

Cost Of Intimate Partner Violence In Sri Lanka



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Designed by Lishan Puwakovita

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Contents

Contents	2
List of Figures	3
Preface	4
1.0 Introduction	6
2.0 Study approach	7
2.1 Defining IPV	7
2.2 Measuring Intimate Partner Violence	8
2.3 Cost Categories	9
2.4 Sampling and Data Collection	10
2.5 Demography of the Respondents	10
2.6 A Few Boundaries Set for Calculating Costs and Limitations	10
3.0 Profiles of Respondents	12
4.0 Findings of the study	28
4.1 Experiencing Intimate Partner Violence	28
4.2 Health Costs Related to Pain and Suffering	29
4.3 Costs Associated with the Loss of Production/Livelihood	31
4.4 Costs Associated with the Damage Caused, Liquidation of Assets and Settlement of Debts	31
4.5 Costs in obtaining support service	31
4.6 Second Generation Cost	32
4.7 Costs Associated with the Opportunities Lost	32
5.0 Cost of intimate partner violence	33
5.1 Perceived costs of lost opportunities	35
5.2 A Holistic Approach to Cost Calculation	36
6.0 Methodological implications for future research	38
7.0 References	40

List of figures

Figure 1:	Timeline of events Achala faced	13
Figure 2:	Timeline of events Asanka faced	14
Figure 3:	Time line of events Chathuri faced	15
Figure 4:	Timeline of events Manel faced	16
Figure 5:	Timeline of events Namalee faced	17
Figure 6:	Timeline of events Nayana faced	18
Figure 7:	Timeline of events Niranjala faced	19
Figure 8:	Timeline of events Nirmalee faced	20
Figure 9:	Timeline of events Nisansala faced	21
Figure 10:	Timeline of events Parameshwari faced	22
Figure 11:	Timeline of events Rebeka faced	23
Figure 12:	Timeline of events Samanmalee faced	24
Figure 13:	Timeline of events Sanadhya faced	25
Figure 14:	Timeline of events Sapumali faced	26
Figure 15:	Timeline of events Amila faced	27
Figure 16:	Nature of injuries	30
Figure 17:	Perceived cost of lost opportunities	35
Figure 18:	Impact Diagram of the Costs	37

Preface

Intimate Partner Violence has devastating consequences not only for survivors but also to society as a whole. Many people look at intimate partner violence as a private family matter; therefore, it should be dealt with privately. Even though, it happens behind closed doors, it is very much a public issue that affects the entire society. This first ever costing study of intimate partner violence in Sri Lanka shows not only its prevalence but exposes many facets of costs associated.

This report resulted from in-depth discussions held with 15 survivors who were identified through known and professional networks. These interchanges of grief and experience were the base for this study. However, it is not intended to provide a definitive blue print for action, but rather this offers an initial tool to measure the cost of intimate partner violence which is an area that needs to be explored rigorously and methodologically.

Much, however, remains to be done. The immediate task is to improve the research to understand the pervasiveness of the issue and it's socio-psychological as well as the economic impact including the costs incurred by the survivor, survivor associates, and various governmental and civil society organisations on both the survivor and the national economy. It is necessary to engage the government, civil society organisations, and citizens in a constructive dialogue based on evidence to incorporate data gathering instruments to the national statistical system.

The research was made possible through the support from CARE International Sri Lanka. Our special thanks go to Ms. Vindhya Fernando, Mr. Hashitha Abeywardana and Ms. Kamanee Hapugalle for their constructive feedback and guidance to complete this study. We are grateful to Ms. K. R. A. Dasanayaka for empathetically talking and listening to survivors in gathering the hard but important information for this study. Finally, our thanks go to Ms. Tharanga Amarasinghe for editing the report.

Inoka Priyadarshani & Jayandra Seneviratne
Attitude Skills Knowledge to Empower (ASKE)

Cost of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)...

Results from an in-depth discussion with 15 survivors. Costs incurred during the last 24 months of their lives.



As a result of IPV...



50% of respondents took medication



53% took loans to address health concerns



80% entered marriage with money or assets
But 20% liquidized them



The **most spent** to ease pain & suffering caused by IPV is **LKR 153,000** during the last 24 months

Insulting, belittling or humiliating in the presence of outsiders were the most common types of IPV

Loss of cash (from dowries) ranged from **LKR 50,000** to **LKR 5.5 Mn.**

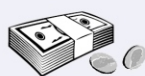


The loss of income during the last 24 months ranged from **LKR 45,000** to **LKR 600,000**



Loss of opportunities for personal development (career advancement/education) ranged from **LKR 144,000** to **LKR 13.5 Mn.**

Cost incurred to obtain support services for survivors ranged from **LKR 600** to **LKR 495,000**



The total cost of IPV ranged from LKR 10,000..... to LKR 1.952 Mn.



Source : Priyadarshani, I., & Seneviratne, J. (2016). Cost of Intimate Partner Violence in Sri Lanka. Colombo: CARE International Sri Lanka.

1. Introduction

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) has been a significant yet preventable social problem in Sri Lanka. It affects millions of women, regardless of age, economic status, educational background, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Individuals who are subjected to IPV may have lifelong consequences, including emotional trauma, lasting physical impairment, chronic health problems, and even death. Though the social, psychological and health impact is known, lack of a comprehensive methodology impedes the veracity and integrity of its economic costing. This first ever costing study on IPV in Sri Lanka has attempted to identify and describe the economic costs of IPV with approximate amounts; ascertain institutional costs; reflect on methodological challenges in collecting information on associated costs and propose a methodology to understand the cost of intimate partner violence. The intention of the present study, therefore, was to put a price tag on human suffering and express the magnitude of the issue in monetary terms. This attempt, though limited in scope, informs policy, programmes, agenda and manifesto on addressing IPV with an all-inclusive outlook.

2. Study Approach

2.1 Defining IPV

Employing a quantitative driven research design, our study used IPV to determine the costs associated with gender-based violence. The definition of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is vital to the estimation of economic costs because it determines the population, the forms of violence, and the range of services to be included in the costing exercise. IPV encompasses *violence between adults in an intimate relationship, usually of a sexual nature*. An intimate partner is a person with whom one has a close personal relationship that is characterized by emotional connectedness, regular contact, ongoing physical contact and sexual behaviour, identity as a couple and familiarity and knowledge about each other's lives. It includes individuals either in a current or recently ended relationship (Breiding et al, 2015).

Four main types of IPV:

Four main types of IPV:

1. **Physical violence** is the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury, or harm.
2. **Sexual violence** is any act whether attempted or completed without the victim's consent.
3. **Stalking** is a pattern of repeated, unwanted, attention and contact that causes fear or concern for one's own or someone else's safety.
4. **Psychological aggression** is the use of verbal and non-verbal communication with the intent to harm another person emotionally, to exert control over another person.

The available research shows that IPV makes a significant influence in the family's socio-economic development, both in the short and long term. Therefore, it is essential that IPV is addressed not only from a human rights perspective, but also as a serious social issue that affects development. A study of costing involved in IPV may have produced strong evidence to effectively argue for preventive approaches by shaping the attitude of people who develop public policy and allocate funds, assess the benefit or effectiveness of violence intervention strategies or programmes which may, in turn, lead to the provision of resources in terms of specific programmes such as establishing and streamlining a quick survivor response mechanism, and strengthening a peer to peer support system.

2.2 Measuring Intimate Partner Violence

Measuring IPV should look at the prevalence of sexual, physical and emotional violence. Therefore, the prevalence of such violence was obtained by asking clearly worded questions on the survivors' experience of specific acts. They were asked whether their current or former partner was involved in specified acts of physical violence:

- § Slapping;
- § Throwing something at her that could hurt;
- § Pushing or shoving;
- § Hitting her with his fist or with something else that could hurt;
- § Kicking, dragging or beating;
- § Choking or burning on purpose;
- § Threatening to use or actually have used a firearm, knife or any other weapon/ tool.

Sexual violence was defined by using four behaviours; however, the survivors said they had experienced only the following two behaviours:

- § Being physically forced to have sexual intercourse against will;
- § Being subjected to prolonged violence to force consent.

Emotionally violent acts were identified as:

- § Insulting;
- § Belittling or humiliating;
- § Physical and psychological intimidation;
- § Threatening to hurt her or someone she cares about.

Data collection for this exercise focused on a time period of 24 months prior to the interview. However, the entire time period the survivors had lived with the abusive partner was considered in the identification of opportunities lost. This exception was made to enable the survivors to easily connect with losses due to the violence.

2.3 Cost Categories

The overall economic cost was broadly categorized into two groups, the cost borne by individuals (by the survivor and the perpetrator) and by institutions. The present study focused almost entirely on the cost borne by the survivor (individual). Following a combination of prevalence and life cycle approaches, the individual cost was classified into several cost categories. These cost categories were adopted from country level studies conducted in Australia¹, Uganda², Bangladesh³, Pakistan⁴, Egypt⁵, Vietnam⁶, and European Union⁷. The economic costs borne by individuals were divided into direct and indirect cost components. Direct costs are actual expenses incurred on dealing with the consequences of violence as explained in the following box.

- § **Health costs related to pain and suffering:** include costs borne by women in obtaining medical and mental health care services after IPV victimization.
- § **Costs associated with the loss of productivity/livelihood:** include costs incurred due to any loss (wages plus profit) by being away from the income generation activities the survivor was involved in, and a loss of unpaid work.
- § **Costs associated with damage caused to and liquidation of assets and settlement of debts:** include the loss due to the damage caused to and sold material belongings such as furniture, electronic items and kitchen utensils and paying off the loans taken.
- § **Second generation cost:** involve private and public health costs associated with childcare, changing schools, counselling, child protection services, remedial or special education and increased juvenile crime due to the exposure to IPV.
- § **Cost of obtaining support service:** include legal/forensic services, temporary accommodation, paid care, and counselling.

¹ The Australian: The cost of violence study The Cost of Violence against Women and their Children. Available at https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/05_2012/vawc_economic_report.pdf

² Economic Costs of Domestic Violence in Uganda. Available at <http://www.cedovip.org/index.php/publications/reports/5-economic-cost-of-domestic-violence-in-uganda/file>

³ Understanding the Monetary Cost of Domestic Violence. Available at http://www.carebangladesh.org/publication/Publication_9894677.pdf

⁴ The Socio-economic cost of violence against women: A Case Study of Karachi. Available at <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/VAW-focus+on+cost+of+violence-Pakistan.pdf>

⁵ Study on the Cost of Violence against Women in Egypt. Available at <http://www.el-karama.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/CostofViolenceStudy.pdf>

⁶ Estimating the cost of domestic violence against women in Viet Nam - See more at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2013/2/estimating-the-cost-of-domestic-violence-against-women-in-viet-nam#sthash.nE1xBQZN.dpuf>

⁷ Estimating the costs of gender-based violence in the European Union. Available at <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/estimating-costs-gender-based-violence-european-union-report>

2.4 Sampling and Data Collection

In-depth interviews were conducted with 15 survivors who were reached through individual and professional networks. After explaining the purpose of the study, those who were willing to be interviewed by an external person were selected in the sample. Their consent obtained before the process started. A semi-structured questionnaire was adopted from other country studies referred above. Additional questions were included to capture the violence experienced during the respondent's lifetime.

The interviews were conducted by a qualified psychosocial counsellor who has 20 years' of experience in providing victim assistance services. The counsellor met with the identified survivors at least three times in order to create a safer space for them to open up and provide information. All ethical research practices were adopted during the research.

2.5 Demography of the Respondents

Out of 15 women (victims) 4 were less than 30 years of age, 6 were between the ages of 31 and 40 while 5 were between the ages of 41 and 55. Only one was from the Tamil community. 14 remained married and one was recently divorced.

All respondents could read and write and all had attended school. Seven were educated up to Ordinary Level while, 2 had sat for their Advanced Level examination, 4 had graduated from Universities and another 2 had received vocational training. Eleven of the survivors live in close proximity to their parents or siblings.

Six women have membership in a community group while 1 respondent said her husband stopped her attending the meetings of the community group. Twelve of them had got married before they were 30 years of age. The age of their spouse ranges between 32 – 61 years.

2.6 A Few Boundaries Set for Calculating Costs and Limitations

The cost studies conducted in developed countries have used existing data from the state and institutions. For instance the Australian cost study had utilised data from the Personal Safety Survey conducted by their Bureau of Statistics. However, while such surveys are not conducted in Sri Lanka, the Demographic and Health Survey has not included any variable related to personal safety or gender based violence in the past. Therefore, the non-availability of system generated data prevents a national level analysis. Hence, the present study is justified with its small sample.

The survivors were assisted to recollect every cost incurred by them. However, possibly due to trauma, respondents could not remember related costs except the emotional and physical hardships faced by them. At times, they consider cost as secondary to what they have been undergoing. Hence, the presented approximated figures are what they were able to remember at the time they were interviewed.

When discussions were conducted on the cost, survivors were assisted to bring out every possible expense. These include the monetary resources as well as the current and fixed assets received as endowments (dowries or gifts) which in some cases skewed the cost estimation drastically.

In a particular case, the survivor had received Rs. 5.5 million from her parents as a part of her dowry. Her husband had used this amount at his will and the wife is not aware how the money was spent. We have included the amount in the case story, but removed it from the cost analysis treating it as an outlier.

The identities of the survivors are concealed to protect confidentiality but not the real life experiences.

Usage of terms: both 'survivor' and 'victim' have been interchangeably used in this study considering the context in which it is used. The term 'survivor' cannot be used throughout the report, as some women interviewed were still the victims of the IPV perpetrated on them.

3. Respondent's Profiles

The selected profiles presented here are to show the characteristic description of the respondents from whom we gathered the information. Complying with the ethical standards, we have concealed their identity.

Case study 01: Achala

Achala, 36 years old graduate who was a door to door cloth seller, a mother of two sons, got married to a plantation sector officer, a partner found through an affair when she was 22 years old. Her husband was 47 years at that time. This was the second marriage of her husband and her parents opposed the marriage considering the age gap as well. However, they had a financially comfortable life. But there were issues which led to quarrels between them because of his extra-marital affairs.



Violence at home was not anew to her. When she was a small child, she had seen her father insulting, yelling, kicking and beating up her mother and breaking things at home. However, the heated arguments became extreme physical assaults after her husband retired from his estate sector job. He did not have a retirement plan or savings. He had spent all that he earned on his extra marital relationships.

Though she is a graduate, she had never tried to find a suitable employment as it was not required. After his retirement, the household requirements pressed her to start a door to door cloth selling business which she found was profitable and provided a sufficient income to manage household expenses.

Figure 1: Timeline of events Achala faced

Date	Incident
1979	Achala was born
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> During her teenage years, she witnessed her mother being insulted and being kicked and beaten up by her father.
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married Initial verbal harassment and physical assaults by her husband
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assaults and emotional violence increased after husband's unplanned retirement. She commenced a cloth selling business to meet household expenses
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She started receiving treatment for depression from the government medical clinic.

She had been living with him for about 5 years. Physical and psychological violence also gradually increased; therefore, she had to seek medical treatment. Since she had financial difficulties, she attended a specialized psychological clinic of a government hospital. She felt that the time she spent on receiving medication was a waste and later on she discontinued attending the clinic. She showed visible signs of depression during the interview. She had spent about Rs. 500 for medicine in different occasions (See the Figure 1 for the timeline of events).

Her elder son has become violent which she believes is a result of being exposed to abuses at home. He gets angry quickly and breaks things in the house. He always scolds Achala and shows less interest in his studies. Achala says had she pursued her higher education, she could have been employed and earning about Rs. 50,000 per month. Therefore, her perceived loss due to the exposure to intimate partner violence is Rs. 500,000 during her 5 years of marriage. The cost calculation exercise totaled an amount of Rs. 1,952,000 for last 24 months. This includes a sum of Rs. 1,000,000 of her savings that she spent on household requirements and Rs. 400,000 which she borrowed from a relative and a friend.

Case study 02: Asanka

Asanka, was married to a banker who holds a Bachelor of Science Degree in Management from the University of Sri Jayawardenapura. She was a pharmacist and owned a pharmacy. She had a happy childhood where her parents provided a pleasant family environment.

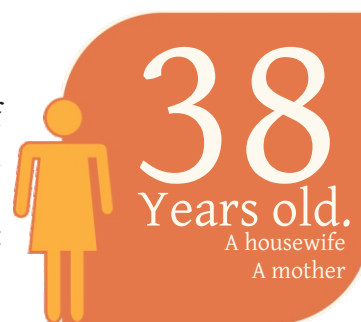


Figure 2: Timeline of events Asanka faced

Date	Incident
1977	Asanka was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She did not experience intimate partner violence when she was with her parents.
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married when she was 21 years old.
2000 -2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initially, they had a close relationship. Both were busy and did not have time to look after each other. She found out her partner had an extra-marital relationship. When inquired, she was beaten up. He had been belittling, humiliating slapping, pushing and kicking her.
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> He had assaulted her when she inquired again about the relationship. As a result of physical assaults. She was hospitalised. Hospital police arrested him and remanded. She had been assaulted at least 30 times during 2013 2014 period.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partner had taken the child with him. When she went to bring the child back, she was again beaten up. When she was working on filing a case against him, he quickly filed one against her to obtain the child's care / ownership. The court had given her permission to see the child only for 2 days per week. She is now in depressive status.

Her marriage was a happy one, as he cared for her. However, as time passed by, care, love and protection began to fade away. She soon learnt that he was involved in an extra-marital relationship. Inquiring about the relationship, as she said, was the beginning of endless physical and emotional abuses. While the violence gradually increased, she had to undergo medical treatment.

This left room for her husband to take the child to his mistress. When Asanka tried bringing the child back, she was physically assaulted again. She lodged a complaint at the Police Children and Women Bureau. While she was filing a court case against him, he had filed a case for the custody of their child.

The court decided that the child would spend 05 days with the father and 02 days with the mother per week, but she had asked the court to give her the chance of seeing her child whenever she wanted (See the Figure 2 for the time line of events).

Under such circumstances, she had to close down her pharmacy and as a result she lost her source of income. Asanka had spent about Rs. 25, 000 on her medical expenses. She had to receive permission from court to spend time with her son because he became restless and difficult to control, possibly as she believes is a result of the exposure to domestic violence. Her son had to take psychological treatment. As she estimated, her total loss as a result of IPV victimization is about Rs. 6.5 million during last 24 months. The main loss is the closing down of her pharmacy which brought her about Rs. 300,000 income per month.

Case study 03: Chathuri

Chathuri, who is 37 years old, was married to an army soldier after a brief relationship. Later on, her husband deserted the service. She said that she had seen her father insult and humiliate her mother in front of outsiders as a child. She also explained that her husband began to verbally and physically abuse her from the day of their marriage.



After the birth of their first baby, she stayed with her mother in order to avoid increasing violence. She had to seek Police protection too. But the husband came to where she was staying and promised that he would not harass her again. Therefore, she withdrew the case filed against him. However, he soon resumed his usual behaviour; pawned her jewellery and used it to gamble. When inquired about the money, she was beaten up. To find a solution to the issue she had sought the police assistance 5 times, which was a failure. She was severely beaten by her husband in 2013 and was then hospitalized for 7 days and the husband was remanded for 14 days. The case was put forward for trial. Even though he did not beat her after that, he continued to insult and humiliate her. She said she is suffering from high blood pressure, increased cholesterol levels, and wheezing (See Figure 3 for the timeline of events). She attributed these illnesses to the violence she experienced.

Now, she is unable to walk for a long distance at a time. She had spent about Rs. 4,000 for her medicine. Consequently, she had to discontinue her job as her professional life also affected by violence. During her 15 years of married life, she was experiencing both physical and emotional violence by her husband. She said she lost about Rs. 1.1 million due to the violence inflicted on her. This includes the liquidation of assets such as jewelry and home appliances. The cost calculation indicated that she had lost about Rs. 501,250 during last 24 months.

Date	Incident
1978	Chathuri was born
1991-1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She witnessed her mother being belittled and humiliated by her father when she was a teenager.
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Got married at 20. Soon after the marriage, both emotional and physical abusing began.
2000 -2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> He became a military deserter Physical assaults increased. She left him and went back to her parents. She made a complaint to the police about the violence she was experiencing at home. She also filed a case against him which she had to withdraw later as he promised not to assault. Physical assaults continued. His drinking and gambling habit too continued. Her jewellery were pawned but forfeited.
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got severely assaulted by him and was in the hospital for 7 days. As a result, he was remanded by the police for 14 days. When returned, physical assault decreased and verbal abuse increased.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In April, she quit her job due to physical pain and psychological issues. In September, she made a complaint at the police about his harassments. An estimation of Rs.600,000 were spent on his demands. During the 2013-2015 period, he had assaulted her about 50 times. By the time, the interview was conducted; she was planning to obtain a protection order.

Figure 3: Timeline of events Chathuri faced

Case study 04: Manel

Manel, 47 years old, is a graduate school teacher. She got married after a brief affair. Her parents unwillingly gave their consent to the marriage. Her husband was a garment factory administrator. But he left the job when a requirement arose to make a decision about who would look after their daughter.



She said she had not experienced any violence as a child. However, after her marriage, she experienced both physical and emotional violence. Later on, she learnt that her husband was involved in an extra-marital relationship with his former girl-friend. When Manel inquired about the relationship, he had assaulted her. She explained that peace in her family began to deteriorate ever since her husband met his ex-lover. Every time she had questioned, he had assaulted her. In one such instance, when she was getting ready to go to school, he had come with a dagger. When she tried to stop being stabbed, she had suffered major cuts on 4 of her fingers as they were completely severed.

She was admitted to the government hospital for 14 days. This had cost about Rs. 14,500 for her to obtain medicine. In order to protect him from being arrested by the Police, she had told the hospital that it happened when she was breaking a coconut. (See Figure 4 for timeline of events).

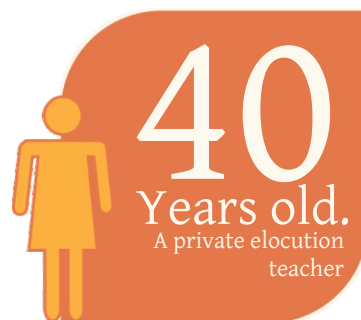
Date	Incident
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manel was born
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial verbal harassment in terms of belittling by the partner
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partner decided to leave the job to attend daughter's pre-school education He started an extra-marital relationship
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assaults by the partner when she inquired about an extra-marital relationship
2012-2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She spent about Rs. 1,160,000 to buy him a vehicle, commence a business and to find him foreign employment.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assaults increased at home. In an attempt to avoid being attacked, she sustained injuries with four fingers being severed. She was hospitalised for 14 days Obtained salaried leave for 28 days This incident had taken place 3 month before the interview. During the past 24 months, there had been 7 incidents of physical violence.

Figure 4: Timeline of events Manel faced

She became the sole breadwinner of the family. Whenever her husband asked for money, she had to provide it from her salary, and savings. Meanwhile, Manel sold the land which her parents had given and began to build her current residence. She had taken every loan that she could from the government in order to build this house. Instead of supporting, her husband kept insulting and condemning her in front of their children. She said she lost the opportunities of furthering her education after the marriage. She also had to discontinue the private tuition class she conducted about 10 years ago which is a loss of about Rs. 2 million. From time to time, she had given over Rs. 1.1 million to her husband and how it was spent is not known. She had spent about Rs. 421,000 during last 24 months as a result of IPV victimization. This amount includes the selling of her three-wheeler to meet the expenses at home.

Case study 05: Namalee

40 year old **Namalee**, is the only child in the family. Studied up to Advanced Level, she found her husband after a love affair. After marriage, they moved to the house her parents had given as her dowry. Furniture and home appliances for her house were all provided, along with an additional cash support of Rs. 5.5 million.



Married life became a dreadful experience after sometime because her husband started insulting her frequently, even in front of the children. This caused severe mental stress. She said he was close to his two younger brothers' wives and they made the decisions related to her family life. He didn't take her along with him to various functions and events that he attended.

He forced her to sell another house she owned and he assigned a 'broker' to find a buyer to sell the house. The house was sold for Rs. 8 million, which she had deposited in the bank and began looking for another house.

Meanwhile, her husband had told her that he had found a suitable house and that they should buy it. The very next day, they had gone to the bank and she signed the forms to withdraw money. Every time she had inquired about the money, he would scold her using abusive language. In April 2015, once again when she had inquired, he had thrown her out of the house in the pouring rain.

When the neighbours had seen her sitting outside in the rain, they had contacted her parents. Her father came and took her to their home and also went to the Police Station on the way to report what had happened. The police had interfered in settling the family dispute amicably. Later, when she went back to her house with her father, the husband told her not to step into the house until he says so. The victim currently resides with her parents while her children are still with the husband. She had spent about Rs. 30,000 on treatments for a severe and an unbearable headache that she suffers.

She had to discontinue her career as an elocution teacher because of instability of her mind, losing an income of Rs. 30,000 per month (See Figure 5 for timeline of events). The husband had plundered about Rs. 13,500,000 of her savings.

Date	Incident
1975	Namalee was born
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial verbal harassment in terms of belittling by the partner
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sold the house she was given by her parents for Rs. 8 million. He took the money and Namalee did not know what happened to money afterwards He took Rs. 5.5 million given by her parents She does not know what he had done to that money Physical assaulting increased She complained to the police but the complaint was settled and she had to go home
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assaults continued at home And increased belittling in front of his brothers and their wives Threatening to harm her loved ones
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In April, she was thrown out of the house when it was raining Her parents took her to their house She stopped conducting elocution classes.

Figure 5: Timeline of events Namalee faced

She does not know what her husband did with the additional Rs. 5.5 million which was given by her parents. The 18 years of marriage life with him had brought all these losses.

Case study 06: Nayana

Nayana, is a dental surgeon and married to an engineer after a brief encounter. Currently, she is living with her parents. Being the only girl in her family, she grew up in a peaceful environment with all the comforts she could have. While dating him, she had understood that he was not the ideal partner. She was exposed to physical and emotional abuses during their courtship. But, he had forced her into getting married to him.

She said that her husband is a stingy and selfish person. In fact, she had to spend on their wedding as well as the homecoming. She mentioned that he is from a lower caste and his family members had been ridiculing and insulting those of higher social strata. They expected her to wash the clothes of everyone in that household from the day she went to live with them.

Date	Incident
1983	Nayana was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Before the marriage, she experienced physical and emotional abuse by her partner. She got married.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Verbal harassment and physical assaults continued after the marriage.
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She decided to leave him.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She filed a case for divorce.

Figure 6: Timeline of events Nayana faced

However, she managed to convince her husband and moved to a rented house for which she had to spend about Rs. 200,000 in total. Two weeks after living in this rented house, he began to scold and beat her. She was mentally affected mostly because of her husband's physical and mental abuse using indecent language. She had also spent about Rs. 153,000 on medical expenses. Now she fights to overcome her depressive psychological condition (See Figure 6 for the time line of event).

Her marriage had lasted barely a year. She had failed to continue her higher studies after the marriage and during when they were in courtship. Therefore, she had not acquired her due promotions. She estimated that the total loss during the last two years was about Rs. 150,000. The total cost she incurred according to the cost calculation during the last 12 month was Rs. 26,000 out of which she had spent about Rs. 16,000 to obtain legal services.



Case study 07: Niranjala

Niranjala, 44 years old, was a cosmetic agent who had a monthly income of about Rs. 40,000. She got married to a man who is 9 years younger. Though she wanted to discontinue their relationship after she had learnt that he was younger, he had said that his age would not be an obstacle to their relationship.



She had seen her mother and her elder sister being physically and emotionally abused by her father and her brother-in-law respectively when she was a child and a teenager.

After a year and a half into their marriage, her husband started to abuse her physically and psychologically. By that time, she had a child. His parents wanted him to marry someone else. As a result of continuous violence, she was psychologically traumatized.

However, there was no possibility for her to obtain medical treatment because she was not aware of her psychological condition nor was she able to afford it. At the moment, the husband is evading paying her maintenance (See Figure 7 for the timeline of events). During her 3 years of married life, she says, she has lost opportunities of obtaining professional qualifications and lost about Rs. 1.1 million.

Date	Incident
1971	Niranjala was born.
	▪ When she was a teenager, she witnessed her mother being subjected to physical and emotional violence by her father.
2010	▪ She got married.
	▪ Verbal harassment and physical assaults continued after the marriage.
2012	▪ Physical and emotional abuse commenced after they moved to his parental house.
2013	▪ She filed a case against him to obtain maintenance.
2015	▪ He had evaded paying her maintenance.

Figure 7: Timeline of events Niranjala faced

Case study 08: Nirmalee

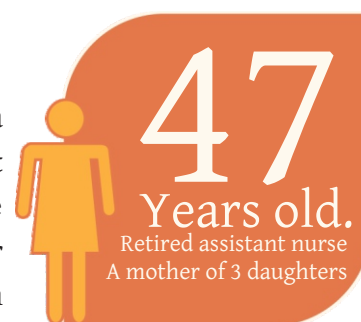
Nirmalee, 47 years old, met her husband through a marriage proposal. She was an assistant nurse at a government hospital. After a rectal cancer being diagnosed, she had to retire from her job. She says she had spent about Rs. 200,000 for cancer treatment. Her pension is not sufficient to support her children and her medical treatment. Therefore, she looks after patients to earn a living, even though she has physical hardships due to the cancer.

She grew up in a peaceful family with her parents. However, things changed after the marriage. She experienced endless verbal and physical abuse including deep wounds her husband induced. When she was pregnant with her second child, he had thrown a stone at her and broken her leg. It had taken a period of 6 months to heal. While she was healing from this injury, he had further wounded her; as a result, she had to undergo surgery.

A few years ago, the husband had trampled and stamped her leg hard and also broken her hand. She further said that she could not withstand the sexual abuse that she suffered because of him. He had forced her to engage in sexual activities in front of their children. She said she had been experiencing violence by her husband for about 20 years. She also suspects that the rectal cancer is a result of the severe violence she had to undergo. She had left her husband two years ago since she could not bear the violence inflicted on her, and currently resides in a rented room together with her 3 daughters (See Figure 8 for the timeline of events).

Her second daughter is a psychologically affected child; as a result, she inflicts wounds on herself with sharp objects. The second daughter has to be taken to a child psychiatrist once a month. Nirmalee too sees a psychiatrist to obtain treatment for depression.

She said she lost about Rs. 400,000 due to the fact that she was on mandatory retirement due to her illness. She had to pawn her furniture and jewellery to meet the expenses at home. She thinks there is no way to redeem them. Total loss due to the violence at home is roughly estimated to be around Rs. 875,000 during the last 24 months, out of which she had spent about Rs. 400,000 to pay a rented house as she decided to leave her abusive husband. Another Rs. 95,000 had been spent on seeking legal assistance and obtaining support services.

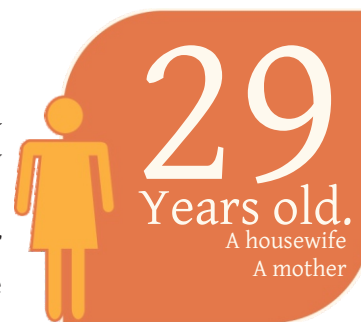


Date	Incident
1968	Nirmalee was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married. She experienced verbal, physical and sexual violence by the husband for 16 years.
2008 - 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Husband threw a stone which broke one of her legs. He trampled her previously wounded leg and broke one of her hands.
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She left husband and started living alone with her children.

Figure 8: Timeline of events Nirmalee faced

Case study 09: Nisansala

Nisansala was married to a quiet person who is a teetotaler, which was an arranged marriage. She had a happy childhood at home where she never experienced violence. Soon after they changed their residence to a house her father provided, her husband's routine changed. Whenever she inquired about this change, he would scold her and had once left her for a period of three months.



The police and her parents brought him back home. At that time she was an expectant mother. Recently, she got beaten up by her husband and was hospitalized. Her husband left her and the child. She had to spend about Rs. 5,000 for medical treatment. She is now in the process of filling a case against him (See Figure 9 for the timeline of events).

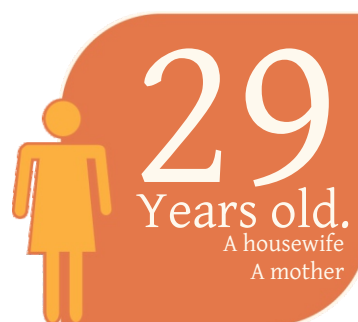
During her short lived abusive life (about 2 years), she estimated her total loss to be around Rs. 800,000 including the amount spent for the wedding.

Date	Incident
1986	Nisansala was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married. She experienced emotional and physical violence by her husband. He left her for three months when she was 6 months pregnant. She received medical treatment from the National Hospital for the physical assaults on her head.
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Husband left her and the child.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She is working on filling a maintenance case against him.

Figure 9: Timeline of events Nisansala faced

Case study 10: Parameshwari

Parameshwari, 29 years old, was married to a three-wheeler driver after a brief love affair while she was studying at the Open University. She had not witnessed violence at home when she was a child. As time passed by, she got to know about her husband's infidelity. Violence at home escalated whenever she questioned about cheating on her. She was subjected to physical violence during her pregnancy.



She left him and continued to live with her parents. The parents received her in their house, told her that she need not go back to live with husband. Therefore, she had filed a Protection Order against her husband (See Figure 10 for timeline of events). She also received psychological treatment. She said she had spent about Rs. 3,150 on medical treatments. During her 5 year period of abusive marriage, she says, she had to stop her education, which resulted in no occupation. Had she completed her education; she could have obtained a job with a salary of Rs. 25,000 per month. To her estimation, total loss due to the exposure to violence during the 5 year period would be Rs. 1.5 million.

Date	Incident
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parameshwari was born
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married when she was 19
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assaults started when she inquired about her husband's extra marital affairs When she was pregnant, he had kicked her on the stomach which caused unbearable pain underneath her belly.
2013	From 2013 to 2015 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experienced physical assaults such as slapping and pushing Was forced to have sexual intercourse with him several times.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She was working on obtaining a protection order.

Figure 10: Timeline of events Parameshwari faced

Case study 11: Rebeka

Rebeka, who is 40 years old, is from the central hills. After the marriage she came to live in Colombo district where her husband is domicile. This relationship began as a love affair. She had not either witnessed or experienced violence during her childhood. Before she got married to him, she was not aware of his addiction to alcohol.



Since the day of the marriage he had used alcohol and verbally abused her, later on he started to physically and emotionally abuse her. Her mother-in-law told her that her husband (*Rebeka's father-in-law*) had the similar habits and that she left him to become a single parent. However much her mother-in-law asked her to leave the husband and live separately, Rebeka did not want to do so for the sake of the children and because she did not want to be a burden to her natal family. Until now, she was physically assaulted by her husband 6 times, in 5 instances she had reported to the police. He was remanded and was to be tried before the court, but his mother had bailed him out every time. Rebeka said she had spent about Rs. 72,000 for the medical expenses during the last 24 months.

He had punched her on the eye and head. As a result, she had to be hospitalized for 6 days. She said she had not recovered completely and attends a weekly medical clinic at the government hospital (See Figure 11 for the timeline of events).

She feels that the situation at home has impacted on her children's education. Her daughter used to obtain high marks at the term tests. Now, she merely obtains the pass marks.

The small shop that she commenced as an income generation activity had to be closed down as she could not continue because of the physical pain she has. Having spent almost 15 years with an abusive and alcoholic husband, she says she had lost about Rs. 700,000. This includes Rs. 630,000 of loans taken from two financial institutions for the income generation activity which she had not been able to pay back.

Date	Incident
1975	Rebeka was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married. She was not aware that her husband is an alcoholic before the marriage.
2000 - 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She complained to the Police about 5 times about this behaviour. Once he punched her on the eye and head. She was hospitalized for 6 days.
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Husband left her and the child.
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She is not willing to obtain a protection order, but plans to direct the husband for rehabilitation.

Figure 11: Timeline of events Rebeka faced

Case study 12: Samanmalee

Samanmalee, got married as a result of a love affair. Her husband is a sales assistant at the Manning Market in Pettah. After the marriage, they stayed at her parental home.

Samanmalee said that she had experienced insulting and being derided by a close relative when she was a teenager. However, she started experiencing violence 5 months after the marriage by her husband.

He began to abuse her verbally whenever she questioned his whereabouts. Once she was severely beaten on her head and face and her father had to intervene to save her from being further beaten by him. She experienced severe pain in her head and a swollen eye. She was treated at the General Hospital and spent about Rs. 15,500 on medicines.

This violent behaviour continued for a short period, and then he left her house. (See Figure 12 for the time line of events).

During her 5 year married life, it was a frequent incident that she was physically abused by him. She also had to stay at home without working due to the severe physical pain she had been experiencing. She estimated her overall loss to be around Rs. 500,000 including the jewellery she lost.

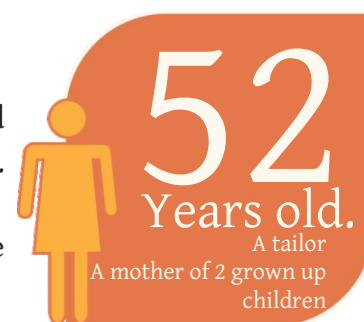


Date	Incident
1991	Samanmalee was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married.
2010 - 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Five months after the marriage, she experienced emotional, physical as well as sexual violence inflicted by her husband. Once she was hospitalized as she was beaten up on her head and face. She is unable to work due to severe physical pain.

Figure 12: Timeline of events Samanmalee faced

Case study 13: Sandhya

Sandhya's marriage to an army soldier was an arranged marriage. She got married while studying for an external degree. She was a seamstress with an income of about Rs. 40,000 a month. She said that she had not witnessed or experienced violence when she was a child.



However, no matter how much love she showed her husband, she realized that he was reluctant to come home. When she asked him what the problem was, he had said that it was because of his busy schedule. Nevertheless, he started beating her when she continually inquired about his behavior. No matter how many times she was beaten, she still kept quiet because she did not want to interrupt the education of their children. She had saved money and helped her son acquire a degree. Her younger son is still in the midst of completing his degree. Recently, she caught her husband in an intimate relationship with another woman. When she questioned, he had severely assaulted her. She was admitted to Anuradhapura Hospital but later on was transferred to Colombo General Hospital.

Date	Incident
1963	Sandhya was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married.
1994 - 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Five years after the marriage, they changed their resident to Anuradhapura. This was the beginning of his changed behaviour. Physical and emotional violence began to increase. She was hospitalized due to the damages on her leg and hand. In 2010, received counselling assistance from a centre in Anuradhapura.
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She was found with severe depression and received counselling assistance again. She stopped her seamstress work which is a loss of Rs. 1 million.

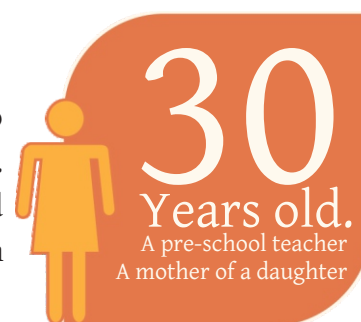
Figure 13: Timeline of events Sandhya faced

Now she stays with one of her relatives in order to receive further treatment. But after this traumatic incident, she discontinued her business as a seamstress. She said she had spent about Rs. 50,000 for medical and health related expenses (See Figure 13 for the timeline of events).

She had been living with violence for 20 years. She said she lost the opportunity to complete her degree and associated opportunities that could have come along with the higher education. Since she had to stop her seamstress work, her perceived loss is about Rs. 1 million. During the last 24 months, she had spent about Rs. 162,000 from which Rs. 100,000 is a loss due to the fact that her income generation work was hindered by violence at home.

Case study 14: Sapumali

Sapumali, 30 years old, comes from a home of two children. She is the second of the two girls in her family. Sapumali witnessed her mother being insulted, humiliated and physically abused by her father. Eventually, her father left them and started living with his second wife.



Sapumali got married 9 years ago and throughout her married life, she has been undergoing physical and emotional violence by her husband. Violence she experienced brought severe headache and mental instability. She said she was unable to count the number of violent incidents she has experienced in the last 24 months. She also said she spent about Rs. 60,000 for her medical expenses during that period (See Figure 14 for the timeline of events). As a result of the constant violence she had undergone, she had to give up her career as a pre-school teacher, which is a

loss of Rs. 542,000 during the last 24 months. After leaving her husband, she now lives with her mother together with the child and works in a pre-school nearby. Though she wanted to pursue a Master's degree programme, she had to discontinue that too.

Date	Incident
1985	Sapumali was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She witnessed her mother being subjected to physical and emotional violence by her father when she was young.
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married.
From 2007 to 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She was subjected to physical and emotional violence of her husband. She was even unable to remember the number of violent incidents she faced. As a result, she was suffering from a severe headache and temporary loss of memory. She had to close down her pre-school which was her income source.

Figure 14: Timeline of events Sapumali faced

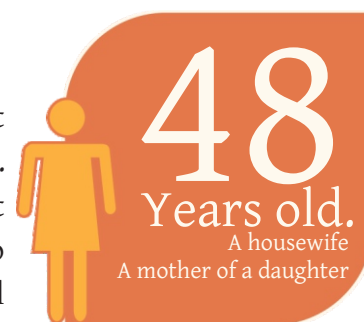
Case study 15: Amila

Amila, 48 years old, was married as a result of an affair that began when she was working in the Middle East as a housemaid. Her marriage became a turbulent one when she found out that her husband was cheating on her. Her husband resorted to physical violence when she found out about his extramarital relationship.

She explained that the emotional violence was stronger than the physical violence, which she could not bear. He used to insult and belittle her at times, murmured or cursed her. She also said that she was forced to engage in sexual intercourse with him. She had to spend about Rs. 4,000 for the medical expenses.

According to Amila, her husband had become more violent during the past 3-4 years. At the moment, he provides the daughter's expenses.

However, Amila is not in a position to be engaged in an income earning activity, as she has to attend to her daughter's educational work. Nonetheless, her siblings support her financially to maintain the household expenses. She had pawned her jewelry, furniture, taken loans from pawning centres and a relative to manage the situation (See Figure 15 for the timeline of events). Amila said that her expectation to be a good mother and wife had become a dream. As she estimated, her total productivity loss due to the exposure to violence by her husband could be around Rs. 238,000 during the last 24 months.



Date	Incident
1967	Amila was born.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No exposure to intimate partner violence at home.
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She got married.
From 2001 to 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She was subjected to physical and emotional violence of her husband. At times, she had experienced sexual violence.
2012-2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical and emotional abuses continued. Husband started to financially supporting the daughter. She lives with her siblings support.

Figure 15: Timeline of events Amila faced

4. Findings Of The Study

4.1 Experiencing Intimate Partner Violence

Majority of the respondents experienced intimate partner violence by their husbands when they were in the age range of 17 to 44. The most common type of IPV experience was related to emotional violence. Two had experienced physical force to have sexual intercourse without the victims' consent and 01 had agreed to have intercourse because of fear of being further assaulted if denied.

Incidents of IPVs	Age 17-44
▪ Had sexual intercourse because of fear of being further assaulted if denied	1
▪ Threatening to use or actually used a gun, knife or any other weapon / object against her	2
▪ Physically forced to have sexual intercourse against her will	2
▪ Physical and psychological intimidation	3
▪ Threatening to hurt her or someone she cares about	3
▪ Throwing something at her that could hurt her	4
▪ Choking, or burning her on purpose	4
▪ Kicking, dragging or beating her up	5
▪ Hitting her with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	6
▪ Slapping her	7
▪ Pushing or shoving her	8
▪ Belittling or humiliating her in front of other people	11
▪ Insulting or making her feel bad about herself	13

4.2 Health Cost Related to Pain and Suffering

Seven survivors said their overall health condition ranges from fair to very poor. Five said that they had some problems in their ability to walk during the past 24 months while another 05 said they had many problems. These difficulties are due to IPV related injuries. Fourteen of the 15 women said they had problems in performing routine activities, such as work, study, household, family or social activities in the past 24 months. Out of those, 06 said they had many problems and 02 said they were unable to perform basic tasks at all. All women said they had been in pain or discomfort in the past 24 months, and 12 of them said they had severe pain and discomfort. All the respondents said they had problems with their memory or concentration in the past 24 months, while 02 women said they have extreme memory problems such as forgetting what was said and what needed to be done (partial loss of memory), counting and dealing with numbers, unclear about what should be done, and inability to focus on work due to the emotional and physical violence they had been experiencing. More than half of them had taken medication several times: a) to help calm down or sleep (10 women), b) to relieve pain (09 women), and c) to help feel mentally positive (08 women).

Fourteen women said they had consulted a doctor or another professional or indigenous health worker because of various sicknesses in the last 24 months. Eleven of them had taken medicine from the government hospitals, 09 had gone to private hospitals or medical centres and 02 of them had gone to a counsellor. **Cost associated with the medical expenses in the last 24 months ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 153,000.** The average amount spent on health facilities to ease pain and suffering caused by IPV is Rs. 37,443 per survivor in the last 24 months. Ten women said that they bore cost by themselves, 04 had shared with their parents. Only five women had a health insurance.

4.2.1 Cost associated with the last incident

What happened in the last of these incidences	%
Did things to scare or intimidate on purpose	2
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon/object	2
Threatened to hurt victim or someone the victim cared	3
Choked or burned on purpose	3
Slapping	4
Throwing something that could hurt	6
Belittled or humiliated in front of other people	7
Pushed or shoved	7
Kicked, dragged or beaten up	8
Hitting with fist or with something else that could hurt	9
Insulted you or made to feel bad about self	13

The study analysed the frequency of occurrence of IPV incidents women experienced in the last 24 months. The lowest number of incidents experienced by a woman was three. Two women had experienced about 50 incidents. These numbers indicate the violent life they spent with their partners. Thirteen women had experienced at least one IPV related incident within the last 12 months. The research made an attempt to understand what happened during the last incident. The Table is a summary of what these women had experienced in the last incident.

The last incident of violence that each individual faced was further analysed to understand the individual costs. Thirteen of them had experienced insulting or making them feel bad, while 07 of them experienced humiliation or belittling in front of other people. Eight women said they were kicked, dragged or beaten up. Seven of them said they suffered injuries.

Figure 16: Nature of injuries

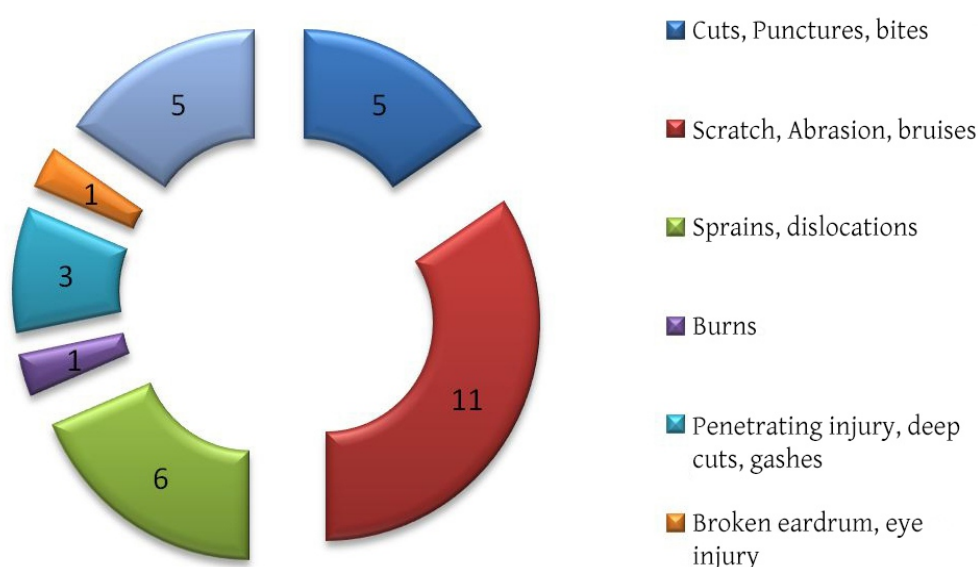


Figure 16 further shows the nature of the injuries the victims received due to IPV. Eleven of them had scratches, abrasions and bruises, while 06 suffered sprains and dislocations. Another five women had cuts, punctures and bites, and perforated eardrum and eye injuries. Three women also received penetration related injuries and deep cuts. As a result, nine women had to obtain medical treatment. Seven of them had obtained medical treatment from government hospitals and the rest from private hospitals and medical centres. They tend to get admitted to private hospitals if the injury is severe, in order to avoid the involvement of the police investigations. This invariably made medical expenses higher. Our gathered data indicates that respondents' expenditure ranges from Rs. 150 to Rs. 50,000 for the last incident. A survivor had spent Rs. 150 because she obtained medicine from a government hospital, and she had to buy the prescribed medicine from a pharmacy. The victim who spent Rs. 50,000 had received medical treatment from a private hospital.

4.3 Costs Associated with the Loss of Production/Livelihood

This cost category investigated how survivors lost their livelihood and how violence affected their employment. According to our interviews, 04 women said they had to refrain from their income earning activities due to the violent incidents mentioned above. Time period they had to take off from their income generation activity varied from two weeks to one year. Four of them got paid for the days taken off. However, a rough estimation was problematic as they were not aware of the market values. A woman estimated the total loss as Rs.150,000 while another estimated the loss as Rs.7,500. **Six women were housewives who were engaged in income generating activities.** The total loss due to the last incident faced ranges from Rs.7,500 to Rs.600,000. This income loss variance is due to the nature of income generation activities they were engaged in. On the other hand, 08 women said that they had to stop household chores after the last IPV related incident. In contrast to the females, only one male partner had to take time off from work after the said incident. He was a three-wheeler driver, so the total loss for him for the 05 days he stayed at home was estimated to be Rs.15,000.

4.4 Costs Associated with the Damage Caused, Liquidation of Assets and Settlement of Debts

Three women said there were damages caused to material belongings. These include furniture and kitchen utensils. Three women had to liquidize assets such as furniture, television and the three-wheeler from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 400,000 respectively - Total amount is Rs. 430,000. Eight women had taken loans to manage the household expenses or health related issues due to the incidents mentioned above during the last 24 months. The amount ranges from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 400,000.

Twelve women had brought in a certain amount of money or assets when they got married. The dowry provided in cash ranges from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 5,500,000. However, they had lost these monetary resources as they were forcibly taken away through intimidation. Five women had also utilised their personal savings to make ends meet, and it ranges from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 1,000,000. Only one victim had sought accommodation at a separate place after the incident. The range of total cost associated with the physical damages, liquidation of assets and settlement of debts is Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 5,540,000.

4.5 Cost for obtaining support service

Support services to an IPV victim includes legal/forensic services, temporary accommodation, paid care, and counselling. Our interviews revealed that 12 victims had obtained services from the Police and the range of total amount incurred in obtaining services visiting several times is Rs. 200 to Rs. 10,500. Seven of them had left the house and 06 women started living with their parents. However, one respondent had started living in a rented house. Therefore the range of such expenses is Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 400,000. Nine women had filed formal complaints after the incidents. Thus, the cost range of filling cases is Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 14,000 (Lawyer fees and other related). 04 women had paid fees for completing the paperwork and filing the case through the court. All the respondents claimed to have obtained legal

services from a Community Based Organisation and they had incurred a transport cost to visit the CBO. This ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 44,000 to obtain services several times. There was a victim who had been travelling from Anuradhapura and had spent a considerable amount on transport. The total cost for obtaining support services ranges from Rs. 600 to Rs. 495,000.

4.6 Second Generation Cost

Second generation cost involves private and public health costs associated with childcare, changing schools, counselling, child protection services, remedial or special education and increased juvenile and adult crime.

Three women said that they could not pay attention on their children while the children of two victims had to miss school days. Nine women observed behavioural and psychological changes in their children. These changes vary from always being in fear and living in suspicion to frequent crying to having nightmares, waking up screaming and/ or violent behaviour inflicting injury such as cutting their hands with sharp instruments, and vandalistic behaviour. Two women had consulted a counsellor with regard to the changed behavioural and psychological conditions; one had consulted a general physician at a private hospital or a private medical centre which had cost Rs. 5,000 which was borne by the husband; and the other spent Rs. 50,000 on obtaining other special treatment. Therefore, calculation of average amount is problematic as available figures are limited to two respondents.

4.7 Cost Associated with the Opportunities Lost

The category covers the victim's perceived loss and associated cost due to violence in terms of further education, job enhancement, business improvement, and community leadership.

All women said they had to lose opportunities as a result of domestic violence they had encountered. These include career advancement, further education, and collapse of income generation activities. Nine of them talked about having to completely stop career advancement and higher education.

The cost calculation exercise asked all the respondents to come up with an amount to show the total loss in a perceived number. The result brought a range of numbers that included their lost career opportunities, closed-down income generation activities, further education and related income losses and also the loss of any asset or financial resources received as their dowry. The minimum amount that indicated the opportunity lost is Rs. 144,000 and the maximum is Rs. 13,500,000. This figure has a drawback because it is a rough calculation of numbers by the victim. It did not follow a rigorous process of identifying the cost incurred but assumed to be the cost at each event. Nevertheless, this provides a reasonable glance of the magnitude of loss.

5. Cost of intimate partner violence

The total cumulative cost of intimate partner violence for the selected 15 cases ranges from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 1,952,650. The following table summarizes 05 types of cost categories: health cost related to pain and suffering, cost associated with loss of production, second generation cost, costs associated with the damage caused to and liquidation of assets and settlement of debt and cost for obtaining support services. As the table indicates, Nisansala who had spent the least amount had incurred Rs. 10,000 from which she had spent Rs. 5,000 each for obtaining health facilities and support services. A closer look at the numbers indicate the heavy impact made by costs associated with the damage caused, liquidation of assets and settlement of debts in changing the final figure. This further shows that survivors had to get the damage properties repaired or replaced; spend their savings and liquidated assets to meet the day to day expenses. On the other hand, three survivors had not incurred any money on this cost category. Dowry received in cash by five victims was either forcibly taken by their husbands or spent on daily requirements. Four survivors had either sold or pawned the properties received as dowry to cover day to day expenses at home.

Obtaining support services showed a range from Rs. 600 to 495,000. A survivor had rented a house after leaving her husband and thus far had spent an approximate amount of Rs. 400,000 on it. Other support costs included obtaining legal assistance, counselling services, visiting the Police Children and Women's Bureau, and government sponsored support services such as the Child and Women Development Unit. Transport and other related expenses such as stationary, food and refreshment were calculated under this category. One survivor paid a lawyer to compile a case against her husband. However, if she was aware of the existence of free legal assistance services, she could have saved the amount spent. But, nevertheless, it still remains a cost on the national system.

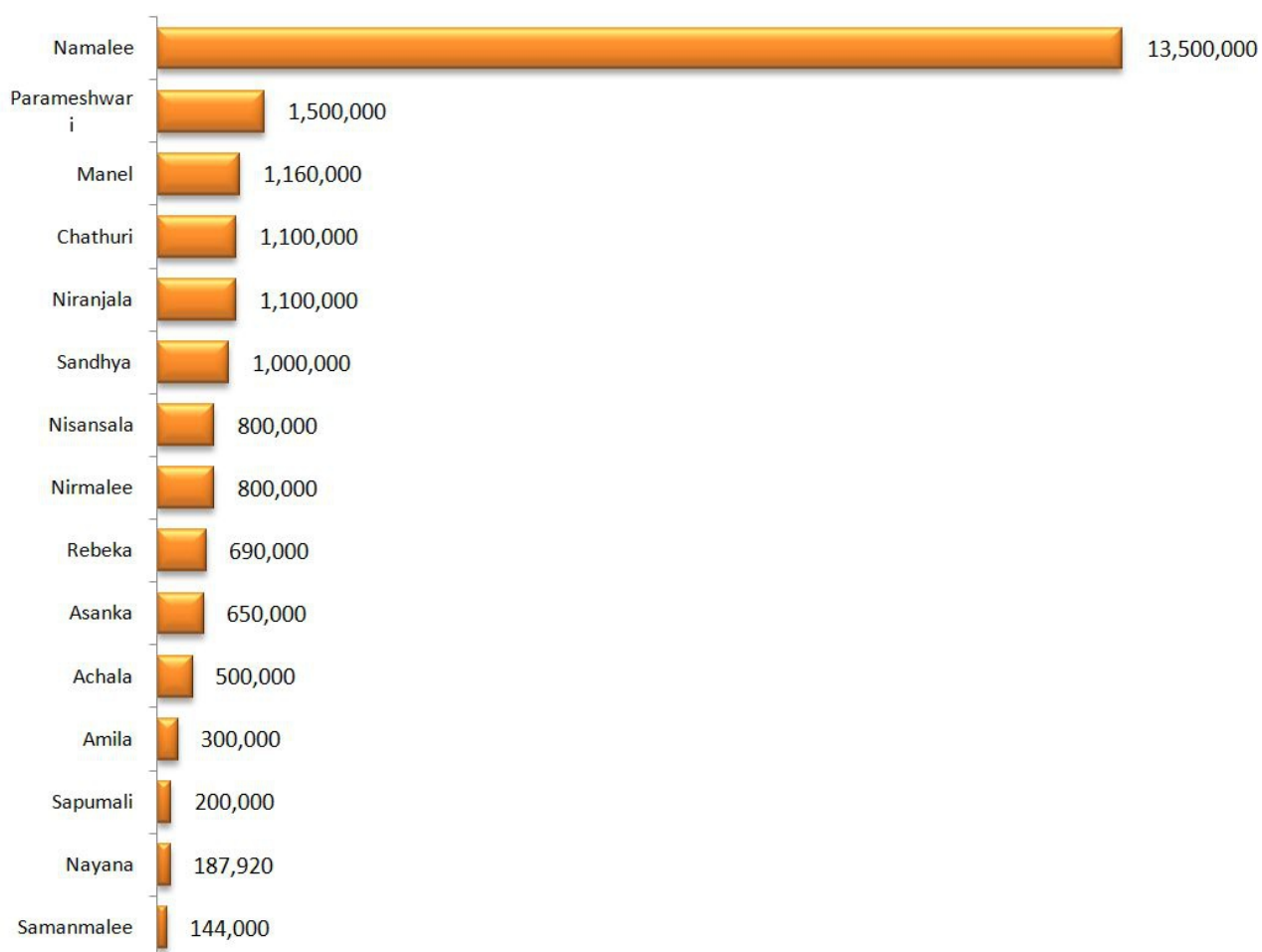
Table 1: Total cost of intimate partner violence

Profile name	Health cost related to pain and suffering	Cost associated with lost production	Second generation cost	Costs associated with damage caused, liquidation of assets & settlement of debt	Cost for obtaining support services	Total calculated lost
1. Achala	500.00	90,000.00		1,860,000.00	2,000.00	1,952,500.00
2. Nirmalee	75,000.00	150,000.00	5,000.00	200,000.00	495,500.00	925,500.00
3. Niranjala	0	600,000.00	0	143,000.00	64,000.00	807,000.00
4. Asanka	25,000.00	300,000.00	0	405,000.00	21,250.00	751,250.00
5. Sapumali	60,000.00	100,000.00	0	415,000.00	17,500.00	592,500.00
6. Chathuri	4,000.00	0	0	480,000.00	18,750.00	502,750.00
7. Manel	14,500.00	0	0	410,000.00	600.00	425,100.00
8. Amila	4,000.00	0	0	225,000.00	11,000.00	240,000.00
9. Namalee	30,000.00	150,000.00	5,000.00	40,000.00	1,200.00	226,200.00
10. Sandhya	100,000.00	100,000.00	0	0	12,500.00	212,500.00
11. Nayana	153,000.00	0	0	0	16,000.00	169,000.00
12. Rebeka	72,000.00	0	50,000.00	30,000.00	9,600.00	161,600.00
13. Parameshwari	3,150.00	0	0	20,000.00	23,000.00	46,150.00
14. Samanmalee	15,500.00	7,500.00	0	5,000.00	600.00	28,600.00
15. Nisansala	5,000.00	0	0	0	5,000.00	10,000.00
Total	561,650	1,497,500	60,000	4,233,000	698,500	7,050,650

5.1 Perceived costs of lost opportunities

The perceived cost of lost opportunities too ranges from Rs. 144,000 to Rs. 13,500,000. This loss is a calculation of opportunities these survivors missed due to the abusive relationship they were and are in. Therefore, the time frame for identification varied; for some it was just one year and for others it was several years.

Figure 17: Perceived cost of lost opportunities



5.2 A Holistic Approach to Cost Calculation

It is imperative to measure all costs associated with IPV. Firstly, this includes the personal costs of the survivor, her or his associates, the perpetrator, and her or his associates. The personal cost may include but not limited to loss of education, employment and loss of paid work days. Violence perpetrated against them invariably had negative effects on the well-being of children (Breiding et al, 2015; Hamby et al, 2011 and Liyanachchi, 2008) which is calculated as second generation cost. This cost sector includes education related expenses such as providing special education, change of educational institutions due to social stigma, provision of psychological support services and counselling, any other cost associated. Losing opportunities in furthering education, job enhancement, business improvement, and community leadership are the categories that were considered in calculating cost of lost opportunities.

The state's service provision is through various state institutions such as the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs, Police Children and Women Bureau and other relevant institutions depending on the need of the victim. Support services may vary from provision of livelihood support for the victims, educational support for children and disability assistance etc. Survivors and their children who had been witnessing violence as well as perpetrators may need psychological counselling to deal with the consequences of violence. The psychological costs are the distress caused and time loss due to being exposed to IPV. Cost of legal aid provision includes cost of case handling, lawyers' fee, court's time and implementation of court's order such as the protection order under the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act.

The aforementioned cost classifications should be included in an all-inclusive cost calculation. Therefore, a comprehensive cost of violence calculation with special reference to IPV is an exercise which involves time, trained and experienced professionals and resources to provide required services during the study. The Figure on “Impact Diagram of the Costs” illustrates the areas that should be considered in cost calculation in order to obtain a holistic view of the problem.

Figure 18: *Impact Diagram of the Costs*



6. Methodological implications for future research

The present study on cost of IPV tested a methodology to be applied in such an endeavour in identifying the costs associated with IPV. To understand the cost implications for the country and its economy, it is necessary to focus on other aspects of sexual and gender based violence in conducting the cost estimations. The task becomes rather difficult if the national system does not provide necessary data annually. One suggestion to overcome this challenge would be to incorporate relevant variables to the existing national survey formats: Demographic and Health Survey and Household Income and Expenditure Survey.

A cost estimation exercise should define the IPV at the very onset. This will help identifying the parameters that the study should work on. Therefore, any cost estimation study should focus on:

- 1) **The direct costs** which are related to actual expenditure in terms of obtaining health services, costs associated with the lost productivity from paid work, costs associated with the damages caused, liquidation of assets and settlement of debts, second generation cost and costs obtaining support services. Identifying the direct cost, household, community and national level costs should be identified, so that actual loss could be estimated.
- 2) **Indirect costs** that include any cost associated with the opportunities lost: this is the victim's perceived loss due to violence in terms of further education, job enhancement, business improvement, and community leadership.

Identifying a time frame will help measuring costs. Most common type is to measure it annually. The present study focused on 24 months. However, this time frame became complicated when obtaining the information on the indirect cost, as the counsellor had to be sensitive and had to probe as much as that was only possible. Based on this reflection, a better time frame would be to focus on an annual time frame.

A topology proposed as a result of this pilot study is a mixture of action oriented advocacy research to work with a large sample of identified victims from all the districts for a period of one year documenting every cost incurred by them as well as the associated institutions. This would provide more concrete as well as actual data while working on a victim advocacy system in providing a better service provision aiming at proactionary interventions.

The present research suggests that the future research to be focused firstly on women's participation in the labour force and their earnings as well as household consumption patterns. This would help the indirect cost to be explored systematically and rigorously.

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