the research undertaken. The state of facts has practically imposed the need of providing initial systematic empirical data, that is insight into the nature of the violence against women, the types of violence and its contents, the reasons, consequences, etc, but above all the findings on its scope. All this is put in the service of providing enough empirical basis to conceptualise the future in-depth researches, the defining of the attitude of the society towards this problem or in short to start creating a cognitive basis for building a strategy linked to the violence.

Though the research was implemented at two levels, a twofold approach to the problem was adopted, the basic one being the victim-based one. More concretely we tried through the personal experience of women to reach the scope and the substance of the very phenomenon. In such an approach (victim-based) one can ask questions on the security of data and representative character of the findings, since there is a word about a sphere in the life of the women, which, at least in our regions, is not spoken about even in the interpersonal communication, at least not until the violence has become “visible”. Therefore the dilemma relates(ed) to how many of the women are prepared to report their experience and to which extent they would be ready to give information about it. Considering the certain degree of reserved behaviour of women in this respect, the serious indicator of which is the silence and non-reporting of the violence, we have applied as an additional method the method of reporting by another person. With such an approach we believed that we would reach more real findings on the scope of the phenomenon, which was one of the central issues that we focused our interest on.

The obtained research results justified the implementation of the research, and at the same time they speak about the wide spreading of the violence against women within the family. More concretely, with 61.5% rate of reporting of the psychological violence against women and 23.9% of expansion of the physical violence, one can freely speak about alarming data relating to the scope of violence against women in our state.

The most prevailing form of violence against women in Macedonia, the psychological violence, is most frequently manifested, according to the experience of our female respondents through the following contents: “his word must always be the last one”, ‘he insists to know where and with whom she is all the time’, and “overly jealous or possessive” contents which show, but also support the traditional roles of spouses, the inferior position of the woman and the ownership attitude towards her. In this context, as an argument of the above mentioned conclusions, it should be mentioned that the psychological violence is mostly manifested among the Albanian population, for which it is known, that with

respect to other nations and ethnic minorities who live in our state, has most traditionally regulated and most introvert family and marital relationships. For example it can be mentioned also that it manifests much more, with respect to other nationalities, the prohibition for the woman to work outside the home. This is another indicator on the “threatened” traditional roles in the marriage and the need to preserve the same. The economic dependency of the woman, which implies a certain gender distribution of the roles, with the employment of the woman and acquisition of her economic independence, is lost as one of the basic preconditions from which the husband draws his domination power. That implies violation of the long-lasting balance of inequity, and simultaneously it is one of the preconditions for redefining the roles between the spouses.

The physical violence was reported as a personal experience by every fourth female examinee. It has been manifested through several different forms, lighter and more serious. However, if one takes into consideration the fact that every third woman sought medical intervention and assistance, the problem of domestic violence gains in its seriousness, not only according to its quantitative but also in terms of its qualitative dimension.

The unemployment of the woman is one of the most present factors of risk for her to become a victim of all types of violence. However, according to the research results, besides the women, also the men – aggressors are often unemployed, with lowest incomes. Those are the circumstances in which the violence exists most frequently in our state.

For the man, the loss of the job means removal from the public sphere, and simultaneously he loses also the basic attribute of the gender identity in the traditional sense. At micro level, in the family he is also put under question mark. He is not in a position to play his role of a source of power, to work and to provide his family’s subsistence. However, the loss of the job, the lack of means of living are situations which are also stressful by themselves, he cannot realise himself in his profession, to provide for his family – situations which are frustrating, and one of the responses to the frustration is the aggression. The risk upon the environment of violence, and in particular of violence against women is thus increased.

The economic crisis in which a large proportion of the citizens of our state find themselves leads to a certain extent to limitation of the realisation of the gender roles in traditional sense (the man stays out of work, or there are cases where the woman works and the man does not), then to situations (not provided housing, pennilessness, great poverty...) which are stressful and frustrating and in their turn have resulted in the increase of the scope of violence in the recent years.

The alcohol is an important factor that is a risk for the family to live under conditions of violence. Every fourth aggressor drinks often, and every second was under the effects of alcohol during the last incident. The alcohol consumption and

the increase of alcoholism as of lately can be also linked to the economic crisis in the state, which at individual level implies: loss of the job, inability to solve the existential issues (housing), pennilessness, etc, circumstances which open the road to alcohol.

The multi-ethnic character of the state has proven itself as important also in regard to the violence against women that is to its scope (or the expressed preparedness to report the violence) the type of violence and particularly the contents which comprise it. However, the ethnic membership, by itself does not represent a factor of violence against women, but instead according to the conceptual positioning of the research the explanation should be sought in the preservation of the traditional matrix of regulating the relationships in the marriage and family, the treatment of the woman but also in the objective living conditions. The female members of the Roma population are mostly exposed to the physical violence. This is a population with lowest social status, with highest rate of unemployment, with loosest and most informal marital relationships, with a particular life philosophy, but also with a mentality in which the violence is incorporated as a mechanism of communication with the woman. On the other hand, we have already mentioned that the Albanian women are mostly exposed to psychological violence. The specific characteristics of these two ethnic minorities related to the scope and type of violence may be expressed through the following characteristics:

In our state, owing to the introversion of the Albanian ethnicity, it has retained to the highest degree the patriarchic model of regulating the marriage and family relationships and it has mostly preserved the gender roles in their authentic form. At the same time, at this moment, the members of the male part of the population are under immense pressure to change the traditional relationships, above all due to the initiated processes of emancipation of the woman, which in comparison with the one of the female members of other ethnic minorities in the state, was evolving much more slowly. We have already mentioned that the psychological violence is mostly manifested among this population, and that its contents result from the already pointed traditional roles, and it is directed towards their preservation. Perhaps the best is the already mentioned example of the prohibition for the women to work outside their home, and that in conditions of great unemployment, when the economic situation of the family is very bad, which means that maybe the fear of the man from the economic independence of the woman for him means the loss of former positions in the family.

With the Roma women the situation is quite different. They are most frequently exposed to physical violence (every second woman reported it). In the explanation of their situation it should be pointed out that they have the highest rate of unemployment, the lowest level of social-economic status, the presence of alcohol-factors which by definition increase the risk of living under conditions of violence. However, among this population, the violence is included as a relationship of communication with the women, even they themselves in a certain

way show tolerance towards it (“he beats her, but she provokes him, she asks to be “beaten”, or “she has nothing to complain about, she has a very good life, she is only beaten a little bit”).

The most global conclusion about the domestic violence in our state is that its **roots** and perseverance can be found in the traditionally regulated marital and family relationships, with clearly and very much manifested gender roles which determine as well the gender identity in this sense. On the other hand, also the inconvenient objective conditions in which a substantial proportion of the population lives objectively lead in a certain manner to the deterioration of such defined roles, which in its turn results in aggressiveness.

The building of a **strategy** for prevention of violence has imperatively imposed itself in our state. At the basis of the strategy there should be the process of redefinition of the gender roles. However, the first step, which in our opinion should be made is the legislative regulation of this issue, through which a legal framework would be created for changing the attitude of the society towards the problem of domestic violence.

The complexity, the multifaceted causality of the phenomenon, its explanation cannot be placed in a **theoretic concept**. It can be concluded from the conceptual layout of the research and the comments which followed the research results, that at the basis of the explanation of the violence phenomenon, we place the theory of learning, however with additional inputs from the theories of resources, the theory of social control, the theory of sub-culture, etc.

8. INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

“I am 35 years old, and I am married and mother of two minor children. I have finished secondary school, I am unemployed but I regularly report myself to the Institute of Employment and hope that perhaps one day the sun will also shine on me, that I will get a job and maybe my life will start to move in another direction. I still hope. That is my only hope for now in my life which could be fulfilled realistically speaking, because all my other hopes and beautiful dreams disappeared a long time ago, disappeared I do not know where.

Before we got married, my husband did not drink. He was one of the good boys in the village, exemplary for his behaviour, from a good family. He works in the quarry you know. I know what that job means and from the beginning I tried to be a good housewife, my house to be always spick and span, for him to have his lunch and clean clothes always on time and most important of all for me to be always in a good mood and smiling. All in vain. Even during the first months of our marriage he started to go to the coffee bar alone with his friends and to return home in the late hours. Then he was only yelling and swearing and when my first child was born he also started to beat me. I thought for a long time that he will give up on it, that his longing for brandy will be over. I hoped for a long time that he will turn to me and to the children but now I lost every hope, His parents to whom I complained several times showed no understanding for me, for my suffering, for my miserable life.

-He is a man, they say. He has the right to drink and to raise his hand.

My parents as well.

-You loved him, you married him, they say. And it is not only you. Other women in the village have the same problem, and they neither complain to anybody nor do they make a tragedy out of it.

And it is a tragedy, and what a tragedy that our love turned into a hell from which I see no way out. Except that I can get a divorce maybe but without a job I cannot even think about it.

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ⁱ This research has been also commissioned by the non-governmental organizations Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equity of Women in the Republic of Macedonia, which has a very systematic approach to the problem of violence against women, while the research itself serves to provide for their current and future activities in relation to this problem.

ⁱⁱ The problems has been raised at global level. For example, the United Nations, and not only them, adopted a large number of instruments for overcoming the indicated reality. As regards the subject which is in the focus of our research, two documents are of a particular importance: the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Declaration of Elimination of the Violence Against Women.

ⁱⁱⁱ In the part of the research on sexual violence, 43 women reported their personal experience with such a type of violence. In this part, 47 women reported the last incident as involving such violence, while 9 refused to reply. It can be presumed that a substantial proportion of the women who refused to reply have experienced sexual violence. It is obvious that the sexual violence is more present than reported.